Changes in the Semantics between the Rgveda Samhitā and the Brāhmaṇas

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Needless to say, all the flaws are mine as I am also responsible for any incompleteness. This is a first step into the study of the semantic development of the Vedic language(s) along with the change in its social mosaic. The work could be brought forward thank to the support of the two Universities that sustained the program “co-tutelle de thèse”, the Eberhard Karls Universität of Tübingen and the Università degli Studi of Turin. Moreover, the University of Milan granted me a two years fellowship to study abroad, supporting my first years of research. In Milan I started studying Linguistics under the wise guidance of Prof. Giacomelli, and there I was introduced to Sanskrit by the indefatigable care of Prof. Boccali. Many friends and persons I love were involved in the process, willingly and unwillingly, and I hope that the result will give them back at least part of what they gave me. I also wish some stranger will cross upon this book and find some sense it.

We all depend on the kindness of strangers.

List of Abbreviations

AB: Aitareya Brāhmaṇa
ahd.: althochdeutsch
ai.: altindisch
AVP: Atharvaveda Paippalāda Saṃhitā
AVŚ: Atharvaveda Saunakya Saṃhitā
ĀŚS: Āśvalāyana Śrauta Sūtra
KpS: Kapiṣṭhala Saṃhitā
KS: Kāṭha Saṃhitā
KauS: Kauthuma Saṃhitā
KauB: Kauṣitaki Brāhmaṇa
JAOS: Journal of American Oriental Society
JS: Jaiminiya Saṃhitā
MhB: Mahābhārata
MS: Maitrayāni Saṃhitā
RV: Rgveda Saṃhitā
TB: Taïttriya Brāhmaṇa
TS: Taïttriya Saṃhitā
ŚB: Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, Māḍhyamīna recension
VS: Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā, Māḍhyamīna recension
Introduction

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

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

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

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

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

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

The core of the work will focus on the semantics of the Vedic outcome; in the second chapter we will first pick over the Rgvedic occurrences of the verbal root -van₃, henceforth also referred

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1 As to the period of recasting within the Vedic time, see, among others, RENOU 1947, WITZEL 1989 and 1997, PROFERES 2007. I will deal with this topic in Chapter 2.
to as van-/vari-. The functional analysis let us pinpoint two type of readings: a nuclear meaning that is deployed in most of the occurrences of the Rgveda Samhitā and a ritual one which is bound to an actual moment of the sacrifice.

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

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

To sum up, this research takes advantage of the Rgvedic evidences to shed a light on the duplicity of the Indo-European root *yen-/yen-H; moreover, it deals with the development of van-/vari- along the Rgvedic and post-Rgvedic texts, charting the change in the use of the verb. Finally, it is concerned with a third aspect, namely the diastratic2 distribution of the meaning “to desire”.

Criteria of the work and selection of the texts

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

Returning to some key-concepts, I would like point them out here and provide the relevant references. The idea of semantic field3 as a lexical field applied to some content domain, insofar as the meaning of a word is regarded as a cluster of semantic components4, has recently been

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2 Whereas, since Saussure, the two main approaches to languages were the synchronic and diachronic ones, the linguist E. Coseriu (see Coseriu 1970) has proposed a third method based on the idea that different linguistic social strata are synchronically embedded within a language. He developed his theory from that of Flydal (1931) who termed this kind of analysis as “diastratic”. I would like to thank Carla Miotto (Romanische Seminar, Tübingen) for drawing my attention to Flydal’s work.

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

4 Within this approach the terms “seme” and “sememe” have been coined for the semantic components and the
Criteria of the work and selection of the texts

employed in Vedic studies in particular by ROESLER 2004.

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

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

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

For the transliteration of the **Rgveda Samhitā** I used the editions by F. M. Müller and by van Nooten-G. H. Holland, including the metrical correction (*orthoepic diaskeuasis*). For the other texts, the transliteration, when not indicated, is my responsibility. References to the translations of the **Rgveda Samhitā** made by K.F. Geldner, L. Renou and to the most recent translation of the first five mandalas by M. Witzel and T. Gōto (*et alii*) are made systematically. To avoid overloading the text, the first two works will be cited giving the author’s surname followed by volume and page indication without repeating the year of publication in all the references. The beautiful and enlightening translation of Jamison and Brereton (JAMISON-BRERETON 2014) could not be taken in account systematically, as it came out in 2014. As to the editions and translations of the other Samhitās and Brāhmaṇas, they are listed among the primary texts of the Bibliography and also cited in the lists of post-Rgvedic occurrences at the beginning of every

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

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

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

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

6 For this part it has been of great help Bloomfield 1906.
I. Presentation of the Problem: Two Meanings and Two Roots?

I.1 The Indo-European Linguistic Situation.

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

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

Moreover, the very same etymological dictionaries and lexicons mentioned above make it clear that we cannot, on the basis of the historical developments postulated, claim biunique correspondence at the semantic level with any certainty. In fact, while we have the Germanic giwinnan to contrast with wunsc(h) and the Latin venus- which may possibly be associated with

7 See the major etymological lexicons and dictionaries, such as WALDE 1927-1932: I, 258-260; POKORNY 1959-1969: 1146-7 and LIV 680-683.
I. Presentation of the Problem: Two Meanings and Two Roots?

the old Indian *vanas*- or the Tocharian A *wañi*, we have, however, on the one hand, many forms in which the laryngeal has left no trace – no evidence to assert or deny its existence – and on the other hand no attestations outside the Indo-Iranian branch. Or rather, to be more precise, outside it we rarely find attestations of both roots and both meanings in a single language.

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

I.2 Rgvedic Evidences – *van\(_3\)*: Hypothesis of a Nuclear Meaning.

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

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

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

More specifically, the author tries out the hypothesis that there may be in a living language a semantic field able to account for all the senses of the Sanskrit verb. This field is supplied by the English verb “to get”. Thus the investigation is pursued through the various typologies of meaning that the Sanskrit *van-* / *vani-* appears to take on, verifying in each case whether the English verb can show a valid corresponding meaning, and eventually arriving at the conclusion that even as from the earliest attestations – looking back to the Rgveda Samhitā, that

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12 The semantic ambivalence at the Indo-European level can be read as a metonymic shift and this was to be the main argument of Migron in his analysis on the Sanskrit outcome (cf. Migron 1980).
I.2 Rgvedic Evidences – van3: Hypothesis of a Nuclear Meaning.

is – the semantics of van- / van- matches that of the English “to get”. Like MEILLET, Migron detects here a term originally associated with hunting and, taking here a different line from the French scholar, suggests a path developing from hunting towards desire. To corroborate this interpretation is the fact that the use of a venatorial (!) terminology with erotic senses is a widespread phenomenon marking the development of this root within many in the Indo-European languages (see, as a case in point, the Latin vēnāri). Thus, from an initial “to capture” (possibly an animal) the way led to a more general meaning, “to attract”, eventually arriving at the familiar concept of “to please” incarnated by the Latin Venus or the Germanic Wonne, showing a progression that boils down to something like chase > desire. Concluding his article, however, Migron leaves another possibility open, associated with stanzas like RV 6.16.26b adyā tvā vanvān surēknāḥ or RV 5.41.17b dévāso vānate mártiyo va, which may also be worth considering: “Another avenue has its starting-point in ‘make (a thing or person) one’s own’”.

Among those who supported the hypothesis of what Walde (cf. supra) had already called “Grundbedeutung”, i.e. of a meaning lying behind both roots and of the various meanings which the verb takes on, there is also KÜMMEL, who, however, studied the forms of the perfect to go on to hypothesise for van- / van- the base meaning “liebgewinnen” (‘grew fond of’), much as TRIER had read into it “gewinnen”.

