Commentary III

III.1-7 JPB

III.8 Sacrificial Post

On the structure of this hymn, see the publ. intro.

III.8.1: Note the future impv. dhattāt.

III.8.4: Kane (HDŚ II.1.269) suggests that the image in this vs. is that of a young boy, well dressed and encircled with his sacred thread (yuvā suvāsāh párvitāh), at his Upanayana, whom they “lead up” (un nayanti), in an idiom close to the āpra nī of the Upanayana. Acdg. to Kane, several grhyā sūtras employ this mantra in the Upanayana.

III.8.6: There is number disharmony between the 2nd plural enclitic vah (a) and the voc. singular vānaspatē (b). The simplest way to account for this is to assume that the voc. has simply been repeated from the 1st vs. of the hymn (1b) in this 1st vs. of the 2nd (half of the) hymn, which switches its subject from a singular post to plural posts. Or Lord of the Forest may refer to the forest itself or a single tree that produces multiple posts.

III.8.8: The rarer dual dvandva dyaṅvā-ksāmā substitutes for the more common dyaṅvā-prthivī, with prthivī, perhaps in its lit. meaning ‘broad one’, pleonastically following the dvandva.

III.8.10: Contrary to the standard tr., I think there is a change of subject in the 2nd half-verse. Rather than calling on the posts to help us, we turn again to the gods, who are the likely subject of avantu, just as they were in 8c. The types of help we ask them for are distinct but complementary: help for our sacrifice in 8c, help in battle and competition in 10d, a theme introduced by the vihavā- ‘competing invocation’ in 10c. The vā of 10c signals this disjunction and the return of the gods as subject. Although Klein (DGRV II.203) suggests reading vā here as if for vai, given that the hymn contains several loosely construed vā-s (1d, 6b), this does not seem like a good idea.

III.9-29 JPB

III.30 Indra

As noted in the publ. intro., the hymn is characterized by hapaxes and very rare words, often with affective suffixes, and unusual phonology. These words include dhāyuḥ (7a), gehyā- (7b), kūṇāru- (8b), pīyāru- (8c), alāṭṭhā- (10a), yāmakoṣā- (15a), salaliṭka- (17c).
III.30.1: The desid. *titkṣante* used to be assigned to \(\sqrt{tij}\) ‘sharpen’ (e.g., Wh Rts, Gr), but has for quite awhile been taken to \(\sqrt{tyaj}\) ‘abandon’ instead. See EWA s.v. *TEJ* and *TYAJ*, Gotō (1st cl., 165–66 n. 268), and in some detail Heenen (Desid. 59–60 and 147–48). Curiously WG render it as (if) an intensive to \(\sqrt{tij}\): “Sie schären (sich) immer wieder (gegen) …,” despite Gotō’s own published views to the contrary. (In the WG tr., acdg. to the title pg., Manḍala III is Witzel’s responsibility, however, which may account for the discrepancy.) The desiderative stem has the idiomatic sense ‘endure, support’, and the semantic channel from (putatively) ‘desire to abandon’ to this idiom is not entirely clear. I am not convinced by the suggestions of either Gotō or Heenen (59–60). Instead, I think the middle voice is the key: if we assume a reflexive ‘abandon oneself to’, ‘give oneself over to’, it is not difficult to imagine this development.

The sense of the final pāda depends on the meaning of *praketaḥ*, and like many derivatives of \(\sqrt{cit}\) this word is slippery. In my view, it means both ‘sign’ and ‘insight’ (that is, it reflects both the ‘appear’ and ‘perceive’ values of \(\sqrt{cit}\)). In this particular passage I take it in the former value; the point is that Indra is showing no sign of his presence or imminent arrival, and so we are subject to abuse from our rivals. For a similar usage cf. II.17.7, where the poet beseeches Indra for good fortune, and then demands *krdhi praketām* “make a visible sign,” further asking for him to bring the good fortune here. In X.104.6 Indra is himself called the *adhvarāsyā praketāḥ* “the visible sign of the ceremony.” Ge interpr. the word as Losung (‘motto, watchword, password’), which is, I suppose, possible, but I don’t understand what it would mean here; Re as ‘le signe-pré(monitoire),” which is somewhat opaque to me, but seems closer to my interpr than Ge’s; Old as “Helle” (light, brightness). WG take it as an agent noun: “Wahrnehmer.”

III.30.2–3: The next two vss. develop the theme sounded in pāda d of vs. 1.: Indra’s absence. In vs. 2 we point out that for Indra nothing is very far away, so he could, and should, easily come here, where the sacrifice is invitingly set out for him. In vs. 3 we provide a flattering description of Indra’s great powers and then plaintively ask where these powers are now.

III.30.3: The 2nd member of *tuvikūrmi-*, an epithet of Indra, is generally now derived from the set root \(\sqrt{car}\), a derivation already found in AiG I.24, 141, 152 -- hence my ‘powerfully ranging’. See EWA s.v. *tuvikūrmi-*. The older deriv. from \(\sqrt{kr}\) (e.g., Gr., Wh Rts; explicitly rejected by AiG II.2.776) is nonetheless still reflected in the standard tr.: Ge “der Tatenreiche,” Re (with hesitation) “aux actes (?) puissants,” WG “der mächtig Wirkende” -- even though AiG I (1896) predates all of them by a good margin, well over a century in the case of WG!

There is number incongruence between the neut. sg. *yād* of the rel. clause and neut. pl. *tyā … víryāṇi*. The *yād* is, as it were, an anticipatory collective: “what(ever) you did … where are those deeds?”
III.30.4: As has often been pointed out, the redup. pres. to \( \sqrt{han} \), \( jíghnate \), almost always takes plural objects, and so, at least in this formation, reduplication seems correlated with repetitive action. This semantic nuance is strengthened here by the syntactic construction, with the redup. pres. in the participle (\( i jághnáma\náh \) constructed with a quasi-auxiliary \( cárasi \). (Cf. 14b below.) Although \( cárasi \) does have lexical meaning (‘you range/roam/wander’), the lexical value is weak enough here that the verb can seem to be a marker of the progressive present: “you go about / keep / are (constantly) smashing.” On the other hand, it is possible that \( \sqrt{car} \) in its lexical value may be resonating with \( tůvikůrmi- \) ‘powerfully ranging’ in 3b (see comm. there). However, it is hard to know whether that root connection would still be perceived by the contemporary audience -- it certainly has escaped most of the modern audience -- given the phonological distance between the two words and the fact that \( tůvikůrmi- \) is simply an epithet of Indra and its own lexical value may have become attenuated.

There is a faint phonological echo between \( vrtrā \) in b and \( vratā(ya) \) in d, which occupy the same metrical position.

III.30.5: I am not certain how to construe \( srávobhi\h \). The publ. tr. takes it with the voc. \( puruhūta \): “much invoked with acclamations.” But I am not entirely happy about construing a full noun with a voc. that ordinarily stands alone (as in, e.g., 7d, 8a). Ge tr. “rühmlich,” which seems designed to be as untethered to the sentence as possible. Re takes it with the speaking of pāda b: “… seul avec tes remons tu as parlé (un langage) ferme,” but I don’t understand what that means; WG like Re, except tr. “mit Ruhmes(taten),” which again I don’t follow.

I have given the idiom \( dṛḥám \sqrt{vad} \) a mildly slangy turn (similarly in X.48.6); the collocation of a verb of speaking and an adverb referring to a physical quality seems to invite it. “Speak firmly” would be a more neutral rendering than “talk tough,” but pāda d, which describes heaven and earth as a mere “handful” for Indra, also seems to belong to a vivid and informal register.

The participial phrase \( vṛtrahā sān \) contains, unusually, a non-concessive nominative of the pres. part. of \( \sqrt{as} \) ‘be’. It seems here to be definitional and to pick up and summarize 4b \( éko vṛtrā cárasi jághnamāna \)“you alone range about [/keep] smashing obstacles.” As discussed immed. above, the redup. pres. part. combined with a quasi-auxiliary depicts this as repetitive, indeed habitual, action -- and the \( ékāh \) indicates that only Indra engages in it. Our phrase here, \( vṛtrahā sān \), comes to the appropriate conclusion: since you and you alone keep smashing obstacles, you are The Obstacle-Smasher, par excellence.

III.30.6: Sāy. supplies ‘chariot’ as the subj. of pāda a, and in this he is followed by the standard tr. as well as Old. Although this is perfectly harmless and certainly possible, I do not understand why supplying a subject not found in the context is desirable, much less necessary. I admit that it would allow us to use the \( etu \) of \( prá \ … etu \) in b as the gapped verb with the \( prá \) of a, but Rigvedic poetic syntax is flexible enough to allow a 2nd ps. substitution in such a gapped phrase (\( prá \ … *ihi, \)
III.30.7: dhāyuh is a hapax. The stem is generally listed as dhāyu- (so Gr) and would therefore have to be a masc. nom. sg. here, but the standard tr. render it as obj. of ādadāḥ. This interpr. requires it to be a neut. -us-stem, which is easily possible (see, e.g., Old). Old suggests that it belongs to √dhā and that dhāyur ādadāḥ is an etymological figure like ābhaktam … bhajate in b. I prefer the analysis suggested in AiG II.2.470 linking it to √dhā(y) ‘suckle, nourish’, thus a neut. -us-stem exactly parallel to neut. dhāyas- ‘nourishment’. This analysis seems to be reflected in Re’s “tu as accordé la satisfaction-nourricière,” though Re’s (in)famous hyphenated portmanteaus are capacious enough to include many possibilities.

I am not entirely sure what pāda b is about: is this a legal issue, having to do with what is held in common? or with what hasn’t (yet) been divided by inheritance? Or is it simply that nobody has distributed the goods yet? X.112.10d, adduced by Ge, is similar: ābhakte cīd ā bhajā rāyé asmān, but that pāda follows one in which Indra is urged to do battle and so the most likely interpr. there is that we are asking for a share in the as-yet-undivided spoils of war. Here, however, the goods are specifically identified as Gehyā- ‘belonging to the household’. This is the only occurrence of this stem in the RV; it is found in AVP (VI.14.8, VII. 11.3; see Arlo Griffiths ed. and tr.) and later, and gehā- ‘house’, from which it is derived, first occurs in VS. The etymology of gehā- is somewhat unclear (cf. EWA s.v.), as is its relationship to synonymous grhā-. The former is quite widespread in MIA, beginning already in Aśoka, but it cannot be simply a Middle Indic form of grhā- at least acdg. to the standard sound laws (pace older accounts such as AiG L39), though it is quite possible that it has guṇa in an adj. derived from MIA gihi(n) ‘householder’ (<*grhin-), whose i-reflex of the syllabic *r is probably due to the -i- of the suffix -in-. In any event it seems likely that the word was imported into Vedic from MIA and that the use of this unusual stem here signals a particular social or legal institution for which we have no other evidence.

III.30.8: This vs. contains two difficult words, kānāru- (b) and pīyāru- (c). It is surely no accident that they appear pāda-final in successive pādas and are rhyme forms. The former is a hapax (though the vs. is repeated in the VS [Mā XVIII.69, Kā XX.5.2]). It has been glossed ‘lame in the arm’ on the basis of a supposed connection with Ep, Cl kunī- ‘id.’ (cf., e.g., AiG II.2.288, KEWA s.v. kunih, EWA s.v. kunāru-). But the chronological and morphological distance between the two words speaks against this connection, as does the fact that kunī- is likely a Dravidian borrowing (see KEWA). Moreover, since Vṛtra is a snake and is specifically called ‘handless’ here, it is unlikely that he would have an arm to be lame in. Wiser heads generally take it as a PN (so the standard tr., as well as Mayrhofer PN [though with ?]). However, this
cautious course is not very satisfactory either. The enemy is most definitely Vṛtra:
his name appears in c, his mother’s (Dānu) in a. Why would he be called by a
different name, esp. one that never appears elsewhere? Unfortunately I do not have a
strong alternative. However, I would point to kūnapa-, which means something like
‘carrion, corpse’ (AVŚ XI.9.10, 10.10.4, 8; MS IV.9.19; ≃ kunapā- TS XI.2.10.2,
where human and equine kūnapa-s are distinguished) on which various nasty critters
are invited to feed, and to various later forms of (t)kūna- referring to various bugs
(cf. Kuiper [Aryans passim], Turner [CDIAL s.vv. kūnapa-, kūna-], and Pāli
mankūna-). On the basis of these shaky parallels I suggest that kūnāru- means
something like ‘vermin’ or perhaps even ‘corpse’. It owes its pejorative -āru-suffix to
piyāru-; cf. also śarāru- in X.86.9, which I tr. ‘noxious creature’. Of course, ku-
is a common pejorative prefix as well. Perhaps the word is simply constructed of
pejorative affixes with a hiatus-breaking n! Or -- a better possibility -- it may
represent *ku-nara-āru- ‘ill-manly’, with haplology and MIA retroflexion of the
nasal. My point here is not to claim any of these suggestions as definitive, but to
show that this completely opaque word resonates with other words in several
different directions and therefore assuming a lexical meaning rather than taking it as
a PN is the better course. However, in the publ. tr. ‘vermin’ should be followed by a
question mark.

The 2nd difficult word, piyāru-, is by comparison much simpler. It must be
derived from ṭīr ‘snee, taunt’, whose pres. piyāti is attested 3x already in the RV. It
contains the same pejorative -āru-suffix as kūnāru-, śarāru- -- though it should be
noted that not all -āru-suffixed words are pejorative: vandāru- is quite positive, and
the mysterious hapax jābāru- (IV.5.7) is at worst neutral but probably positive.

III.30.9: The pf. of ṭīr sād is generally intrans./(reflex.) ‘sat (oneself) down’, but in
several instances must be trans. ‘set down’, as it is here. See Kū 542–43.

There is no agreement on the meaning of the adj. sāmanā-, found in the RV
only here and in the wedding hymn (X.85.11). Gr ‘gemeinschaftlich’ (fld. by WG),
Ge ‘gütige (?)’, Re ‘abondante’ (but in EVP XVI, ad X.85.11, he suggests that in our
passage it means ‘attelée-avec’ with which ‘heaven’ should be supplied), AiG
II.2.136 ‘reich’. I suggest that it’s a vṛddhi deriv. of sāmana- ‘gathering’, meaning
‘related to the gathering/aggregate’, hence ‘whole’. This does not work so well in
X.85.11, but there there is a pun on -sāman- ‘tune’, and the word seems simply to
mean ‘together’ vel sim.

III.30.10: On alāṭrāṇā- see comm. ad I.166.7. In this passage though ‘unquiet’ does
not seem a normal feature of Vala, it can be applied proleptically, characterizing its
opening up in fear of Indra’s blow.

Note the phonetic figure in ab: alā. vala ... vrājo ... ṭi sāna, with -ṭr- ... -nār-
nestled in the 1st pāda; the d pāda also has phonetic rep.: prāvan vāniḥ.

The standard tr. all supply the Maruts with vāniḥ ‘choir’. But as Schmidt (B+I
141) points out, the Maruts do not ordinarily participate in the Vala myth; it is the
Āṅgirases who are Indra’s back-up band. See III.31.4ff.
III.30.11: Pāda a begins with an elementary numerical figure: éko dvé “the one the two,” subject and object of ā paprāu respectively, both of which are identified in the 2nd pāda. The juxtaposition of the two numbers is responsible for my tr. éka- as ‘the one’, rather than ‘alone’ as elsewhere in the hymn (vss. 4, 5).

Because of the voc. śūra, at least pāda d (and probably also c) shows a switch to 2nd ps. from the 3rd ps. of ab. Since there are no verbs in cd, at least one needs to be supplied. Most tr. (Ge [/WG], Klein [DGRV I.442], Scar [431]) take c and d as separate clauses, supplying impvs. “come” and “bring” respectively. This is possible, but I follow Re in taking cd as a single clause -- though do not follow his interpr. of īṣāḥ as a verb (‘envoie’, presumably to ṣīṣ ‘send’).

All tr., incl. Re, take samīkē as “in battle” (or, closer to the root sense in my opinion, Scar “Treffen”). Although this noun generally has the meaning ‘encounter’, it is a straightforward derivative of samyāc- ‘united, conjoined’, and here I take it to refer to the “join” of Heaven and Earth, which would define the mid-space. Note that pāda-final samīkē matches pāda-final du. samīcī in a, referring to Heaven and Earth.

I supply ‘bring’ as the verb of cd, with sayūjah ... vājān as obj. There are several possible interpr of īṣāḥ. As just noted, Re takes it as a verb. Assuming (with everyone else) that it belongs to the root noun īṣ-, there are two possible analyses, as gen. (abl.) sg. or nom./acc. pl., although in the latter case we would prefer it to be accented īṣah (cf. the acc. pl. īṣah in 18b). Both Klein and Scar take it as acc. pl.; I agree with Ge (/WG) in construing it as gen. sg. with rathāň.

III.30.12: The grammar of ab is so straightforward that it is easy to overlook how odd the statement is. It is not surprising that the sun does not confound the quarters or directions (dīṣāḥ); after all, the layout of the cosmos is not likely to be altered by the sun as it passes through. But what does it mean that these same dīṣāḥ are prasūtāḥ every day by Indra? The ppl. can only belong either to ṣū ‘propel’ or ṣū ‘give birth’, far more likely the former (pace WG, who seem to take it to the latter): only the former is found with prā and in fact 9d contains an exactly parallel expression, ṯāvā ... prasūtāḥ “propelled by you.” Ge tr. “vom Falbenlenker bestimmten,” but ‘determined, fixed, set’ seems the exactly opposite of what prā ṣū ordinarily means, including in nearby 9d. Such a meaning makes more sense of this vs. but at the expense of arbitrarily assigning a unique meaning to this rather common lexeme. If we take the idiom seriously, the hemistic seems to be saying that while the sun respects the placement of the parts of the cosmos, Indra pushes them around in some fashion, remaking or reconfiguring the cosmos daily. I simply do not understand this; I must be missing something. Perhaps Indra arranges the dīṣāḥ every day in a slightly new way for the sun’s road?

The sun is presumably the subj. of ānat; so the standard tr.

The cmpd háryāśvaprasūta- technically has three members -- that is a 2nd member ppl. (prāsūta-) whose 1st member is itself a cmpd. This would be somewhat unusual for the RV, where cmpd size is quite limited. But the bv. háry-ašva- is so
frozen as an epithet of Indra that it was probably not fully perceived as a cmpd. Cf. the exactly equivalent īndra-prasūta- (1x).

Ge (/WG) seems to interpr. ādhvanah as acc. pl. (“Wenn sie ihre Wege vollendet hat”). Because I am not at all certain that \(\sqrt{naś}\) can be used that way with an acc., I take ādhvanah as gen. sg., with a supplied ‘end’; cf. V.54.10 ādhvanah pārām aśnatha with the same root. So apparently also Re. āśvaiḥ is an instr. of separation with vimōcanam.

III.30.14: On vaksānā- ‘belly’ (here tr. ‘udder’ perhaps misleadingly) as a pl. tantum, see comm. ad X.27.16.

carati bijhriṭi is another instance of quasi-auxiliary \(\sqrt{car} + \) pres. part. (also to a redupl. pres.); cf. 4b. Here, carati seems to have more lexical value than in vs. 4.

III.30.15: The sense of the hapax yāmakosā- is unclear. Ge takes it as traveling trunks: “Die Reisetrühen sind bereit”; sim. Old. But the image of Indra standing by overseeing the loading of his luggage verges on the absurd. Old suggests rather that it is we who have come with empty suitcases, hoping Indra will fill them. Re takes yāma- to \(\sqrt{yā} \) ‘beesehen’ rather than \(\sqrt{yā} \) ‘drive, travel’, yielding “les vases de la prière.” Since there is no comm. in EVP XVII, we will never know what he meant by that; it is certainly not transparent. My tr. “journey-bucket” is meant as a slangy term for chariot (‘bucket’ can be so used in English for an old or badly maintained car); certainly the use of kōsā- ‘bucket, cask’ to refer to (a part of) a chariot is clear from VIII.20.8, 22.9. WG’s “Wagenkörbe” is similar.

I also think that the chariots in question belong to the enemies mentioned in cd; this might account for the slangy designation of their vehicles -- rather like referring to a rival’s car as a jalopy. In any case it would seem odd to command Indra to stand fast and then immediately get on a chariot and go traveling.

III.30.16: The standard tr. all take the ghōsa- to be emanating from the foes, but the instr. amitrāiḥ with śrīve should make it an agent of the hearing (“is heard by …”) not a source of the sound. Ge’s (/WG’s) “von” and Re’s supplied “(faite) d’ennemis” show their need to overrule the syntax. I see no reason why it should not be Indra’s battle-cry, striking fear in all who hear it.

III.30.17: salalūka- is yet another peculiar word that brings our interpr. to a standstill. The current standard interpr. is “indulgence, patience” vel sim. (Ge [/WG] “Nachsicht”). I do not understand where such a meaning would come from. Mayrhofer (KEWA s.v.) suggests \(\sqrt{sr}\) in the meaning ‘sich erstrecken’, but the semantic channel from one to the other seems blocked to me. Although a deriv. from \(\sqrt{sr}\) seems likely, a more literal sense of that root, ‘run, flow’, provides better sense. (The older interpr. of the word was ‘zerflossen’ or ‘umherschweifend’ [Gr, etc.].) Both the l’s and the affective -ūka-suffix suggest a slangy or low-register word -- hence my “send scooting.” Gr suggests a preform *salsalūka-, presumably because -ūka- is often added to intensively reduplicated stems (see AiG II.2.498)(cf. jāgarūka-
III.54.7. This seems possible (though not, of course, necessary), and “send scooting” is also meant to reflect an intensive/iterative sense. Note that salalīkam phonologically resembles sahāmūlam in pāḍa a (in almost the same metrical position), which may help account for the presence of salalīkam in the vs. and could also have facilitated a dissimilation from *salsalīkam.

III.30.18: It is difficult to know how to construe the first pāḍa of this vs. I take it as a nominal main clause expressing the purpose of the subordinate clause in b. Ge (/WG) as a parallel subordinate clause with pāḍa b, for which a verb (ausziehst ‘set out for’) must be supplied -- all dependent on pāḍa c. Re as part of a single subord. cl. introduced by yād in b, also all dependent on c. Each of these solutions has drawbacks. Mine requires nothing to be supplied (Re’s supplies less than Ge’s), and it also avoids two problems produced by Re’s interpr: a worrisomely late position of yād and an untethered ca in the middle of pāḍa a. But mine comes with a certain awkwardness of expression and an ill-assorted conjoined pair (“for well-being and with horses”).

However the various interpr. of ab differ, they all agree in taking āsātsi as the verb in the subor. cl. introduced by yād, thus showing the older non-imperatival (that is, subjunctive) value of the so-called “-si imperative.”

III.30.19: Gr analyses dhīmahi as passive, but this is rightly rejected by all standard tr.: the numerous other examples of this form are all transitive. What then should we supply as object? I take the line of least resistance, importing bhāgam from the preceding pāḍa. I take the b pāḍa to mean that we hope to take the portion Indra brings us now and put it together with the superfluity of his previous gifts (and those to come) (deṣnāsyā … prarekē). Ge (sim. WG) does not construe these two nouns together, but takes deṣnāsyā as a partitive genitive, supplying the obj. of dhīmahi (“Wir möchten von deiner Gabe etwas auf Vorrat zurücklegen”), while Re takes the verb as reflexive: “puissions nous nous placer …”

The Pp. and all standard analyses take ūrvā as underlying nom. āurvāḥ; I, however, take it as loc. ūrvē. Though Ge and Re tr. the word as ‘sea’, it really refers to the container, in this case the sea-basin, and so logically what stretches out is not the container itself but the liquid in the container. (WG tr. Behälter, but keep it as nom.)

III.30.20: The conjoined verbs in ab, mandayā … paprāthaś ca, are in different moods, imperative and subjunctive respectively. Or so it seems: in the sandhi context mandayā gōbiḥ the apparent impv. mandayā could represent subjunctive *mandayās. However, I don’t think this is necessary; impv. and subj. are both future-oriented moods, and in fact in this passage the pairing functions as a sort of covert conditional: “(if) you invigorate it, it will spread.” Kü (321), fld by WG, construes candrāvatā rādhasaḥ with the 2nd verb, but both the accent on paprāthaḥ and the position of the ca make it clear that paprāthaḥ must begin a new clause.
III.30.21: Schaeffer (136) sees no particular repetitive function in the well-attested intensive dārdar-; she considers it simply lexicalized. Therefore my “keep breaking open” may impose a semantic nuance that does not belong to this stem. However, at the very least it takes pl. objects here (gotrā, gāḥ), so it could be considered “objektsdistributiv” (for which term see Schaeffer 86–87).

III.31 Indra

As indicated in the publ. intro., the hymn presents multiple difficulties, esp. in its first three vss. I will not attempt to represent the many conflicting interp. of these vss., but simply lay out some parts of my own and point to some of the many puzzles that remain. As also noted in the publ. intro., I think the cosmic incest theme imposed on these vss. by others is faint at best, and also think that the ritual occasion depicted is not the original generation of the ritual fire but the removal of the Āhavanīya fire from the Gārhapatya.

In the publ. intro. I say that Indra is not named in the narrative of the Vala myth until vs. 11, but this is false: the last word of the 1st verse of the Vala treatment, 4d, is īndraḥ. He is also named in the last vs. of the Vala section, 11b -- thus producing a satisfying ring.

Vss. 3 to the end are tr. and discussed by H.-P. Schmidt in Brhaspati und Indra (pp. 166-75).

III.31.1: The female line of descent implied in the 1st pāda, duhitūr naptyām “the (grand)daughter of the daughter,” is striking. As noted already, I believe that this kinship succession refers to the production of the offering fire (Āhavanīya) from the householder’s fire (Gārhapatya) and the removal to the east of the former. Obviously, however, this can’t refer directly to the fires, because agnī- is masc.; it is rather, I think, a reference to the hearths, which word (dhiśānā- in some uses) is fem. The conveyor (vāhniḥ) who has come (gāḥ) is the fire itself (often called vāhni-), which has made the journey from the Gārhapatya hearth to the Āhavanīya hearth. The offering is being made there by the father (piṭā), whom I take as the priest. I do not see allusion to the cosmic incest of Heaven and his daughter, in part because it is difficult to identify who the granddaughter would be. (See Old.) The ritual identifications of vāhni- = Agni and piṭā = priest are pretty standard; it is the identity of the females that causes dispute.

III.31.2: I do not see sufficient evidence in this vs. for the legalistic interp. having to do with inheritance rights advanced by Old and Ge (fld. by WG). Again, my interp. involving the two fireplaces is at least thinkable, though there are a number of loose ends (in everyone’s interp.). In the first pāda in my interp. the fire that has been taken out of the Gārhapatya leaves nothing behind. The two other occurrence of āraik have womb as obj. + a dative (as if it were our pāda b): I.113.1 evā rātry uṣāse yōnim āraik “so night has left behind the womb for dawn” and I.124.8, which even has a sister: svāsā svāsre jyāyasyai yōnim āraik “The (one) sister has left the natal place to her older sister.” In both the idea seems to be that one has vacated the space
for the other -- not left as legacy, as the legalistic inheritance interpr. requires. Problematic for my interpr. is the fact that rikthām should be the equivalent of the womb itself (the fireplace), not the detritus that the fire might leave in it. Moreover, the two hearths that had been daughter and granddaughter now become sisters -- but a certain fluidity in modeling kinship relations would not be surprising.

In b the site of the new fire, the Āhavanīya, is the womb of this new fire and “the repository of the winner” (the winner being the fire itself).

The second half-verse is fairly clear (for this hymn) in its description of the churning of the fire: the mothers are the fingers, the two good workers are the two kindling sticks. See the fire-churning passage with kindling sticks in nearby III.29.1.

The yādī opening the second half-verse is better taken as yād ī, with the enclitic pronoun. See 6a below.

III.31.3: In the first pāda the instr. juhvā can be read simultaneously as “with his tongue,” construed with réjamānāḥ and referring to the flame(s) of the fire, and as “by the offering-spoon,” construed with jaṁē and indicating that the ghee poured from the spoon “begets” the fire by making it flame up.

The second pāda is likewise ambiguous and initiates the transition to the Indra-Āṅgiras-Vala myth portion of the hymn. The “sons of the great ruddy one” (mahās putrāḥ aruṣāsyā) can be the flames of the fire, that is, of Agni himself -- and the infinitival prayākṣe ‘to display’ is esp. appropriate to this interpr. But they can also be, as they are identified by most commentators, the Āṅgiras, the sons of Heaven, who will figure in the Vala myth about to be related, but who are also associated with Agni, who is sometimes called āṅgirastama- (e.g., I.75.2; see Macd, Vedic Myth. 143). The “birth of these” (jātām esām) in c can likewise refer to both the flames and the Āṅgiras. Indra’s appearance in d strengthens the Āṅgiras reading and provides a transition to the next portion of the hymn.

The lexeme prā ṣyahks has been variously interpreted. For ‘display’ see Gotō (1st class, 153 and n. 572), EWA s.v. Curiously WG tr. it as if to ṣya ‘sacrifice’, despite Gotō’s own disc. just cited -- though the other possibility is suggested in the n.

III.31.4: Pādas a and c contain feminine plural nom./acc. forms: jaṭirīḥ and jānatīḥ ... usāsah respectively. Although the default assumption would be that they are coreferential and both refer to the Dawns, the familiar plot line of the Vala myth suggests rather that they identify two different subjects: the (unexpressed) Āṅgiras in ab, the (expressed) Dawns in c. (So Ge, Re, Schmidt [B+I, 167]; Old agrees that the Āṅgiras should be supplied as subj. in a, but takes jaṭirīḥ as obj. [presumably alongside clear acc. spṛdhānām], while WG take the Dawns as subj. of a, but supply the Āṅgiras as subj. of b.) The Āṅgiras are Indra’s back-up band in the Vala myth, as noted above ad III.30.10, and would be expected to accompany him, as pāda a depicts, while the Dawns are still confined within the Vala cave and only in c recognize Indra’s song and come out of the cave. The problem for an Āṅgiras reading of pāda a is of course the fem. gender of jaṭirīḥ. Here it is probably best to follow Śāy. in supply viśāḥ ‘clans’ (so Ge, etc.); cf. I.121.3 viśāṃ āṅgirasām.
However, note that the Aṅgirases are referred to by the fem. pl. vānīḥ ‘choir’ in the preceding hymn, III.30.10, and that noun could be supplied here.

The cows of d are surely the dawns, as often; Indra becomes their pāti-, a word meaning both ‘lord’ and ‘husband’. On the naming of Indra here, see the intro. remarks above.

III.31.5: The Aṅgirases, now presumably in the masc. (though both dhīrāḥ [a] and vīprāḥ [b] are technically ambiguous), remain the implicit subjects of abc, with Indra, also unnamed, taking this role in d. The cows, also not identified, are represented in pāda a by the fem. pl. part. saṅn. In fact, though these identifications are fairly easy to make for those familiar with the story, they remain covert, and, further, both b and d have unidentified objects as well. In b Ge (/WG) tr. āhinvan without object; I have supplied the cows (so apparently also Lū [Varuṇa 510–11], Schmidt [B+I 167]), while Re’s parenthetic “(₁)” in “(₁)incitèrent” presumably refers to Indra.

In d there is an expressed object, but it is merely a 3rd ps. pronoun, which is, furthermore, ambiguous in sandhi: tā in tā nāmasā can represent either neut. pl. tā or fem. pl. tāḥ. The Pp. opts for the former, a decision endorsed by Old. The issue is further complicated by the fact that the form could be construed with either (or both) of two verbal forms, part. prajānān or pf. ā viveśa. Old takes tā to refer vaguely to things that Indra knows and construes it with prajānān; sim. Re: “sachant ces choses.” Ge [/WG], contra Pp., restores tāḥ, which he takes to refer to pl. pathyāḥ, generated from pathyām in c. My tr. is closer to Schmidt and to Lū, in restoring tāḥ (like Ge), but assuming its referent to be the cows, into whose company Indra enters. With Lū and Schmidt, I also take prajānān as having an implicit object inspired by pathyām in c, but prajānān is generally used absolutely to mean “knowing (the way)” and so a form of pathyā- need not be supplied. The publ. tr. should have parentheses: “knowing (the way).”

III.31.6: Ge (/WG) interpret ab as a direct quotation from the gods, for reasons that are unclear to me. Although an immediate past reading might help account for the injunctive aorists vidāt (a) and kāḥ (b), in fact the second hemistich also contains two injunctives, nayat (c) and gāt (d), the latter of which is also an aorist. So there is no clear grammatical distinction between the two half-verses, and the subject (Saramā) also remains the same throughout (by most interp.), with all four pādas focusing on the same narrative. Other interpreters (Re, Lū, Schmidt) ignore this odd decision of Ge’s.

In a yādī should be read yād ī; see 2c above.

In b pāṭhaḥ ordinarily means ‘fold, pen’, but here refers to the herd confined in the fold: the shift from container to contained is a common one in semantic change.

āksarānām in c most likely has double reference, both to the cows that are being released from the Vala cave and the syllables of the Aṅgirases’ song that effects that release.

Ge makes the point (n. 6d) that rāva- in this context otherwise only refers to the Aṅgirases’ song; this leads him to switch the subject to Uṣas, as the first out of
the cave, coming in response to the sound of the Âṅgiras. This seems, on the one hand, over-finicky -- why introduce another female character in the middle of a vs. without signaling it? -- and, on the other, rather deaf to the possibility of multiple meanings that always lurks in RVic discourse. One of the points of the Vala myth in general seems to me the mirroring of sounds: the song that releases the cows and their joyous counter-mooing in response -- an obvious place for a poet to allow a single word to do double duty. This same double reference is found in the preceding pāda in ākṣarāṅam. Schmidt (B+I 167) also takes the rāva- to be that of Indra and the Âṅgiras and in fact makes Uśas the subject of the whole 2nd hemistic. I do not see the need for this.

III.31.7: Note that all pādas begin with 3rd sg. preterite verbs: a āgachat, b ásūdayat, c sasāna, d (modified initial pos.) āthābhavat (which most likely represents ātha abhavat, though āthā bhavat is possible). All but the perfect in c are augmented imperfects; this contrasts markedly with vs. 6, which, as was just noted, contains four 3rd sg. injunctives, three of them aorists. Three of the four pādas of vs. 7 also end with nom. sg. masc. pres. participles: a sakhiyān, c makhasyān, d ārcan.

Pāda b configures the release of the cows from the Vala cave as a birth, but a birth overlaid with metaphor (“brought to sweetness”).

In c the standard tr. (save for Re and Klein, DGRV II.67) take makhasyā- as ‘being generous’ vel sim. But in all three occurrences of this verb stem (here and IX.61.27, 101.5) the ‘do battle’ sense is primary. Since it co-occurs with sasāna ‘won’ in this pāda, the ‘battle’ sense seems esp. appropriate. So Re “comportant-en-combattant.” For further on makhā- see comm. ad I.18.9.

My tr. of d, āthābhavat áṅgirasāḥ sadyō árcan, differs in an important way from the standard. In my opinion it states that Indra became an Âṅgiras as soon as he sang; the others that the Âṅgiras [=Indra] right away became a singer (e.g., Ge “Da ward sogleich der Âṅgiras zum Lobsänger”). On the one hand, I’m not certain that √bhū + pres. part. can yield this sort of predication, esp. with the pres. part. standing in, in effect, for an agent noun. So -- a syntactic argument, though I have not examined the evidence in detail. Another syntactic/lexical argument: sadyāḥ + participle is frequently used to indicate the circumstances under which the action of the main verb takes place. This is esp. common with sadyō jātāḥ “just born” / sadyó jajñānāḥ “having just been born” -- e.g., the next hymn, III.32.9 sadyō yāj jātō ápibo ha sómam (≡10) “Just born, you drank the soma” (and cf. III.29.3). But the prevailing interpr. here requires the sadyāh to go with the main verb, despite its position directly before the participle -- e.g., Klein “And then did the Âṅgiras straightway become a singer.” And finally a semantic objection: the proposed tr. seems to me thematically backwards. Indra joins the category of the Âṅgiras because he joins them in song, which is their principal function in this myth; he is not an Âṅgiras by nature who happens to start singing. (This point is made, more or less, by Schmidt [173], despite his contrary tr.)
III.31.7–8: Given the thematic weight the part. árcan carries (see comm. immed. above) and given that it occupies pāda-final position in 7d and 8c, it should have been tr. the same way in these two vss. I would emend the publ. tr. to ‘chanting’ in 7d, or else 8c to ‘singing’ and arkaīh in 9b, 11b to ‘songs’. The instr. arkaīh reappears in pāda-final position in 11b.

III.31.8: Ge (/WG) take this vs. as a quotation of the Aṅgirases’ praise-song of Indra. I do not see why. The vs. seems to follow easily from the preceding one, and in fact at the end of vs. 7 it’s Indra who’s singing (/chanting), not the Aṅgirases. We might expect such a quotation to be signposted in some way. I do not consider the 1st pl. enclitic nah in c to be a sufficient signal.

The presence of Śuṣṇa in b is a bit puzzling, since the smiting of Śuṣṇa is not part of the Vala myth. Perhaps with Schmidt (173) he is mentioned because Indra is uncontestably Śuṣṇa’s killer, and this extra-mythic (or extra-Vala myth) association makes it clear that the unnamed subject of this vs. must indeed be Indra.

The standard tr. take c as a separate clause from d and supply a verb of motion with prā (e.g., Ge “[ging] … voran”). This is certainly possible, but cd can also be read as a single clause (so Schmidt, 168), since prā is frequent with� muc. This interpr. allows, but does not enforce, a coreferential interpr. of nah (c) and sākhīṃ (d), as in my tr. (fgl. Schmidt).

What calumny? Ge (n. 8d) suggests the dishonor because of the loss of the herd.

III.31.9: Ge’s suggestion that this vs. concerns the Aṅgirases’ Sattra, a months-long ritual, seems completely convincing. Note the verb sedur ‘they sat’ in pāda a and the nominal sādanam ‘sitting’ in c. I am less convinced by his interpr. of c (fld. by Re, WG), that this Sattra is frequently (bhūrī) repeated now, though I admit that both the hic-et-nunc prn. idām and the particle nū might support his view. I prefer Lü’s interpr. (Varuṇa, 511, fld. by Schmidt 168), who takes bhūrī as ‘long’ and the hemistich as a further description of the Aṅgirases’ Sattra in the Vala myth.

My interpr. of d (based on Lü and Schmidt) deviates further from Ge (Re, WG). All of the latter take yēna … rtēna as coreferential and the equivalent of …

*rtām, yēna -- that is, *rtām in the main cl. as antecedent to yēna. The main cl. *rtām would be an appositive to sādanam “the Session, (that is,) the rtā by which they …”

However, I separate the two instr. in d and take the antecedent of yēna to be sādanam (“the Session by which …”), leaving rtēna to mean ‘by/through truth’ as so often. They also take māsān as the obj. of āśīsāsan (“they sought to win the months”), but this acc. pl. can easily be an acc. of extent of time (again, as so often), and the true object of their desire to win can be supplied as the cows.

III.31.10: What “the milk of the age-old semen” means is unclear to me. Ge suggests that they’re milking their old cows, but the rhetoric seems rather overblown just to express that. Lü (620–21, fld. by Schmidt 168) identifies the semen as rtā- and the milk as the Kultlied of the Aṅgirases. This may well be, but nothing imposes this
explanation, and Schmidt in fact worries briefly (173) that logically the Âṅgirases should already have their Kultlied since they should have used it to free these very cows.

On niṣṭhā- ‘outstanding’ see Old, Scar (648–49). The word must be derived from nīṣīṣṭhā, not niṣīṣṭhā and in fact goes literally into English as ‘stand out’, with the same idiomatic meaning. In addition to two occurrences of the simplex (this and IX.110.9), it is found in several compounds: karma-niṣṭhā- X.80.1 a hero who stands out through his work, puruniṣṭhā- V.1.6 (of Agni), VIII.2.9 ‘standing out among many’ of soma. Ge (unaccountably) takes it as ‘Verteilung’ (fnd. by Re, Lü 528–29, Schmidt 168), an interpr. about which Old comments rather acidly. Old’s own interpr. is essentially reproduced here and was also adopted by WG.

Note the partial responson between ghōṣa in c and gōṣu in d, in the same metrical position.

III.31.11: My interpr. of the first hemistich differs from the standard; I take it as consisting of two separate clauses, each identifying Indra in one of his most important mythic roles -- in the Vṛtra-slaying and in the freeing of the Vala cows -- along with his associates in those enterprises, the Maruts and the Âṅgirases respectively. It is important to note that this naming of Indra, in conjunction with the first appearance of his name in 4b (see comm. there and in the intro. remarks), frames the treatment of the Vala myth, and, by mentioning Vṛtra, it also sets the stage for the opening out of this hymn to treat other exploits of Indra.

Others take vrtraḥa in pāda a simply as an auxiliary epithet of Indra in this account of the Vala myth, but I do not think that Vṛtraḥan would be so prominent in a treatment of the Vala myth, and I also cannot otherwise account for the sēd u in the middle of pāda a without assuming that a new clause begins there. (Lü [517] gets out of this difficulty by accepting Ludwig’s emendation to a bahuvrīhi svēduhavyaḥ ‘having sweating oblations’ [=Âṅgirases], but though this is ingenious, esp. as sweat figures in the same myth in X.67.6–7 as Ge points out, it requires too much alteration for a sequence that can make sense on its own.) In the first brief clause, vrtraḥa is the predicate, and jāṭēbhiḥ refers to the Maruts, who are well known for being ‘born (together)’ (e.g., V.55.3 sākāṁ jātāh). Ge suggests, but rejects, an emendation here to sajāṭēbhiḥ (for transmitted sā jāṭēbhiḥ), an idea also of Alsdorf’s (see Schmidt 169); I would modify that by proposing haplology from sā *sajāṭēbhiḥ. The rest of ab concerns the Vala myth, which has been the subject of the past seven vss. The myth is readily identifiable by the VP úḍ usrīyā asṛjat “sent the ruddy (cows) surging up” and by the arkaḥiḥ, repeated from 9a. Since the chants in 9a clearly belonged to the Âṅgirases, there need not be any even oblique reference to the Âṅgirases here: the bare arkaḥiḥ will be enough.

III.31.12: The first pāda contains two datives, pitre and the prn. asmai. Because of its lack of accent, asmai cannot be a demonst. adj. with pitre. Ge gets out of the difficulty by interpr. pitre as a simile, which allows asmai to be independently construed, but this depends on his frequent assumption that cid can be a simile
marker, a role I do not think it can have. Instead I give the VP *cakruḥ sādanam* a
double reading: acdg. to the first the Aṅgirases perform a Sattra for their father (see
9c), but in the 2nd they also prepare for him a literal seat. Because *cakruḥ sādanam*
participates in two clauses, each can have an independent dative, though in my
opinion the datives are coreferential.

It is unclear what the referent of the object in b is, described as *māhi tvīśīmat*
“great and turbulent.” Ge, flg. Sāy, takes it as a further reference to the seat, Re the
all-purpose “quelque chose,” Schmidt the eye of the sun, WG sim. the sun-god. My
own candidate is the *pāthah* of 6b, also described as *māhi* there. In vs. 6 the word
is used to indicate the herd, which is contained in the fold (see comm. there); here I
think it is the container, the fold or pen, itself -- representing the cosmic space and
also the ritual ground. When they survey it they see that this space needs organizing,
which they proceed to do -- by propping apart Heaven and Earth (a deed usually
scribed to Indra) and preparing and propping up a seat for Indra. They thus make
the whole cosmos into Indra’s ritual ground, and in the next vs. (13ab) Earth herself
serves as the emplacement allowing Indra to pierce Vṛtra.

The position of the *hī* is somewhat anomalous: since the whole b pāda forms a
single clause, we would expect the *hī* in Wackernagel’s position. However, there is a
general tendency when a preverb precedes its verb late in the clause for *hī* to
intervene between them, as here: … *vī hī khyan*#. More specifically, 1) when there's
a *hī* in a clause containing a verbal form of √*khyā*, it always immediately precedes
the verb -- sometimes in normal Wack. pos. (e.g., I.81.9), sometimes not (as here and,
e.g., VI.15.15). 2) With one exception, all injunct. forms of √*khyā* are preceded either
by *hī* or by a preverb ending in -i, which prob. led to a sense that √*khyā* should be so
preceded. Note also in this passage the phonetic echoes #*māhi* … *vī hī khyan*#, which
also resonates with pāda d … *vī minvan*#. It is perhaps worth noting in this
connection how many pādas in this hymn begin with *māhi* or *mahī*: 3d, 4b, 6b, 12b,
13a, 14a, 14c, 15a (esp. clustered here); cf. also *mahās* 3b, *mahān* 3c, 18d. I assume
that a pāda opening *māhi hī* would be avoided; in any case there are none in the RV.

In d most tr. take the sun as the referent of the object. I instead supply the seat.
The root *vmi* often takes ‘seat’ as obj.: not our *sādanam* admittedly, but *sādman-*
II.15.3 (with *vī*), X.20.5, I.173.3, IX.97.1, *sādana*- X.18.13. This is a fairly large
percentage of the attested forms of the verb, and since ‘seat’ is already present in this
vs., it is easily supplied here.

III.31.13: I take *yādi* here as a shortened form of *yād* *rī* with enclitic pronoun (as in
2c and 6a), though it unfortunately appears before a word beginning with a single
consonant. An “if” makes no sense here, and it is also desirable to have an acc. pron.
in this pāda to serve as obj. of *dhāt* and subj. of the infinitival *śīnāthe*. This putative
*rī* may anticipate and double the heavy acc. phrase of b, assuming that the latter
refers to Indra.

As noted just above, Earth herself serves as the foundation from which Indra
can launch his attack. Our passage is very similar to I.102.7 … *tvā dhiṣānaḥ titiṣe
mahy, ādhā vṛtrāṇi jighnaye* … “The great (Earth), the Holy Place has sparked you …
So you keep smashing obstacles ....” with the same mahī ... dhiśānā as here and even a form of īvīṣ, like īvīṣmat in 12b; cf. also VI.19.2 īndram evā dhiśānā sātāye dhāt “The Holy Place positioned just Indra for winning,” with īdā + inf. as here. The same īdā + inf. construction is found in 19d below: svāś ca nah ... sātāye dhāth “and set us up to win the sun.”

Although Gr assigns the hapax śiśnathe to a them. stem śiśnātha-, as Old clearly states we expect a datival indicative here, and so it more likely belongs to an athem. stem śiśnāth-; cf. abhiśnāth-.

Re takes b as describing Vṛtra, Schmidt Indra; Ge’s tr. is not clear, though Schmidt (169 n.) claims it’s to Vṛtra. I follow Schmidt in assigning the phrase to Indra, though the poet may have intended its referent to be ambiguous, indicating that the opponents are almost evenly balanced.

I follow the current standard view (represented already by Ge and Re) that ánutta- is the ppl. to the lexeme ánū īdā ‘concede’; Schmidt and WG follow the older deriv. from īdū ‘push’, hence ‘unpushable’ vel sim.

III.31.14: Because vaśmi is unaccented, the first pāda would be more accurately tr. “I long for your companionship ....” since vaśmi cannot begin a clause. I tr. as I did to capture the parallelism of pādas a #māhi ... sakhyām and c #māhi stōtram, as well as 15a máhi kṣētram.

III.31.15: Ge takes nēbhiḥ as the agent with the part. dīdānāḥ (“von den Männern entflammt (?)”), but this participle never elsewhere takes an agent. Better an instr. of accompaniment, with most other tr. That Indra is described as shining may be connected to the fact that three of the four things he generates shine too: the sun, the dawn, and fire. There is some disagreement about who the men are: the Aṅgirases or the Maruts. Given the general prominence of the Vala myth earlier in the hymn, but the more recent concentration on the Vṛtra myth, I imagine the ambiguity is intentional and both sets of Indra’s helpers are to be thought of.

III.31.16: My interpr. of this vs. differs significantly from the standard, beginning with the disposition of the pādas. Most take abc together, with d as a separate clause, while I divide the vs. into two hemistichs, which express parallel notions. In ab, in mythological time, Indra sends the waters surging; this is the standard happy denouement of the Vṛtra myth. In cd priests (even perhaps the Aṅgirases) impel another collection of liquid, the streams of soma -- the ritual equivalent of Indra’s cosmogonic release of the waters. Although the standard interpr. tacks pāda c onto ab, as describing the waters, it contains vocabulary that is strongly associated with soma: mādhu- ‘honey, sweet’, īpū ‘purify’, and pavītra- ‘filter’, and I cannot offhand think of another instance in which waters are said to be purified, though they are purifying.

In ab note the return of several lexical items: vibhū- (13b) and sadhryānč- (6b). The cid ‘also’ also links this vs. with a previous part of the hymn, namely 11b where Indra sends surging another group of fem. entities (ruddy [cows]): ūd usriyā asṛjad īndro arkaīḥ.
I do not understand why Indra is called dāmānāḥ ‘master of the house’. The word is generally an epithet of Agni (understandably), and there is nothing in this passage that seems to me to link Indra to the domestic sphere.

In c mādhvah is taken by most as fem. acc. pl. (by Schmidt as masc. nom. pl.). Several exx. of this form are analyzed by Gr as either masc. nom. pl. or fem. nom./acc. pl. However, none of these supposed examples is convincing, and it is best to take it here as the gen. sg. it usually is. It then needs a head noun. Old adduces nearby III.36.7 mādhvah punanti dhārayā pavītraih “they purify it in a stream of honey with purifying filters,” which is very similar to our pāda c. I therefore supply, with Old, a form of dhārā- ‘stream’ upon which gen. mādhvah depends. The precise form I supply is acc. pl. dhārāḥ, modified by the (fem. acc.) part. punānāḥ and coreferential with dhānūtriḥ ‘runners’ at the end of the vs. The conceit in the phrase hinvanti … dhānūtriḥ is that the priests are spurring on the streams of soma (like) horses. As for the subj. of hinvanti, I take it as (the current) priests (as in the sim. passage III.36.7 just quoted; also III.46.5, where Adhvaryus are the subj. of hinvanti).

It could also be, with Re, the Aṅgirases, who have been operating as priests in the Sattra depicted earlier.

Ge (/WG) take kāvībhiḥ as an adjective with pavītraih (Ge: “mit geistigen Filters”), but in my opinion there are no adjectival uses of kāvī-. Instead it is used as a defining appositive (poets as filters), as I take it, sim. Re, or it is a separate agent with punānāḥ (“being purified by poets with filters”), with Schmidt (170).

III.31.17: As Ge points out, pāda a is very similar to IV.48.3 ānu kṛṣṇē vāsudhitī, yemāte viśvāpeśasā “The two black treasure chambers [=Night and Dawn], with all their ornaments, have directed themselves after each other in turn.” Bloomfield (RR ad III.31.17) cleverly comments, “The words kṛṣṇē and vāsudhitī are both dvandva ekaçeṣa ‘black (Night) and (Uśas)’ is a way of saying nāktośasā; conversely ‘treasure-giving (Morn) and black (Night)’ is uṣāsāṅkatā.”

“The magnanimity of the sun” is a slightly surprising expression. Is it that the sun makes the succession of Night and Dawn possible by his transit across the sky, and this is considered generous on his part? Or is it an indirect reference to the distribution of the dakṣinā at dawn. A related, but opposite, sentiment is found in VII.81.4 uchāntī vā kṛṣṇōi mamhānā mahī, prakhyaś devi svār dhṛṣé “You who in dawning make through your magnanimity the sun to be visible for seeing,” with the magnanimity credited to Dawn.

The only other occurrence of pl. tjipyā- (II.34.4) is at least indirectly used of the Maruts; the standard tr. all assume they are the referents of cd, which seems correct. Here they seem to be functioning as priests, attempting to bring Indra to a sacrifice.

III.31.18: Note the alliteration in b (… viśvāyur vrṣabhó vayodhāḥ) and the rather elementary etymological figure in d (mahān mahībhīḥ); although sakhyēbhīḥ śivēbhīḥ is neither the one nor the other, it seems to function as a bridge between the two.
III.31.19: Pāda b, nāvyam kṛnomi … purājām “I make new (the hymn) born of old.” is about as succinct a summary of the RVic poetic enterprise as we can find in the text: the poets’ focus on ever new expressions based on traditional techniques and themes. In this particular case, Ge suggests that purājā- refers to the Preisleid of the Aṅgirases, about which we heard in vss. 7–8.

On the \( \sqrt{dhā} + \text{inf.} \) construction, see vs. 13 above.

III.31.19–20: Note the echo of 19d \( s^vās ca nah \) in 20b \( s^vasti nah \).

III.31.20: The mists are probably in part metaphorical -- menacing threats and mental darkness -- but may also refer physically to morning mists, which are clearing as the dawn sacrifice begins. Note also that pāda-initial mīhah is a mirror image of māhi, which opens so many pādas in this hymn (see comm. ad 12b).

III.31.21: I follow Schaefffer (Intens., 133–34) in taking the medial intens. dédiṣte in the meaning ‘display (one’s own X)’ -- hence my different tr. of ádediṣṭa (a) ‘has put on display’ and disāmānah ‘alloting’.

I interpr. b as having a more complex construction than the standard interpr. The trouble is the antār phrase: when antār governs the acc., it is only used with dual (or plurals conceived as duals -- jātān ubhāyān [IV.2.2], e.g.), but kṛṣṇān has no overt partner here. I suggest that it is an elliptical plural-for-dual: “black (nights) and (bright days)”; cf. VIII.41.10 svetān … kṛṣṇān used for days and nights. The elliptical kṛṣṇé used of Night and Dawn in 17a would support this, and in 20a the clearing of the mists at daybreak (if I’m right) might provide the other half of this elliptical duality. If this is correct, Indra comes between (antāḥ … gāt) the nights and days with the entities appearing in the instr. (aruṣāḥ dhāmabhīḥ). aruṣā- ‘ruddy’ can of course be used of Dawn and her various associates, esp. her “cows”; dhāman- is a frustratingly multivalent word, but here I think it means ‘manifestation’ vel sim, and the phrase refers to the dawns, who of course come temporally between night and full day.

The positioning of ca in d is somewhat disturbing, but I see no other way to explain it than Klein’s (DGRV I.225, II.102 n. 28): it conjoins the first and second half-verses, but takes Wackernagel’s position in the 2nd pāda of the 2nd half-verse “following an intervening participial phrase.”

svāḥ ‘his own’ is in a very prominent position, as the last word in the last real vs. of the hymn (before the refrain, vs. 22). Why it should be emphasized that the doors that Indra opens are his own I do not know, beyond the fact that anything belonging to Indra is highly noteworthy. But I would point out that svāḥ may be a pun on s'vaś (s'vah in pause) ‘sun’ initial in 19d (though unfortunately svāḥ is not distracted here as it so often is).

III.32 Indra
III.32.1: The impv. *pība* is accented, though it is located mid-clause. There is no obvious reason for this. Old suggests weakly (ZDMG 60: 736) that it is an emphatic accent, but this is of course a circular argument: any verb bearing an unexpected accent can be called emphatic. I find the accent esp. disturbing because the identical phrase, minus the initial voc. *indrā*, is found without accented impv. elsewhere: #sōmām somapate pība# (V.40.1=VIII.21.3) versus our #indrā sōmām somapate pibemāṁ#. There are several possible contributing factors. First, three pādas at the beginning of this hymn begin with accented *pībā* (2b, 3d, 5b), and our form may have had its accent added redactionally. However, I think that *pība* has special status and can be accented in positions that strict syntactic rules would not allow. (This is rather like Old’s “emphatic” argument, except that I limit the effect to a single verb form.) See esp. I.15.1, II.37.1–3 and comm. there. The unsanctioned accent may arise partly because *pība* ‘drink!’ is a particularly rousing verb in RVic discourse. It also often occurs in non-initial position when it nonetheless legitimately has accent -- after init. vocatives (e.g. *indrā pība* III.36.2, etc.) or at the beginning of a clause after another short clause (or clauses) (e.g., VIII.4.8 tīyam ēhi drāvā pība “Come here swiftly! Run! Drink!”), and this may have led to the sense that it can be accented in non-initial position in general. I also note in Lub’s conspectus that unaccented *pība* generally occupies either final position in its pāda or second position, while accented *pība*, besides being common and expected in initial position, tends to avoid both those positions except when 2nd position follows an initial voc. (as in III.36.2, etc.) or final position opens a new clause (as in VIII.4.8). Note that if this distribution holds, the “identical” phrases I cite at the beginning of this comment are not the same after all, because unaccented *pība* is pāda-final and our accented *pība* is followed by another element. However, there are a few counterexamples with pāda-final *pība* not beginning a new clause (e.g., VIII.4.3, 65.5). One can speculate on why 2nd and final position would favor the unaccented verb while full medial favors the accented form: namely, that 2nd position is of course Wackernagel’s position, where enclitics typically migrate, and, assuming a basic SOV underlying order, absolute final position is the default position for unaccented main-clause verbs. Still, the full medial position where we find accented main-clause *pība* does not otherwise favor or impose accent on other verbs that appear there, so if this hypothesis holds, it is only for this special verb.

Ge rather charmingly suggests that *praaprūthya* represents “brr machend” to stop the horses. Although “whoa” would be the equivalent English word/vocal gesture, given the object ‘lips’ (*ṣīpre*), I wonder if it’s the “horse training voice command” (gleaned on the internet) called “smooching” -- defined as “kissing sound with lips used to ask a horse to move on or up a gait.” I rather like the idea of Indra smooching to his fallow bays.

III.32.4: Ge (and in part Re) take *mādhumat* as referring to speech (“… wurden beredt in süßen (Worten)”), but though *mādhumant-* occurs several times with *vācas-* and the noun *vīpra-* ‘inspired poet’ demonstrates that *vīp* ‘become inspired’ can have a strong verbal component, still the focus of this hymn is soma -- and the
default referent of mādhumant- ‘honeyed’ is soma. Here the underlying word must be neut. (which sōma- of course is not), but the neut. sāvana- ‘pressing’ is found elsewhere with this adj. (cf. X.112.7 māḍhumattamāṇi … sāvanā), and sāvana- is found three times in the first five vss. of this hymn (1b, 3c, 5a).

Note the insistent repetition of the syllable ma in pāda d (aṁmaṁo maṁyamaṁasya mārma), anticipated by mālhumad in a and marūṭah in b, and continued by the first word in 5a manusvād. This phonetic figure may be signaling the Maruts’ name. See also vs. 7.

III.32.5: The rendering of vavṛtsva in the publ. tr. (“let yourself be turned hither”), a sort of passive reflexive, now seems over-elaborate to me; I would substitute “be turned.” The other examples of this mid. pf. impv. seem more straightforwardly simply “turn” or “turn yourself,” but if yajñaiḥ has true instrumental force, a passive rendering is more natural. Possible, however, is Re’s “grâce à (nos) sacrifices.”

The referent of saranyūbih is not totally clear. Sāy. (fld. by Re) suggests the Maruts, while Ge adds horses or waves as possibilities. The other ex. of a plural to this stem (also instr.) in I.62.4 is in a clear Vala context, with the Navagvas and Daśagvas in the same vs., which would suggest the Angirases -- but, although the Vala myth and the Angirases were prominent in the preceding hymn III.31, they are not found in this hymn, which is dominated by the Maruts and which mentions only the Vṛtra myth (here and in the following vs.). I therefore think it likely that Sāy. was correct. Note that saranyū- … sīsarṣi is an etym. figure, continued by sārtavaī in the next vs. (6b).

The rendering of the phrase apō ārṇā as “the flooding waters” in the publ tr. assumes an emendation to fem. pl. ārṇāḥ, with Gr and numerous others (see Old), contra the Pp and not reflecting the expected sandhi of such a form, which should be ārṇāḥ. As Old points out, the emendation is not nec.: ārṇā could easily be a neut. pl. to the thematic stem ārṇa-. In this case the tr. would better read “the waters, the floods.”