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

At this point, according to the author, the need is to demonstrate whether the stem va(‘)na- gave rise to present forms and to verify the possibility of attributing to these forms the meaning “to love”, much as was done in the case of the stem of the present vanó- / vanu-: in the passages quoted by Gotō the verb var- can certainly be translated with “to love” or such like, with regard both to the attestations of the present and the forms of the thematic aorist, supplied by the stem vaná- (‘yujh-é’). A problem arising with this interpretative approach—the solution to which needs to be argued out at length—concerns vanema, the optative present 1st pers. pl. Deriving from the stem vana- (1st class), vanema should therefore be associated with the form set, but, on the other hand, in many passages it hardly seems appropriate to translate it as “to love” (of the many examples we may cite RV 1.70.1 vanema pūrvāryó maniśát). According to Gotō, who refers readers to the literature on the question, the form vanema can, however, be read as a thematic optative (a + i > e) constructed on the athematic root aorist, the existence of which is borne out by the subjunctive, and which finds a place among the forms of van- “gewinnen”.

Thus the scholar concludes that it is possible to contemplate two different original roots: 1) van-.
I. Presentation of the Problem: Two Meanings and Two Roots?

“gewinnen, überwältigen” mainly in the form of the present vanóti, etc., of the root and sigmatic aorist; 2) vani- “lieben” in the present stem vani-a-ti/te and in the stem of the thematic aorist vaná-. Also following this interpretative line is WERBA22, in his study on Indo-Iranian roots, as do the etymological dictionaries and lexicons mentioned above, which in fact refer readers to Gotô’s study.

The quantity of studies following one upon another over time regarding the root we are concerned with here is such that it has been expedient to supply only the two principal positions and their more recent and significant representatives; for the full picture of all the critical studies and the various exegeses, see EWAia: II 499-501, and more recently the analysis by HETTRICH (2007); the scholar investigates the meanings of van- / vani especially in the Ṛgvedasamhitā and, maintaining the division between the two roots and the two meanings, proposes for van- a schema that is based on the three german verbs siegreich seinl überwältigen erringen-gewinnen.

In the conclusion, noticing that the two meanings of the two roots are clearly observable and still very near, he states that “Das Verhältins zwischen beiden könnte man als ‘pragmatische Implikation’ bezeichnen23”. With regard to the possibility of attributing one single value to the verbal root or considering it the vehicle of both meanings, it is also worth looking into the interpretations proposed by Karl Friedrich GELDNER (1951) and Louis RENOU (1955-1969) in their works translating the Ṛgveda Samhitā. To some extent, their hypotheses anticipate the two illustrated above. Geldner makes use of both the meanings proposed for the verbal root van- / vani-, and yet there emerges a position that, on the one hand, seems to fit in with the hypothesis argued by Gotô, but on the other hand shows a basic and radical departure from these very hypotheses: Gotô holds that a biunique relationship can be established between the two root forms and the two semantic values but, if we take into account a sufficiently large number of passages, we find that the German scholar does not base his argument on the separation between the two forms deriving from the root set and those deriving from the root anit, but the choice between the two areas of meaning is made in relation to the context. A good example is stanza RV 1.31.13:

1.31.13 tvām agne yājyave pāyūr āntaro  
amśagāya caturkāsā idhyase  
yo rātāhatro avyākāya bhāyase  
kīrēś cin māṇtram mānasā vanōṣi tām

You, o Agni, are kindled for the defenceless sacrificer, close protector, with four eyes; of him24 who has offered the libations for nourishment free of danger, albeit weak25, van-, the verse with the mind.

With regard to the grammatical construction of the second two pāda (cf. footnote just above), scholars interpret this passage in very different ways, although almost all of them agree in attributing to vanōsi meanings that come within the sphere of the English verb “to love”, on account of a form of the stem of the present vanō / vanu-` which clearly derives from the anit root. In particular, while GELDNER (I 35) and WITZEL-GOTÔ (2007: 59) translate as “begehrt” and

23 HETTRICH 2007: 133.
24 yāḥ – tām : the construction of the two pādas is ambiguous and not completely clear (GELDNER I 35, n. 13cd); we might consider yāḥ relative to tām and kīrēś cin māṇtram mānasā parenthetical, as does GELDNER (I 35) “Wer Opfer spendet, um sich Sicherheit zu schaffen --auch des an Geist Armen Dichterreden”; alternatively, yāḥ is relative to kīrēḥ and so tām is adj. of māṇtram, as understood by ELIZARENKOVÀ 1995: 62-3 and RENOU XII, 6. Both possibilities are presented by OLDENBERG 1906: 734.
I.2 Rgvedic Evidences – van₃: Hypothesis of a Nuclear Meaning.

RENOU (XII 6) resorts to paraphrase, “gagne en ton cœur”, in the attempt to retain “gagne” for the Sanskrit verb van-, both taking the object of the action to be man. ELIZARENKOVA (1995: 62-3), unlike these two scholars takes the object of the verb to be mántram (the verse) and translates vanóṣi with the English “love”. Finally, it is worth recalling the two primary meanings that Elizarenkova supplies for van- in her study on the terms characterised by conversive meaning: “to like, to prefer” and “to obtain”, “to win” (cf. ELIZARENKOVA 1995: 47). Unlike Geldner, the French scholar holds that in the Rgveda Samhitā the value of “to desire” is not to be found in the use of van- / vani- (cf. RENOU XII 77-78 n.13); he adopts the French verb gagne in all its senses (cf. “ont gagné à eux” in 1 51.2) and sticks to this translation with great constancy, occasionally resorting to the more specific vaincre (above all for the form of the participle, cf. 6.16.27; 9.61.24; 2 21.1; 7.83.4; 6.16.20). However, there are some passages in which, while continuing in any case to underline the dominant value of “gagne”, seems to have no option but to abandon the initial choice and resort to “aimer” or “agréer”. This position has a certain affinity with that taken by Migron who, as we have seen, suggests the possibility of considering the various attestations of this verbal root as different developments of a single ancient term of hunting, which the scholar compares with the English “to get”: with a verb of this kind, which is applied over a very wide range of meanings and also lends itself to phrasal uses, Migron succeeds in handling the passages most suggestive of the presence of the meaning close to “desire”, as, for example, in the case of RV 8.45.23 má tvā mūr/āvisyāvo mópahásvāna ā dabhan mákım brahmadvíṣo vanaḥ – a stanza difficult to translate using the two meanings met with so far, and that will be throughout analysed at the end of this chapter, representing a keystone of the semantic speculation we are bringing forth.

Despite their differences, both positions seem to some extent equally possible. What, then, is the background that offers scope for this possibility? GRASSMANN²⁶, in his Wörterbuch des Rigveda, takes the seṭ and anit forms of the verb van- / vari- as different stems of one and the same root, suggesting for them a common, underlying and broader meaning: the various meanings of van- / var- can, according to Grassmann, be grouped under the concept of auf etwas hinzielen, sich hinrichten. Similarly, according to Pischel (PISCHEL-GELDNER 1889-1901: III §22, 198-204) Grundbedeutung of the verb is “auf etwas losgehen”.

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

Having, then, framed our question in the terms set out above, I made a functional analysis²⁷ of the attestations of van- / vari- in the Rgvedasamhitā in order to identify and delineate the specific contexts, and, comparing the differences in use, eventually establish its values and discern their connections. The result of such analysis, that is fully presented in the next chapter, is that the Rgvedic occurrences can be divided into five groups presenting different context-bound uses of the verb.