III.32.6: This vs. appears to have no main clause. I take it as loosely attached to the preceding vs., while Ge attaches it to the next one. Old (fld. by WG) disputes the Nebensatz analysis, pointing first to the odd doubly accented Pp. analysis of prāśrjaḥ as prā āśrjaḥ: if the verb is accented, we would expect univerbation with the preverb and loss of the preverb accent. He instead suggests that yād is to be construed with the participial phrase vṛtrāṃ jaghanvān, as if it contained the finite verb jagāntha -- a mixed construction. I am in general reluctant to allow a subordinating conjunction to have domain over a participle, and in this particular case this assumption would further require bits of the main clause and the subordinate clause to be interwoven in a fashion unprecedented (as far as I know) even in RVic syntax: the major part of the subordinate clause would be plunked down between the object of the main verb, apāḥ, and that verb (prāśrjat), and the 2nd half verse would consist of NPs modifying the object of the subordinate clause but following the end of the main clause. I do admit that the position of yād dha in pāda a suggests a close relation with the
participial phrase, but I do not consider that position sufficient to override the arguments against that analysis.

The vs. contains several nice oppositions: śáyānam ... cáratā “(him) lying (still) with (your) moving (weapon)” and the etymological devīr ādevam “the goddesses, godless …” In addition note the etymological pun: vrtrām ... vavrivāṇsam.

III.32.7: The ma- phonetic figure that dominated 4d returns in this vs.: cd ... mamātur ..., ... mahimānam mamā. This figure is reinforced by the first words of pāda a, yājama in nāmasā, and the uninterrupt ed sequence of -am acc. singulars in ab: ... vrddhām īndram, bṛhāntam rṣvām ajāram yuvānam. Although a side-effect of the grammar, it is my impression that a skilled RVic poet would break the monotony of such a string -- unless it served some other poetic purpose, here to provide the mirror-image -am to ma- and perhaps to evoke the Maruts.

The two forms of the perfect to √mā ‘measure’ in the 2nd hemistich, act. mamāṭuḥ and med. mamā, share the same subj. and obj., with the 1st clause positive and the second negated. Clearly the poet is playing with two different senses of √mā. Gr, Ge, and Old neatly convert the word play to “messen” (‘measure’) versus “ermessen” (‘gauge, grasp, realize’) (or so I understand them). My “measure” / “measure up to” is a similar attempt whose purport is close to Kü (378) and WG: “sich messen.”

III.32.9: The juxtaposition of adroghā- ‘undeceptive’ and satyā- ‘real, true’ is also found in III.14.6 adroghēṇa vācasā satyām.

The standard tr. take pāda a and b together, with cd separate. I think it makes more sense to take b with cd, as supplying the reason (Indra’s early soma drinking) that he couldn’t be obstructed.

The standard tr. also take dyāvah as ‘days’, whereas the publ. tr. agrees with Hoffmann (Injunk. 242) in tr. ‘heavens’. The problem, as I saw it then, was its co-occurrence with āḥā likewise ‘days’, which led to awkward duplication. However, I have now rethought this; the series of temporal expressions in this hemistich (āḥā, māsāḥ śaradaḥ) invites a temporal reading of dyāvah as well and makes “heavens” seem out of place. In X.7.4. and 12.4 the two stems also co-occur and I tr. “daytimes and days.” I would now substitute that tr. here as well.

varanta here and in 16b is formally ambiguous; it can be either an injunctive or a subjunctive to the root aor. (see Hoffmann 239–40); Hoffmann takes it as a subjunctive. It does not work terribly well as either one; in both passages I tr. it as a preterit modal (“could obstruct”), but this interpr. is not firmly based in the morphology. I sense that in this vs. and the next the poet is struggling to express a verbal category that isn’t found in the Skt. verbal system, namely anteriority: modal anteriority here, temporal anteriority in 10cd.

III.32.10: As just noted, this vs. contains an apparent attempt to express anteriority: the pluperfect āvīvesīḥ seems to function like an English pluperfect (rather than the
standard Vedic plupf., a past tense to a presential perfect), to express an action that happened before the action of the main verb, an interpr. more or less endorsed by Kū (500).

III.32.11: The standard tr. (save for Hoffmann, Injunk. 100, sim. to my interpr.) take … sphigyā ksām āvasthāḥ as “you covered/ clothed the earth with your hip,” but the medial root pres. to āv means ‘wear’ and takes an acc. of the garment rather than an acc. of the entity being clothed (the construction found with vāṣāya-). See the similar ex. at VIII.4.8 and the comm. there, as well as the similar sentiment found in I.173.6, where Indra wears Heaven and Earth as various accessories. The point of course is to emphasize Indra’s vast size by making Earth (and Heaven) seem puny in comparison. A similar point was made in vs. 7d, as well as in the immediately preceding pāda 11c.

III.32.12: yajñā- is the focus of this vs., with 5 occurrences of it or a transparent deriv.

I take vārdhanah as the predicate of pāda b as well as pāda a (“the meal is also your strengtheners”); the standard tr. take b as an independent nominal clause with priyāḥ as its predicate (“the meal is dear to you”). There is no way to tell for certain; the absence of te in b gives some support to my interpr., but that support is undeniably weak. The difference between the two tr. is also not large and has no effects on the interpr. of the rest of the vs.

The second hemistich expresses the reciprocity of the sacrificial enterprise, neatly shown by the balanced verb forms to the same root āv ‘aid, help’: impv. ava (c), impf. āvat (d). But the reciprocity is curiously indirect: Indra is asked to aid the sacrifice (rather than the sacrificer[s]), and the sacrifice aided Indra’s mace (not Indra himself). In both clauses the direct object is an inanimate entity standing in for an animate one, and in the second clause the subject is inanimate as well. Only Indra is animate and capable of acting.

The nom. sg. pres. part. sān ‘being’ is not used concessively (“although being …”) as it normally is. I think it may have the same force as it does in III.30.5, a “definitional” one: Indra is by definition the one deserving of / derivationally associated with the sacrifice, and therefore he is the one who should aid it.

III.32.13: The reciprocity expressed by complementary verbal forms to āv found in the 2nd half of the last vs. is here wrapped up in one word, the instr. āvasā, which I tr. twice: I use the aid provided by the sacrifice (cf. 12d) to bring Indra here with his aid (cf. 12c). In Ge’s tr. it is only Indra’s aid, but he allows for the other possibility in n. 13a. Re and WG also associate it only with Indra. Given the balanced expression of 12cd, I think it is meant to have a double reading.

III.32.14: The standard tr. (see also Kū 186) take the two verbs vivēṣa and jajāṇa as parallel in the yād clause, with mā obj. of the first and possibly of the 2nd. I prefer to take vivēṣa as the main clause verb, followed by the yād clause, whose (sole) verb is
*jajāna. vivēṣa* then owes its accent to its initial position in the pāda. This interpr. allows mā to take a more natural place, and it also saves us from positing a personal object to vivēṣa, which otherwise is not so construed. (Note that Kū’s second tr. of this passage [p. 502] is entirely different from his first: he distributes the clauses as I do, but takes vivēṣa as first sg.) And what does it all mean? In my view the dhīṣāna ‘holy place’ is here the ritual ground, and she is credited with the “birth” of the poet qua poet. After this birth, the poet can produce the praise of Indra that he is credited with in pāda b, and this in turn leads to the good results in pāda c.

Pāda c contains two different subordinators, yātra ‘where, when’ and yāthā ‘so that’, with a single verb, subjunctive pīpārat. Ge’s explan., that we simply have a doubling of relatives, seems to me the best account; this is reflected, more or less, by Old’s “wo (und) wie …,” though Old goes on to suggest a complex crossing of two different constructions, which seems over-elaborate. In the publ. tr. I have rendered yātra as a temporal adv. (“at that time”) with no subordinating force, since I think yāthā expresses purpose and controls the subjunctive.

Rather than taking ṛāṃhasah as an ablative, with most others, I supply pārām ‘far shore’, a word related to pārya- in pāda b and to the verb pīpārat itself, and found in this context elsewhere; cf. II.33.3 pārṣi nah pārām ṛāṃhasah. Here as well ṛāṃhasah is then a gen. dependent on *pārām. Although it unfortunately involves a breach of the pāda boundary, I also take nāvēva with the preceding pāda, because this simile is almost entirely limited to passages containing verbal forms to √pr (I.46.7, 97.7, 99.1, V.4.9, 25.9, VIII.16.11, 18.17, IX.70.10). I also find it hard to imagine Indra traveling by boat, even metaphorically.

III.32.15: The agent noun sēktar-, which forms an etymological figure with sisice, presumably refers to a habitual or practiced ‘pourer’. So Tichy (-tar-stems, 159, fld. by Kū 570). I have taken kōśam as the obj. in the simile rather than the frame, contra the standard tr., though it could certainly go in the frame or in both without appreciably affecting the sense.

The pf. form lacks retroflexion on its root initial, as does one of the other two forms of this pf. in the RV (sisicatuḥ II.24.4), as opposed to expected sisicatuḥ in VIII.33.13. I have no explanation for the lack of retroflexion.

III.32.16: On varanta see comm. ad vs. 9.

Ge (fld. by WG) takes sākhībhyaḥ as a dat. of benefit, but I think it more likely that it’s an ablative with agentival force. See Re, who simply tr. it as an agent. The mythological episode is surely the Aṅgirases’ energetic help to Indra in the breaking of Vala.

**III.33 Viśvāmitra and the Rivers**

III.33.2: īndreṣite echoes vīṣite in 1b, though they belong to two different roots: √iṣ ‘impel’ and √sā ‘tie’ respectively. The basis for calling the rivers īndreṣite is given in 6ab.
In c ūrmībhīh can be construed with both participles, samārāṇē ‘clashing together’ and pīnvamāṇe ‘swelling’, between which it is positioned.

Although by my rule (“Vedic anyá- ‘another, the other’ …”; Fs. Beekes 1997, 111-18), forms of anyá- found initial in the pāda should be indefinite (‘another’) not definite as here, the anyó’nyam (“the one … the other”) construction works differently.

III.33.4: The reference of the rivers switches from dual to plural here and remains so (save for two singulars in 10cd). There is no obvious reason for this change, though it may reflect the fact that when the two rivers merge into each other they form a third.

III.33.5: Ge renders voc. ētāvariḥ as ‘ihr Immerfließenden’ without comment. But this is simply the fem. stem to the possessive rtāvam- ‘possessing rtá-’, which he elsewhere tr. “gesetzestreuen” (e.g., I.160.1, III.54.4) et sim.

In 5c avasyū- ‘seeking help’ answers the question posed by the rivers in 4c kīmyū- ‘seeking what?’ and in the same position in the vs.

III.33.6: In this vs. the rivers indirectly respond to Viśvāmitra’s command “Stop!” (rāmadhvam) in the previous vs. (5a), by asserting that they flow because of the efforts of and at the pleasure of the gods: Indra dug their channels and, by smashing Vṛtra, removed the barrier to their movement; Savitar led them and they flow at his impulsion. Without explicitly refusing Viśvāmitra’s request, they make it plain that they won’t comply by stopping.

The stem prasavā- ‘forward thrust, impulsion’ occurs here for the third time in this hymn (2a, 4c, 6d; see also 11c) and is here associated with its etymological divinity Savitar, the Impeller.

III.33.7: This is the central vs. of the hymn; in it Viśvāmitra practices the kind of praise poetry that the rivers will ask him to reproduce in perpetuity in vs. 8, couched in high formal style. In fact it can be seen as a variant of the opening of the great Indra hymn I.32.1: āndrasyā nū vīryāṇi prā vocaṁ, yāni cakāra … Here we have the gerundive pravācyam for prā vocam, vīryām matching vīryāṇi, āndrasya as in I.32, and the nominalization kārma for the pf. cakāra. The serpent, the mace, and the signature verb āhan are then found in the rest of b and in c, as they are in I.32.1. As Watkins points out (Dragon, 309), here the verb āhan has been displaced from its standard formulaic role, with āhim as object, to an adjacent part of the myth. Watkins also points out (86 n. 2) that there is “a veritable constellation of inherited words and roots relating to poetry in this passage” (apropos vs. 7–8).

Note the etymological and phonetic figure āyan … áyanam in d.

III.33.8: Though med. jusáte overwhelmingly means ‘enjoy’, the addition of the preverb práti sometimes yields a transitive ‘favor in return, in response’ with personal obj. See disc. ad IX.92.1.
III.33.10: Although the two rivers refer to themselves collectively in the 1st pl. in ab, the second hemistich consists of two contrasting statements in the 1st sg., each presumably made by one of the rivers. This balanced contrast accounts for the accent on the 2nd verb śaśvaci.

III.33.11: As in the immediately preceding hymn III.32.9–10, the poet here seems to be trying to express verbal nuances that are not coded systematically in the Vedic verbal system, in particular another variety of anteriority. Here the sequence of moods is unusual: pres. optative in the subord. cl. (samtāreyuḥ), pres. subjunctive in the main cl. (āṛṣāt). With the optative he seems to be aiming at a future perfect (“will/would have crossed”) whose prospective action precedes that of the main verb, namely the subjunctive referring to future time. Although I have not examined the entire RV with this in mind, these experiments in anteriority seem confined to -- or at least especially pronounced in -- the work of this poet. Note also that the poet makes no attempt to generate an opt. to the pf. tatāra or to use the already existing pf. opt. tuttaryā- (RV 5x). This provides further evidence, if more were needed, against Dahl’s claim that the pf. opt. denotes “epistemic possibility and anterior aspect” (Time, Tense and Aspect, p. 402 and in general pp. 392-402). If this were a stable function of the pf. opt., surely Viśvāmitra would have availed himself of that formation.

The vs. reprises much of the vocabulary from earlier in the hymn: iṣitā īndrajūṭah is an elaboration on īndreṣita- in 2a; the oft-repeated prasavā- returns again in the expression prasavāḥ sārgataktaḥ repeated from 4c.

III.33.12: The prospective action expressed by the opt. samtāreyuḥ in 11a is announced as completed by the aor. ātāriṣuḥ ... sām ‘they have crossed’, and the poet urges the rivers to flow again with a sequence of imperatives, elaborating on the subj. āṛṣāt in 11c.

III.33.13: Hoffmann (Injunk, 93 n. 184) thinks the first impv. is concessive: “Mag eure Welle an die śamyās schlagen, die Geschirre lasst frei” -- this may well be, but a little hard to tell given our lack of teamster texts.

III.34 Indra

III.34.1: Gotō (1st class, 173–74) posits a separate root stdargy ‘destroy’ to account for 5 occurrences of dāyate ordinarily taken to mean ‘divide’ with the other occurrences of dāyate. (The forms in question are found in III.34.1, IV.7.10, VI.6.5, 22.9, and X.80.2.) He is followed by Lub and (at least in this passage and IV.7.10) WG. I see no reason to split the present into two and posit a second root; vi dāyate ‘divide into pieces, fragment’ is simply another of the vivid images of destruction that RVic poets gloried in.
III.34.2: I have tr. the nominal phrase *asi ... pūrvayāvā*, which comes out rather stiffly in English (“you are the fore-traveler”), into a smoother verbal expression.

III.34.3: The first two pādas of this vs. are rhetorically parallel, consisting of an etymological figure of augmented verb plus some part of the object (*vṛtāṁ avṛṇot a, māyīnāṁ āmināt b*), ending with a bv. formed with -nīti- ‘leading, control’.

This interpr. of vyāmsa- follows Schmidt (KZ 78 [1963]); see EWA s.v. ámsa-.

In the second half-verse the subject takes an odd turn: after mention of Indra’s iconic deed (besides the explicit mention of Vṛtra in a, see the echoes of the great Indra hymn I.32 in b māyīnāṁ āmināt [I.32.4 māyīnāṁ ámināḥ prótā māyāḥ] and c āhan vyāmsam [I.32.5 āhan ... vyāmsam]), there is an abrupt switch to Agni phraseology. The same phrase *uśādhag vānēsu* “burning at will in the woods” (?) is used of Agni in the Agni hymn III.6.7; cf. also *uśādhag vānāṇi* also of Agni in the Agni hymn VII.7.2. The final pāda concerns the appearance of visible entities from the night, which also better fits an Agni context. For this reason I see a syntactic break in the middle of pāda c and take *uśādhag vānēsu* with d, contra the standard tr. On the curious and problematic word *uśādhak-* see Scar (197–99) at length.

On *dhēnā* ‘milk-stream’ see comm. ad I.2.3 and Schmidt (Gs. Nyberg). Schmidt there suggests that the referent in this pāda is the dawns emerging out of the dark of the night. This occurs course at the same time as the kindling of the ritual fire and would account for the shift in diction to Agni phraseology. This image can then be secondarily applied to Indra bringing the dawn cows out of the nocturnal darkness of the Vala cave.

III.34.4: The phonetic echo of *uśādhag* (3c) in *uśīghih* (4b) reinforces both the thematic connection between these two vss. -- Indra’s production of light -- and the superimposition of Agni traits on Indra. As Schmidt (B+I 59) points out, the Uśij-priests, ordinarily associated with Agni, sometimes substitute for the Aṅgiras in the Vala myth, but we should also note that it is esp. in Mandala III that Agni is himself identified as an Uśij (III.2.4; 3.7.8; 11.2, 27.10); note also the Uśij-priests attending on him in III.2.9, 15.3.

III.34.5: The metaphorical use of *viveśa* ‘entered’ + an action (‘thrusts’) reminds me of the somewhat slangy English “get into” for “become enthusiastic about / energetically do (some action).”

The stem *barhānā-* otherwise only appears as an adverbial instr. ‘m mightily’, and I am tempted to take it so here (as WG seem to do), rather than as the acc. pl. assumed in the publ. tr. However, the sandhi context is against this interpr.; note Old’s tart “Gewiss nicht barhānā Adverb (Hiatus!).”

As Ge points out, the referent of fem. gen. pl. āsāṁ must be *dhīyah* ‘insights’. For insights having bright color or hue, see the passages adduced by him (n. 5d): I.143.7 *sukrāvarṇāṁ dhīyam* and III.39.2, where *dhī-* wears silver garments. The *vārṇam* here plays off *āryam vārṇam* in 9d.
III.34.6: Another etymological figure appears in c: vrjánena vrjínān “... the bent ones [i.e., morally twisted or corrupt] with his band [i.e., his circle of helpers bent around him],” both derived from √vrj ‘twist’, though the semantic connection is somewhat less obvious than in the etymological figures in 3ab.

There is another, thematic connection between vss. 3 and 6. As there, Indra here achieves his victory first with his comrades (śārdha- 3a), then with his tricks (that is, by “out-tricking” [amināt] with his shape-shifting abilities, várpa- 3b). In such cases his overwhelming strength might be almost superfluous -- hence my parenthetical “(though).” Note that abhíbhūti- (abhī√bhū) is a different lexical realization of abhiṣṭi- in 4b (if to abhī√as, as is the common opinion; cf. EWA s.v.).

III.34.8: The intense concentration on the root √san ‘win’ noted in the publ. intro. and the concomitant s-alliteration begin here.

III.34.9: The slightly awkward tr. “of many benefits” for purubhójasam, modifying the cow in d, is meant to capture its etymological relationship with bhógam in c.

The contrastive pairing of dāṣyau- and ārya- is striking here.

III.34.10: I do not see any semantic/functional difference between the imperfect asanot in a and b and the insistent pf. sasāṇa of vss. 8–9, though we might assume that the poet made the choice apurposely. Both Ge and Re render the forms in the same way (as do I); WG tr. sasāna as ‘er hat erlangt’ and asanot as ‘gewann’. Although I find the idea of rendering the two different grammatical forms differently appealing, I’m not sure that losing the root connection is worth it.

III.35 Indra

III.35.1: The first pāda is somewhat oddly expressed: Indra is urged to mount the horses yoked to the chariot, but not only is horseback riding very rare in the RV, but no one is likely to mount a horse being used to pull a vehicle. This must be an awkwardly expanded version of the usual “mount the chariot” (see 4c below).

The niyūt- ‘team’ is generally associated with, indeed belongs to, Vāyu, who is regularly called niyūtvant- ‘possessing niyūt’s’. However, the word is sometimes used in a reciprocal value: just as Vāyu and Indra drive to us with their niyūts, so do our niyūts, the ‘teams’ of poetic thoughts, drive in return to the gods, in passages where niyūt- is parallel to words for ‘thought, hymn’, etc. Cf., e.g., I.134.2, 135.2, VI.35.3, 47.14, VII.23.4, 90.1, X.26.1. It is therefore not nec., with Bloomfield (RVReps ad loc.) to assume that “niyūto is for niyūdbehiḥ.”

III.35.2: The most natural reading of yáthā in c is as a subordinator in a purpose clause (‘so that’) with the subjunctive ā vaḥātah in d, and this is how the standard tr. take it. But there is a major stumbling block: the verb is unaccented. Old seems willing to emend to an accented verb; Ge suggests that if the unaccented verb is
bothersome, assume an ellipsis in c. I have, in somewhat ad hoc fashion, taken yáthā as a sort of simile marker with dravāt. I am not entirely satisfied with this solution, but it does more or less fit category 4) in Gr’s lemma yáthā, and I am quite reluctant to put an unaccented verb into a subordinate clause. A similar phrase in the next hymn, where yáthā marks a localized comparison, gives support to the interpr. here; see III.36.6 prasavāṇ yáthā “like a shot” (tr. similarly by all standard tr.).

III.35.3: Medial nayasva is one of the relatively few middle forms to this pres. stem. It is presumably used here because Indra is leading his own horses.

The crux in this vs. is the hapax cmpd. tapuspā-. Gr glosses it ‘warmer trinkend’, perhaps referring to the gharma drink; in this he is tentatively fld by Mayrhofer (EWA s.v. tāpus-). But this -us-stem, tāpus-, refers only to heat, generally menacing scorching heat, and in any case the horses shouldn’t be drinking the gharma drink (or probably any hot drink at all). The word is discussed by Scar (305–6), who offers several possible interpr. The interpr. is made more difficult by the uncertain grammatical identity of the form. It appears in sandhi as tapuspōtēm, is taken by the Pp. as tapuḥ pā, and is generally analyzed as a dual, modifying the bullish (horses) -- so Ge, Re, Scar, WG. However, Ge suggests in n. 3a that the form could represent irregular sandhi for tapuspā(h) utā (that is, a double application of sandhi, first losing the final -s before vowel and then coalescing the vowels) and therefore be a nom. sg., modifying Indra. I have adopted this solution; it doesn’t make much sense for the horses themselves to be doing the protecting, but Indra’s protective role would fit with the impv. ava ‘help’ in the next pāda.

In the last pāda Indra is urged to eat the roasted grains (addhi dhānāḥ). The same grains are prepared for the horses to eat in vs. 7; it seems somewhat surprising that Indra and his horses receive the same fodder, as it were -- though calling the horses Indra’s “comrades in joint revelry” in the next vs. (4b) suggests that they consume the offered meal together. I also don’t understand why the grains should be “of the same appearance every day.” This phrase is essentially repeated in III.52.8, which also contains 5 occurrences of dhānā- (or deriv.). Perhaps the point is that we unfailingly make the same offering to Indra daily; he needn’t worry that we will substitute inferior food.

III.35.4: The double etymological figure in pāda a is almost awkwardly heavy: brāhmaṇaḥ te brahamayūjā yunajmi, an awkwardness necessarily reflected in the tr.

III.35.7: All the clauses in this vs. are nominal sentences with past participle as predicate (stīrṇām, sudāḥ a, krtāḥ b, rātāḥ d). It is therefore misleading to tr. the last as “are given” (versus “has been strewn,” etc.) as in the publ. tr. I would change to “have been given.”

III.35.8: praśānān vidvān repeats 4d. The particular relevance of this phrase in either vs. isn’t clear to me.
III.35.9: Kü (477–80) discusses the stem vāvaś- at length, rejecting the usual connection with √vas ‘desire, want’ and assigning it instead to √vāś ‘bellow’. (WG follow this interpr. in our passage; Lub still assigns this form to √vāś.) Kü’s morphological arguments -- lack of u-redupl. and of root ablaut -- are strong. However, although I would concede that the form was derivationally original only to √vāś, I would argue that once a stem vāvaś-, built to √vāś ‘bellow’, became established, it was available to “migrate” to √vaś ‘desire’, especially because the shortening of the root syllable in this metrically driven formation makes the form look more like √vaś than √vāś. Although the meanings of the two roots might seem so far apart that it would be hard to confuse one for the other, in fact the usual context of √vāś forms narrows the semantic gap considerably: cattle bellow because they want something. Kü allows for the possibility of semantic overlap as well.

III.35.10: The occurrence of 2nd sg. act. pres. impv. pība and aor. impv. pāhi, both to √pā ‘drink’, in a disjunctive vā construction should give us a good opportunity to discern the functional distinction between the imperatives to these two tense-aspect stems, esp. since, as far as I can see, both imperatives would fit either of the metrical slots occupied. I have in fact tr. as if there is a functional difference: ‘drink’ versus ‘take a drink’, but I am not at all convinced that this is correct. Cf. the disc. of the positional tendencies of pība ad III.32.1 and note that the same pāda opening īndra pība is found in the next hymn, III.36.2d. However, the same sequence of pres. and aor. to √pā is found in III.36.3, so it may well be meaningful. (The standard tr. render pība and pāhi identically here.)

I take prāyatam in c with yajñām in d, contra the standard tr.

III.36 Indra

III.36.1: I confess to being somewhat puzzled by the first half vs., beginning with the identity of the 2nd ps. subject. My assumption is that it is the priest setting out the offering for Indra, not Indra himself, who is the 3rd ps. subject in cd. Pāda b (“being united with help”) would then express the priest’s receiving of Indra’s help, though the expression seems a little odd. The only similar passage I can find is V.42.8 tāvotibhiḥ sācamānāḥ … “being accompanied by your help,” of the ritual patrons. It might instead be possible to take b with cd, modifying Indra “being at one with his (own) help.” The dvandva śāsvac-chāsvat in b matching sutē-sute in c might weakly support such an interpr. (contra the standard tr. as well as my publ. tr.). Unfortunately the pres. yādate is not well enough attested to allow us to determine its usual subjects; of its 5 occurrences, 3 involve rivers uniting with the sea (as in 7a in this hymn).

The other question in this half-verse is how exactly to construe sātāye dhāh. The standard tr. take prābhrtim as the subj. of an active infinitive sātāye -- perhaps most clearly in Keydana (Infinitive, 317 n. 132) “Mach, dass diese Darbringung siege,” taking Indra as the subject of dhāh (contra my identification of the priest as subj.). But I doubt that the prābhrti– itself is the agent of winning. My publ. tr. takes
sātāye as a passive, with (perhaps) Indra the implied agent: the offering is to be won by him. This interpr. may be supported by 2c prayamānānḥ prāti śū grbāya “Grasp at (the drinks) being offered,” with prā √yam expressing the same notion as prā √bhr in 1a and Indra’s gaining control of them in both passages. It might also be possible that sātāye is not being used as a real infinitive, and the phrase should be tr. “set this offering here for (our) gain” -- that is, when Indra takes the offering set out by the priest, there will be general gain for all of us but neither the offering nor Indra is the agent of an infinitival use of this dative. (This seems to be close to the WG interpr.)

III.36.2: vídānāḥ is another -- very clear -- example of a tense-stem participle serving as predicate. Pace Gr (fld. by Re) it most likely belongs to ‘know’ rather than ‘find’.

III.36.3: Both the pres. and the aor. stems of √pā ‘drink’ occur here, as in III.35.10. The situation is in fact even a bit more complex: as in III.35.10 both stems deploy imperatives here, pība opening pāda a, pāhi in d, but the latter is also in a complex diptych with the impf. āpibah (“just as you drank [āpibah] …, so [take a] drink [pāhi] today …”). As in III.35.10 I have translated as if there is still an aspectual difference between the two stems, but I am not certain this is the case.

III.36.4: Indra in pāda a is identified with a large drinking vessel, in this vs. that emphasizes his size and capacity.

The b pāda begins and ends with etymologically related words: ugrām (adj.) and ójah (noun), though each is part of a different NP.

As Kü demonstrates (503–6), the pf. of √vyac is always presential.

III.36.5: The vs. begins with the two words that began the first two pādas of the last vs.: 4ab mahānḥ …, ugrām; 5a mahānḥ ugró.

Ge (/WG, Scar [209]) take samācakre in b as transitive and supply ‘cows’ as object, from c. Although it is true that the middle pf. of √kr is generally transitive, in this context, parallel to intrans. vāṛdhe in pāda a, a nonce passive value can be imagined. In fact see (in this same manḍala) III.1.8 vīśā yātra vāṛdhē kāvyena “where the bull has grown strong through our poetic craft,” of which this pāda seems to be a variant, with the vāṛdhe there anticipated in our previous pāda. Cf. Re “il s’est empli … de pourvoir-poétique,” also intransitive. (Ge suggests this possibility in his n. 5b.)

Scar (209–10) makes heavier weather of vājādā(h) then seems necessary. He points out that the cows shouldn’t be giving prizes, which is logically true enough, but surely the point is that Indra is so generous that even the prizes he gives, the cows, give prizes of their own (the trickle-down gift economy). Their gifts are presumably, on the one hand, milk products and, on the other, new calves.

III.36.6–8: The next three vss. ring changes on the theme of large bodies of water and large containers of soma.
III.36.6: On prasavám yáthā see disc. of dravád yáthā ad III.35.2.