²⁶ GRASSMANN 1875.
²⁷ As to the notion of functional analysis, see Criteria.
I. Presentation of the Problem: Two Meanings and Two Roots?

\[
\text{van-: a) to possess} \\
\text{b) to win / conquer} \\
\text{c) absolute use} \\
\text{d) to appropriate} \\
\text{e) ritual meaning}
\]

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

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

\[
2.11.12 \text{tvē indra āpi abhūma viprā} \\
\text{dbhiyām vanema rtāyā sāpantah} \\
\text{avasyāvo dhimabi prāśastim} \\
\text{sadyās te rāyō dávāne sāyāma}
\]

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

\[
\text{vanema: opt. pres. 1^{st}pl. I-VI cl.} \\
\text{Geldner: I 288 “wollen Gewinn haben”} \\
\text{Renou: XVII 55 “gagner”} \\
\text{Witzel-Gotō 2007: 366 “wollen erreichen”}
\]

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

\(^{28}\) On this point, see the extensive study by Gonda 1963.
\(^{29}\) \textit{rtāyā} Geldner (I, 288) and Gonda (1963) take the term as an adverb, although \textit{rtāyā} was originally a feminine instrumental, while the substantive from which (\textit{rā-}) should derive is neutral; in the present translation it is taken to be an adjective referring to an understood \textit{dbhiyā}, considering also that it is with the right vision, i.e. according to the \textit{rā-}, that the god is honoured.
\(^{30}\) Not as a sign of esteem on the part of the god, but as an act of prayer which man first receives from the god and then, giving it form (in words, in sounds), “uses” to pray to the same god: consider the non-human origin of the \textit{Rgveda Saṃhitā}. For this religious context, with particular reference to the role of “vision” (\textit{dbhi-}), cf. Gonda 1963.
I.2 Rgvedic Evidences – van3: Hypothesis of a Nuclear Meaning.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

b) “to win / conquer”

c) absolute

e) ritual meaning

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

\(^{31}\) The desiderative often implies a conative aspect of the action in contrast with the resultative one. On desiderative, see Heenen 2006. A thorough examination is in §II.1e.
II The Ṛgvedic Scenario

II.1 Functional Analysis of the Occurrences

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

a- Variant meaning “to possess”

The first group represents the most common use of the verb. In some cases the subject of the action is the god who “van- something for himself” – for example nourishment, as in 10.61.4 or in 10.107.7 in which is the subject of the action is the Dakṣinā32, while in 4.44.2 it is the Aśvin, divinities of light and daytime, that in fact gain luminous beauty. In the stanzas dedicated to Indra, the object of the action is almost always soma, the drink the god is so fond of as to be recognised among the gods as the “soma drinker” par excellence (cf. 1.61.15; 6.23.5; 10 105.5); while in 10.27.9 it is not soma, but the horse – the animal associated with this warrior god – that Indra “possesses”, or rather tames.

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

1.129.7 vanéma tád dhótarayā citántyā
durmánmānam sumántubhir
Let us possess this thanks to an excellent sacrificial offering: let us possess riches, o lord of riches, let us possess the issue of heroes, which is that which gives joy, the issue of heroes; we can satisfy the evil evoked33 with benevolent words as nourishment, satisfy Indra with luminous, true invocations, he who is worthy of sacrifice with luminous invocations.

2x vanéma: opt. pres. 1st pl. I-VI cl.
GELINDER: I 181 “möchten gewinnen”
RENOU: XVII 43 “gagner”
WITZEL-GOTO 2007: 241 “gewinnen möchten”

32 Dakṣinā from dákṣiṇā- “right” (as opposite to left), a term of very broad application, also indicating a sacrificial offering presented to the officiant, at the completion of the rite and a stage of it; here, personified, is the devatāta of the hymn.

33 durmánmānam (acc. m. sing.) from dur-mánman-, mánman- is “thought”, but also “poetic invocation”, which seems to be the most appropriate translation here, given the contrast with sumántubhir (instr. m. pl.) from su-mántu- “good advice – word” (su + mántu < man- the same root as mánman-) (cf. EWAia: II 305-6), with which, by contrast, Indra is satisfied: the contrast is highlighted by the juxtaposition of the two terms. For mánman- cf. GONDA 1963 and RENOU: I 2 ff. On the binomial *su- / *dus- see COSTA 1990 for an interesting study on the original meaning of the two prefixes.
II.1 Functional Analysis of the Occurrences

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

5.70.1 purúrūṇā cid dhí āsti
ávo mínnām vāṃ varuṇa
mitra vāṃsi vāṃ sumatīm

Abundant now is your protection which manifests itself thanks to the ample space\(^ {34}\), o Varuṇa, o Mitra, let me possess your benevolence.

vāṃsi: inj. aor. 1st sing. sigmatic aorist

\(^ {34}\) purúrūṇa: purú urūṇā, urūṇā (instr. n. sing.) from urū- “ample”, the link between Mitra - Varuṇa and “the ample” (urū-) as opposed to the narrow confine (āṃbas) is also to be seen in 5.65.1-4: Mitra and Varuṇa are they whose protection is manifested through ample space, in liberation from the narrow confine; for GELDNER (II 76) “eure Gnade gewiss mehr als ausgedehnt”.

vāṃsi: inj. aor. 1st sing. sigmatic aorist

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

1.70.1-2 vanéma pārvir aryó manīṣā
agnīh suśōko viśvāni aśyāḥ
ā daivyāṃ vratā cikitvān
ā máṇiṣasya jáñasya jámma

Let us possess the many poetic inspirations\(^ {35}\) of the stranger\(^ {36}\), Agni, who burns well, let him obtain everything, he who has knowledge\(^ {37}\) of the divine orders and the descent of the human race.

vanéma: opt. pres. 1st pl. I-VI cl.

\(^ {35}\) manīṣā (instr. f. sing.) from manīṣā-, as in Pp., cf. OLDENBERG 1909: 71; GELDNER (I 91) and RENOU (XII 20) read manīṣāḥ; retaining the form PP “we can with our poetic inspiration (manīṣā) appropriate the many (‘poetic inspirations’ is understood) of the foreigner”, the sense remains unchanged. For the meaning of the terms manīṣā- “poetic inspiration” and manas- “thought, inspired thought”, from which manīṣa- derives, see THIEME 1967: 99-106, GONDA 1963 and MAGGI 1989: 63-114.

\(^ {36}\) arīyāḥ (gen. m. sing., the Vedic form cf. WHITNEY 1888: §340.e) from arī- “enemy”: for the present translation the interpretation proposed by THIEME (1938) is followed; see also OLDENBERG 1900: 167-180 and EWArA I 111-2.

\(^ {37}\) cikitvān (part. perf., nom. m. sing.) from the root cit- “understanding through visual perception”, perfect with resultative value – logical perf. (cf. Di GIOVINE 1996, in particular 273 ff.).
van- / van-, albeit in different contexts, means ‘to possess’, whether *soma* or beauty, in the case of a divinity, or riches, abundant oxen, but also, as in the last of the passages, the protection of the god or the poetic inspirations of the enemy when the subject of the action is man. There are two points to make about this group of stanzas: the frequency, already noted, of this sense of the verb and the quantitative disparity between the cases in which the subject of the action is man and those where the subject is the god. While here the former case is far more frequent, as we will see, the situation is completely reversed for the fourth group of stanzas. These disparities call to mind the possibility of an equally interesting functional analysis of what ELIZARENKOVA (1995+: 41 ff.) calls *conversive meaning* – semantic reflection of the Vedic model of the universe: “The idea of an exchange between the deity and the worshipper is lexically expressed by a “conversive” meaning […]” (ibid. 41).

**b- Variant meaning “to conquer”**

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

1.121.9 *tuvám āyasám práti vartayo gór
divó áśmānam úpanītam ṛbhvā
kútsāya yātra puribūta vanvān
chūṣṇam anantaíḥ pariyāvā is vadhaíḥ*

You have rolled the iron-bearing stone away from the celestial cow38, the stone put down by the able one;
When for the sake of Kutsa39 you, much invoked, Śuṣna with countless bows surrounded conquering him.

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

**GELDNER:** I 166 “Partei nehmend”
**RENOU:** XVII 41 “gagnant (la bataille pour K.)”
**WITZEL-GOTO 2007:** 222 “überwältigend”

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

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38 The sense of *pāda* a-b does not seem clear: GELDNER (I 166 n. 9 ab/b) hypotheses that reference is to the weapon wielded by Indra in the clash with Śuṣna but “warscheinlich durfte Indra […] nicht den eigentliche vajra gebrauchen”, while RENOU (XVII 41) “C’est toi qui fis rebrousser-chemin au (fouche) d’airain, fronde du ciel (à courroie de cuir) de vache, qui avait été amené par l’habile”, a translation based on the hypothesis advanced by SCHMIDT (1968: 147) with reference here to the setting free of the cows achieved by Indra, and the two following *pāda* refer to another feat of Indra, namely the fight against Śuṣṇa; see also OGUJBÉNINE 1988: 184 and SRENDIVASAN 1979: 9 and 21.

39 *ṣi* often associated in the *Ṛgveda Sambhitā* with Indra and the defeat of the demon Śuṣṇa, in the struggle for the sun, cf. MACDONELL-KEITH [1912] 1995: I 160 and MACDONELL 1898: §58 A and §69 A.
II.1 Functional Analysis of the Occurrences

2.30.6 prá hi krátum vrhátho yám vanuthó
radhrásya stho yájamánsasya codaú
índrásomá yuvám asmáh ariśam
asmín bhayásthe kṛṣṇatam u lokám

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

vanutháḥ: ind. pres. 2nd du. VIII cl.

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

WITZEL-GOTO 2007: 401 “überwältigt”

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

10.69.10 pítava putrám abibhar upāsthe
tvám agne vadhriaśváḥ saparyán
juṣāṇó asya samídhaṃ yaviṣṭha
utá púrvāṁ avanor vrādhataś cit

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

avanoh: ind. impf. 2nd sing. Ā VIII cl.

GELDNER: III 247 “hast überwunden”
RENOU: XIV 18 “as gagné à toi”

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

40 yám (acc. m./ n. sing.) from ya- relative pronoun, referring to those whom the gods annihilate sucking out to their strength, in contrast to the one who obediently promotes the sacrifice.
41 lokám (acc. m. sing.) from loká- “free space”, in this case free from dangers, and so “safe”.
42 Father of Divodāsa and in fact one of the “promoters” of the cult of Agni, i.e. of the ancestors who, according to the tradition, first kindled the sacrificial fire, which is in fact called in the first stanza agnér vadhriaśvasya, “fire of Vadhryaśva”, just as elsewhere we find mention of a fire of Bharata (2.7.1 and 7.8.4), of Divodāsa (8.92.2) or of Devaśā (3.23.3) cf. MACDONELL 1898: §35, 96.
43 vrādhataś: (acc. m. pl.) present participle from vrādh- “stolz sein” cf. EWAia: II 597.
Along the victory over enemies make your spirit well-wishing, thanks to which you can get the better in battles. Slacken the steadfast forces, we will overcome the many of all those who resist you with your protection.

vanéma: opt. pres. 1st pl. I-VI cl.
Geldner: II 321 möchtehen gewinnen
Renou: XIII 66 gagner (absolute)

c- Absolute use of the present participle

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

6.12.4 sá asmákebbhir etári ná súṣaír
agní śāve dāma á jātavedāb
drīamno vanván krát,vā ná ārva
usrāḥ pitéva jārayyi yajñāḥ

This Agni and Jatavedas, like the one who crosses, raises hymns through our chants resounding in the house; he who feeds on wood, he who appropriates with skill, like a courser, like the father of dawn, he is kept alive with sacrifices.

vanván: part. pres. nom. m. sing. VIII cl.
Geldner: II 104 “der gewinnt”
Renou: XIII 45 “gagnant”

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

44 mánaḥ (acc. n. sing.) from mánas- “thought, inspired thought”, but also “mental impulse”; for the meaning and interpretation of this term, see THIEME 1967: 99-106, GONDA 1963 and MÄGGE 1989: 63-114.
45 Renou (XIII 149 n. 20): sthīrā tanubhi scil. dhānvāni and translates (XIII, 66) “Détends les (arcs) tendus”.
46 sthīrā […] bhīnī sārdhatām “the many resistances of the defiants” is symmetrically associated with both tanubhi and vanéma, i.e. both to the action of Indra and to that of men. Geldner (II 321) and Renou (XIII 66) refer the syntagm to tanubhi alone, and take vanéma with absolute value.
47 abhiṣṭibhibh (instr. f. pl.) from abhiṣṭi: “protection”; here the plural has distributive value: “your help in every battle”.
48 etāri (nom. m. sing.) a very rare term of uncertain etymology, probably derived from the root i- “to go” cf. EWAnia I 265; Oldenberg 1901: 302; AfGr. III §107c, while Renou (XIII 132-3) takes it as a locative.
49 To be understood as “raises our hymns to the gods”, we also find here once again the role of Agni as intermediary between gods and man.
50 “Receiving care like a lover (jāra-),” for jārayyāi as causative or denominative cf. Oldenberg 1901: 302-3.
51 See, for example, vātāpiyam in 10.62.2; Geldner (III 163 n. a b) wonders if, as in 10.93.5, might be a possessive compound (baḥvṛiti) derived from vāta- (m.) “wind” + āpya- (n.) “friendship” “alliance”; “mit dem Vāta befreundet (?)” or whether, against (??) Pp., vātāpiyam is to be separated, as argued in 1913: 216, in
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Rgveda Šāṁhitā52.

d- Nuclear meaning “to appropriate”

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

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

7.2.7 vīprā yajñēṣu māṁ suṣeṣu kārū
mānye vām jātāvedasā yājādyai
urdhvāṃ no adhvārāṃ kṛtam kāveṣu
tā devēṣu vanatho vārāṇī

O wise inspired ones53, during the sacrifices of men, I invoke you, you, the poet-priest and the Jatavedas54, let it be sacrificed for you!55 Raise up our offering during the invocations, amongst the gods you two appropriate these choice goods.

vanathah: ind. pres. 2nd du. I-VI cl.
GELDNER: II 182 “gewinnt”
RENO: XIV 46 “gagnez”

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

5.44.7 vēti ágrur jāmivān vá āti śrīdhaḥ
samaryatā mānasā sūryāḥ kavīḥ
ghramsām rākṣantam pāri viśvāto gāyam

vātā(m) āpyam and vātām a passive past participle from van- (vgl. ávāta-) referring to āpyam (“gesuchte Gesellschaft”); thus also RENOU (XV 152-3) “l’amitié digne d’être gagnée”, while OLDENBERG (1912: 225 n. 26,2) finds this hypothesis unconvincing, considering the term a secondary adjective, possessive compound from a tatipūraṣa (determinative compound): “who has the friendship of Vāta (the wind as personified element)”. There exists no certain attestation of the form of the passive past participle (“vātā-”) of van-: the adjective ávāta- (“that no one has ever appropriated”) or possible compounds in –vata- cannot be taken as final proof of the historical existence of the form vātā-, since these nominal forms could have been constructed by analogy on the basis of the paradigms yuj-/ yuktā-/ áyukta-.

52 With regard to this and the root compounds, see in particular MIGRON 1980.
53 vīprā (voc. m. du.) from vīpra- (m.f.n.) “inspired” (cf. GONDA 1963: 36-40) from the root vip- “to quiver”, from which also comes vēpas- “the quivering of divine inspiration”; for the perfective value of the term, see KÜMMEL 2000: 498-9.
54 kārī jātāvedasā (voc. m. du.) can be considered an elliptical dual (GELDNER II 182 “Die beiden beredten Dichter [...] die beiden Jātavedas.”) or a separate dvandva, as in the present translation, referring to both vīprā, as in RENOU (XIV 46) “Vous deux (Oblateurs divins), orateurs-sacrés [...] vous (dont l’un est) barde, (l’autre) le Jātavedas [...].
55 mānye (pres. ind. 1st sing. Ā, from root man- “to think”) - yajādyai (dat. inf., from root yaj- “to sacrifice”) GELDNER (II 182) “euch gedenke ich zu verehren”, RENOU (XIV 46) “je pense (à vous); sacrifiez!” (cf. Renou XIV, 117-118 for the independent value of the infinitive in -dhyai); in the present translation the infinitive has been rendered with exhortative value, cf. MACDONELL 1916: §211-V.
II The Rgvedic Scenario

asmākaṃ śārma vanavat suāvasub

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

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

While in the other two cases – quoted below – the divinities invoked are Indra in 1.169.1 and the couple Mitra-Varuṇa in 5.65.4, where, however, the stanza of interest to us addresses in particular Mitra, whose benevolence succours the sacrifice and is manifested in its ample path, as previously in 5.70.1 (purūrūṇā cid dī āsti / āvo nīnām vāṃ vanara / mitra vāṃsi vāṃ sumatiṃ) “abundant now is your protection which manifests itself thanks to the ample space, o Varuṇa, o Mitra, let me possess your benevolence”:

1.169.1 mahāś cit tvām indara yatā etān
mahāś cid astī tyājaso varūt
sā no vedbo marutām ciktvān
sumnī vanuṣva táva hī prēṣṭhā

You, great, o Indra, have held these back, truly you are, great, he who protects from isolation⁵⁶; you who perform the distribution⁵⁷ for us, having understood, through the vision, the favours of the Marut appropriate⁵⁸, your dearest.