In b the problem is the simile rathyèva -- more precisely what the nominal in that sequence represents. The Pp. resolves it, not surprisingly, as rathyà. Gr takes this as an instr. to rathī- ‘charioteer’; Ge also takes it as an instr. but to a stem rathyà- ‘Fahrstrasse’ (see Old, ZDMG 61 [1907] 831–32 = Kl.Sch.262-63). Old himself (so apparently also Re) favors a nom. pl. rathyàdh with double application of sandhi. This is possible (see similar possible situation in III.35.3), but I wonder if it does not reflect the du. rathyà it appears to be. This hemistich reads like a brief reprise of Viśvāmitra and the rivers (III.33). For one thing, the past tenses (impf. āyàn a, pf. jagmuḥ b) don’t make much sense if the point of the half-vs. is simply to serve as the standard of comparison for Indra’s width (pāda c), whereas the past tense does work in a brief re-narration of the situation in III.33. The word prasavá- here also echoes III.33, which contains 4 occurrences of that stem. And III.33.2 contains an undoubted example of the dual rathyà also marked as a simile in a similar context: āchā samudrāṁ rathyèva yátháḥ “you two drive like two charioteers to the sea,” referring to the two rivers, the Vipāś and the Ąutudrī. The mixture of numbers, with pl. rivers in the frame and du. charioteers in the simile, is not surprising; even in III.33 the dual reference to these rivers soon gives way to plural. This mythic snatch having been told, the sea, so filled, is available to be compared, unfavorably, to Indra. Kū (77, 156, fld. by WG) also takes it as du, but as referring to two chariot horses. If the form is accepted as a dual here, it will have to be detached from rathyèva in VII.95.1, which see comm. ad loc.

III.36.7: The standard tr. take pāda a as a simile, with the rivers compared to the priests of cd. I instead take the rivers as referring to the soma-purifying waters and consider b the predicate to a, with the pres. part. bhárantaḥ substituting for the main verb. At least in the transmitted text their simile would be unmarked, though most interpreters manipulate the text to produce a marker. Bl (RRs ad loc., referring to an earlier art. of his) suggests emending to samudré nā as in the otherwise identical pāda VI.19.5, a suggestion seemingly endorsed by Old and fld. by WG. However, the instr. ātibhiḥ with yādamānah in 1b supports the instr. reading of samudrēṇa here, and in 4 of its 5 occurrences yādamāna- is construed with an instr. This suggests that VI.19.5 has altered the formula, rather than vice versa. Ge follows a different path to a simile marker, haplography of samudrēṇa *nā. Since the text makes sense as is, I see no reason to change it.

The verse contains two parallel morphological word-plays: bhárantaḥ … bharītraḥ and punanti … pavītraḥ, each containing a neuter -tra- instrument noun. The latter, pavītra- lit. ‘instrument for purifying’, is of course very well attested in the RV, referring to the soma-purifying filters, but bharītra- is a hapax, obviously generated to match pavītra-, including the -i- liaison vowel appropriate only to the set root bha, not to anīt bhr. It is tr. ‘arm’ by all (going back to the Naigh.), but milking with the arms doesn’t make sense in either life or metaphor. I think it means rather ‘hand’ and participates in a different word-play within its pāda: an ‘instrument
for carrying’ can easily be a hand, and so it is synonymous with hásta- ‘hand’ found in the immediately preceding word hastin- ‘hand-ed’. There is a further implied verbal twist, at least with my interpr. of ab: the rivers don’t have hands but carry anyway, while the priests do have hands but use their carrying appendages for something else. I’m afraid the publ. tr. needed to be quite heavy-handed to convey the deftness of this little play.


As Ge also comments, the chronological sequence of pāda d seems reversed, assuming (as I generally do) that the perfect participle regularly expresses anteriority: Indra drank the soma before smashing Vṛtra. The primary VP here, avṛṇīta sómam is found in the great Indra hymn I.32.3, but with a different opening (vrṣāyāmāṇaḥ).

III.36.9: Most tr. take Indra as the implied obj. of mākiḥ ... pāri śṭhāt, thus displacing etāt into an adverbial role (Ge/WG ‘dabei’). This is possible, but I take it as anticipating dātram in c.

On the form of dātra- see comm. ad IV.17.6.

III.36.9–10: Note that the vocabulary of the beginning of the hymn is being turned around reciprocally at the end: bhara (9a) and prá yandhi (9d, 10a) are imperatives addressed to Indra, urging him to bring/offer things to us, whereas in 1a prābhṛtām (at least in my interpr.) and 2c prayamyāmānān the same lexical expressions refer to things we offer to Indra. Other ring compositional echoes are the dhāḥ + datival infinitive (1a sātāye dhāḥ and 10c jīvāṣe dhāḥ) and the stem śāsvat- (1b, 10d).

III.37 Indra

I have endeavored to preserve in tr. the consistent position of īndra- in each vs., for which see the publ. intro. Other elements have had to be juggled; as is often the case, it is harder to honor the half-verse division in Gāyatrī than in trimer.

III.37.1: On the retroflex in prtanāśāhya- see comm. ad IX.88.7.

III.37.3–4: As Ge also suggests, Indra’s names (nāmāni) in vs. 3 form a complementary pair with his hundred dhāman- ‘forms, embodiments’ in 4.

III.37.5: Given vājeṣu beginning vs. 6, vājasātaye would have better been tr. “to win prizes.”

III.37.6: And here a plural “when the prizes (are set)” would be more accurate.

III.37.7: The vs. contains 5 locatives, 4 of them plural, and so the issue -- though not a particularly pressing one -- is to sort out what goes with what. I have taken them pāda by pāda. Different tr. distribute them slightly differently.
III.37.9: On the indriyāṇi dispersed among the five peoples, see Proferes (2007: 65).

III.37.10: Note the alliteration in pāda b: dyumnām dadhiśva duṣṭāram.

The root √tṛ contributes two forms here: duṣṭāram (b) and úd … tirāmasi. It is difficult to convey their root connection in Engl.

III.38 Indra

In addition to the usual tr., it is worth consulting Re’s alternative tr. in his Hymnes spéculatifs (29–31 + nn.), in addition to his later one in EVP XVII.

My interpr. both in detail and in overall outline differs significantly from others, but it is internally consistent and attempts to fit the many puzzling details into an overall schema. That this sometimes requires making interpretive leaps is a price I’m willing to pay. I lay out and support my choices in the comments on individual vss., though I do not chart every deviation from the various other tr. and defend them against those tr.

III.38.1: The 1st sg. pf. dīdhaya is taken by all as a straight indicative; the Pp. reads didhaya with short final vowel. My tr. “I ponder” reflects this analysis (Kū [257–60] having demonstrated that the indic. pf. of this root is always presentential). However, I now wonder if this form could be a subjunctive with the unextended 1st sg. subj. ending -ā. Although lengthened forms of the indic. pf. ending -a do exist (e.g., vēdā 9x), they are relatively uncommon. And a subjunctive “I shall ponder …” would open this speculative hymn nicely.

The standard tr. take priyāṇi … pārāṇi as coreferential (e.g., Old “die fernsten, lieben (Dinge, Ereignisse)”). I prefer to take the two as contrastive, the nearby familiar things dear to the poet and far-away matters almost beyond his ken -- with the intensive (i.e., frequentative) part. māṁrṣat conveying the restless activity of his mind. Realizing that he needs the steadying hand of poetic tradition to help control his racing but fertile thoughts, in d he expresses his desire for poets belonging to that tradition to give a full account of what he is seeing -- though he does not deny that he himself has wisdom.

III.38.2: As I see the movement of the verse, in pāda a the poet sets himself to question the older generations of poets about their creative activity. Pāda b concerns this activity in the past and identifies mānas- ‘mind’ as the foundation (√dhr) for the creative act. (I might now alter the tr. to make this clearer, to “making their minds the foundation.”) In cd we turn to the present time and to the poet (te) who addressed himself in a); the Pratī in c (on which see further below) are the products or models derived from the creative activity in b. In d it is made clear that these precedents, actively sought by the current poet’s mind, rest on the dhārman- ‘foundation’ not only of the mental activity of the former poets but also of his own mind.
The first technical issue in this vs. is whether *prcha + ACC.* here means “ask X” or “ask about X” (in German terms “fragen” vs. “fragen nach”); both uses of the accusative are possible with $\sqrt{prch}$. Related to this question is what *jānimā* means in this context: ‘births’, ‘generations’, ‘races’? With Ge and Klein (DGRV I.453–54), I take *jānimā kavīnām* to be the personages addressed, not (with Old, Re, Hoffmann [Inj. 225], Scar [276, 288], WG) the topic of the question. The poet is widening his range of interlocutors from the current poets (1d) to the long series of generations, back to the poets who themselves participated in the creation (2b).

With all modern tr./comm, I take *taksata* as a med. 3rd pl. middle to the thematic present to $\sqrt{taks}$, rather than a 2nd pl. act. of the thematic stem, as Gr classifies it. I have added the self-beneficial “for themselves” to the tr. because, though the root $\sqrt{taks}$ is abundantly attested, this appears to be the only middle form in the RV. In keeping with my larger interpr. of the hymn as concerning two creations, the second of which was the product of poets conjuring up the differentiated cosmos by their verbal powers, I think the medial *taksata* here signals the intimate engagement of the poets in the act of creation and the interpenetration of the things created and the creators themselves. Note also that our current poet lays some claim to this primal act by calling himself in 1a *a tāṣṭar*— ‘craftsman, fashioner’, the agent noun to the root $\sqrt{taks}$, which supplies the verb of creation in 2b.

The root-noun cmpd. *pranī*- is found only here in the RV, but the lexeme *prā $\sqrt{nī}$*, lit. ‘lead forth’, is very common as a verb form and in other cmpds. The word here has received a not particularly instructive variety of renderings, which I will not repeat. I think it means ‘precedent’ – that is, the work of creation engaged in by the kavis of old provides the model for the current poet. This seems a reasonable semantic extension of ‘leading forth’. The precedents keep “growing stronger / increasing” both because the elements of creation keep proliferating and because the current poet becomes more familiar with them and adept at employing them.

In the last pāda these precedents that the poet has sought with his mind take up their position in his mind, ready to serve for his own creative endeavors. The older generations of poets were called “firm in mind, holding their minds firm” (or, see above, “making their minds the foundation”) (*manodhīr*- in b; it is fitting that their models, which he “sought with his mind” (*mānovāta*-), should now in turn take up their position on his own mind’s support (*dhārmani*). On the basis of the cmpd. *manodhīr*- in b I supply ‘mind’ as the possessor of *dhārman*-. Most tr. (Ge, Re [twice], Hoffmann [Inj. 225], Klein DGRV I.453-54) interpr. the loc. *dhārmani* as a rather vague adverbial (Ge, Hoff “in rechter Weise,” sim. Klein). I think it needs to be interpr. in full locatival sense; Scar (276) and WG in separate ways do give it a locatival interpr. but their tr. do not reflect its connection with *manodhīr*- in b.

III.38.3: Before addressing the question of what pādas a and b have to do with each other thematically, we must first consider the small technical issue of the placement of *utā* at the beginning of pāda b. Since pāda a contains a participle (*dādhānāh*) and pāda b a main verb (*sām aṇjan*), it is unlikely that *utā* is conjoining the two pādas. Instead, with Klein (DGRV I.396–97), I think it is probably conjoining this hemistich
with the preceding vs., with utá displaced to the beginning of pāda b after the participial phrase in a. This is very reminiscent of III.31.21, in this same Indra series, where the same explanation accounts for a rightward displacement of ca into the beginning of the second pāda of the clause.

As indicated in the publ. intro., I think this vs. describes the role of the poets in the second creation. It fleshes out the laconic takṣata dyām “They crafted heaven” in 2b. But what are they depositing in pāda a, and why? The first question can be restated as -- what should be supplied with gūhyā? The most common nouns appearing with that adjective are nāman- ‘name’ and padā- ‘traces, track’; either of these could work here because both can be used of the esoteric verbal production of the poets. “Secret names” would refer to the act of creation that involves dividing and naming the inchoate mass of material pre-creation; “secret traces” would refer to the esoteric poetry more generally. Here they seem to have pooled and deployed these secret elements, to use in their poetic ornamentation -- that is, in their detailed elaboration -- of the originally undifferentiated matter of the two worlds. Note that the participle is middle: it is their own names/traces that are in play.

In both Hymnes spéc. (1956) and EVP XVII (1969) Re tr. sām aṅjan as “ont consacré,” as an allusion to royal unction. The dat. kṣatrāya ‘for dominion’ makes this a tempting idea, though sām √aṅj is not a standard technical term in the royal consecration. I certainly think this is a secondary meaning of this pāda, but in keeping with the rest of the hymn, I think the primary meaning must be creation through poetic elaboration. Since royal consecration does in fact make the person in question a new entity, the king, it can be conceptualized as a creation as well.

The 2nd half-verse is more clearly concerned with creation. The root √ma ‘measure’ is of course regularly used in this connection, and as I said in the publ. intro., the separation of the two worlds in d is a standard cosmogonic image. Ge’s interpr. of c is rather aberrant and in part dependent on a passage in the PB, and his interpr. has not become the standard. Because of the accent on mamiré, I have supplied ‘when’ with the first half of pāda c, though the accent may simply result from the adjacency of the two verbs mamiré and yemūḥ.

The verb in d, antāḥ ... dhu, is not a standard expression for ‘separate’ and in fact might be expected to mean ‘place between’. WG tr. in that way, supplying “Luftraum” (antārikṣa-): “Zwischen die beiden ... (Welten) setzten sie (den Luftraum) ...” This is a clever solution and it may be the original sense of the lexeme, which, however, I believe has evolved to mean, without an object, ‘place apart’, that is, separate by putting something in between.

I take dhāyase as belonging to √dhā ‘suckle, nourish’, like the rest of the occurrences of this -as-stem. Re (EVP), Kū (395), and WG all follow this root assignment, but Ge and Re (Hymnes spéc.) take it to √dhā ‘place’: “damit sie (die Herrschaft) ausüben” and “pour qu’ils se tiennent stables,” respectively. The separation of the two worlds is often presented as a boon for humans, so the ‘nourish’ interpr. seems more fitting, and the usual analysis of dhāyas- supports it.
III.38.4: As noted in the publ. intro., I believe that this vs. turns to the first creation, before the poets’ intervention that was presented in vss. 2–3. It is appropriate that the entities described here are unidentified, for this is the time before the poets brought their verbal skills to bear. The central figure in this vs. is introduced merely by an acc. participle (ātiśṭhantam ‘mounting’). The form makes it clear that the referent is masculine and singular, but no other information is given; there is not even a pronoun. Likewise the subj. of the verb pāri … abhāṣan ‘they tended’ is given only as vīśve ‘all’. Again we know the gender (masc.) and the number (pl.), but not the identity: poets (from vs. 2)? gods (the frequent default referent of vīśve)? Rather than suggesting referents for these two entities as the standard tr. do, I think we should accept that the lack of referential clues is deliberate.

Certainly it continues through the verse, though some details accumulate. In b the ‘mounting’ entity of pāda a is now presumably the subject. He wears beauties (śrīyo vāśānah) and is self-luminous (svārociḥ); these descriptions begin to narrow the field, but not enough. (The only other occurrence of svāroci- modifies the Maruts, who are not likely to be in question here. And a number of different gods acquire śrī-.) In c he is identified as both a bull (or bullish one, vīṣan- ) and a lord (āśura-), neither particularly diagnostic, and the pāda claims to provide us with his “great name” (mahāt … nāma). Indeed d seems at first to give us that name: vīśvārūpaḥ. But the joke is on us, for not only is vīśvārūpa- not a name but an epithet, but its literal meaning tells us that the lack of a single identifiable referent in this verse is the point. The word means “having all forms,” and so the entity we’ve been chasing through the vs. is in fact protean and cannot be pinned down to a single identity. He/it is creation before differentiation. (For a similar figure in a similarly mystical hymn in this maṇḍala, see III.56.3, where the androgynous figure is also called both a bull and vīśvārūpa.)

The final pāda forms a tight ring with the first, in that the verb ā√sthā returns, and this time we get some indication of what he is mounting. But even this further specification falls short: it is simply amṛtāni, a neut. pl. adjective with multiple possible referents. This repetition makes the unfolding creation seem somewhat circular, but also incremental, in that new details accumulate, if slowly. But what seems to me an important clue has generally been ignored in the standard interpr. I find it impossible to believe that the repetition of ā√sthā was not deliberate, but all the standard tr. (save in part for Re, Hymnes spéc, though he fell in line in EVP) render the two occurrences quite differently: the first literally (‘mount’), but the second with the idiomatic meaning ‘assume’, with Ge and WG supplying ‘names’ with the adj. ‘immortal’ (Ge “… hat er unsterbliche (Namen) angenommen”). There are two obvious things wrong with this interpr: 1) the lexeme ā√sthā is extremely common and I know of no passage where it means ‘assume’; 2) translating it thus completely ignores the intra-vs. repetition, which at least to me is extraordinarily salient: the first word of the vs. is ātiśṭhantam, the last tāsthau. I therefore assume that the pf. in d also means ‘mount’ and that the referent of the pl. ‘immortal’ is deliberately unspecified, but is something one could stand on -- in this case probably ‘worlds’ or some kind of solid ‘things’. Cf. VIII.52.7 (Vālakh.) ā tāsthāv amṛtām divī
“[it] has mounted to the immortal (world?) in heaven” and (with adhī √sthā) I.35.6 amītādhi tasthan “they have taken their place on his immortal (foundations?).” The specification of a place to stand on enlarges the cosmic picture. Consider also 9c below with tasthanō vírūpā “of him surmounting the various forms,” with √sthā and -rūpa-.

III.38.5: The unidentified creature in vs. 4, finally identified as a bull or as bullish (vṛṣan- 4c), returns in this vs., with a slightly different ‘bull’ designation (vṛṣabhā-). Here it is depicted as androgynous: though masc. in gender and called a bull, it gives birth (āsūta). Androgyny is a powerful signal of the lack of differentiation I have been discussing, since perhaps the fundamental, universal binary contrast is male : female.

The bull’s act of birth results in the desired differentiation that characterizes creation. This is expressed both by ‘many’ (pūrvīḥ) in b and, indirectly, by the address to the two sons of heaven (dīvo napātā) in cd. These two then seem to establish control over what has been created in the earliest time (pradīvāḥ ‘from olden days’) and therefore implicitly preside over time.

I would now be inclined to interpr. pāda b as an expression of possession, “His are these many proliferating riches.” Cf. VI.3.3, also IV.23.8. However, the context is not definitive.

I interpr. and construe vidāthasya in c differently from most, who take it with dhībhīḥ, with the interpr. further complicated by variant renderings of vidātha- (Ge “im Geiste der Weisheit”; Re [EVP] “grâce aux visions-poétiques de la cérémonie”; WG “mit den Einsichten der (Beute-)Verteilung”). None of these makes a lot of sense to me, and therefore, despite the adjacency of vidāthasya and dhībhīḥ, I construe the former instead with kṣatrām “dominion of/over the (cosmic) division.” On this sense of vidātha- see comm. ad VIII.39.1: though the word generally refers to the ceremonial distribution of wealth and then to the ceremony where this happens, it can also refer to other types of division, including the parts of the cosmos. It may be somewhat more daring to assume that kṣatrā- can take a genitive of what is ruled over -- I do not now have parallels -- but keep in mind that the root √kṣā from which kṣatrā- is derived regularly takes such a genitive. If my interpr. is correct, the vidātha- refers to the cosmic divisions produced by the 1st creation.

As noted in the publ. intro., a number of referents have been suggested for the two sons of heaven, and as I also said there, I think this is missing the point. We remain in the realm of the 1st creation where entities may begin to proliferate but they are still not named. I suggested there that the two may be the two world halves (note that kṣatrā- was associated with them in vs. 3b and see 8c below), but it is also quite possible that the focus should be on the “two,” not on who exactly the two are: the first splitting of the primal unity.

III.38.6: The first half of vs. 6 simply expands on vs. 5. The same two kings have as their sphere of activity an increasing number (“three, many, all” trīṇi … purūṇi … viśvāṇi) of “seats,” that is (in my opinion), separated places, in the cosmic division
(vidāthe) also repeated from vs. 5. Note that the same verb pārī śbhūṣ ‘tend to’ returns from 4a, where ‘all’ was the subject, not the object as here.

In the 2nd hemistich the poet, who has been absent since vs. 2, returns, with his mind (mānasā), and sees the whole of creation in detail (or so I surmise), down to the wind-haired Gandharvas -- all subject to the commandment of the two kings.

III.38.7: This vs. summarizes both creations. The first is dealt with glancingly in the first pāda. I take the neut. prn. tād ‘this’ as a reference to the not-yet-differentiated proto-creation, which belonged to and arose from the androgynous bovine of 5a, here explicitly identified first as masculine (asya: since this pronoun is unaccented, it does not modify what follows but functions as an autonomous pronoun), then as both bull (vṛṣabhāsya, as in 5a) and milk-cow (dhenōḥ). This is the first appearance of any explicit feminine principle in this hymn.

The rest of the vs. concerns the second creation, with the original unitary tād divided and fitted out with names and forms. Note the return of the creation verb √mā ‘measure’, with ā … mamire (b) and nī … mamire (d) echoing sām … mamire in 3c. The curious phrase sākmyaṃ gōḥ has caused some puzzlement among interpr. Although by formation the hapax sākmya- appears to be a neut. abstract derived from √sac ‘accompany’, the standard tr. (Ge, Re, WG) take the phrase as the equivalent of an animate creature, remarking that the companion of the cow must be the bull. But this not only ignores the abstract nature of sākmya- but also assumes that gōḥ here refers narrowly to a female bovine, though the stem is regularly used as a cover term for bovines of both sexes. I take the phrase as meaning “the fellowship of the cow” (or better, though more awkwardly, “the fellowship of the bovine”) as a poetic description of what was depicted in pāda a, the joint activity of the bull-and-cow and its product. This undifferentiated creation is then measured out into individual parts and equipped with names. The subject of ā … mamire in b is not identified, but I assume it is the same māyīnaḥ as the subject of nī … mamire in d, whom I take to be the age-old poets we met in vss. 2–3.

Just as pāda b refers to the individual names, so does d refer to forms: the classical pairing of name-and-form (nāmarūpa) is thus distributed across the vs., as Ge already pointed out (n. 7b). I take asmin here as referring to the creation (it), rather than to a putative ‘him’ (as most tr. do). In the course of their creative activity the poets assume various powers (pāda c) to enable their individualizing work.

III.38.8: As was indicated in the publ. intro., this vs. is in certain ways a rephrasing of vs. 7, but updated, as it were, to the present day. The vs. begins exactly as vs. 7 did: tād in nv āṣya, followed by a genitive specifying the identity of the āṣya (vṛṣābhāṣya 7a, savītūḥ 8a), a signal that vs. 8 is a second version of the immediately preceding vs. Hence, by my interpr., savītār- is the equivalent of the original creator, the bull-cow of 5a and 7a. I therefore do not think that this refers to the god Savitar, but is rather to be taken in its literal sense as “the impeller.” Or rather, since b = VII.38.1b (a Savitar vs.), the poet is identifying Savitar in his most generic sense with the Ur-creator, the one who “set in motion / impelled” the creation.
The poet disclaims any part in that original creation (*nākir me*), and the firmly fixed golden emblem of b seems to me to represent the static, undifferentiated result of the first creation. It reminds us of the *hiranyagarbha* of X.121, another image of undifferentiated creation.

But in cd (at least in my view -- the interpretations vary quite a lot) the poet identifies himself with the poets of old (of 7bcd). In c most tr. supply a verb, with the *rōdasī* phrase as its object. I think, by contrast, that this is a nominal sentence with *rōdasī* as subject. The two world-halves are credited with a role in the second creation, the same role they may play in 5cd (see comm. there): they set everything in motion. But they do so through the stimulus of a *sustūti*, a ‘good praise-hymn’, and I take this praise-hymn to be the product of the 1st ps. poet, who disavowed a role in the first creation in 8a, but takes credit for contributing to the second creation in 8c.

The puzzling pāda to me is d, and my publ. tr. is opaque even to me. I have now rethought it and will propose here a modified tr. and interpr. First, I suggest returning to Gr’s grammatical analysis of *vavre* as a 1st sg., not a 3rd sg. (as all subsequent tr. have taken it, incl. my publ. tr.). I take the pāda now as the current poet’s boast, asserting his place in the poetic lineage. The lexeme *āpi* *vṛ* means ‘swaddle, cover over’, as the simile of the woman and her children (one reading of *jānimāni* here) makes clear. But such a meaning can both be protective and somewhat arrogant or threatening. To understand the sense of the frame here, we need to go back to 2a, where the tremulous poet asked the previous generations (*jānimāna*) of poets about their creative acts. I think these same poetic generations are what’s referred to here, but here our newly confident poet “covers” them -- on the one hand, in a protective sense, like the young woman swaddling her children. He protects their legacy by continuing it. But ‘cover over’ can also mean ‘conceal’, and in this sense the poet boasts that he will (or has?) become more skilled than they and cover up their achievements with his own. I would therefore retranslate the pāda as “I have covered over / swaddled the (poetic) generations like a young woman her children.”

III.38.9: As discussed in the publ. intro., I take this vs. as showing both contributors to the second creation -- the two (world-halves) from 8c and the masters of artifice (*mayīnah*) from 7d -- bearing witness to our poet’s new skill. In the first half of the verse the two (world-halves) begin by bringing to success the first creation of “the age-old great one” (*pratāsya … mahāḥ*). I supply the equivalent of *tād* in pāda a, picked up by *yād* at the end of the pāda and further specified by *daivī svastīḥ* beginning b. The standard tr. instead take a and b as separate clauses, with *daivī svastīḥ* somewhat loosely construed with b.

In c the sequence *gopājihvasya* is variously interpr. Ge (/WG), Re (Hymnes spéc.), and at least partially Old read it as two words, the first nom. *gopā*, the 2nd emended to *jīvāsya* (Ge, WG) or *jagatas* (Re; he gives no accent, but it should be *jāgatas*) -- attaching pāda c to b and taking d as a separate clause. I see no reason in this case to go against the Pp, which considers the form a cmpd, much less to emend the text so severely. Instead I take the two apparent genitives in c (*gopājihvasya*
tasthūsah) as referring to the current poet: he boasts that his tongue is a herdsman -- that is, it marshals words -- and that he surmounts the various forms (vīrūpā) -- that is, he has (verbal) control over the differentiated forms of the second creation. The poet has achieved his vocation. For the tongue, see vs. 3 of the following hymn (III.39.3b), where the poem, the hymnic vision, “mounts the tip of (the poet’s) tongue.” A form of the root √sthā is also found in the same pāda.

III.39 Indra

Though nowhere near as obscure as the previous hymn, the first three vss. of this one also portray poetic craft and, especially, poetic inspiration.

Morphological parallelism and lexical repetitions dominate the rest of the hymn.

III.39.1: √vañc means ‘move crookedly, meander’, but encompasses a number of different types of such motion, including circular or wave-like motion. Here I think it refers, rather charmingly, to a bending, curling movement made in order to come out of a small opening. (English ‘scrunch’ might be accurate, but is also inelegant.) The poet’s heart is thus configured as a smallish container from which his thought must gracefully exit -- a characteristically female gesture perhaps. I very much doubt that she is galloping, à la WG.

The publ. tr. should be altered to “when being recited” to reflect the present participle and to match the identical phrase in 2b.

III.39.2: Ge (/WG), Scar (142) take divāh as temporal (“noch vor Tag geboren”). This is possible and would fit with the jāgrviḥ ‘wakeful’ and, perhaps, with the silvery garments of c (if they refer to dawn). Nonetheless, with Re (see also Ge’s n. 2a, where he suggests that the spatial interpr. is better), I take it as spatial “from heaven.” The vs. contrasts the immediate presence of the dhī (séyám asmé “this one right here in us”) with her origin as a product of age-old divine and ancestral inspiration (sanajā pīrīyā), and divāś cid … pūrvyā seems to me to participate in this balanced contrast.

III.39.3: The first pāda of this vs. is a definitional truism: the cmpd. serving as subject, yama-sūḥ ‘twin-bearing’, is split into its component parts in the VP, yamā … asūta ‘bore twins’. The question is who are the twins. Given the context, I find Old’s suggestion (fl.d. by Re) that this is a metaphor for speech production and that the twins are, perhaps, the verse (řc-) and sāman more plausible than Ge’s interpr. (flg. Sāy.) that the twins are the Aśvins and the birth-giver is Uṣas. I take the mother to be the dhīḥ- who was the subject of the previous vs.; note that dhīḥ is the last word of vs. 2.

Since I take the same noun to be subject of b, pātat emerges as a problem, since it is presumably a neut. nom./acc. act. participle but qualifies the action of the proposed fem. subj. Given the tendency for neut. NA forms to be used adverbially, I
so interpr. it here (as Re also seems to: “en volant”), rather than (with Ge [/WG]) introducing neut. mānah ‘mind’ here for it to modify.

This hemistich echoes some of the vocabulary and themes found in the previous hymn. asūta in pāḍa a matches asūta in III.38.5a, and note that the apparent product of this birth is also a dual in III.38.5c. As noted ad III.38.9c, both the tongue and the mounting in that pāda are found in our 3b. I do not think the same events and entities are referred to in these passages, but they do seem to have a similar view of the relation between poetic speech and creation.

The standard tr. interpr. c as meaning that the pair just born associate with some kind of generic beauty (Ge “Schönheit,” Re “les formes-de-la-beauté”), but vápūṃsi are esp. associated with Agni in Maṇḍala III, where he assumes or bears these wondrous forms (cf., e.g., III.1.8, 18.5, 55.9, 57.3; though admittedly he is not the only entity that has such forms). I think the vápūṃsi of Agni are at issue here, and the pair -- verse and sāman -- accompany them as the ritual speech being recited when the ritual fire is blazing.

Unfortunately the verse-and-sāman interpr. does not fit as well in pāḍa d, where we might wish the dual “smashers of darkness” to be endowed with light one way or another. The only other occurrence of this stem modifies Agni, and Agni is several times subj. of the phrase tāmāḥ ṣvan (V.14.4, VIII.43.34). This phrase once has a dual subj. (VI.72.1 viśvā tāmāṃsy ahatam), but the subj. there is Indra and Soma, whom we surely do not want to introduce here. It is worth noting that the Āsvins, the subjects here acdg. to Ge et al., are not found as subj. of this expression. Since I think there is good support for the verse-and-sāman interpr. in the rest of the vs., I would argue that these forms of ritual speech are called smashers of darkness because of their role in the dawn sacrifice.

III.39.4: The next part of the hymn seems driven by the rhetoric of morphology, both parallelisms and contrasts. In this vs. note the heavy -i/ānā-vant- forms māhināvān and dāmsānāvān stationed at the end of successive pādas (c, d), which are followed by dāksināvān at the end of 6d and the neut. barhānāvat at the end of 8d.

Pādas a and c contain what appear to be matching sequences that conceal morphological differences:

#(nākir) esāṃ ninditā …
#(indra) esāṃ ṃṛṣhitā …

The two -itā forms are respectively an agent noun (ninditā) and a neut. pl. ppl. (ṁṛṣhitā), though the two esāṃ have the same grammatical identity and referent and the first word in each pāda is the subject.

III.39.5: The interweaving of lexicon and morphology continues in this vs. Pāda a contains two forms of the same stem: sākhā … sākhibhiḥ, and the instr. pl. is found four more times in the vs. (adjacent nāvagvaiḥ, b sātvabhiḥ, c dasābhir dāsagvaiḥ the last pair with their own etymological play). Pāda-final dāsagvaiḥ also parallels nāvagvaiḥ ending pāda a, and sātvabhiḥ of b is more subtly connected with satyām beginning c.
On abhijñū- see Scar (344–45).

III.39.6: The 2nd hemistich has intensely alliterative (partially) etymological figures: guhā hītām gūhyam gūhām āpsū, āhāte dadvhe ādksīne ādksināvān. The first half is more restrained but note the morphological pair padvāt ... śaphāvat and the repetition of viveda from 5d.

The phrase nāme goh is puzzling, and the hapax represented by nāme has not standard interpr. Gr (s.v. nāma-, thus a loc. of an -a-stem) glosses ‘Weide, Weideplatz (?)’. Ge refuses to tr. nāme. Old suggests ‘Sichneigen’, which is essentially literal (if to nām ‘bow, bend’ and not very helpful. Re ‘domaine’, which makes sense but is not clearly related to its supposed etymon; WG “beim Zuteilen der Kuh,” also without accounting for the semantic development. Most likely both Re and WG are assuming a derivation from the probably separate PIE root *nem, as in Greek vēμo ‘distribute’, though with different semantic devs. Like Old I also take it literally, as the loc. sg. of a thematic noun to nām ‘bend, bow’, but suggest that “the bend of the cow” is some sort of homely spatial metaphor drawn from knowledge of cow anatomy indicating a hidden or protected place. English ‘oxbow’ for a U-shaped configuration of a river is a similar application of pasturage terminology to physical space. Cf. also ukṣṇā rāndhram (VIII.7.26) “the loins of the ox,” which I also think is a way of referring to the Vala cave. See comm. ad loc. This tentative interpr. of nāme assumes it is not the equivalent of the equally puzzling OAv namōi twice in Y 46.1, a form that appears to be a dative, possibly in infinitival use (which would make it a root noun, not an a-stem).

III.39.7: The IXth class vrñāta in pāda a is ambiguous: it can be either injunctive or optative; the standard tr. take it as the former, expressing straight past time. I instead interpr. it as optative, primarily because of the parallelism with 8a, where the light chosen in 7a, “should suffuse the two world-halves” with opt. ānu syāt (note also syāma in 7b, 8b). However, the ambiguity of vrñāta allows it serve as pivot between the past-time narration of vss. 4–6 and the expressed wishes of 7–8.

The rendering of purutāmasya in the publ. tr. makes it seem to qualify the hymns, not the bard. The tr. could be slightly emended to “… of the bard, who is the latest of many.”

III.39.8: Pāda b seems to pose an almost deliberate syntactic challenge. The adverbial ārē ‘at a distance’ is normally construed with an ablative, as in 7b ārē syāma duritāt, but in 8b we have the same phrase but with the noun in the genitive: ārē syāma duritāsya bhūreh. Or so it is taken by everyone, including me. But I now wonder if the ambiguous form bhūreh, which could be genitive or ablative, is in fact the latter and is not modifying duritāsya but rather governing it: “May we be at a distance from an abundance of difficulty.”

III.40 Indra
III.40.1–2: The difference, if any, between pāhi (1c) and pība (2c) is as usual not clear. See disc. ad III.35.10. If we are looking for ways to distinguish them, ā vṛṣasva “drench yourself in it,” immediately following pība in 2c, might support a more durative interpr. of the pres. impv., as perhaps would the adj. tātrpi- if it has intensive semantics ‘ever satisfying’.

III.40.3: The adj. dhitāvan- is not entirely clear. It is a possessive -van-stem to the ppl. dhitā- (√dhā); as Debrunner points out (AiG II.2.560), it unusually preserves the dh-that is found in this ppl. only as 2nd member of a cmpd or under certain sandhi conditions. The final has been lengthened as is normal in these stems: in the RV only maghāvan- has a short final vowel before the -van-suffix. Cf. also the numerous -āvant-formations in the previous hymn (III.39.4, 6, 8). But what does it mean? The form occurs only here and in III.27.2, modifying Agni. Gr (flg. BR) glosses it as ‘gabenreich’, Ge “der das Erwartete (?) bringt,” whose connection to √dhā I don’t understand. Both Re’s “pourvu (d’offrandes) présentées” and WG’s “das Vorrat habend” may be closer to the mark. But what is most characteristically hitā- at the sacrifice is the ritual fire, ā√dhā being the technical term of establishing that fire, and I therefore suggest that the sacrifice with its fires established is at issue here. Some support for this interpr. may come from the last phrase stavāna viśpate “o you who are praised as clan-lord.” The epithet viśpātī- is ordinarily used of Agni, so Indra is here being praised as Agni, and it is Agni who both is and oversees the ritual fires.

III.40.5: This is the first vs. that doesn’t begin with voc. īndra; the voc. surfaces only in the middle of b, an unprominent position. But its place is somewhat taken by phonologically similar īndavah at the end of the vs., and initial īndra reappears in 6c.

III.40.7: Contra Old and WG, I agree with Ge and Re that vanināh is the ‘wooden’ word and is not a derivative of √van ‘win’. The focus in this hymn is very narrowly on the ritual situation.

III.40.8: This is the only vs. in the hymn without a form of īndra- (7 of the 8 of those forms being vocatives, the lone exception īndram in 7b). Here voc. vrtrahan is substituted.

III.40.8–9: On the “magic square” of these vss., see publ. intro. Vs. 9 actually seems to be covering the logical possibility that Indra might not be either far or near but somewhere in between, and in that case the exhortation in vs. 8 to come from nearby or far away might not work.

III.41 Indra
III.41.1: The 1st persons naḥ and madryāk are somewhat awkwardly doubled. With Ge I take naḥ, found in (modified) Wackernagel’s Position in pāda a, with sōmapīṭaye in b, and madryāk ‘in my direction’ with the verb of motion in c.

III.41.6: It is curious that the impv. mandasvā is not accented in this clause, despite the hi, nor is it in the identical vs. VI.45.27 or in VI.23.8 also with sā mandasvā hi ... I have no explanation; Old notes the lack of accent and gives a ref. to his treatment in ZDMG 60, but in fact there he does nothing more there than note the passages.

III.41.7: The 1st pl. them. jarāmahe is perfectly ambiguous between ‘(be) awake’ and ‘sing’, and all other tr. assign it to ‘awake’ -- incl. WG, though Gotō (1st class, 154) assigns it with certainty to ‘sing’. I have also tr. as ‘sing’, though nothing is at stake between the two renderings.

III.41.8: Most take hāri-priya- as ‘loving the hāri’ (e.g., Re “qui aimes les alezans”); I have reversed the direction of affection: “dear to the fallow bays,” primarily because better attested puru-priyā- means ‘dear to many’ not ‘loving many’, though the accent difference between them may signal a difference in meaning. (However, the special accentual behavior of compounded puru- muddies the waters.)

III.42 Indra

III.42.1: The relative clause in c is somewhat tricky. The standard tr. (though Ge hesitates in his n. 1c) take the subject to be soma and take hāribhyām with ab, starting the rel. cl. with yāḥ in 2nd position (type “come with your fallow bays to our soma, which is for you and seeking us”). I am reluctant to break the pāda in that way -- though given ukthēbhīh at the beginning of 4c, which must go with the preceding pāda, with a new clause beginning kuvīd, this is not much of an argument. More importantly, since tvām asmayāḥ in the immediately preceding hymn (III.41.7) has Indra as the referent, I am reluctant to have identical asmayāḥ modify soma here. (Old cites some passages in IX where this adj. does modify soma, but those cases describe the preparation of soma and his/its journey towards us, the priests, whereas here the soma is stationary and Indra is journeying towards it and, as its preparers, us.) My interpr. leaves te as the problem -- where to construe it and whether it can be coreferential with yāḥ. The 2nd question can be answered affirmatively; nothing forbids yāḥ from 2nd ps. reference here. As for the first, I take it with hāribhyām, a solution I find somewhat unsatisfying, since possessive genitives are not usually necessary in these situations. But cf. māma in 3a below, also in a situation where the possessor doesn’t need to be overt.

III.42.3: Note the alliteration framing the first two pādas: #indram itṭā ... isīṭā itāḥ#.

III.43 Indra
The publ. tr. attempts to convey the density and distribution of the many words for ‘here’, ‘nearby’, ‘close’.

III.43.1: The standard tr. take ṭupā barhiḥ with the next pāda (“call you to the ritual grass”); Sāy. agrees with my version (see Ge’s n. 1c). There is no principled way to decide, and very little depends on it.

It is not easily possible to register the pun of havya(vāhaḥ) ‘oblation’ (to √hu ‘pour’) and havante (to √hvā ‘call”).

III.43.4: The reference to Indra changes from 2nd ps. in ab to 3rd in cd. It would be possible to attach ab to the preceding vs., which also has Indra in 2nd ps., and take cd as a new sentence. But the fact that both ab and cd have subjunctives (vāhātaḥ and śiṣṇavat) suggests that the two clauses go together.

Because of the accent on vāhātaḥ, the ca is likely subordinating, as in fact the standard tr. (and I) take it. However, the sequence à ca (...) vah shows unexpected accent on the verb form elsewhere (I.74.6, X.110.1), so it is possible that ab is a main clause with the verbal accent produced by this curious formulaic usage; see comm. ad I.74.6.

III.43.5: 2nd ps. reference to Indra returns here, in kuvíd clauses otherwise parallel to the one in 4cd with 3rd ps. ref.

Ge (fld. by WG and by me) takes the pf. part. papivāṃsam as expressing the cause of Indra’s action.

The transmitted Samhitā text ma ɪśim must be read contracted, as márśim (so HvN) to achieve a Triṣṭubh line; the Pp. correctly analyzes this sandhi sequence as mā ɪśim.

III.43.6: The final word of this vs., mūrāḥ, is generally taken as distinct from mūrā- ‘stupid, foolish’ and as an acc. pl. fem. with ātāḥ (e.g., Ge “die verschlossenen (?) Töre”). I follow Old’s final suggestion that it belongs to the normal stem mūrā- and refers to the horses; English “dumb beast” is a reasonable analogue.

**III.44 Indra**

On the extended pun in this hymn, see publ. intro.

III.44.2: The two pāda-final -āya-causatives, arcayaḥ (a) and arocayaḥ (b), are also near phonological matches.

III.44.3: This is the middle vs. of the hymn and (comparatively) more complex than the rest. As in 2ab, the first two pādas end with morphologically parallel formations, the accusatives hāri-dhāyasam (a) and hāri-varpasam, both with -s-stems as 2nd member and hāri- as 1st. The standard tr. obscure this parallelism by giving them quite different interpr., with hāri- in the first cmpd serving as apparent obj. to dhāyas- (Ge “der den Goldigen nährt,” sim. Re and WG; also Gr), while the second
cmpd is rendered as a straight bahuvrīhi. By this interpr., in the first cmpd. hāri-
refers to soma (so Gr, Re) or soma or the sun (Ge [/WG]), while the hāri- in the 2nd is
simply a term of color or material. Given the structure of this vs. and the parallel
structure in vs. 2, I think the two cmpds should be interpr. in a similar manner and
that the “golden nourishment” of heaven would be the sunlight. However, I do
concede that in other X-dhāyas- cmpds the 1st member may be the recipient of the
nourishment (e.g., ārī-dhāyas- ‘having nourishment for the stranger’, kārū-dhāyas-
‘having nourishment for the bard”), and so I would consider a tr. ‘having
nourishment for the golden’, though I think this is the less likely possibility.

In c I assume a clause break after ādhārayat and take the rest of cd as a
nominal cl. with bhōjanam as subj. For a similar constr. with bhōjanam cf. VII.68.5
citrām ha yād vām bhōjanam nv āsti.

The poet has cleverly managed to gather the root √dhr into the pervasive
verbal play of the hymn, by stationing the dual form hāritoḥ in a sandhi position
where its initial surfaces as dh, hence ādhārayad dhāritor. This dh repetition
resonates with (hāri-)dhāyas- in pāda a. Meanwhile in c the double dh-alliteration of
the first two words is matched by double bh-alliteration in bhūri bhōjanam.

III.44.4: Pāda-final rōcanam (b) echoes pāda-final arocayaḥ (2b) symmetrically
around the central vs., as well as rhyming with pāda-final bhōjanam in 3c.

III.44.5: As noted in the publ. intro., the insistently golden vajra of vs. 4 (hāritam ...
āyudham … vājram … hārim) is transformed into a silvery one (ārjunam, vājram),
but keeps the har phonology in the participle haryāntam ‘gladdening’, also
modifying the vajra. A different color-type term, śukrā- ‘gleaming, bright’ is also
used of the accoutrements of the weapon; the instr. pl. śukraiḥ is again a surprise: we
would expect hāribhiḥ.

And in fact we get two forms of the latter in the last hemistich. In one of them
the poet uses the sandhi trick he employed in 3c to produce an initial dh: (āpāvṛṇod)
dhāribhiḥ, which allows the sequence dhāribhiḥ ādribhiḥ to read as a virtual anagram.

This last half-verse introduces Vala-myth phraseology (āpāvṛṇot, ād gāḥ ...
ājata) in a hymn that otherwise lacks any mythic references. This Vala theme seems
particularly out of place because the soma and the vajra play little or no role in the
Vala myth but are strongly associated with the Vṛtra myth. I am uncertain of the
identity of the hāribhiḥ who participate in the driving up of the cows in d. Ge and Re
confidently supply ‘horses’, and that is of course the default interpr. of this form in
an Indra context. But Indra’s horses are not actors in the Vala myth elsewhere, as far
as I can remember. His helpers in the Vala myth are the Angirases, so perhaps they
qualify as golden here. Or perhaps it refers to the golden lights of the dawns and is an
instr. of accompaniment with gāḥ (“drove up the cows along with the golden [dawn
lights]”).

III.45 Indra
III.45.1: Although I use the Engl. word ‘gladdening’ here as in the last hymn, the repetition is misleading. The Skt. word here tr. is mandrá-, whereas in the last hymn it was haryatā-.

The simile concerning the bird and the snare is reminiscent of the much more obscure image in I.125.2, in which an animal of some kind seems to be bound up and captured.

III.45.2: In the string of agentive phrases that entirely make up this vs. the poet manages a certain variety of syntactic patterns: standard tatpuruṣa with 1st member obj. (vrtrakhādā-), tatpuruṣa with accusative 1st member (valamrujā- [note that without the acc. marker it would be a metrically unfavorable four light syllables]), agent noun with genitive (pāda bc, 4x with 3 separate agent noun types: purām darmā-, apām ajā-, sthātar- rāthasya, hāyor abhisvārā-), agent noun with acc. (drīlāḥ … ārujā-). The relentless repetition of nom. sg. agent phrases makes it quite certain that the Pp. loc. sg. reading abhisvārē should instead be taken as nom. sg. -ah, with Old. All standard tr. agree. The only argument against this that I can see is that hāyor abhisvārāḥ would be the second GEN + simple -ā-stem agent phrase (after apām ajāḥ in b), and if the poet was serious about producing the phraseological variety I have just catalogued he might have avoided a repetition by couching this phrase in the loc. (“at the calling of the two fallow bays”). The only other occurrence of abhisvārā- is in the loc. (-e in sandhi, also pāda-final) and means ‘call’, not ‘caller’ (X.117.8). Still, I do not think this arg. is strong enough to counter-balance the pressure of the nom. sg. sequence.

III.45.3: As noted in the publ. intro., this is the middle vs. of the hymn, and it contains four similes, which are interlocked in interesting ways. In the first half-verse both similes target krātum ‘resolve, will’. In the first the term held in common (gambhirān ‘deep’) has been attracted in number to the upamāna (udadhīn ‘pools’), though the position of the iva probably shows that ‘deep’ lies outside the simile proper (gambhirān udadhīn iva, krātum …). This simile is not dependent on the verb, while the second one (krātum pusyasi gā iva “you foster it like cows”) requires the fosterage of the verb pusyasi for the comparison to make sense. That is, Indra’s will is like cows only in that he cultivates it and helps it prosper, whereas it is “deep” regardless of any verb that might govern it.

The second hemistich contains two parallel similes, both bipartite, with a nom. pl. referring to entities that reach an acc. goal: cows / pasturage, brooks / lake. The first, the bovine one, seems generated from the cow simile of pāda b, esp. as the adj. sugopā- (c) contains the same gō- as gāḥ in b. The interesting thing about this half-verse is that the frame, the upameya, is not expressed at all. There is neither an overt nom. of the entity(/-ies) in motion nor an acc. goal -- simply the simile marker iva. The comparison is wide open. Sāy. suggests that soma drinks are the subj. to be supplied, and he is followed by the standard tr. (and Old). Old suggests that the goal is either “you” (=Indra) or his krātu-; Re shares his uncertainty, while Ge (/WG) supply “dich.” Although it is true that āśata takes soma drinks as subject in other
passages (see Ge’s n. 3cd), this hymn does not otherwise mention soma, and I am
wary of supplying it out of nowhere. I prefer to take \kratu\ as subj., either in the pl.
(‘resolves’ as in the publ. tr.) or, as Ge. suggests in n. 3cd, as a sg., with the verb
attracted to the number of the subjects of the two similes. And I take \āśatai in a
different sense in the frame than in the similes -- without expressed goal as “reach
fulfillment, achieved (their goal),” although I recognize that the overwhelming
number of occurrences of this verb do have expressed goal.

III.45.4: The simile in b is not clear, in great part because prāti \√jīnā appears to be
employed in some technical sense that we have no handle on. The lexeme is not
common in Vedic and seems to mean ‘greet, welcome’ (or perhaps just ‘recognize,
acknowledge’) in the Vāstospatī hymn, VII.54.1, and in other texts ‘acknowledge,
respond’ vel sim. In post-Vedic Skt. it means ‘promise’ or the like. Since \āmśa-
‘portion’ may also have a technical or legal sense, this phrase may belong to a
stratum of language that we have no access to at this period. My feeling is that it has
to do with the acceptance or rejection of something offered, as prati \√grah signals
acceptance of a properly given gift (see Sac. Wife 199–201). But I cannot get further
than that.

III.45.5: The first hemistich contains three forms with sva- ‘self’: svayūḥ … svarāṭ
… svāyaśastarah, and the second hemistich opens sā v-, with a scrambling of the
phonetic elements. Other patterning is seen in the comparative svāyaśastarah ending
the first hemistich and the superlative suṣrāvastamah ending the 2nd, both built to -as-
stems and compounded with the phonological variants sva- and su-.

\smāddiśti- occurs 4x in the RV. It is a cmpd. of smād- ‘altogether, together
with’ and the -\ti-abstract of \√diś ‘direct, assign, allot’, and as Ge says (n. 5b), it
appears to be a technical term in dānastitis. In its other three occurrences (VI.63.9,
VII.18.23, X.62.10) it modifies the gift, while here it qualifies the giver, Indra. As
Old points out, medial \√diś is used of the allotting of gifts in V.36.6, and such a
sense seems to fit here as well. For further see Old’s detailed disc.

The splv. suṣrāvastamah is rendered by the standard tr. (Ge, Re, WG) as ‘best
listener’. Since it is built to the noun śrāvas- ‘fame’ rather than directly to the root
\√śru, I find this meaning unlikely. In some other passages the word simply means
‘most famous, having the best good fame’ (e.g., VIII.13.2). Here because of the
involvement of ‘us’ (nah), I take it as ‘receiving the best good fame’, i.e., with ‘fame’
being the praises we offer him. In only one passage does ‘best hearer’ seem a likely
interpr., and there that meaning is induced by the presence of the verb śrṇusvā:
I.131.7 śrṇusvā suṣrāvastamah “listen (to us) as the one who listens best.”

III.46 Indra

III.46.1: This vs. is cunningly constructed, in that until the very last word of the third
pāda it consists entirely of genitives with nothing to depend on; neut. pl. vīryāṇi at
the end of c breaks this string and provides the necessary grammatical support -- joined by the matching adj. mahāni at the very end of the vs.

III.46.3: All four pādas begin with prā; the verb of a, ririce, should be supplied with the other three pādas.

Note the phonological plays in a: prā (mā)trā(bhī) and ririce roca(mānaḥ).

III.46.4: The string of unthetered accusatives in the first 3 pādas reminds us of the string of genitives in vs. 1. Here the syntactic tension is resolved only by the verb ā viṣantī that ends the verse and allows the accusatives to serve as its goal.

I do not entirely understand the function of abhī in pāda a. It matches nearby III.48.4c … januśāabhībhūya#, where abhī is part of gerund. It may also recall abhībhūtim ugrām (I.118.9, IV.38.1, sim. VI.19.6), which in turn is a variant of abhībhūty-ōjas- (cf. nearby III.48.4a, the vs. just cited for the gerund). In any case the abhī seems pretty functionless in this passage; my “over(whelmingly)” is an attempt to give it some function.

III.47 Indra

III.47.3: The aor. impv. pāhi here implicitly contrasts with the pres. impv. pība in 1b, 2b, 4d. As usual, it is difficult to know how much semantic or functional difference to read into this contrast. See disc. ad III.35.10. In this particular case the root noun cmpd. rtupāh may have triggered the immediately following pā(hi).

Re tr. rtupāh as ‘guardien des temps-rituels’, with ṣpā ‘protect’ rather than ṣpā ‘drink’. I think it unlikely in a dull little hymn like this that there would be a pun of that sort, and the sequence rtābhīr rtupāh pāhi, with the two elements of the cmpd. extracted from it and flanking it, seems to impose etymological identity.

The second hemistich refers to Indra’s allowing the Maruts a share in the soma because of their support in the Vṛtra battle. For a dramatization of this ritual situation, see I.165 and associated hymns.

III.47.5: The first word of this final vs., marūtvantam echoes the first word of the hymn, marūtvān.

III.48 Indra

III.48.1: Though Gr classifies prābhurtum as an infinitive, and Old’s and WG’s tr. seem (indirectly) to reflect this analysis (“dass man ihm darbrachte …”), the form seems to be simply a -tu-abstract (somewhat concretized)(so tr. Ge and Re). As is well known, the -tum form that serves as the only infinitive in Classical Sanskrit is hardly found in early Vedic. Macd. (VG §586b) registers only five in the RV (not including this one) and an equal number in the AV. prābhartu- here seems more or less equivalent to prābhṛti- or prābhkarman-, though the -u-stem datives bhārtave (IX.97.50) and āpabhartavaī (X.14.2) are infinitival.
Notice the near rhyming openings to the two half-verses, a: #sadyó h(a), c: #sādhóḥ.

III.48.2: It is appropriate that the “beestings” (piyāṣa-), that is, the colostrum or first milk, should be given to the new-born Indra.

The preverb pāri in pāda a is presumably to be construed with āsiṅcat in b, a verb with which it is frequently found. I do not understand the position of this pāri, in the middle of the pāda, right after the caesura but breaking up the NP mātā ... yóṣā jānitrī.

III.48.3: It is not clear who the “others” (anyān) are whom he keeps away, but the medial pf. in the next pāda (cakre) implicitly claims that he did the great things (mahāṇi; cf. vīrṇi ... mahāṇi in III.36.1cd) by himself, that is, without the help of others.

III.48.3–4: I assume that purudhā-pratīka- in 3d refers to Indra’s shape-shifting powers; the cmpd seems to be “unpacked” in 4b “he made this body as he wished” (yathāvaśāṃ tanvām cakra esāḥ).

These two vss. are noteworthy for containing 3 gerunds, upasthāya, abhibhūya, and āmūṣyā. The quest of the poet(s) of the Indra hymns in III to find a way to express anteriority (see disc. ad III.32.9–10, 33.11) is successful at least in this passage.

III.49 Indra

III.49.1: The first word sāṁsā is read sāṃsa by the Pp., i.e., as a 2nd sg. impv. This is quite possible, of course, and is the interpr. of Ge (/WG) and Old. With Re I take it as a 1st sg. subjunctive because this is more in keeping with the 1st ps. diction in annunciatory initial praise vss. like I.32.1 indrasya nū vīrṇi pra vocam, but nothing depends on the analysis either way.

III.49.2: The 2nd hemistich is universally tr. (save for Scar, 656) as a single rel. clause, but amināi is unaccented and so d must be a separate clause.

In c the standard tr. (incl. also Scar) construe the instr. pl. śuṣaiḥ with instr. pl. sātvabhīḥ (e.g., Ge “mit seinen mutigen Streitern”). This of course would be the default assumption. However, in almost every occurrence of the stem śuṣā-, including all the other examples of the instr. pl., it refers to hymns or praises, whether with a limiting noun or not. I therefore separate it from the other instr. in the pāda and take it as having its usual referent. The poet claims that Indra’s strength is at least partially dependent on our strengthening praises.

III.49.4: The ppl. prṣṭā- ‘asked (about)’ is a little odd. Ge tr. ‘gesucht’, which would make it less odd, but I don’t think √prach means that. It may be referring to the fact that Indra’s existence and whereabouts are often questioned in the RV.
In b Ge and WG take the simile to be rátho ná váyúḥ. This of course conforms well to the structure of the pāda and of similes in general, but it has the undesirable consequence of requiring rátha-, a word whose meaning is about as well known as any in the RV, to stand not for ‘chariot’ but for ‘chariot-warrior’ (vel sim.; cf. Ge’s Wagenheld). I therefore, somewhat reluctantly, follow Re, in taking the simile to be ārdhivó, rátho ná “erect like a chariot.” Re then takes váyúḥ as a (pseudo-)genitive: “(se tenant) droit comme le char (de) Vāyu,” which is unacceptable for this clear nominative. I instead take váyúḥ as the beginning of another, unmarked simile. Cf. IX.88.3 váyúr ná yó nīyūtvān, with simile marker.

III.50 Indra

III.50.2: On dheyuḥ and related forms, see my “… dheyām revisited” (Ged. Schindler, 1999).

III.50.3: The first hemistich poses some difficulties: the subject is not expressed, and it is not clear what it should be; there is an abundance of acc. sg. masculines, not all of which are coreferential; the root affiliation of dhāyase is disputed; the value of grnānāḥ is unclear.

To begin with the last, which has implication for some of the other questions: the standard tr. take grnānāḥ as transitive, with Indra as object. But of the over 50 examples of this middle participle, only one other occurrence is transitive, I.181.9, where this value was induced by contextual pressure (see comm. ad loc.). I therefore take it as passive here as well.

If it is passive, then the missing subject must be something capable of being praised. Gr takes the subject to be the horses of vs. 2; since they were the overt subject of a form of dhā in 2c (dheyuḥ) and would be the subj. of another one here (dadhire), this makes implicit sense. And it is possible that they might be praised or sung. However, the question is whether the horses can be thought to establish or deposit soma, as 2a requires. Priests would make more sense for this action (so Re), but priests would not ordinarily be praised -- hence the anomalous transitive interpr. of grnānāḥ by most tr. In the end I would opt for the horses, but not very happily -- the contextual arguments pull in opposite directions.

Now, as for the accusatives: mimikṣum ... supārām, ñdram, I agree with the standard tr. that the first refers to soma, seeking to be mixed with milk, and of course that the last, ñdram, is separate from it. The question is where supārām belongs. The standard tr., in different ways, take it with soma. Since in all its singular occurrences the word refers to Indra, I take it with ñdram here as well.

The final question is the root affiliation and value of dhāyase. The standard tr. all take it to dhā ‘place’, construed with jyaśṭhyāya and with Indra as implicit subj. (e.g., Ge “dass er [=Indra] die Oberhoheit ausübe”). However, all clear cases of dhāyas-, which mostly appears in the dat., belong to dhā ‘suckle, nourish’ (incl. at nearby III.38.3 [though see the minority opinion discussed in comm. ad loc.]). I take it as such here, with ñdram as its object (thereby avoiding the necessity to construe
this acc. with either dadhire or grnādh). The procuring of soma to nourish Indra is a logical progression -- though I’m still concerned that the horses might be the agents.

III.50.4–5: On the sequence of two repeated vss. see publ. intro.

III.51 Indra

III.51.1–2: These two vss. have the same structure: pādas acd are just accusatives qualifying the acc. indram in b, and the b pādas are essentially the same, with nom. pl. gīrah + a verb that governs the accusatives. Though vs. 3 breaks the syntax, Indra still appears first by name in pāda b.

III.51.2: The standard tr. take arṇavāṁ as an unmarked simile, serving as goal to the verb in b: “my songs go to Indra, as if to the sea [Ge “(wie) zu dem Meere,” Re “(tel) un océan,” WG more accurately but less persuasively “(wie) zu wallender Flut”]. The word is therefore only indirectly associated with Indra: they are both goals but need have nothing else in common. But given the parallelism in structure of vss. 1 and 2, I am reluctant to break the pattern of accusatives characterizing Indra by introducing this syntactic disjunction, and further the simile only makes good sense if arṇavā- really is a sea or the like, not an undulating flood. I think instead that Indra is directly described as a flood, the flood itself being characterized as sākīn- ‘possessing powers’.

The water-crossing mentioned here may simply be a reference to Indra’s general leadership in crossing rivers and gaining new territory, but it may more specifically point to the famous crossing of King Sudās dramatized in III.33 and referred to again in III.53.9, even though the poet Viśvāmitra, not Indra, is the major actor there. The crossing is mentioned again in 9a.