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

5.65.4 mitrō amhōś cid ād urū
ksāyāya gātāṃ vanate
mitrāsyā hī prātiśrurutab
sumatīr āsti vidhatāb

Mitra right from out of the narrow way appropriates, ample, the path⁵⁹ towards home, the benevolence of Mitra, who advances victorious⁶⁰, comes in aid of the one who performs the distribution⁶¹.

56 tyājasab (abl. n. sing.) from tyājas- for the interpretation of this term as “isolation”, “abandonment”, and in this sense “danger” (isolation was a serious danger for Vedic man) cf. GONDA 1957: 52 ff.
57 vedbāh (voc. m. sing.) from vedbās- an epithet interpreted in various different ways cf. EWAia II 582; GELDNER (I 246): “Meister”, RENOU (XVII 48): “ordonnateur”; the present translation is based on a hypothetical link with the root vidh- “to distribute the parts in the sacrifice” cf. CREVATIN 1982-83: 17.
58 “Make yours”, “for us” being understood: here returns the idea of transference from god to man.
59 The way is to be understood both in a metaphorical sense, cf. analogy with the chants in the first stanza of the hymn, and in the concrete sense, given that Mitra guarantees that the space around the house be ample, devoid of dangers, cf. THIEME (1971: 1112) Mitra and Varuṇa are they who dispense urvī gavyūti “ample pastures” with release from the narrow confines (āṃhī-).
60 prātiśrurutab (gen. m. sing.) from prātiśrur-, for the meaning of the term we have followed the proposal of GOTO 1987: 163; appellative usually used for Indra, GELDNER (II 73) refers it to the one who obtains the favour of Mitra (vidhatāb), but also Mitra victoriously fight those who violate agreements, provoking war, which makes the way home narrow, cf. THIEME 1975: 21-39.
61 vidhatāb (pres. part. gen. m. sing.) from vidh- “to honour, to sacrifice”, and more precisely “divide, distribute the parts during the sacrifice” cf. CREVATIN 1982-83: 17.
II.1 Functional Analysis of the Occurrences

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

GELDNER: II 73 “gewinnt”
RENOU: V 80 “gagne”
WITZEL-GOTO-SCARLATA 2013: 316 “wird gewonnen”

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

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

5.31.13 yē cākānanta cākānanta nū tē
mārtā amṛta mō tē āṃhra ārān
vāvandhi vājāni utā tēṣu dīhehi
ōjo jāṇeṣu yēṣu te syāma

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

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

GELDNER: II 30 “begünstige”
WITZEL-GOTO-SCARLATA 2013: 255 “hab gern”

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

5.65.1 yáś cikétā sā sukrátur
deva-trā sā bhravīnu nab
várnuro yāya darśato
mitrō vā vānate gíraḥ

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

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

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

1.46.14 yuvór uṣā ānu śrīyam
pārijmanor upācarat
rā vanatho aktúbhiḥ

“Dawn approached your beauty following it, o wanderers, at the end of the night you appropriate the ritual chants”.

vanathab: ind. pres. 2nd du. I-VI cl.
GELDNER: I 57 “gewinnet”

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

63 darśatāḥ (nom. m. sing.) from darśatā- (m. f. n.) “visible” “beautiful”, GELDNER (II 73) translates the term as attribute (“gernsehen”) and consequently considers the secondary as non-disjunctive relative (as also do RENOU V 80 and LÜDERS 1959); in the present translation darśatāḥ is considered predicate of an understood copula, and consequently the secondary as a disjunctive relative.

64 pārijmanor (gen. m. du.) from pārijman- (m.f.n.) “which turns around, surrounds the earth (kṣām-)”.

65 aktúbhiiḥ (instr. m. pl.) da aktīn-, vox media, which indicates a kind of colour of light, translatable according to the context as “sunset” or “dawn”, or, according to some authors, as “night” cf. ATKINS 1950: 24 ff.; EWAia I 40; KUPER 1997: 81-2; RENOU 1937: 6; THIEME 1949: 18.

66 rā (acc. n. pl.) from rā- a term which, mostly used in the singular, indicates a set of concepts which cannot easily be conveyed with a single corresponding term, rā- is “order”, “law” “truth”, the ordering activity at the cosmic level of truth.
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In other passages the god ‘appropriates’ something that is ever changing: in 6.38.1 and 8.7.9 it is the invocation, in 1.31.13 it is the verse (mantram), in 3.8.2 it is the sacred formulation (brâhma), in 8.13.33 the hymn of prayer, while in 10.61.3 it is inspired discourses – always something having to do with a fundamental element of the rite, namely the word. In stanzas 4.11.2 the translation of pada c-d retains the inverted structure of the Vedic original to convey a quasi-consecutive value which the text seems to have: ‘give us this “thing” which, by the very fact that you have appropriated it, has become bhûmâ (the great invocation)’, as if to suggest that it is precisely the fact of going through the god that makes the word powerful and effective, and that it is therefore for this reason that the poet asks the god to ‘appropriate’ the invocation:

4.11.2 ví sâhi agne gñaté manîsâm
khâm vêpàsà tuvijâta stâvânah
vîsêvebhir yd vâvânâh śîkra devais
tân no râsâ suñaho bhûri mânma

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

vâvânâh: subj. perf. 2nd sing. double stem
GELDNER: I 431 “aufnehmen wirst”
RENOU: XIII 14 “auras gagnée”
WITZEL-GÔTO-SCARLATA 2013: 134 “lieben wirst”

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

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

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

\(^68\) vêpàs (intr. n. sing.) from vêpas- “the quivering of divine inspiration”, for the ingressive value of the term, see KÜMMEL 2000: 498-9.

\(^69\) mânma (acc. n. sing.) from mânman- GELDNER (I 431) “Gedanken”, RENOU (XIII 14 and in particular I 2ff.) “évocation poétique”; followed in the present translation is the interpretation by GONDA 1963.

22
We have already seen, in the first two categories of this third group of stanzas, the possibility arising of attributing to van- / vanī- the meaning ‘to appropriate’, a term which, in certain areas of use, can be considered synonymous with ‘to possess’ or, better, ‘to acquire’. But in what sense can the syntagm ‘to appropriate’ be adopted here? In other words, what would be implied by the image of a god who appropriates the chants of man?

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

2.5.7 svāh svāya dhāyase
kṛṇatām rtvīŋ rtvijām
stómaṃ yaṁām ca ā ṛāṁ
vanēmā rarimā vavāṁ

He himself, for his nourishment⁷⁰, provides, as officiant, the officiant⁷¹, then a hymn and a sacrifice we can appropriate in the right way². We have given, we⁷³:

vanēmā: opt. pres. 1st pl. I-VI cl.
GELDNER: I 283 “mögen Gewinn haben”
RENOU: XII 45 “gagner”
OLDENBERG 1909: 192 n. 5,7 “mögen bemeistern”
WITZEL-GOTO 2007: 360 “gewinnen”

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

8.66.5 yād vāvāṁtha puruṣṭuta
purā cīc chīra ṅṇām
vavāṁ tāt ta indara sām bhārāmāsi
yaṁām ukthām turām vavāḥ

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

vāvāṁtha: ind. perf. 2nd sing. double stem
GELDNER: II 388 “verdient hast”

70 dhāyase (dat. n. sing.) from dhāyas-, “the act of feeding” “nourishment”, here metaphorically referring to fire.
71 rtvīŋ - rtvijām (polyptoton) (nom. m. sing. and acc. m. sing.) from rtvij- literally “he who sacrifices properly, according to the ṛtā-”.
72 ā ṛāṁ (ind./ adv.) “suitable”, “in the right way” for Agni himself is to be the priest.
73 The human part has been completed, divine intervention is wanting, invoked. Again we have the concept of co-participation between the human and divine spheres, co-participation being the indispensable basis for the sacrifice.

23
Continuing with our analysis, we address the passages in which van- / vani- is used in ways of less frequent occurrence than those as yet examined here. Here the verb is clearly used within an actual moment of the sacrifice, and either van- / vani- doesn’t require any direct object (e1) or the stanzas display a construction which is “the man van- the god” (e2).

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

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

10.27.18 ví krośan/ammavo víṣuvañca āyan
pacātī nēma nabi paksad ardhāḥ
ayām me devāh savātā tād āha
dr,uvana id vanavat sarpitennah

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

vanavat: subj. pres. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. VIII cl.
GELDNER: III 168 “wird gewinnen”

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

8.72.1 havis kṛṇḍhvam ā gamad
adhvaryur vanare pīnaḥ
vīdāḥ asya prāsānam

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

vanate: subj. aor. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing. Ā
GELDNER: II 397 “verlangt”
RENOU: XIV 36 “gagne a” (cf. 105 n. 1 “«réclamer; récupérer» ne s’ajuste pas au sens habituel”)
OLDENBERG 1912: 134 n. 1 “bemächtigt sich”

The following stanza seems, in turn, to indicate three stages of the sacrifice, referring to so many priests and different ritual acts: we have the hotri who van-, the udgat who chants, the adhvarya who goes under the stream with the offering, which appears to bring out a further meaning of the ritual context: following the symmetry so apparent in these padā, we might take the action

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<sup>74</sup> According to GELDNER (II 397 n.1a) and RENOU (XIV 36) the subject of ā gamad is Agni, while according to OLDENBERG (1912: 134 n. 1) the subject is the havisht, i.e. the ritual exclamation “havis kṛṇḍ eva” (for a description of the ritual cf. CALAND-HENRY 1906: 135 and HILLEBRANDT 1879: 29).

<sup>75</sup> With regard to havisht-, in the initial stage of the sacrifice, as interpreted by OLDENBERG 1912: 134 n. 1.
indicated by *van*- in these passages to be a ritual action, which can possibly, therefore, have no direct object:

5.37.2 sāmiddhāgnir vanavat stīrṇābarbir
yuktāravā sntāsomo jaṇāte
grāvhaṃ yāsya ṣṇām vādanti
āyad adhvaryūr hariṣāvā sindhum

Let the one who has kindled Agni appropriate, he who has strewn the sacrificial grass, who moves stones and squeezes out the soma, let him chant; let the *adhvaryu*, whose rapid stones resound, with the offering⁷⁶ go downwards into the current.

vanavat: subj. pres. 3rd sing. VIII cl.
GELDNER: II 36 “den Vorrang gewinnen soll”
WITZEL-GOTO-SCARLATA 2013: 264 “wird gewinnen”

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

10.61.2 sā id dānāya dābhyaḥ yamvāṁ
caivaṁḥ sūdār amittā vēdīm
tūrvayāṇo gūrūvacastamab
kṣōdo nā retā itātūtī sinīcat

This Cyavana⁷⁷, appropriating⁷⁸ for a gift that can be destroyed, built the altar together with the distilled juices⁷⁹; Turvayāṇa, whose words are the most welcome, poured forth the seed lasting as a stream.

vamvāṁ: part. pres. nom. m. sing. VIII cl.
GELDNER: III 227 “sich bemühte”
Pischel in PISCHEL-GELDNER 1889-1901: I 74 “absah (auf ein betrügerisches Opfer)”

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

7.37.5 sāṁtāsi pravāto dāśiṣe cid

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

⁷⁷ A seer associated with the Aśvin and opposed to Tūrvayāṇa, a prince associated with Indra, cf. MACDONELL-KEITZ [1912] 1995: I 264-5 and above all Pischel (in PISCHEL-GELDNER 1889-1901: I, 71-77), according to whom these particularly obscure verses refer to an ancient saga, a few details of which are given in MBh. 3, 122-124, in which Cyavana, having taken the soma, offered a sacrifice to the Aśvin against the will of Indra, attempting to trick him, and so relying on a dishonest sacrifice; in this sense Cyavana *dānāya dābhyaḥ vamvāṁ*.

⁷⁸ The interpretation that Pischel (ibid. 74) offers of the passage seems itself to suggest the meaning of *van*- as a ritual action ‘to appropriate’, ‘to have enter the circle of the rite’ ‘to have [the gods] enter the circle of the rite’.

⁷⁹ sūdār (instr. m. pl.) from sūḍa-, for the meaning of the term as “decoction” (*scil.* of soma) cf. Pischel (ibid. 74).
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\[\text{yábhir víves\textcommacronacuteo hari\textcommacronacuteśa dhíbhíḥ} \]
\[\text{vavanm\textcommacronacuteá ní te yújyábhir útí} \]
\[\text{kadá na indra táyá á daśasyéh} \]

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

\textit{vavanm\textcommacronacuteá}: ind. perf. 1\textsuperscript{st} pl. (only attestation in the \textit{Rgveda Samhitā})

\textsuperscript{GELDNER: II 219 “haben Gewinn gehabt”}
\textsuperscript{RENOU: V 43 “avons gagné”}

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

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

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

\[5.41.17 \text{íti cin nú praj\textcommacronacuteyai pasúmátyai} \]
\[\text{déváśo vánate mártyo va} \]
\[\text{átrá śiv\textcommacronacuteṃ tanúvo dhāsím asyá} \]
\[\text{jar\textcommacronacuteṃ cin me nír\textcommacronacutetir jagrasīta} \]

Thus the mortal, even now, appropriates you, o gods, for the offspring possessing cattle\(^{83}\), you, o gods, appropriates the mortal; here the goddess of destruction\(^{84}\) consumes my old age, benevolent dwelling\(^{85}\) of this body.

\[2x\text{vánate á:} \text{ind. pres. 3\textsuperscript{d} sing. Ā I-VI cl.}\]

\textsuperscript{GELDNER: II 42 “gewinnt”}
\textsuperscript{RENOU: V 21 “gagner”}

\(^{80}\text{pravát- (f.): GRASSMANN 1875 [ed. 1996: 880-881]: “Bergabhang […] abwärts führender Weg” GELDNER II 42: “Vorsprung”, whereas EWAia: II 183 “Vorwärtsdrang [] InstrSg mit Vorwärtsdrang, in vollem Lauf (u.a. von Flüssen)”}. The present translation tries to give back what could be the core of the world, that is the speed and precipitate movement, being it connected with waters or not.

\(^{81}\text{dhíbhíḥ (instr. f. pl.) from dh\textcommacronacute-}, there is no general agreement on the meaning of the term; the present translation follows the interpretation proposed by GONDA (1963, in particular 68-169), GELDNER (II 219): “Absichten” (intenzioni) RENOU (V 43): “poèmes”.

\(^{82}\text{útí (instr. f. sing.) from utí- “help”, for útí used in the plural cf. DELBRÜCK 1888: 80, according to GELDNER (II 117): “Hilfen” and RENOU (V 43): “allouées”}

\(^{83}\text{It is the offspring and cattle that make old age benevolent, and the mortal brings the gods to his side to obtain these assets.}

\(^{84}\text{Nír\textcommacronacuterti, goddess of disorder, destruction and death, but also of non-death as ageing, cf. RENOU 1978: 127-132.}

\(^{85}\text{dhāsím (acc. f. sing.) from dh\textcommacronacuteśi- “place, dwelling”, but also “freshness, fount” cf. EWAia: I 790-1 and in particular JANERT 1956.}
5.74.7 kó vāṁ advā purūnāṁ
ā vāne mārtyaṁāṁ
kó śīpro viprāvāhasā
kó yajñair vājinivasū

Who of the mortals has truly, to this day, appropriated for himself you two, who, inspired sage, has appropriated you two who receive the offerings of the sage\(^{86}\), who with sacrifices you who are rich in horses?

\vāne ā: ind. perf. 3\(^{\text{rd}}\) sing. Ā

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

Never is the immortal born of force driven, for it was Hot/her messenger of Vivasvat\(^{88}\); he has measured celestial space by means of the most just (?!) right (?!) roads, he through the oblation summons to the rite for the divine ceremony\(^{89}\).