III.51.3: Although panasyate might make more sense if tr. “expresses admiration,” the other occurrences of this denom. stem and the related adj. panasyū- all mean ‘attract/invite admiration’. Here the poet is hoping for a good reception from the recipient of his hymns, which he indeed receives in pādas b and c. I have tr. the loc. phrase ākarē vāsoḥ as if ablative, to make the sense clearer. It could have been rendered “… seeks admiration at (the hands of) him …”

III.51.4: Though vs. begins a new tṛca in a different meter, it partially restores the syntactic structure of vss. 1–2: the first pāda presents Indra in the acc., the second one directs praises to him. Note also that nrṇām … nītamam picks up nāram of 2a. The structure is somewhat complicated by the fact that both (unnamed) Indra in pāda a and the (unnamed) subjects of the impv. arcatā in b are addressed in the 2nd ps. This leads both Ge and Re to separate the two pādas: Ge pronounces pāda a an anacoluthon or ellipsis, while Re supplies “(je te chante).” This fastidiousness seems unnecessary to me: the two referents of the 2nd persons are in different grammatical numbers and unlikely to be confused with each other for other reasons, and in a ritual
situation both should be present (“at the seat of Vivasvant,” 3c) and could both be
directly addressed. The two instrumentals in pāda a (gīrghīr ukthaḥ) also go better
with the verb in b; cf., e.g., VI.22.1 īndram tām gīrghīr abhy ārca ṛbhīh.

Pāda d consists of two clauses, the nominal nāmo asya and the short verbēd
clause pradīva ēka īše, and so, contra Gr’s suggestion (s.v. īs, col. 236, #8), the verb
doesn’t take an acc. here. For supposed exx. of √īs with the acc., see comm. ad
VII.32.18.

III.51.5: The stem niṣṣādh- and related forms are difficult (see, inter alia, Scar 596–
97). As Scar points out, there is no obvious direct way to connect it with either
√sād ‘succeed’ or √sid ‘repel’, and neither of these roots appears with niḥ in the
RV (though the latter does in post-RVic texts, but without relevant meaning; see
Gotō, 1st Kl., 328). On the other hand, the semantic range of the word itself in context
is relatively clear. It usually refers to something offered by inferiors to superiors.
Ge’s Tribut (see his brief disc. in n. 5b) works pretty well. If we want to connect it to
the root √sād ‘succeed, realize, reach the goal’, it may be seen as the material
representation of the fulfillment (this is the √sād part) of an obligation, and the niḥ
‘forth’ may reflect the proffering of these material goods.

I supply ‘streams’ with jīrāyaḥ on the basis of the other occurrence of this pl.
in II.17.3 prā jīrāyaḥ sisrate ... as well as the well-attested jīrā-dānu- ‘possessing
lively drops’. There is general agreement in the standard tr. that jīrī- refers to
flowing water.

III.51.6: Note the chiasmic structure tūbhyam brāhmāṇi gīrāḥ ... tūbhyam.
Ge persuasively identifies āvaso nūtanasya as a genitive of quality.

III.51.7: This vs. contains yet another implicit contrast between the aor. and pres. of
√pā ‘drink’: pāhi ... ētāḥ ... āpibah. See comm. ad III.35.10, 36.3, 40.1–2, and 47.3.
It is not clear whether a contrast is also meant between the acc. sōmam with pāhi
(also 8a) and the (potentially partitive) genitive sutāsyā with āpibah and, if so,
whether it is signaling some sort of aspecual distinction.

The verb ā vivāsanti lacks an object here, though it usually is construed with one. Ge (/WG)
interpret it as ‘invite’ (presumably supplying ‘you’), while Re
supplies the gods as object. I think the object slot has been intentionally left blank:
with Indra’s guidance and in his shelter they hope to win whatever they fancy, hence
my somewhat awk. tr. “seek their win.” Oberlies (Rel.RV I.403) suggests that this is
a poetic contest, but I don’t see any evidence of this beyond the plural.

Given the usual rendering of kavi- elsewhere in the publ. tr., I would change
the tr. here to ‘sage poets’ or just ‘poets’.

III.51.8: The connection between the two hemistichs in this vs. is not clear. The first
unambiguously presents the here-and-now of the sacrifice, with an impv. and the adv.
hā ‘here’, while the second harks back to Indra’s primordial birth and the gods’
attendance on it, expressed by an augmented imperf. (ābhūṣan). There is no way to
reconcile the temporal disjunction directly, so I have adopted Ge’s makeshift: supplying “(wie damals),” though there is no overt representation of my “as” (or his “wie damals”). There does not seem to be much semantic connection between the two halves either, unless we, the pressers and offerers, are being identified with the gods who served Indra at his birth.

III.51.9: The abrupt temporal shifts continue in this vs., exacerbated by shifts in person. The poet first addresses the Maruts in the 2nd ps. and asserts something about Indra in the present time (or so I [and the other standard tr.] take the nominal sentence without overt copula). In pāda b the Maruts are then referred to in the 3rd ps. -- though they are not named in this pāda, the other two occurrences of dāti-vara-refer to them, and ānu√mad is a signature verb of theirs -- and in the past, in the augmented impf. āmandan. (Though the Samhitā text transmits ‘mandan, the augment is metrically guaranteed.) This pāda seems an aside, reminding the audience of the Maruts’ previous involvement with Indra. The vs. then shifts to the present time again, with the Maruts remaining in the 3rd ps., as potential drinking companions for Indra.

In 6c Indra was urged to become “a friend of present help”; what that present help was/should be is spelled out here, a friend “at the water-crossing.” For water-crossing see comm. ad vs. 2 above. It is presumably not directly related to the Maruts’ applause in pāda b, for they provide material and moral support at the Vṛtra-smashing, not in crossing waters.

III.51.9–10. Note that pibatu takes an acc. in 9cd, but a gen. in 10c, as with ápibah in 7b.

III.51.10: The first two pādas of this vs. are variously translated. The problems are 1) the referent of idām and 2) the absence of a verb. My interpr. is closest to Ge’s. If the referent of idām is the soma, we need only find a synonym for soma that is neuter; sāvānam fits the bill and is elsewhere modified by sutá-, as it can be here. As for the verb, I assume a form of √as: the idiom ānu√as means ‘be at hand’.

III.52 Indra

III.52.2: pacatvā- occurs only here; it does not seem to have any gerundival sense, nor do its base pacat-, though -ata-adjectives often do (darśatā- ‘sightly’, not just ‘seen’); see AiG II.2.168. I assume pacatvā- is a nonce creation to provide an extra syllable here in the versified recipe. And perhaps pacatā- was fashioned as a clearer alternative past participle to pakvā-, which can of course also mean ‘ripe’, though it’s quite commonly applied to cooked food.

III.52.3: The accent of ghāsah is unexpected, but it presumably results from its juxtaposition with immed. following josāyāse, which can owe its accent to its pāda-
initial position. Although *ca* can be subordinating (‘if’) and induce verbal accent, that doesn't seem to be its function here.

III.52.6: On the acc. complement and sense of the lexeme *úpa śikṣa*- see comm. ad I.112.19, I.173.10

III.52.8: The phrase vīrātama- *nṛṇām* ‘most virile of men’ is a variant of the fairly common formula *nṛṇām nṛtama* - ‘most manly of men’, an occurrence of which is found in the preceding hymn, III.51.4. This vs. is repeated at IV.32.16.

III.53 Indra, etc.

III.53.1: The curious dual dvandva *indrā-parvatā* ‘o Indra and Mountain’, only in the vocative and therefore unaccented, occurs 3x: I.122.3, 132.6, and here. As discussed ad I.122.3 and 132.6, I believe that the ‘mountain’ is Indra’s *vājra*.

III.53.2: The verb in pāda b, *yakṣi*, is simply an injunctive 1st sg. s-aor. to √yaj, but it is rendered as a future/modal in all the standard tr. (including this one). This value seems also found in the identical form in X.52.5, though not in X.4.1. (Gr’s ex. in VI.16.8 is better taken as a 2nd-sg. act. -si impv.) I don’t know why this particular form should have this value, save for the general functional flexibility of the injunctive. But perhaps the fact that the formally identical 2nd sg. act. -si impv. is so common and (as an old s-aor. subjunctive) is used in both imperative and subjunctive-future value may have allowed that value to spill over onto its formal twin. KH (Inj. 253) suggests that 1st sg. injunctives express the immediate future.

III.53.3: The 1st dual subjunctive (śámsāva) coupled with a sg. voc. (adhvaryo) is a rough and ready way to express a 1st ps. inclusive. This type of construction contrasts with the 1st ps. exclusive found in phrases like VII.88.3 *ā yād ruhāva vāruṇaś ca nāvam* “When we two, Varuṇa and I, mounted the boat …” with a nominative explicitly conjoined with *ca* to an implicit *ahám*.

    The subjunctive *bhūt* in d must also, like *yakṣi* in 2b, be modal/prospective or even imperative, since the *āthā ca* indicates that it temporally and/or logically follows the impv. *sīda* in c.

III.53.4: The dismissal of Indra and the sending him off home comes rather early in this hymnlet; he just got here (vs. 1) and at that point we urged him to stay put (vs. 2). Vs. 3 seems to depict the sacrifice proper, and the remaining 3 vss. of this portion of the hymn (vs. 4–6) are an extended farewell. In this vs. the poet seems to be reassuring Indra that if he goes home, he still won’t miss out on anything here: we’ll send Agni to fetch him whenever we press soma.

III.53.5: *pārā yāhi* “drive away” comes awfully soon after 2a *mā pārā gāh* “don’t go away.”
The genitive phrase vājīno rāsabhaṣya is ambiguous: does it refer to two animals or one? Re opts for the former: “… du (cheval) gagnant-du-prix (et) de l’âne.” But the same phrase in I.34.9 makes it likely that the two words belong together as the designation of a single animal. So Ge (/WG).

III.53.6–7: See the publ. intro. for the thematic and lexical connections between these two vss., despite their belonging to different sections of the hymn. See there also for the connection of vs. 7 with III.31, via the identification of the current poet with the Aṅgirases, ur-sacrificers and givers of dakṣiṇās (on which see Ge’s n. 7a).

III.53.8: As Schaefer points out (p. 162), the intens. bobhavīti construed with an āmredita rūpāṃ-rūpam must signal repetitive function (“Gestalt um Gestalt”).

In c I read divāḥ twice: once as ‘day’ with trīh in the meaning “three times a day” (cf. nearby III.56.5, 6 trīr ā divāḥ, also X.95.5 trīh … āhnah), once as ‘heaven’ with following pārī “from heaven.” The latter reading, adopted by Sāy., is rejected by Old and Ge (n. 8c) because we should expect the close sandhi divās pārī. This argument is subject to criticism on two grounds. First, I think the double reading of divāḥ would preclude close sandhi for one of the readings. Moreover, none of the other cited exx. of divās pārī is broken over the caesura as here. As Mark Hale has discussed at length, close sandhi of NOUN + POSTPOSITION is blocked at the caesura.


The ritual situation in the 2nd hemistich is puzzling for several reasons. First, Indra’s appearance at the sacrifice “three times a day” is what we expect, since there are three soma pressings. Then why is he characterized as ānrtupāḥ ‘drinking out of season’? Ge (/WG) gets out of this bind by supplying a parenthetical “(oder)”: he either comes three times a day or drinks unseasonably. This works, but the “or” is of course a complete invention. More problematic is the fact that Indra is drinking unseasonably at all. In this same Indra cycle he has been apostrophized as rūpāḥ (voc., III.47.3). The apparent breaking of the ritual rules here is esp. striking because he is called rtāvan- ‘possessing the truth, truthful’ at the same time, made more striking because this is the only place in the RV where rtāvan- qualifies Indra.

Lüders (Varuṇa II, 547–48) suggests that rtāvan- is used here only as word play with ānrtupā-, since Indra has essentially no connection with rtā- (“dass er zum Rta so gut wie keine Beziehung hat,” p. 548). But this seems unlikely, esp. given that the unnegated expression rūpāḥ rtāvā in the same metrical position is used of Agni in this same maṇḍala (III.20.4). Some point is being made, that Indra can be rtāvan- despite his un-rule-governed behavior.

I think the clues to a solution are found in the first half of the verse, where Indra is depicted as constantly shape-shifting and enveloping himself in māvāḥ. Perhaps Indra is impersonating other gods through the various rūpa-s he assumes, and his unseasonable drinking involves his taking their places in the rota (ṛtā-) of
soma-recipients (the Rtugraha treated in I.15 and II.36–37). What then are “his own mantras” (svaīr māṇtraīh), which accompany the unseasonable drinking? Lüders (p. 548) suggests that when he drinks outside of the three pressings he has to recite his own mantras. Though this is clever, I do not think it is correct, nor do I follow my own published tr. “by (the power of) his own (magic spells)” -- though I do think the mantras may be semantically linked to māyāḥ here. But my current thinking is that the phrase should be tr. “with their own mantras,” referring to the mantras appropriate to the gods whose forms he has appropriated and whose turns he takes in the drinking. As to how he can be called rtāvan- when his behavior seems not to be precisely aboveboard, perhaps he has gained the epithet from the gods whose identities he’s stealing: Agni, Tvāṣṭar, and Mitra and Varuṇa, all called rtāvan- elsewhere in the RV, all occur in the Rtugraha sequence (I.15; II.36–37). Or perhaps the epithet alludes to Indra’s most enduring adoption of another identity, that of Brhaspati. Though Brhaspati is called rtāvan- only once in the RV as far as I am aware (VI.73.1), the role of rtā- in association with Brhaspati in the Vāla myth is very significant; see, e.g., Lüders p. 549. Or perhaps we can simply say that Indra’s “truth” -- his inherent nature -- is his ability to assume other forms and act out of turn and impose his will without following rules.

III.53.9-10: The use of somewhat inappropriate epithets continues in these vss. The subject of 9ab, the “great seer” (mahāṁ āśiḥ) is Viṣvāmitra, mentioned by name in c. A mortal, he is described as ‘god-begotten’ (devajā-) and ‘god-sped’ (devājūta-) but ‘possessing a man’s sight’ (nṛcākṣas-); the last is also used of the Kuśikas, Viṣvāmitra’s family, in the next vs. Curiously it is the epithet with nṛ- ‘man’ that appears to be misapplied, not those with devā- ‘god’: the stem nṛ-cākṣas- is found approximately 40 times in the RV, and in all other occurrences (with the possible exception of the next hymn, III.54.6) it qualifies a god, who either has his (divine) gaze on men or attracts the gaze of men. Thus, the status of Viṣvāmitra and his kin is implicitly raised by receiving a descriptor usually used of gods. That the Kuśikas drink soma with the gods in 10cd is a sign of this enhanced status. What the adj. means here is unclear to me: is it that they too attract the gaze (and thus admiration) of other men, or that they, despite possessing only a man’s sight, still manage feats sufficient to match the gods, esp. Viṣvāmitra’s stopping the rivers in full flood?

III.53.10: The publ. tr. does not recognize or render the idiom vī √ pā, found generally in the middle, for which see also comm. ad VII.22.3. As is indicated there, in later Vedic and already in late RV, the idiom is specialized for the separation of surā from another liquid in the Sautrāmaṇī ritual, but earlier can refer more generally to the extraction (“drinking out”) of a liquid from another source, e.g., by the pressing stones in IV.16.3 and VII.22.3. What the idiom is doing here is less clear to me. Ge (n. 10d / WG) thinks this is a reference to the (much later) notion that hāṃsas can separate liquids and so it belongs with the Sautrāmaṇī passages -- the hāṃsa being found in pāda a, though only in a simile unrelated to drinking. I think this unlikely. It may simply be that the pressing stones are involved: the Kuśikas may be
“drinking out” the soma by means of the pressing stones found in pāda a (ādribhīt). However, it is also possible that the ví represents the cross-species aspect of the drinking party: the mortal Kuśikas are urged to drink along with the gods, but the gathering may be segregated. So perhaps a tr. “drink apart, along with the gods”; such a notion seems to underlie Re’s “Buvez séparément avec les dieux.” It would contrast with a true symposium expressed by sāṁ √ pā also in the middle (see IV.35.7, 9) and in fact might allude to that idiom, given the well-known polarization of ví and sāṁ. Another possibility is Sāy’s parasparavyatihārena ‘by mutual interchange, alternately’. I am weakly inclined towards the pressing stone interpretation, though also somewhat drawn to the cross-species one. And I would also point out the resonance of the preverb ví with viśvāmitraḥ (9c) and vīprāḥ (10c).

III.53.11: This vs. is supposed to depict the Aśvamedha of King Sudās, and the releasing of the horse in b and the smiting of obstacles in all directions in c, followed by a sacrifice in d, certainly support this interpr.

cetāyadhīvan is variously rendered, but most generally as ‘pay attention’ vel sim. I instead take this middle full-grade -āya-formation as a reflexive transitive “make yourselves known” based on the ‘make perceive’ sense of cetāya-. Re’s alternative “faites vous remarquer” is closest to mine.

As Watkins points out (Dragon, p. 208), although this form of the intens. of √ han has a singular object (somewhat unusually), it is “serially plural,” in that the vṛtrāṁ is located in one cardinal direction after another; see also Schaeffer 204–5.

III.53.12: The first hemistich, couched in the 1st ps., consists only of a rel. clause, which breaks off. The “I” is clearly Viśvāmitra, whose name opens the hemistich and whose protective brāhman- is mentioned there -- making it very likely that pādas ab constitute this brāhman-, though it’s not quite clear what is protective about this truncated utterance.

The plupf. ātuṣṭavam should not exist, at least in my opinion, since the two forms of the indicative pf. tuṣṭuvaḥ (VIII.6.12, 18) also appear to have preterital value. However, the contexts in VIII.6 do not guarantee that value -- it is possible that they are presential “they praise” (see comm. ad VIII.6.12). The existence of a pf. subj. tuṣṭāvat at VIII.98.16 also suggests that the indicative pf. is, or originally was, presential. The only other pf. forms in the RV, the act. part. tuṣṭuvāms- (3x) and mid. part. tuṣṭuvānā- (1x) are generally tr. as preterital, but again context does not dictate this rendering.

III.53.13: The tr. of the last pāda might better begin “Just he will make …” to reflect the ād.

III.53.15–16: As indicated in the publ. intro., the subject of these two vss. is the mysterious feminine sasarpār-, which has been interpr. as differently as “Kriegstrompete” (BR, fld. by Gr), “Sangesgeweise” of the Viśvāmitras (Ge), and Vāc (Anukramaṇī, Sāy.). The interpr. of these vss. has been further complicated by
the later tradition that sees them as concerning the supposed rivalry between Viśvāmitra and Vasiṣṭha, for which I see no evidence at all in the RV.

Although I do not think all the puzzles are ultimately solvable, some clues can get us some distance. First, *sasarpāri* is a *vrkī*-type fem., and as Debrunner points out (AiG II.2.369), the major use of this inflectional type is for female beings (human and animal). This lends some credence to the opinion that the *sasarpāri* is a cow of some sort (e.g., Re “La (vache) Sasarpāri”). That vs. 14 concerns the ritually worthless cows of the Kīkatas would also support a contrast with an eminently worthy cow found among us. Second, these two vss. sound rather like a dānastuti (see *jamādagnidatta* in 15b and *yām me palastijamadagnāyo dadīh* in 16d), and since the next part of the hymn goes off in a completely different direction, this could serve as a hymn-capping dānastuti for what precedes. Cf. I.126.2, a dānastuti hymn, where, after Kakṣīvant is given cows, he stretches the king’s unaging fame to heaven: *divī śrávo ‘jāram ā tatāna, highly reminiscent of our 2nd hemistic … tatāna, śrávo devēsv amātām ajuryām.*

Even if this sketch of the function of the vss. and of Sasarpāri is accepted (a big if), it remains to analyze the word. I consider it a portmanteau pun. On the one hand it is a kind of anagram for the intensive of √ṣīp “creep”, found in the RV only as the hapax adj. *sarīśpa*—(X.162.3), which I tr. “squirming”. On the other hand, it is also phonologically reminiscent of *sabar-dūgha*-,-*duh*– ‘sap-yielding’, of milk cows -- two occurrences of which are found in nearby III.55 (vss. 12, 16) qualifying Night and Dawn, one of whom bellows (*mimāya* as here) in vs. 13. (Acdg. to Griffith, Gr associates Sasarpāri with Sabardughā, though this is not registered in the dictionary.) Just as the Sasarpāri brings fame in 16, so does a *sabardūhī*—in VI.48.12-13 “milk out immortal fame” (śrávō *mṛtyu dhūkṣata*). Another possible association is *sarpīs*– ‘melted butter’, adduced by Mayrhofer as a possible relative of *sasarpāri*—(EWA s.v. *sarpīs*). My tr. “squirming, sappy (cow called) Sasarpāri” reflects my sense that all of these words have contributed to the designation *sasarpāri*—and these contributions are positive: *sabardūgha*– and *sarpīs*– reflect the fecundity and richness associated with juice and fat, *sarīśpa*– the uncontainable vitality of a squirming young animal. Needless to say, this is highly speculative and does not rest on properly chaste etymological principles, but it is difficult to see what could with regard to this maddening but phonologically delectable word.

The next question to ask is why Sasarpāri “banishes neglect” (*āmatim bādhamānā*). Again this phrase supports the notion that the referent of *sasarpāri* is a cow. In I.53.4 and X.42.10 *āmati*– is overcome by cows; the word is paired with hunger (*kṣūdh*)– in VIII.66.14, X.42.10, and X.43.3. Hunger and neglect can be combatted with cows and their nourishing products, and one of the combatants is Sasarpāri.

III.53.16: Besides the continuing problem of *sasarpāri*–, the other difficulty is the hapax *paksyā* in c. Gr takes it as ‘aus Monatshälften bestehend’ (flg. BR), Ge (/WG) ‘auf meiner Seite stehend’, Re as ‘ailée’ or ‘prenant parti (pour moi)’. The publ. tr. strikes out on its own (though closest to Re’s first alternative). It involves reading
sāpakṣyā against the Pp (but involving no change in the Samhitā text), to be divided sā apaksyā. The latter would be the instr. of a nominal abstract in -yā- (see AiG II.2.840), a rare but attested type built primarily to -a-stems. Here potentially to apaksā- ‘wingless’ (cf. AV XI.5.21), hence ‘winglessness’. What might this bizarre confection have to do with the passage? The rather flimsy connection is via the daughter of the Sun (sūryasya duhitā in 15c) and a possible reference to Dawn in 16c: the same phrase nāvyam āyur dādhānā is used of Dawn in VII.80.2). (Like) the former, Sasaparā has stretched the Kuśikas’ fame to the gods; (like) the latter, she has brought fame to all the five peoples. These feats might be expected to require special forms of transport, such as wings, if the agent is not a supernatural traveler like Dawn or the Sun’s Daughter. But Sasaparā is a cow, hence wingless.

I realize how fragile -- and potentially ludicrous -- this suggestion is, however, and it might be better to play it safe with something like ‘on my side’.

III.53.17: As noted in the publ. intro., this verse and the rest of this little section are reminiscent of the final vs. of III.33.13, against disaster on a journey, specifically there a river crossing.

The hapax pātalyē is entirely unclear, besides being a dual referring to some part of the chariot.

On the thematic medial stem dāda- in the sense ‘hold, keep safe’, see Gotō (1st Class, 171–72, flg. Wackernagel).

III.53.19: On abhi vyayasva see comm. ad VII.33.4. I assume ‘engird’ refers to the ends of the axle being embedded in the wheel hub.

The loc. spandanē is generally taken as a third type of wood (besides khatirā- and śimsāpā-), but while the other two words are standard designations of trees, spandanā- is ordinarily not, but rather refers to a type of motion -- jerking or kicking. I take it to refer here to the elasticity or flexibility of Dalbergia sissoo (śimsapā-), a quality it has (at least acdg. to the internet).

III.53.20: On the problematic āvasā ā (Samhitā) / ā ava’sai ā (Pp.), see detailed disc. by Scar (576–77), who lays out the various phonological and morphological possibilities. As he points out, the reading of Holland van Nooten, ā ávasā ā, with accent on the first ā (possible on the basis of the Samhitā text) and deaccentuation of the final ā of the noun (contra both Samhitā and Pp), makes no sense (and does not conform to the transmitted text). The nominal form between the two ā’s is by most accounts a root noun cmpd of ṣā + āva. The question is what the case form is. I follow Whitney (§971a) and Old in reading -ās, contra the Pp., interpreting it (with Whitney and Old) as an irregular abl. sg. to this root noun cmpd. (expect *āvasās) in infinitival usage. The parallelism in the hemistich supports this interpr., but see the other possibilities offered by Scar.

III.53.21–24: As noted in the publ. intro., these vss. are traditionally taken as depicting the rivalry between Viśvāmitra and Vasiṣṭha, but I see no sign of this here;
certainly Vasiṣṭha is not mentioned. The verbal link is supposed to be VII.104.16 adhamās padiṣṭa “let him fall lowest,” a curse uttered in a Vasiṣṭha hymn that echoes our 21c ādharah sās padiṣṭa. But in neither case is the opponent named, and there is no reason to assume that Vasiṣṭha directs this at Viśvāmitra or vice versa.

The first vs. of this sequence (21) is quite straightforward; vs. 22 is more complex, but I feel fairly confident in its interpr. But vss. 23–24 are very difficult, and my interpr. is correspondingly quite provisional.

III.53.22: With Old, I reject the interpr. of cid in abc as a simile particle (contra Sāy and Ge); in all three cases the cid can be interpreted in its usual ‘even, even though, just’ sense. However, I differ from Old on the purport of the vs. He thinks it describes concrete events, possibly as a ‘Beschreibung von Zauberhandlungen,’’ while I think it contains two figurative descriptions of the impotence of the enemy -- in this I am closer to Ge’s notion of similes than to Old. I also find myself in the odd position of being in general agreement with Griffith’s interpr. (based on Ludwig’s). Each hemistich describes an action involving great effort and drama that produces trivial and insubstantial results. In ab an ax is thoroughly heated, but this formidable weapon only cuts off the blossom of a silk cotton tree. (That silk cotton tree flowers are a vivid red might remind the audience of the real blood that might have been shed by a blazing hot ax.) In cd a pot, also heated, is boiling (yēsantī), indeed has boiled over (prāyastā), but all it produces is foam.

III.53.23: In my opinion, at least the first half of this vs. continues the sentiment of vs. 22: the enemy is powerless, despite bluff and bluster. In pāda a older translations supply an unidentified subject (“he”) for cikite, but the medial perfect of ścit is always pass.-intrans. and with Kū (176) I take the verb as an impersonal passive with an oblique subj. in the genitive; cf. I.51.7 táva vájraś cikite with the subject in the more normal nom. The point here is that the opponent’s missile (sāyaka-) is so inconsequential as not to attract or deserve notice.

In b the first problem is the hapax lodhā-, which is universally taken as a red animal of some sort, a horse (Ge, Re), fox (Gr), or goat (Old, tentatively EWA). My quite different tr. ‘clod’ assumes (again, very tentatively) an association with a loose set of words for lump, clod, etc.: lotīha (Pkt., etc. =Vedic lostā-, perhaps by hypersanskritization) (Turner 11157), *lottha / *lodda / *loddha (Tu. 11137), *lutta (Tu 11077). The point would then be that “they” (whoever they are) lead (to sacrifice?) a lump of earth or the like, thinking that it’s an actual (sacrificial?) beast. This situation reminds us of the chariot race of Mudgala and Mudgalānī (X.102) in which a block of wood is yoked with a bull, and the oddly assorted pair still wins the race (X.102.8–9). It might also remind us of X.28.9 in which an earth clod (logā-, not too distant phonologically) splits a stone. The other morphological fact of note in this pāda is that pāśu is neut. and initially accented (versus the ubiquitous masc. pasū-). This may be a deep archaism, matching Lat. pecu, Goth. faihu (cf. AiG II.1.20, II.2.474), or it may be a nonce attempt to de-animalize the word in this peculiar context.
Like vs. 22 and 23a, 23b describes an undesirable situation exactly contrary to what was aimed at: having mistaken a lump for a sacrificial animal, the actors will surely not get the results they wanted — although X.102.8–9 and X.28.9 may point to success in unlikely circumstances. But the second hemistich depicts situations in which, though a mistake was possible, it was not made: they don’t set a bad horse (āvājin-) to race with a good one; they don’t put a donkey before the horses. The question is whether the subjects of the three 3rd pl. verbs (nayanti b, hāsayanti c, nayanti again d) are the same, or are the deluded weaklings of ab being contrasted with more clear-headed and successful actors in cd? Common sense suggests the latter, but the morphologically identical sequence of verbs with no overt subject or change of subject the former (as Old points out). I cannot make up my mind, esp. because the following vs. muddies the waters even further.

Given the interpretational difficulties, the grammatical identity of āśvān is a minor problem. In the publ. tr. I take it as acc. pl. āśvān, but the Pp. interprets it as abl. āśvāt, with the final -n in sandhi before the nasal of nayanti. Either is possible (“lead before the horses” / “lead before the horse”), and given the uncertainty of meaning, there is no obvious way to choose. The abl. is supposed to be construed with purāḥ, but in fact ABL. + purāḥ is not a robust construction.

III.53.24: The good sense / bad sense problem continues, or returns, here. The sons of Bharata are ceremonially presented to us, with the here-and-now deictic imē. And we know from vs. 12 that the Bharata people (bhārata- jāna-) are our people. But here they (or the subjects of the three 3rd pl. verbs: cikituḥ b, hinvānti c, pāri nayanti d) seem to make the same bad choices that were visible in vs. 22-23, esp. 23b. The continuation of the 3rd pl. verbs invites us to make the Bharatas subjects also in vs. 22. Is this a jokey anti-dānastuti? Are the “bad choices” I just mentioned meant to show that even if they do stupid things, they will still beat the incompetents depicted in vs. 22? Or that bad choices can still sometimes unaccountably lead to good? I am baffled.