\text{ā vivāsati: ind. pres. 3\(^{\text{rd}}\) sing. from the desiderative stem vivās-}

It already emerges clearly from this first example that the action indicated by the form of the desiderative, rather than ‘to appropriate for the divine ceremony’, must be ‘to have arrive for the divine ceremony’, ensure participation in this stage. In comparison with the forms of the

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\(^{86}\) \(\text{viprāvāhasā}\) (acc. m. du.) from \(\text{viprāvāhas-}\) (m. f. n.) “who receives the offerings of the wise one”, Geldner II 78 “für welche die Redekundigen eine Anziehungskraft (force of attraction) haben”, according to Renou (XVI 39) it is a substantive constructed on the model of \(\text{yajñā-vāha}, \text{stóma-vāha}\).

\(^{87}\) The desiderative conjugation often implies a conative and non perfective value. As mentioned before, on desiderative see Heenen 2006.

\(^{88}\) One of the divinities of the Vedic pantheon, father of the \(\text{Aśvin}\) and of \(\text{Yama}\), among the first to whom Agni manifests himself, and of whom, as here, he becomes messenger, see Macdonell 1898: §18.

\(^{89}\) For the causal value of the instrumental, cf. Macdonell 1916: §199.3.
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principal conjugation, the verb serves here to indicate the initial moment, as it were, of the act ‘to appropriate’ – so too in 8.60.5 (and similarly in 1.41.8 and 1.12.9), where Agni it is invoked as incarnation of that order which the rite serves to re-found:

8.60.5 tuvám it sapráthā asi
ágne trātar /rringbelowtás kavíḥ
tuv/amacronacuteṃ víprāsaḥ samidhāna didiva
ā vivāsanti vedhāsah

You stretch out far⁹₀, you o Agni, o protector, you personified Order, you are the sage poet⁹¹; they who distribute the parts, inspired, summon [to the rite] you, o kindled one⁹², o shining one.

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

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

5.74.1 kṹṣṭho devāv aśvinā
adyā divō manāvasū
tác chravatho vṣanavasū
ātrir vām ā vivāsatī

Where are you today, o divine Aśvin, o celestial ones⁹₃, rich in devotion? Listen to this, rich in virility, Atri summons to the rite you two.

ā vivāsatī: ind. pres. 3rd sing. from the desiderative stem vivās-
Geldner: II 79 “wünscht […] her”
Witzel-Gotō-Scarlata 2013: 324 “wünscht […] her”

90 sapráthā asi: “you are vast (sapráthāḥ nom. m. sing.)” and so also “known”, hence for Geldner (II 381) “weitbekannt”; our preference here is to maintain the spatial value.
91 rtās kavīḥ: rtās: nom. masc. sing.: rtā-, a term with a wide range of meanings, here in a particularly rare form: it cannot, in fact, be considered a neutral substantive, but either an adjective derived from it and referring to kāvīḥ (the just kāvīḥ), or a masculine substantive, and so on in apposition to kāvīḥ. Kāvīḥ is, in turn, a substantive by no means easy to translate: often rendered with the terms “poet” or “inspired sage”, it is in fact he who is acquainted with the structure of the world, of the rite, and of the hymn. It is in this latter sense that we should perhaps understand the use of this substantive referring to Agni, he who is certainly acquainted with the structure of the rite and of the world, and as such, then, is also rtās (thus to be taken as a substantive), order personified, through a very particular construction which the poet may possibly have devised to underline the unique nature of the message. This hypothesis on the term kāvī- is an outcome of the research carried out by Dr. Frank Köhler, Eberhardt Karl Universität, Tübingen. For the results of this investigation, trying to outline the basic concept underneath this variety of meanings, see Köhler 2011. About the role of poetry in Vedic and classical Sanskrit literature and the relation between these two periods, see, among others, Jamison 2007.
92 samidhāna: present participle Ā from sam- idā:- “to set fire”; the use of the participle with the vocative is very rare, generally indicating something that happens at that moment and not a state, but here it is justified by the connection between this verb and Agni: it is a typical characteristic of Agni to be samidhāna, just as Soma is pavamāna (present participle Ā from the root ā-pū- “to purify”), soma during the process of depuration.
93 divō scil. napātā: “descendants of the heavens”, one of the epithets of the Aśvin.
Within this group of attestations we find the frequent recurrence of the same syntactic structure, in which the verb is accompanied by an instrumental, in accordance with the paradigm – manmi vivaś the god by means of “x” – where “x” can be the chants (8.15.1), the poetic vision (6.61.2), the word (6.62.5) or devotion as in 5.83.1 where the two verbs which precede a vivāsa are vada and stubhi, “speak to the god and praise him”; these are the incitements, and it is at the close of this sequence that the poet has placed a vivāsa-; in other cases it is invocation as in 6 66.11, where we find the same syntagm as 1.64.12, rudrasya sūnīm havāsā, but instead of a vivāsa as here, in 1.64.12 we find gṛṇīsati ‘to chant’, and in this recurrence of structures we find an evident link at the paradigmatic level between ‘to chant’ and the action indicated by vivāse, which is thus to be seen as an act of invocation: if the son of Rudra had previously been sung of, he is now similarly evoked, we might say, albeit in a different way:

6.66.11 tām vṛdhāntam mārutam bhrājadrṣṭim
rudrasya sūnīm havāsā vivāse
dvāh śārdhāya śucayo manisā
gṛṇāyā nā ṅpā ugrā asṛṇāran

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

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

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

6.52.17 stīrṇé barhíṣi samidhāné agnaú
sūkténa mahā nāmas vivāse
asmín no adyā vidāthe yajatā
vīśe devā haviṣi mādayadhvam

In the barhīs scattered on the ground, in the kindled fire, with a fine hymn, with great devotion I summon to the rite: in this distribution of ours, today, o gods all, worthy of sacrifices, of the oblation, rejoice.

94 Following the interpretation given in 1.64.12 the son of Rudra should be Agni, which hardly seems convincing here.
95 gṛṇāyaḥ: nom. m. pl. from gīrī- “mountain”; followed here is the interpretation by GELDNER (II 169: “Bergwasser”) who explains quite clearly in the note (II 169 n. 11d): “wörtlich: wie die Berge, die Gewässer. Asyndeton statt Genitivverhältnis [...].”
96 A mixture of leaves and above all dry grass which was scattered in the precise point where would be accommodated the divinity who, being invoked, would arrive to take part in the sacrifice.
97 vidāthe (loc. sing. n.) from vidātha-, a term of Vedic use and unclear meaning, possibly relating to the stage in
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You alone, purified for us, eager for the reward of victory, having made the sacrifice welcome; he who has prepared the barhis summons to the rite.

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

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

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

What young woman for the impassioned lover is most loveable as wonderful acquisition? It is the hetaera when she has prettied herself, she by herself appropriates the companion amidst the people.

the rite when the priest “distributed the parts” cf. EWAia II 554. The gods rejoice in the distribution of the oblations which the priests have performed, and in the oblation in itself. See GONDA 1992: VI/1 310-337, KUPER 1974: 129-132 and OLDENBERG 1900: 608-611.
98 Reference to Soma as the king who wins the chariot race is very frequent; see in this connection SPARREBOOM 1985: 21-23.
99 maryatáḥ: (abl. m. sing.) a derivative term in –ta- from márya- “mortal” but also “young” “lover”, here taken as the adjective “impassioned”. For the various derivations of maryatáḥ cf. OLDENBERG 1912: 228 n. 12.
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vanute: ind. pres. 3rd sing. Â VIII cl.
GELDNER: III 167 “gewinnt”
Pischel in PISCHEL-GELDNER 1989-1901: I 309 “sucht (sich selbst)”

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

II.2 Avestan Comparison

With regard to this type of movement, so clear in the desiderative, it is worth mentioning the interpretation conjectured by SCHMIDT100 on the Avestan outcome of the same Indo-European root. The passages taken into consideration in his article are indeed few: Schmidt goes no further than suggesting the presence of a possible unifying element for the various meanings which the Avestan verb van- encompasses. Nevertheless, following the examples quoted by a Schmidt, we come upon the very same functions we had identified for the Sanskrit verb.