The mealtime prapitvā- is well attested in the RV, but apapitvā- is found only here. Both Ge and Re take the words in some kind of figurative sense (e.g., Re apapitvā- ‘la retraite’, prapitvā- ‘l’élan-en-avant’), but since the -pitvā- compounds are otherwise only used of meals and the times of day associated with them, it seems best to maintain that sense here; so WG ‘die Nachessenzeit’, ‘die Voressenzeit’. In its contrast with pra here, I take apa as meaning ‘leaving the meal, post-prandial’ and therefore ‘non-meal’. My interpr. is influenced by my sense that the lesser choice is the one being made in each case in this vs.

In c the standard tr. take nā as a simile marker: “they incite their own horse like an alien one.” But given the paired negative clauses in 23cd and the undoubted negative (or at least undoubted by the standard tr.) in the immediately preceding pāda (24b), where the nā takes the same position as in c, the pattern seems to impose another negative here. Under either interpr. the action is not a very smart one: spurring your own horse like an alien one should presumably mean that you don’t spur it at all.
The accentuation of *jvā- in the bahuvrīhi *jvā-vāja-*, against simplex *jvā-*, is attributed to the shift to initial accent in some other bahuvrīhis: AiG II.1.293 with Nachtr. 81. The standard tr. avoid the problem of the sense of this comp by attributing to *-vāja- a sense it doesn’t otherwise have: Ge (WG; cf. Gr) Schnelligkeit, Re la force. But *vāja- means ‘prize’ and bahuvrīhis with it as 2nd member ‘having X as prize’. I here assume that winning only a bowstring (minus the bow) would not be a glorious outcome.

III.54 All Gods

III.54.1: All four pādas contain a distracted *-'ya- form immediately after an early caesura.

The expression “listen with his … faces” is somewhat comic, though clearly domestic and heavenly “faces” refer to Agni’s aspects in those two places.

III.54.2: With Ge (WG) I supply “to those two” in b, to provide both a goal for *ichāñ carati and an antecedent for *yāyoh* in c.

III.54.3-4: The co-occurrence of *ṛtā- and satyā- in these two vss. (3a, 4b) is striking. In keeping with my estimation of the difference in meaning between the two, I tr. the first as ‘truth’ and the latter as ‘real(ity)’. In both cases here the sense of *satyā- is close to the English idiom “come true,” that is, “become real.” In 3a the poet is asking that the cosmic truth(s) associated with Heaven and Earth be realized in our own sphere, that H+E put themselves out, as it were, for our benefit. 4ab also concerns the truth(s) associated with H+E -- hence the adj. *ṛtāvarī ‘truthful’ -- and the older poets, in finding these two entities that possess their own truth(s), spoke words (presumably about and in praise of H+E) that both reflected the reality of those truths and that also came true (*satyavācaḥ*). This vs. esp. emphasizes the poets’ process of discovery of the truths about H+E.

As Re points out, the vs. contrasts the priests or poets in ab with the warriors in cd.

III.54.5: The first pāda is also found in the famous cosmogonic (or anti-cosmogonic) hymn X.129, as 6a. The final pāda of that hymn, X.129.7d, ends with an incomplete sentence “or if he does not know …?” (*yādi vā né véda*). Though all the standard tr. of this vs. here find a way to incorporate our 5d into the syntax of the verse, I by contrast think the same trailing off into uncertainty is found here as in X.129.7. The lower seats of the gods in heaven can be seen, but not the ones in the higher realms. We can only discover so much. As for grammar, I take the *yā* of d as a neut. pl. referring to *sādāmsi* in c (so also Re, though with a slightly different interpr. of the rest). Ge (/WG) instead take it as a fem. nom. sg. referring to the *pathyā* in b, with c as parenthetical. I do not entirely understand the *vratēṣu* in d. The hidden commandments may be the laws that govern the further reaches of the cosmos.
III.54.6: On the somewhat anomalous use of \textit{nrcáksas}- here see comm. ad III.53.9.

The first pāda of this vs. seems to imply that, though the higher seats of the gods are not generally visible (5d), a \textit{kaví}-, despite having only a man’s sight, has been able to see (\textit{abhi} … \textit{acastā}) Heaven and Earth whole, and that he is cognizant of the crucial paradox about them --- that they are joined but still distinct -- a paradox treated in the rest of the vs. and the following one (7).

The interpr. of \textit{b} is hampered by the hapax \textit{vighṛte}. On the surface it appears to belong to the root \textit{ṛghṛ} ‘sprinkle’, but it is difficult to make this yield immediate sense. It appears to serve the same function as \textit{vīyute} ‘separated’ in the next vs. (7a), and it has therefore been suggested that -\textit{ghṛt}a- actually belong to the root \textit{ṛḥṛ} ‘take’ or is a byform thereof (see, e.g., KEWA III.578). My publ. tr. reflects a tacit acceptance of such a view (or at least a willingness not to probe it too deeply), but I now wonder (without full conviction) whether in the context of \textit{māḍantī} ‘becoming exhilarated’ a sense that connects \textit{vighṛte} to \textit{ṛghṛ} ‘sprinkle’ might be possible: “sprinkled separately but becoming exhilarated (together).” In any event I take it as a dual fem. acc. (with Ge [WG]), not, with Re, a loc. sg. with \textit{yōnā}.

My tr. also depends on assuming that the exhilarating is happening jointly, in contrast to whatever type of separation is indicated by the \textit{vī}-prefixed ppl. -- the same contrast between unity and separation found in cd. The place where this is happening in \textit{b}, “the womb of truth” (\textit{ṛtāsyā yōnā}), may refer to two different places, the ritual ground (as so often) and, perhaps, the distant invisible seats referred to in 5d.

III.54.7: The -\textit{āka} -stem \textit{jāgarāka}- in \textit{b} is found only here in Vedic. I wonder if it owes its -\textit{ka}-suffix to the feminized context of \textit{c}, where H+E are identified as “sisters and young women” (\textit{svāsārā yuvatī}) despite their oppositely gendered names. On -\textit{ka}- in women’s language, see my “Women’s Language in the Rig Veda?” (Gd. Elizarenkova, 2008) and “Sociolinguistic Remarks on the Indo-Iranian *-\textit{ka}-Suffix: A Marker of Colloquial Register” (IJI 53 [2009]).

Note the virtual mirror image of \textit{vīyute} (a) and \textit{yuvatī} (c).

I do not understand the use of \textit{ād} \textit{u} here. Ordinarily this old ablative has a fairly strong temporal (“just after that”) or logical (“because of that”) sense, but since \textit{c} has a concessive force (“although being …”), it is difficult to get \textit{ād} to have logical force, and the fact of being sisters but called different names does not seem to have a temporal dimension. It reminds of the \textit{ca} … \textit{ād} in 11cd, but there \textit{ād} easily expresses a standard temporal sense. It is possible, but extremely speculative, that the \textit{ād} does reflect some sort of cosmic temporality: H+E, originally joined together, had a single identity and gender, but after the cosmogonic separation they received different, and genderedly oppositional, names. The monism of the next vs. (8cd) might (barely) support such an idea; note that “the One” there is neut. (\textit{ēkam}).

The standard interpr. (see Ge, etc.) of \textit{mithunāni nāma} is that their names are of different genders when they are given separate names, with \textit{dyāuh} generally masc. and \textit{prthivi}ī fem. But they are also paired sisters, with the fem. du. designation \textit{rōdasī}. This seems correct, and the publ. tr. should probably have reflected this sense of \textit{mithunā}- better. I am somewhat puzzled by why the names are in the plural, however.
III.54.8: The notion of the pair of H+E, separate but unified, is, in the 2nd hemistich, replaced by an even starker contrast, the One (ékam, neut. as noted in comm. to previous vs.), which controls the Many, with the Many first configured as oppositional pairs in the neuter: the moving and the fixed (éjad dhruvám), the walking/roaming and the flying (cárad patatré). ékam is found at the end of its pāda, just as it is in the refrain to the next hymn (III.55).

III.54.9: On the meaning of this vs. see publ. intro. It is the final vs. of the hymn-within-the hymn, vss. 2–9 dedicated to Heaven and Earth. The 1st ps. poet reappears here; he is first found in vs. 2, the beginning of this self-contained portion, and has been absent since, though he may be related to the 3rd ps. kavī- in vs. 6.

As indicated in the publ. intro., I think this vs. has a double meaning, aided by the double readings of two items in it: ádhi √i, which means both ‘go upon’ (literally) and ‘study’ (‘go over’, figuratively), and the unnamed dyāuḥ, present both as the divinity Heaven alluded to in the phrase in b “great father, begetter” (gen. mahāh pitūr janitūḥ; for this as a designation of dyāuḥ cf., e.g., I.164.33 dyāur me pitā janitā) and as heaven the place, suggested by the locational adv. yātra ‘where’ in c, introducing the place where the gods take their stand. The poet is both studying the ancient cosmic mysteries he has been attempting to understand in the previous vss. (esp. 5–6) and is embarking on the path that leads to the place where the gods are established, beyond the ken of mortals. Recall the question in 5b “What is the pathway that leads to the gods?” (devānāchā pathyā kā sām eti), a question followed by the statement that only the lower seats of the gods are visible. Here purāṇām in pāda a can qualify ‘path’ -- not the fem. pathyā in 5b but the more familiar masc. pānthā- , qualified as purāṇā- in IV.18.1 (cf. also purāṇām ókāh ‘ancient home’ in nearby III.58.6, referring to the Aśvins’ dwelling, presumably also heaven). The gods are themselves on a separate path (pathī vyūte d) in the same place, at least by my interpr. Despite their different representations in the (written) Samhitā text and in the Pp., vyūta- here and vyūta- in 7a must be the same form, ppl. to vī√yu; in recitation they would be identical. The verb unoti to the supposed root √u to which vyūta- is sometimes referred (see, e.g., Ge n. 9d) is actually also a form of √yu, in the sequence vyūnoti in V.31.1, also meaning ‘separates’. Cf. EWA II.503.

III.54.10: This vs. forms a sort of ring with vs. 1, enclosing the Heaven and Earth hymnlet of vss. 2–9. Like vs. 1 it begins with imām followed by a word for hymn (1a imām ... śūṣām, 10a imām stōmam), and with 1cd it contains a verb form of √sru ‘hear’ with god(s) as subject (10b).

On rdūdāra- see EWA s.v. ARD, though he is somewhat cagey about its formation. I assume the 2nd member is udāra- ‘belly’, with the literal sense ‘moist-bellied’ being equivalent to our ‘tender-hearted’. This assumes a bahuvihi with an adjectival first member of the form rdur-, a shape (disyllabic adj. ending in -i- or -u-) that often triggers (or is at least associated with) 2nd member accent in bahuvihis (see AiG II.1.296ff.).
III.54.11: The first hemistich is either a syntactic fragment -- a long NP in the nominative establishing the topic -- or pātyamānaḥ is a predicated pres. part. (The publ. tr. takes it as the former.)

In c ca appears to be subordinating, given the accent on the verb āśreḥ. I would now be inclined to delete the “and” in the publ. tr. and remove the parenth. from “when.”

III.54.14: I am not entirely certain why “victorious Bhaga” is brought in here in a simile in this Viṣṇu vs. I suppose that our praises are making a triumphal procession to Viṣṇu, and the mention of Bhaga may suggest our hope that these praises will be met with a satisfactory portion of goods in return. See 21c below.

In cd it is tempting (see, e.g., Old) to make mardhanṭi the verb of the rel. cl. beginning with yāṣya, which otherwise lacks a verb and appears truncated. But mardhanṭi is stubbornly unaccented. Construing yāṣya pūrvīḥ as a relativized expression of possession, we can assume that it asserts that Viṣṇu has a large female entourage; these females are further characterized in the independent clause in d as “generatrices” (jānitrīḥ), for which “mothers-to-be” seemed a more acceptable English rendering, who attend on him and do not neglect him. What this is all about escapes me, though Viṣṇu is associated with the wives of the gods in I.156.2.

III.54.15: The standard tr. construe the instr. viśvair vīryaiḥ as the object of pātyamānaḥ (“being master of all vīryā-”), but when pāya- takes an object, it is in the acc., including once in this hymn: 8c pattyate viśvam. In the only other passage in which Gr identifies the verb stem as taking an instr., VI.13.4, I take the instr. as here, as expressing the means by which the subject displays his mastery.

III.54.16: The first half-vs. treats the kinship we share with the Aśvins, a theme occasionally touched on elsewhere (e.g., VIII.73.12 adduced by Ge). The grammatical problem in the hemistich is the (pseudo-)root noun cmpd. bandhupīch-, which has been interpr. both actively (“asking about [their] kinship”: Gr, Ge [WG], Lü 526, Scar 328–29) and passively (“asked about [their] kinship”: Re). I have followed the Re path, on the assumption that it is more likely that humans are asking the Aśvins about it than that the Aśvins are wondering about it themselves. But in general I prefer root noun compounds to have active meaning, and it is possible that the majority position is the correct one. It does not seem to have too much effect on the interpr. of the rest.

III.54.17: There is phraseological connection between the first pāda of this vs. and the previous vs.: cārū nāma “dear name” repeats verbatim the end of 16b, and though they are etymologically unrelated, kavayāḥ in 17a echoes ākavaiḥ in 16d.

The first half of the verse most likely refers to the Rbhus, though they are not named until c. The “dear name” of these unnamed subjects is probably “gods,” the predicator voc. devāḥ in b. The Rbhus were not originally divine, but achieved the
status of gods because of their wondrous acts in the sacrifice. So to be addressed as “gods” by Indra is precious to them indeed.

The second half-vs. consists of a pāda (c) with a sg. nom. (sākhā) referring to Indra, accompanied by a pl. instr. (ṛbhūhiḥ) and no verb, followed by one (d) with a 2nd pl. impv. (takṣatā). It is tempting to construe the two pādas together, with a mixture of constructions: the sg. nom. + instr. serving as the equivalent of a pl. subj. to the verb in d, but I have kept strictly to the grammar, as do the standard tr.

III.54.18: Ge (/WG) takes pl. yajñīyāsah as predicated of aryamā ... āditiḥ with pāda a simply a nominal clause; this is strictly impossible, since the predicate adj. should be dual. Ge explains the plural on the grounds that the poet is thinking of the other Ādityas. This is possible, but I prefer to take yajñīyāsah as a third term referring to an unspecified set of other gods (quite possibly the rest of the Ādityas), and all three terms as the subj. of pl. yuyóta in c. (So also Re.) The nah in pāda a then simply anticipates the same form in c, and b is parenthetical.

III.54.19–20: The call to the gods to hear us, found first in vs. 1, returns here at almost the end of the hymn (19c, 20a, 20c). Note that in 19c the verb is sg. (śṝóṭu) with a series of sg. subjects (and one pl., āpah, in the middle), while in 20a it is pl. (śṝṇvantu) with a grammatically pl. subj. In 20c a sg. nom. with an instr. pl. of accompaniment (rather like the construction I suggested in 17c) takes a sg. verb, which suggests that my suggestion for 17c is incorrect.

III.54.21: The standard tr. take bhāgah as the subj. of mṛdhyā(h) in c; e.g., Ge “Bhaga [das Glück] möge in meiner Freundschaft nicht fehlen, o Agni.” With such a 3rd ps. subj., this requires mṛdhyā to be a precative (Re calls it a “pseudo-précatif” for some reason) rather than a straight 2nd sg. opt. This is, of course, not impossible. But the desire expressed here, that Agni make sure that Bhaga does the right thing, does not seem the usual type of prayer addressed to gods in the RV. I take pāda c as consisting of two clauses, the first nominal, the 2nd, addressed to Agni, consisting only of a negative and a verb (cf. for this construction with this verb, nā mardhanti in 14d above), with Agni the subj. I take bhāgah as a common noun in the publ. tr.; alternatively it might mean t“(May) Bhaga (be) in partnership with me.”

The final word of the vs., the gen. puruksāḥ ‘consisting in much livestock’, is a bahuvrīhi variant of the phrase bhūri paśvāḥ ‘abundance of livestock’, likewise ending its vs. in 15d.

III.54.22: Old is disturbed by tān in c and suggests emending prtsú tānī to prtsutā, loc. sg. of prtsutī-. Because of the peculiar mid-pāda position of tān, I favor this suggestion though it requires erasing one accent.

III.55 All Gods
As noted in the published introduction, this hymn is notable for its refrain, “great is the one and only lordship of the gods” (mahád devámāṁ asurátvāṁ ēkam), with its juxtaposition of devá- and ásura-. For a riff on this refrain, see X.55.4.

III.55.1: The perfect in b, ví jajñe, is entirely ambiguous between √jan and √jñā, and I think it likely that both are meant. In this context there is not too much difference between a syllable being born and being discerned. The “track of the cow” is presumably here the ritual ground, and the reference is to the ritual speech of the dawn sacrifice.

Re astutely notes the juxtaposition of aksára- and padá-, reinforcing the speech theme, even though padá- has the sense of ‘track, footprint’ here. See padá- in the next vs. (2b) for a possible reference to speech.

The standard tr. all supply a first-person subject in c, with a verb like “I proclaim.” No one but Old attempts to justify this addition, and his attempt is half-hearted. I instead take c as continuing b and take the underlying form of prabhúṣan to be prabhúṣat, neut. nom./acc. sg., before a following nasal, against the Pp. The participle modifies aksáram in b. In my interpr. the “syllable” (that is, the essence of speech) attends to the gods’ commandments, perhaps by giving them imperishable verbal form. I also suggest that the “great syllable” is actually the refrain found in d; note that maháit in b takes the same position as it does in the refrain. The refrain may also be the most important of the gods’ vratas; see also 6c.

III.55.2: For juhuranta see comm. ad I.43.8; I take the form to √hvr ‘go crookedly’, not √hr ‘anger, be angry’. The point here is that the gods and the ancestors, who themselves know the path/word, should not keep us from following this same ritual cursus. There is no question of anger that I can see.

The standard interpr., that c refers to the beacon of the kindled ritual fire visible between heaven and earth, is surely correct. This kindled fire is referred to more straightforwardly in the next vs., 3c sámiddhe agnaì.

III.55.3: The flying, scattered desires of the poet here and his turn, in a ritual context, to the old ways of doing things reminds us of the opening of III.38, a hymn about the development of a poetic vocation within the age-old tradition, esp. III.38.1cd. In this connection it’s worth noting that our refrain, mahád devánām asurátvām ēkam, finds an echo in III.38.4c maháit tád vṛṣṇo ásurasya nāma “Great is that name of the bull, the lord.” Ge also appositely adduces VI.9.6, also about a poet’s training and his self-conscious assumption of the mantle of tradition, with his inspiration deriving from the ritual fire.

The rtá- that we wish to speak may again be the refrain that follows immediately.

III.55.4: The ví … purutrā of the preceding vs. (3a) returns here, though with the preverb bound to a ppl. (vībhṛtaḥ); the phrase is contrasted with samāná- to express the theme of unity and diversity in balance. The “common king” is of course Agni,
and the image is both of this single god being found on many different ritual grounds and of the ritual fire on any particular ritual ground being divided into three.

With Ge, I assume that the pair in c is the kindling sticks. Cf. III.31.2d and X.27.14b, esp. tashaúō mātā “the mother stands still,” comparable to our kséti mātā “the mother rests peacefully.” The epithet ‘having two mothers’ (dvimātār-) used of Agni in 6a and 7a is a reference to the paired kindling sticks.

III.55.5: As is generally acknowledged, the feminine plurals in the first hemistich refer to plants; the idea is the common paradox that fire is covertly present in all plants because overt fire is produced from wood. Here the three types of plants must be 1) ‘older’ (pūrvā-) = woody and easily burned, 2) ‘later’ (āparā-) = still green and obviously growing and fire grows up with them, 3) tender (tārunī-) = sprouting ones, which are hard to burn, but he’s in them already anyway. Most tr. take sadyāḥ with Agni, not the new-born plants -- e.g., Re “est d’un coup au dedans des (plantes) nouvelle(-ment) nées” -- but sadyāḥ is strongly associated with forms of √jan, esp. in III (e.g., III.5.8 sadyō jātāḥ; sim. III.32.9, 10; 48.1), in the sense of “just born.”

The covert presence of fire is the topic of the paradox in c: he is always within the plants (antārvatīḥ) even though they have not been impregnated (āpravītāḥ) sexually.

III.55.6: There seems to be a consensus that the phrase śayūḥ parāstāḥ in pāda a refers to a form of Agni in the other world, that is, to the sun in some manifestation (see esp. Ge n. 6ab). This seems to me entirely unnecessary and a cosmic intrusion in a sustained description that is otherwise entirely focused on the ritual fire (vss. 1–9). Instead the hemistich seems to contrast the fire that was immanent and motionless (śayūḥ) in the plants, as described in vs. 5, released after birth and roaming restlessly, as a newly kindled fire does. The depiction of his resting place as ‘far away’ (parāstāḥ) may seem exaggerated if only plants are involved, but conceptually, and to a certain extent physically (since the kindling wood has to have been gathered from somewhere), it seems to me appropriate.

III.55.7: Pāda b is an elaboration on and corrective of 6b. It is not the whole fire that wanders untethered, only the top of it (āgram), while the base stays put on the hearth. Most tr. take āgram as an acc. with ānu; I follow Re (who in turn follows Bergaigne) in taking it as the neut. nom. subj.

The accent on cáraṭi is contrastive with the immediately following kséti, which opens a new clause.

III.55.8: This verse contains quite oblique phraseology. The first half-verse appears to describe the increasingly aggressive ritual fire after it has been kindled. I take āvāt as the neut. pres. part. to √i + ā ‘come’, substantivized to mean ‘approach, advent’, and I supply a gen. ‘of him’, which is parallel to the gen. simile in pāda a. The growing fire is compared to a fighter involved in close combat. I have rendered
pratīcīnam, lit. ‘turned outward, opposite, face to face’, as the slangy ‘right in your face’ to convey the belligerent nearness of the fire’s approach.

The c pāda is likewise hard to interpret. As Ge notes, the lexeme antār√car is generally used for the journey between earth and heaven undertaken by Agni, the messenger or “go-between” for the earthly and heavenly realms. This usage is found in fact in the very next vs., 9b, where Agni is clearly the subject and is journeying through the space between heaven and earth -- as well as in numerous other passages (see esp. X.4.2). As Ge also points out, in I.173.3 it is ‘Speech’ (vāk) who plays this role. Similarly, in our passage ‘thought’ (mati-) -- i.e., as often, thought that has taken shape as ritual speech -- is the subject and undertakes the role of messenger. As for the tribute of the cow (nissīdhamaṃ gōḥ), with Ge I take this as referring to the bovine product that serves as oblation, namely ghee. Thus, ritual speech makes the swift journey to the gods in heaven from the ritual ground, bringing the news of the oblation or serving as its envoy. On nissīdh- see comm. ad III.51.5.

III.55.9: In pāda a the “gray messenger” is Agni, gray because of his ash; I take the fem. pl. āsu as referring to the plants (see vs. 5) that provide the fuel that feeds Agni’s flames. The fire “bears down on them” (/ “keeps pursuing them”; ni veveti) as it spreads over the firewood. (A reference to his hearths is also possible, but I think less likely.)

In contrast to the earthly spread of the fire depicted in pāda a, b shows it rising towards heaven in its messenger role. I take rocanēna as an instr. of extent of space, rather than referring to Agni’s own luminosity with the standard tr. However, taking it in the latter way would not appreciably alter the sense of the pāda.

The publ. tr. is somewhat misleading, in having ‘bearing’ for both ni veveti in a and bībhrat in c, though of course English ‘bear’ has entirely different senses in the two idioms.

III.55.10: This verse continues the theme of vss. 8–9, Agni’s role as go-between. Its point is to show us that Agni as messenger reaches to the highest places in heaven, those defined by the endpoint of Viśṇu’s famous striding. But the introduction of Viśṇu also initiates the transition from the exclusive focus on Agni and his kindling.

Note the alliteration: (go)pāḥ paramam pāti pāthaḥ, priyā …

III.55.11: The yād in pāda c has no obvious function. JSK (I.136) interprets the pāda as containing an “X and which Y” construction (“the dusky one and [the one] who is ruddy”), with yād instead of yā by attraction to the anyād of b. Although this is a tempting way to account for the yād, in addition to the wrong gender the rel. is wrongly positioned: we should expect *yād/yā ca ārūṣī. Ge’s suggestion, that this contains the izafelike [not Ge’s term] yād that attaches appositives in Vedic prose, is attractive, but not only would this be a reverse example (the yād clause always follows in prose), and it would be entirely isolated in the Śaṃhitā language. See my forthcoming “Stray Remarks on Nominal Relative Clauses in Vedic and Old Iranian.”
It’s also worth noting that the structure of c is identical to 12a mātā ca yātra duhitā ca dhenā, with two nom. singulars conjoined by double ca, a yā-subordinator between them, and a dual nom. at the end of the pāda referring jointly to the two singulars. So it is possible that the yād of 11c comes from the model of 12a, where yātra has function.

III.55.12: With Ge I interpret this fem. pairing to be Night and Dawn, who in the previous vs. were identified as sisters. They jointly nurse the infant fire at the early morning sacrifice; the reference is probably to twilight, the transition between Night and Dawn. Re prefers to identify them as Heaven and Earth, but this requires him to interpret Heaven as a female, and it also makes less ritual sense. On the other hand, the same fem. dual samīcī is used in vs. 12 of Heaven and Earth.

III.55.13: The pāda-initial position of anyasyā(h) strongly suggests that it is indefinite (‘another’, not ‘the other’), contra the standard tr. Since definite anyā- … anyā- (“the one … the other”) is correctly positioned in 11b, 15b, and 17ab, I think we should take the contrastive positioning seriously and connect this phraseology with 4c, which also contains initial anyā- (anyā vatsām bhārati kṣeti mātā “Another bears the calf; the mother rests peacefully.”). In that passage the “mother” of the fire, the lower kindling stick, rested, while the upper kindling stick, identified as “another,” carried the infant fire. Here the situation is reversed: the anyā- form refers to the mother of the calf/fire, which is now being licked by a different feminine entity -- in this case, in my opinion, the ghee oblation. A second pairing also imposes itself, however: in vs. 12 we had a different feminine duo: Night and Dawn. Their proximity in 12 invites an alternative reading of 13a, underscoring the temporal transition, with Night functioning as the mother of the fire, but Dawn taking over, tending it and bellowing over it. This latter interpr. seems to be continued in the next vs. (14ab).

I confess that I do not entirely understand the purport of pāda b (nor, as far as I can see, does anyone else). The hemistich is found identically also in X.27.14cd, though given the virtual impenetrability of that hymn, this doesn’t help much. Contra Ge (/Gr, etc.), I do not think bhū- here is ‘world’, nor that the instr. expression kāyā bhuvā means “in welcher Welt” (see Old for objection to this tr.). Instead I take bhū- as ‘form’ or (with Old, etc.) ‘existence-form’, with the phrase meaning “in what shape or guise.” I suspect that the pāda asks how the surrogate mother/cow, who took over from the fire’s mother in pāda a, will deliver nourishment (symbolized by her udder) to the infant fire. The answer may be given in pāda c: it is “the milk of truth” (rtāsyā … pāyas-), which we might further translate into “the milk of correct ritual speech.”

III.55.14: Ge (/WG) takes pādyā as merely a locational ‘unten’, contrasting with ārdhā at the beginning of the next pāda. It seems unlikely that a formation with so much lexical content would be used in so colorless a manner, esp. given the deployment of padā-forms elsewhere in the hymn (padē iva nihite beginning the next
vs. [15a], *padē gōḥ* 1b, *padajnāḥ* 2b). The “feet” of Dawn are presumably, in naturalistic terms, the light of dawn nearest to the horizon; shining through morning mists it will take on various shapes and colors. (Lü [617 n. 3] suggests that the various shapes and forms are vegetation on the earth, which is also worth considering.) But in mytho-ritual terms, if Dawn is the cow nurturing the young fire in 13b (as well as pāḍa b in this vs.), the “wondrous forms” (*vāpuṃsī*) she clothes herself in and the “many shapes” she possesses (*pururūpā*) are the forms and colors of the fire over which she stands. That the scene is set on the ritual ground is suggested by pāḍa c, where “I” roam across “the seat of truth” (*ṛtasya sādma*), which I take as a reference to seat of the ritual. Ge (/WG), however, interpret the pāḍa as simply meaning “I wander ‘im Geiste’” -- I think because of the *vidvān ‘knowing’*, though that word usually refers to knowledge of the ritual or to cosmic knowledge related to the religio-ritual system.

With Ge (/WG) I take *pururūpā* as fem. nom. sg.; however, it can equally be neut. acc. pl. (with Gr and Re) modifying *vāpuṃsī*. The choice actually has almost no effect on the sense of the pāḍa.

III.55.14–15: The publ. tr. is somewhat misleading, in that *vāpuṃsī* in 14a is tr. as “wondrous forms” and *dasmē* in 15a as “the wondrous one.” I might substitute “marvellous forms” for the first, to avoid the impression of an etymological connection.

III.55.15: This vs. seems to continue the theme of Night and Dawn. The *anyād* … *anyād* construction of pāḍa b echoes that in 11b, where Night and Dawn were first introduced, and in fact our pāḍa b, with one hidden and one visible, paraphrases 11b, with one shining and the other black, and forms a small ring. Moreover, the two “set down within the wondrous one” echoes 12c *ṛtasya té sādasy īle antāḥ* “I reverently invoke the two within the seat of truth.” I take *dasmā*-to refer to the ritual fire/ritual ground, and one of the marvels is that two such large entities (Night and Dawn) can fit into something so small.

The vs. also recycles various thematically significant lexical items: *padā*- (see comm. ad 14); *nihītē* echoing *nī dadhe* (13b); *antār* (12c and passim: 2e, 5b, 5c, 8c, 9b, 12c; *antār* is in a sense the signature word of this hymn); *anyād* … *anyād* 11b. The ‘pathway’ (*pathyā*) takes us back to III.54.5 where a question about “the pathway leading to the gods” (*devāṇ āchā pathyā*) initiated the mysteries that have dogged us ever since.

III.55.16: The miraculous milkers in this vs. are taken by all standard tr. as rain clouds, flg. one of Sāy.’s suggestions (the other being the heavenly regions). In context this interpr. seems perverse. The verse forms part of a tight little section (beginning with vs. 11) concerning Night and Dawn and their nourishing of the infant ritual fire. Our vs. esp. echoes vs. 12: *dhenāvahḥ … sabardūghāḥ … āpradugdāhḥ* “milk-cows, sap-yielding, not milked out” is the equivalent in the plural of 12ab *dhenū, sabardūghē dhāpayete* “the two milk-cows, sap-yielding, give
suck” in the dual. I find it highly unlikely that the vocabulary here repeated from 12 would refer to entirely different entities (clouds), which, moreover, have no connection with the dawn ritual depicted here. Instead, in the course of this section the joint nurturing activity of Night and Dawn (11–12) has given way to the dominance of Dawn over Night (13ab, 14ab), and though both Night and Dawn are present in vs. 15, one of them (Night) is hidden (15b). This trend accords with the natural phenomenon: at dawn, light dissipates darkness. In our vs. 16 the plural cows either represent the Dawns in general -- the plural of Dawn being often interchangeable with the singular -- or the beams of light, the “dawn cows,” of a single Dawn. The expression “becoming new ever again” (pāda c nāvyā-navyā yuvatāyo bhāvantīḥ) might favor the former possibility, since it reminds us of the daily parade of ever-new youthful Dawns. My identification of the cows with the dawns here admittedly leaves the noisiness (“let them be noisy,” ā … dhunayantām) unexplained. I would suggest either that there is also a reference to the crackling of the fire wood as the ritual fire is kindled at dawn, or that it refers to the general noise attendant on dawn as the various creatures awake, including real cows mooing to be milked. Note that already in vs. 13a Dawn (in my interpr.) ‘lows’ (mimāya) over the infant fire. I think we can safely banish the putative rain clouds.

III.55.17: As indicated in the publ. intro. I consider this vs. to be transitional between the fire-kindling vss. and the arrival of Indra at the sacrifice. I therefore think that the reference is ambiguous. In the publ. intro. I suggested a trio of possible referents: Agni, Soma, and Indra. I now think it is only Agni and Indra and that Agni is the sole referent in ab, with transition from Agni to Indra in c.

This opinion is very different from the standard, which takes Parjanya as the subject here (flg. on the supposed rain cloud vs.). The issue is further complicated by the fact that in the next hymn (III.56.3) yet another being, possibly Tvāṣṭar or Tvāṣṭar’s son, is described as retōdha vrṣabhāḥ “a bull, depositor of semen,” which matches our vrṣabhāḥ … nī dadhāti rétaḥ. Although I must concede that Parjanya is described with the same phrase as III.56.3 in VII.101.6 and is said to deposit semen also in V.83.1, such designations are not exclusive to Parjanya. In I.128.3 it is Agni who is … réto vrṣabhāḥ kānikradat, dādhad rétaḥ kānikradat “a bull ever-roaring, depositing his semen’ (with ṛrand, rather than ṛu, ‘roar’), and I think Agni is the referent here as well. I do not entirely understand the two herds of cows, but suggest that it may have to do with the embryonic doctrine of the cycle of waters that is later developed in the Upaniṣads, whereby rain falls from heaven and causes plants to grow; the plants, as fuel, produce/give birth to the fire, whose smoke goes to heaven and becomes clouds from which the rain falls, and the cycle begins again. Our passage may have an abbreviated form of this: the bull Agni is roaring (that is, crackling as fire) among one set of cows (plants as firewood); the smoke goes to heaven and the rain (his semen) falls to earth and produces plants (the other herd). Note vs. 5 much earlier in the hymn, where it is said of the plants “Having (him) within, (though) unimpregnated they give birth to (him).”
The transition from Agni to Indra occurs in pāda c, in my interpr. Both Agni and Indra can be called ksāpāvant- (ksapāvant-) ‘earth-protector’, indeed simultaneously. (See X.29.1 and my “Śleṣa in the Rig Veda?” [Fs. Gerow], 163–64.) Indeed this epithet is even more flexible: as I discussed in the Gerow Fs., the first element may be either ksā(m) ‘earth’ or ksāp- ‘night’. (For the possible morphological analyses, see the loc. cit.) Under the latter analysis, the epithet would be appropriate only for Agni, but under the former to both Agni and Indra, so the first word in c may slip from clear reference to Agni to double reference. The following two words, bhāga- and rájan-, are also used in the RV of both Agni and Indra, though ‘king’ is more common for Indra than Agni. The transition is complete.

III.55.18: In my interpr. this vs. announces the arrival of Indra with a splendid team of horses. This new topic is signaled by prá nū vocāma beginning pāda b. The exact arrangement of the six and five isn’t clear to me. Re suggests that the double nū indicates that there are two separate clauses here. He may be right (“now there is an abundance of horses of the hero; we will proclaim (it) now”), though the difference in sense is slight.

III.55.19–21: I’m not sure why Tvaṣṭar appears here. The previous vs., with the arrival of Indra at the sacrifice, may mark the end of the ritualistic vss. that dominated the hymn up till now. The few remaining vss. then celebrate the prosperity and abundance that our good relationship with the gods, via the sacrifice, will produce: teeming life provided by Tvaṣṭar (19), goods filling the two worlds provided by Indra (20), peace provided by Agni (21), and the inanimate earthly supports for all this prosperity, which provide their gifts to Indra (22).

III.55.19: It is striking that pāda a is reused in the famous Yama-Yamī dialogue hymn (X.10.5b), where Yamī claims that Tvaṣṭar made them a married couple in the womb. I do not think there is an echo of that story here; the point of intersection is simply the association of Tvaṣṭar with conception, pregnancy, and birth (cf., e.g., X.184).

Acdg. to the standard interpr. (Ge [WG], Re; cf. Klein DGRV I.218, Kū 314), praṭāh is to be construed with pupoṣa, on the basis of X.170.1 praṭāh pupoṣa purudhā ... This is not impossible, but it seems unnecessary, esp. as the latter hymn is quite late. It also implies that purudhā should also be construed with pupoṣa, but this is impossible because jajāna is unaccented. It is also unlikely that praṭāh and purudhā should be separated, given purudhā praṭāvān in the next hymn (III.56.3b). At best we can take praṭāh purudhā with both verbs: “thrives with regard to offspring in great quantity and has begotten them [=offspring in great quantity]” or perhaps “thrives with regard to offspring and has begotten them [=offspring] in great quantity.” Such an interpr., with an acc. of respect and a fundamentally intransitive verb, follows that of Kū (314). I do not believe that pupoṣa here can have the transitive/causative sense that the other tr. ascribe to it (e.g., Re “a fait fleurir les créatures”).
III.55.20: I assume that the subject of this vs. is Indra. One of his standard cosmogonic deeds involves the creation and separation of the two worlds, the separation here implied by the material crammed between them. Indra is of course commonly identified as a vīrā-; he also “finds goods” (e.g., II.13.11, VIII.61.5), though so do other gods as well as mortals.

III.55.21: The first three pādas here are almost identical to I.73.3abc, where Agni is definitely the referent. For disc. of some of the detail, see comm. there.

III.56 All Gods

I will not attempt to further identify the referents in these enigmatic vss. beyond the sketchy suggestions given in the publ. intr. Ample disc. can be found in the standard tr. As in many such mystical hymns, the grammar is mostly quite straightforward; it’s the purport that remains cloaked in obscurity.

III.56.1: The standard tr. take b as obj. of minanti in a, which is certainly possible, while I take it as a separate nominal clause. The choice has no real implications.

In c I take rōdasī as subj. of the infin. nināme in d, along with pārvatā(h), but the standard tr. (also Thieme, ZDMG 95: 90) supply a different infinitive in c, generated from minanti in a. So, e.g., Ge “Weder die Zauberkundigen noch die Weisen schmälen … / Nicht sind Himmel und Erde … (zu schmälen) …” I do not see the need for supplying additional material. The only possible semantic arguments might be 1) that the two worlds would not be subject to being bowed down (but I don’t see why), or 2) that vedyā- wouldn’t be capable of performing something physical (like bowing down) but only mental/moral (like transgressing), but such an action seems well within normal limits for the Vedic conceptual universe. Another possible way to construe pāda c is to take rōdasī as another subject of minanti: “nor do the two worlds transgress the commandments.” This has the merit of not supplying anything, but makes vedyābhīh harder to incorporate. Old suggests this possibility as well as supplying nināme; he does not suggest supplying a different infinitive in c.

The word vedyā- can be either positive or negative depending on context. Here it must be the latter; cf. also VII.21.5.

III.56.2: WG suggest that átyā(h) is a hapax related to ánta- ‘border, edge’, ántyā-, tr. ‘Begrenzungen’. Since no other forms show such a putative zero-grade, since ántyā- is not found in the RV, since the stem átya- is well attested, and since there is no metrical advantage to reducing an *antyā(h) here to átyā(h), this suggestion doesn’t merit adopting. In a hymn of this nature, the females might as well be steeds as boundaries. For other attempts to reinterp. átyā(h) see those rejected by Old and another given by Ge (n. 2c).
III.56.3: On the basis of tváṣṭā … viśváropah in the preceding hymn (III.55.19) I take the subj. here to be Tvāṣṭar. Since Tvāṣṭar has a large role in the shaping and begetting of offspring, the identification makes sense in this context.

As Ge (et al.) points out, the deriv. pājasya- at the beginning of the Brhad Āranyaka Up. (ŚBM X.6.4.1) in the list of the body parts of the sacrificial horse seems to refer to the underbelly: dyauś prṣṭhām antaṛikṣam udāram prthivī pājasyam dīṣah pārśvē ... “heaven its back, midspace its belly, earth the underbelly, directions its flanks …,” which accounts for the standard tr. here ‘having three bellies’.

However, here in this passage with polarized gender and a sexual tone, I think it should also contrast explicitly with tryudhā (better *tryūdhā; see Old, who explains the shortening on the basis of following purudhā) ‘having three udders’. On a four-legged animal the underbelly would be the part that sags behind the ribcage, where on a female paśu the udder would be. The corresponding male body part located there would be the groin, hence my tr. The image is the common one of the ur-creator as androgynous. See III.38.4–7, a deeply enigmatic hymn in this same maṇḍala, where the creator is also both a bull and viśvārop-.

In c I suggest that patyate may be ambiguous between ‘be master’ and ‘be husband’ (on the basis of pātī-, which of course means both) because of the sexual activity in d.

III.56.4: I have no suggestions for the identity of the singular referent of a, cd (though the waters call to mind Indra), nor for the reason of what seems the intrusive b.

III.56.5: On this vs. see Thieme, Untersuchung 43–44 and 47–48. He is responsible for the second interpr. of vidātheṣu in b. See also vidātha- in III.38.5–6, a passage already adduced above ad vs. 3, and comm. thereon: ‘cosmic division’ seems the most likely interpr. of the stem there.

The three watery maidens in c may be evaluated in conjunction with II.5.5, also with the three (apparently watery) women who nourish Apām Napāt in II.35.5, and perhaps with the three goddesses of the Āpṛi hymns (Śarvasvatī, Idā, and Bharatī). Who they are here and what they are doing are unclear to me.

In d pātyamānāḥ ‘acting the master’ may be a sly joke, since it has females as its subj. and it was just used (3c) for the hyper-virile inseminator.

III.56.6: The emphasis on the day here is striking. Two different ‘day’ words get used: #trir ā divah ..., divé-dive ... trir no áhnah#, with the two parallel expressions polarized at the beg. and end of the hemistich. For another poss. passage with both words, cf. IX.86.19 and comm. thereon, where the possible semantic difference between the two words is explored.

III.56.7: Schaefer (196–97) nicely points out that the “intensive” (i.e., frequentative) sosāvīti is the verbal equivalent of the āmreḍitas in 6cd (see comm. above) with the simple verb suva.
I am not certain what to do with pāda b. The standard tr. take Mitra-Varuṇa as parallel subjects with those in c, with the main verb in d. This is certainly possible, but conceptually it seems a bit odd. Do Mitra and Varuṇa want things from other gods? would they beg for such a gift? Also Savitar is regularly hiranyapāṇi- (as in III.54.11), so the -pāṇi- adj. here (supāṇi) would associate M+V with him.

III.57 All Gods

III.57.1: The plural agent noun panitāraḥ predicated of just two gods, Indra and Agni, assumes other gods are covertly present; cf. III.54.9 in the same VD series, with devāsaḥ … panitāraḥ, after which the expression here may be modeled.

III.57.2: The standard tr. all take Indra and Pūṣan in pāda a as the subj. of duduhre in b and as modified by prītāḥ in that pāda. There are several difficulties with this interpr. First, pāda a has entirely dual reference: the two god names īndraḥ and pūṣā, followed by two dual descriptors, vīṣaṇā suhāstā, but both the adj. prītāḥ and the pf. duduhre in b are plural. Although Old suggests that this dual/plural disharmony is similar to (and therefore presumably no more problematic than) the pl. panitāraḥ in 1d, I think the cases are different: Indra and Agni have no dual descriptors in 1d and there is a plausible source nearby for the pf. panitāraḥ.

Moreover, in 2ab Old and Ge (/WG) take Indra and Pūṣan as agentive milkers, supplying what produces the milk (namely in this case the udder) as the object of duduhre. But medial forms of ṣdūḥ ordinarily take the milk-producer (cow or, by synecdoche here, the supplied udder) as subject; if there is an object it is the milk, either actual or metaphorical. This is exactly the use of the med. 3rd sg. pf. duduhe (that is, the identical form to duduhre save for number) in 1c. It seems highly unlikely that these two nearly superimposable forms would be used with entirely different syntax/semantics in near adjacency. The construction that would be reflected by the tr. of Old et al. is generally in the active; cf., e.g., I.64.5 duhānti ēdhah “(The Maruts) milk the udder.” (Re avoids the syntacto-semantic difficult by taking Indra and Pūṣan as the milk-producers -- “Indra donc, Pūṣan … ont donné un lait inépuisable” -- but the number disagreement remains.)

To avoid these two problems, I propose taking 2a as a variant pairing continuing 1d -- Indra and Pūṣan are often found together, as are Indra and Agni, and could equally admire the cow. In fact, if 2a continues 1d, the pl. panitāraḥ could be accounted for by the addition of Pūṣan in 2a. (Alternatively 2a can be a nominal clause with suhāstā as predicate: “Indra and Pūṣan, the two bulls, have dexterous hands” or sim.) I then take 2b as a separate clause, with prītāḥ a fem. nom. pl. referring to cows, who are “pleased” because they are well-treated and produce milk accordingly; they are the subj. of duduhre, and śaśayām refers to the milk they produce. In this interpr. the unnamed cows in b stand for the inspired thoughts, the poems, of “me” -- the poet who called his manisā- a milk-cow (dhuni-) in 1ab. The productive result of these poems in the sacrificial exchange, their “milk,” is compared to the “(milk) of heaven,” namely, rain. This theme is further developed in
cd: when/if the gods take pleasure in her, i.e., the poet’s inspired thought offered at the sacrifice, he hopes to get the reciprocal benefit of the gods’ benevolence. (Note the echo of *asyām* in c and *aśyām* in d, though unfortunately they are in different metrical positions.)

It might be objected that the cow in vss. 1–2 is otherwise singular (*dhenūm* 1b, *yā duduhe* 1c, *asyāḥ* 1d, *asyām* 2c), but the feminine plural dominates vs. 3 (*jāmāyah* 3a, *dhenāvah* 3c), and this may simply anticipate the number shift.

III.57.3: Ge takes *saktīm* as an infinitive, governing a dat. *vīṣṇe* (flg. the Pp.): “… dem Bullen einen Dienst zu leisten wünschen.” This somewhat wayward interpr. is not followed by the other standard tr., where *saktī*– receives its usual abstract sense -- though WG do preserve the datival interpr. of the ambig. Saṃhitā *vīṣṇa* (“die dem Stier das Kraftvermögen wünschen”). The more natural interpr. is Re’s, with underlying gen. *vīṣṇah*: “qui recherchent la force-active du taureau,” and my tr. reflects that.

As Ge suggests, the “sisters” in ab are the fingers of the officiant that produced the ritual fire with the kindling sticks; the cows in cd may be the ghee-oblations or (supported by vss. 1–2) the hymns accompanying the production of the fire, or both.

III.57.4: The first hemistich faintly echoes 1a, with *manīṣā* (4b) corresponding to *manīṣān* and *vivakni* (4a) reminiscent of *vivikvān*, though they belong to two different roots (*√ vac* and *√ vic* respectively).

Various referents have been proposed for the feminine pl. in cd: dawns (Old), tongues, flames (Ge), flame-tongues (WG). Though Re favors flames in his tr., his comment in his notes is more illuminating: “Type d’ellipse d’un nom fém. pl., notamment dans le cycle d’Agni; plusieurs possibilités concurrentes.” This remark seems esp. apt to this hymn, with its focus on feminine entities.

III.57.5: The two descriptors of Agni’s tongue, *māḍhumatī* ‘possessing honey’ and *sumedhāḥ(l)* ‘very wise’, seem almost to clash in their juxtaposition, but they were probably chosen to reflect two different aspects of the tongue. On the one hand, Agni’s tongues of flame flare up when the libations are poured upon them; ‘honey’ presumably here refers to these libations (rather than to soma, despite the common identification of soma with honey; soma would put the flames out if poured on them). But real tongues, the kind that produce speech, can be qualified as ‘very wise’ because of that speech, and the crackling of the ritual fire often stands for ritual speech.

[III.58–60 JPB]

III.61 Dawn
III.61.1: In the publ. tr. “with a rich prize” is slightly misleading, since it represents only vājena, but “prize-giver with a prize” sounded flat.

“Young woman from of old” (purāṇī ... yuvatīḥ) reflects the usual paradox that Dawn is both new every day and the same every day from the beginning of time. She is “Plenitude” (pūraṇḍhiḥ) because she distributes the priestly gifts at the dawn sacrifice.

III.61.3: The hapax caraniyāmāna- seems an elaborate way to express what might as easily have been simply cárant-. Re tr. ‘traçant la marche’ and comments that it has “valeur durative-technique par rapport au simple cárantī.” My ‘making progress’ also attempts to differentiate it from the simple pres. to √car and to indicate its denominative origins.

III.61.4: The puzzle in this vs. is the image in pāda a, áva syūmeva cinvatī. Some factors that contribute to this puzzle: 1) áva √ci is not otherwise found in Vedic. (In epic/classical Skt. it means ‘gather.’) 2) áva need not be construed with cinvatī, but could go with yāti, esp. since tmesis in participles is considerably rarer than in finite verbs. 3) There are several roots √ci. 4) The referent of syūman- isn’t clear.

To begin with the last, most interp. locate syūman- in the realm of sewing and garments. Ge tr. “die die Naht auszieht” (“who undoes/rips out a seam”), sim. Old “… die Naht auffrennend,” Re “défaisant le fil.” Old suggest that it is the seam that holds the darkness(es) together. Sāy. goes further, in suggesting that it refers to a garment (vastram), which Dawn takes off. WG’s “Wie eine (Frau) den Gurt ablegend” may also reflect this image, though their n. vacillates between sewing and equestrian interp. The problem with all of these attempts is that, in its few occurrences, syūman- is otherwise used of horse tackle, esp. of reins; cf. the PN syūma-rašmi- (‘*Band-Bridle” Mayrhofer, PersNam s.v.) and the cmpds syūma-gabhasti- (I.122.15 ‘with hands as its guiding rope’), syūma-gībh- (VI.36.2 ‘pulling at the reins’), as well as instr. syūmanā (I.113.17), all in horse/chariot contexts. Despite its derivation from √śiv ‘sew’, it therefore seems unlikely that only here in the RV it would refer to garment construction. And, although Dawn as a female might in principle be connected with sewing (if that was Vedic women’s work), in fact she is usually not, whereas her travels are a standard theme; note, e.g., her chariot in 2b, her horses in 2c, and her driving (yāti) in this vs.

We must then turn to the verb. If we use the later ‘gather’ sense for áva √ci, the simile might mean “gathering up the reins (preparatory to setting out on a journey).” A similar idea, though not related to horses, seems to be reflected in Ge’s alternative given in n. 4a: “Wie (die Hausfrau), die das Halfterband (den Tieren) abnimmt (um sie auf die Weide zu treiben),” relating it thematically to svāsarasya pāṭnī “mistress of good pasture” in the next pāda. I prefer to compare the lexeme áva √tan ‘unstring, slacken’ of bowstrings (e.g., AV VI.42.1 áva jyām iva dhānvano manyām tanomi te hṛdāḥ “Like a bowstring from a bow, I make slack the fury from your heart”; RVic exx. similar but without an explicit bowstring). The image is of Dawn letting the reins go slack to give the horses their head. Curiously, Griffith’s tr.
is similar, “letting her reins drop downward,” though he thinks it refers to her sending down rays of light. If this interpr. is correct, I assume that it belongs to the root √ci ‘pile’, with a highly developed idiomatic sense. In fact combinations of √ci + PREVERB tend to show fairly extreme idiomaticity.

Arnold (Ved. Met., 300) suggests reading usā ā yāti for simple usā yāti, which would yield an 11-syl. line. Old is tempted but seems to favor the transmitted reading; Re, however, is convinced. HvN reject it without explan. (“a rest at the 5th place seems preferable”). I would follow Arnold and Re, and therefore the publ. tr. should be emended to “drives here.”

Pāda d is taken by Ge and Re (and me) as containing one of the relatively rare RVic occurrences of ā+ following abl. in the meaning ‘all the way to’. The source of this counterintuitive use of the abl. can be seen in passages like this, where ‘all the way to’ and ‘all the way from’ are essentially identical in sense: the light of dawn stretches throughout the midspace, and the directionality (from/to heaven/earth) is irrelevant.

III.61.5: The standard tr. supply a form of √vac (Ge specifically vivakmi, invoking áchā vivakmi in nearby III.57.4a) in pāda a, which is then taken as a separate clause: “I (call) to Dawn for you …” Although I resisted this in the publ. tr., I now see its merits, in accounting for the preverb áchā, the double vah (pādas a and b), and the acc. case of Dawn. I would therefore emend the tr. to “(I invite) for you the goddess Dawn, radiating widely; proffer your well-twisted (hymn) (to her) with reverence.”

The standard tr. (also Lü 73, Kü 430) take rocanā as a fem. nom. sg., in order, as Ge says (n. 5d), to allow prá … ruruce to have its expected intrans. sense. But well-attested rocanā- is otherwise only neut. (X.189.3 adduced by Ge, etc., as another ex. of a fem. should be otherwise explained), and in the pl. it regularly refers to the luminous realms. I would prefer not to create a separate stem to apply to a single example, esp. because the default interpr. of the form would be neut. pl. There is a simple solution that allows the neut. pl. analysis to be preserved without imperiling the intransitivity of ruruce -- to interpr. the neut. pl. as an acc. of extent, as often. The publ. tr. reflects this.

III.61.6: The phrase arkaīr abodhi has double sense, since arka- can mean both ‘chant’ and ‘ray’ and abodhi both ‘has (been) awakened’ and ‘has been perceived’. The ambiguity nicely captures the ritual situation: we ritualists (wish to) believe that the natural world is set in motion and controlled by our ritual activity (in this case chanting that makes Dawn awaken and dawn), but the ritual is itself set in motion by phenomena in the natural world, in this case the appearance of the first light of dawn.

III.61.7: This vs. offers a surprising number of small puzzles. The first is how to construe usāsām iṣanyān. Most take gen. pl. usāsām as the obj. of the participle, despite its unexpected case. (Others, like Pischel and Lü [for details see Lü 596–97], simply label usāsām an acc. -- convenient but unconvincing.) I supply ‘cows’ (gās) as obj. on the basis of III.50.3 (in this maṇḍala) sām … gā iṣanyā and IX.96.8. That
the bull (vṛṣā) in the next pāda is the subject of ‘drive’ invites a bovine object. The cows, as often, can be the rays of the Dawn (the “dawn cows”). They are driven “on the foundation of truth” (ṛāṣya budhnē), that is, the earth and more specifically the ritual ground.

The bull doing the driving is, in my view, the sun, which follows dawn and could therefore be conceived as driving the rays of dawn before him. His “entering the two world halves” is, of course, his rising above the horizon.

The standard tr. take candréva in d to mean “like gold,” but if the reference is to the precious metal, it should be candrám iva, as they all acknowledge. With Gr and Old I instead take it as the fem. nom. sg. it appears to be, referring to Dawn. But who/what is the subj. of the frame? Most tr. take it to be the sun, who spreads his radiance (bhānūm) far and wide. This is certainly possible, but it leaves the māyā of Mitra and Varuṇa announced in c rather orphaned. I therefore prefer to take māyā as the subject of ví dadhe, in intransitive usage (“the magic power spreads/is spread”); the syntax of this frame is contrasted with the transitive but self-involved ví dadhe in the simile: “as shimmering (Dawn) has spread her own radiance,” with bhānūm belonging to the simile. This kind of syntactic disharmony is commonly exploited in similes, as I have discussed at length elsewhere (“Case disharmony in RVic similes”, IJ 24 [1982] 251-71).

III.62 Various gods

III.62.1: For the sense of this complex vs. and its relation to the rest of the hymn, see publ. intro. The point of the verse appears be that our hymns, however frenetic (a), are no longer effective (b), and therefore the activity of Indra and Varuṇa on behalf of their partners [=us] is in abeyance (cd).

With the standard tr. I supply ‘hymns’ with the opening imā(ḥ): imā girah is pretty common.

The praise hymns to Indra and Varuṇa appear to be whirlwinds (bhṛmāyah) to us, but they cannot be ‘thrust/brandished’ (nā tūjyā(ḥ)) by the devotees of the gods -- that is, they have lost their oomph, their energy, and therefore their effectiveness. For the connection between bhṛm- and tuj, cf. IV.32.2 bhṛmiś cid ghāsi tātujiḥ “You are a whirlwind, constantly lunging” of Indra. For the connection of hymns with tuj, cf. V.17.3 tujā girā. Despite its position, nā in b should be the negative, not the simile marker. See Old.

On sina- see comm. ad II.30.2.

I take sma as indicating habitual action.

III.62.2: In ab the combination of an intensive (johavīti) and two superlatives (purutāmah and śaśvattamām) gets its point across!

III.62.3: The “Shielding Goddesses” (pl.) appear here and in VII.34.22. In both cases they are associated with śaraṇā- ‘shelter’. A singular vārūtrī- also occurs 4x, once
III.62.10: in association with hótrā bhāratī as here. Beyond their/her protective role, the vārūtry appear(s) to be featureless.

III.62.5: Ge (/WG) take ā cake as 3rd sg. (Ge: “Er liebt unbeugsame Kraft”). This is certainly possible, but Schmidt (B+I, 131) makes good arguments for flg. Sāy and Gr in taking it as 1st sg.; see also Re (EVP XVI, ad loc.).

III.62.5–6: Vs. 6 is entirely couched in the acc. and picks up from 5ab, where the acc. phrase is obj. of namasyata; 5c is a parenthetical intrusion.

III.62.7: Ge suggests in his notes that this vs. could be a single clause, essentially “This praise-hymn is recited to you by us,” with te (a) and tūbhyam (c) tautological. This is possible, but it seems rhetorically unlikely.

III.62.8: This vs. is more complex than it first appears, at least in my interpr. The dominant reading is the one given by Ge: the simile in c matches the frame in a, with b parenthetic. Nearby III.52.3bc [=IV.32.16bc] is nearly identical with minor morphological variation in the frame: jōsāyāṣe gīraś ca naḥ / vadhāyūr īva yōṣanām. This interpr. is undeniable. However, I think the intervening b pāda can also be seen as a target of the simile, but in a syntactically twisted way. The object of the verb avā ‘help’ is the NOUN + PARTICIPLE phrase (in reverse order) vāyāyāntam … dhīyam “the insight seeking the prize,” which, extracted from its role as object and presented as a simple clause, would represent “the insight (nom.) seeks the prize (acc.),” with subject/object syntactic relations. Thus reconfigured, the phrase in b would match the simile in c: “our insight seeks the prize, as a bride-seeking man (seeks) a maiden.” The syntactic transformation of one of the parts of the structural pair from clause into acc. participial phrase does not disrupt their functional and semantic matching -- it rather shows again the pleasure that RVic poets get from off-kilter correspondences. (See, e.g., the simile/frame pair at the end of the previous hymn, III.61.7d with comm. above.)

This secondary reading presents another twist. In the dominant reading the subj. of the impv. juṣasva is a (male) god, the obj. a hymn (gīr-), a word feminine in gender. These genders match those of the simile: the subj. a bride-seeking male, the obj. a maiden. But when we consider the underlying clause in b, the genders are reversed: the insight (dhī-) is feminine; she is the seeker, not the sought, while the prize (vājā-) she seeks is a masc. noun.

III.62.9: The usual sharp polarity between the preverbs ví and sām is emphasized by keeping the verb constant (pāṣyati) and explicitly conjoining the two verb complexes with ca. My “looks at all creatures separately and sees them whole” is meant to capture the contrast of the two preverbs in idiomatic Engl.

III.62.10–12: All three vss. in this trca contain déva- (...) savitār- (or vice versa).
III.62.10: And here, buried in this not particularly noteworthy hymn, is the Gāyatrī mantra, which is itself not particularly noteworthy on its own terms.

Note the play on dhīmaḥi / dhīyahi juxtaposed across the hemistich boundary, belonging to different roots.

III.62.11: I take pūramdhyaḥ as an instr. of accompaniment, not (with Ge [/WG]) an instr. of means.

III.62.17: The sense of the splv. instr. pl. drāghisṭhābhiḥ is unclear. This is the only occurrence of the superlative in the RV, and neither dīrghā- nor the cmpv. drāghīyas- occurs in the instr. pl. The standard interpr., that the splv. here is temporal (Gr ‘in längster Dauer’), seems reasonable, but not assured.