Again, in fact, we find man turning to Anāhita101 (Yašt 5 130) to be able to make his a long list of goods that seem to evoke the land of plenty. In verse 58 of Yašt 14 the plea is to capture the enemy army, just as in the Rgveda Samhitā man so often made his the foreigner, the other, and just as we noted in fact the conqueror par excellence in the Indian text was Indra, so here the plea is addressed to Varōrāyna, ‘he who destroys obstacles’, a divinity of manifold forms, all however associated with the warlike element – the Iranian version of that god-warrior and slayer of the dragon or serpent, present in many Indo-European cultures102, who must from the origins have held an important role which is clearly taken on by Indra in the Vedic pantheon. Another function we find again in the Iranian text is that by which the god appropriates a good for the sake of man: in Yašt 10 75 the good is not specified; and that which he takes away from the enemies and the god to whom he addresses prayer is Miθra, who, unlike his Vedic namesake, has a totally independent role and is, indeed, the most important divinity after Ahura Mazda103.

The form of the present participle vanvan- as attribute ascribed to the divinity, who encompasses the concept of possession and domination, can be associated with the use of the Avestan verb in Yašt 13 68: the Fravaṣi are said to be ‘they who appropriate’. This divine group of guardian spirits holds three functions: they are the ancestral spirits, the soles of the forebears (cf. the Latin Manes or Indian Pitara), the spiritual element of the human being, one of the many souls known to the language of Zarathustra, but also a troop of warriors that protects the world and

100 SCHMIDT 1982.
101 Divine female power associated with watercourses.
102 Cf. WATKINS 1995.
103 This, obviously, was subsequent to the rise of the doctrine of Zoroastrianism: a hymn dedicated to Miθra is in fact perfectly possible in the Yašt, but not in the earlier Yasna or the Gāthā, i.e. in the Old Avestan texts, which set out the early Mazdean doctrine; in this case we are confronted with a subsequent period (although as of yet it has not been possible to guage the span between the two points in time), when the doctrine has already undergone modifications and adjustments from the initial form.
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maintains the cosmic order. It is in this cosmogonic role that they are named, as warriors and helpers of Ahura Mazda in the creation and in the fight against the waters.

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

14 41 vārōhraynām ahurādātām yazamaide, vārōhraynō avi imat
\[\text{ni-vānāti: ind. pres. 3rd pl. I cl. fro the stem vāna-}\]
DARMESTETER 1883 : 242 “beat”
GELDNER 1884 : 76 “bedecken”
WOLFF 1924 : 263 “verhüllen”
LOMMEL 1927 : 140 “behüten”
KELLENS 1974 : 80 “sont vainqueurs”
MALANDRA 1983 : 86 “envelop(?)”
SCHMIDT 1982 : 267 “hit (sprinkle, cover)”

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

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

Let us now try to map out our findings so far. With regard to the question we started with, about the possibility of reading two different forms (*/u/-/*-H) endowed with two different meanings, on the evidence of the analysis made so far we must recognise that within the Rgveda Saṃhitā the outcome of the verbal root do not show any such symmetry between pseudo-morphologising phonetics and semantics. Thus it hardly appears appropriate to establish a biunique correspondence between the two meanings – or the different senses which the Sanskrit shows – and the morphological alternation. The presence of the laryngeal, which is not made questionable but in fact borne out by certain Sanskrit forms, does not seem to imply a semantic value: there is an alternation, which cannot be seen as arbitrary or random, and which could – according to some authors – have its own distinctive role. On the other hand, on the evidence yielded by analysis of the attestations we cannot endorse Gotō’s hypothesis of a biunique relationship between the two root forms and the two semantic values. Taking the passages analysed as a whole, it will be seen that any choice between the two semantic areas depends on the context and is not based on the separation between the forms derived from the respective I.E. reconstructions. Nor can we determine any significant recurrences in the morphology, in part because we have relatively few cases, and in part due to the impossibility of determining with

104 xvarānō (acc. n. sing.) from xvaranab- , a term indicating the glory with which Vārōhrayna is always surrounded.
105 gaosurābyō: (dat./abl. n. pl.) from gaosuru- “wealth in cattle”, followed here is the interpretation by KELLENS (1974: 78), who considers this an instrumental of company with dative/ablative ending.
any certainty the presence of a laryngeal – a difficulty already pointed out by various scholars\textsuperscript{106}.

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

“To appropriate”, proposed as nuclear meaning for our investigation into the verb \textit{van- / vanī-}, is thus modified or, better, expanded: in addition to the various senses of “to possess” and “to dominate”, the attestations analysed point to a far more specific and contingent meaning – “to have enter the circle of the sacrifice”. That there is a connection between these two values is beyond all doubt: the ritual action described above represents a realisation – one of the possible modalities of “making one’s own”. This meaning then, by extension, comes to indicate the same action, but dissociated from the ritual context (“to have enter one’s circle”, and so “to appropriate”), and is eventually specialised in various senses depending, in fact, on the contexts. Thus we have for the verb \textit{van- / vanī-} on the one hand a base meaning, “to appropriate”, and, on the other hand, a specialised meaning, “to have enter the circle of the sacrifice”, to be found in the specifically ritualistic sections of the \textit{Rgveda Samhitā} and associable with that “gestural language”, use of which was highly developed.

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


\textsuperscript{107} A term that seems to refer to a category of persons excluded from the Brahmanical religion – the persons we would call “heretics”, or perhaps simply people considered too stupid, who do not come up to the standards necessary to have access to the right, an interpretation that still fits in with the idea of error (“he who fails”), suggested by \textit{PECA CONTI 1982-83: 41-51}. However, the meaning of the term remains somewhat unclear in the light of analysis of all its attestations in the \textit{Rgveda Samhitā}.

\textsuperscript{108} \textit{ā dabhan} (subj. aor./inf. 3\textsuperscript{rd} pl., cf. EWA I 694 and \textit{HOFMANN 1967: 243}), on the various meanings of the root \textit{dabh-}, in relation to the form \textit{dambhya-yati}, see \textit{ISSLER 1969}, who hypothesises a verbal stem \textit{dambhaya-}...
II.3 Nuclear Meaning, Ritual Meaning and the Absence of “desire”

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

8.45.23 mā tvā mūrā avisyāvo
mópahāśvā ādabhan
mákīm brāhmādiśo vanāb

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

vanāb: inj. pres. 2nd sing. I-VI cl.
GELDNER: II 362 “vorziehen”
RENOU: XII 77-8 n. 13 “n’attire pas à toi”
HÖFFMANN 1967: 87 “liebe”
INSLER 1969: 22-3 “do not long for”
MICRON 1980: 270 “get”
GOTO 1987: 284 “finde Gefallen”

Arguing along these lines we have taken a distance both from those who take the element of conquest, of victory, to be predominant and from those who lean towards the meaning “to desire”, which is undeniable, but develops more clearly in a later phase, as, e.g., in the Sanskrit term vanitā. Considering the RV attestations of van- / var- it seems reasonable to argue for the absence of the meaning “to desire”, and yet this element can be discerned in nuce even in this early phase: it is present in the very idea expressed by the verb and is clearly manifested in the desiderative, where the non-perfective aspect of this conjugation highlights an outward movement that is “straining towards”. It may even be present – as potential – in the principal conjugation. We shall then go on to investigate the transition when the meaning “to desire” appears clearly. It can be seen first in the nominal derivatives, vāmā “that which is desirable” “good”, and it is also reflected in the verb vāṅch- “to desire”. This derivative of van- / var- is attested only once in the Rgveda Sambitā – significantly in book 10th, and it doesn’t represent an hapax in the Atharvaveda texts. Moreover, in this latter anthologies the primary verb itself takes on the meaning “to desire”. Any further speculation should be based on the following two points: the semantic field of desire is attested at the Indo-European level and there are evidence of the same meaning in the Atharvavedic tradition, though not in the Rgvedic one. One possible scenario is that two linguistic traditions have developed independently one from the other: the one that came down to us through the Rgveda Sambitā and the other one that is partially recorded in the Atharvedic sources. In the latter the meaning to desire is clearly present, while in the first one has almost disappeared. Nevertheless the linguistic tradition fragmentary attested in the Atharvaveda texts might trace back to the I.E. period and it is plausible to suppose that it has continued –although we have but scantly attestations of it – later on through the Vedic period up to the moment when Sanskrit appears. We could image it as hidden, submersed wave that comes rhapsodically to the surface.111

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

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

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

110 Here understood not only with the original value of “sacred formulation” (THEME 1952: 91-129), but also in its broader meaning of universal principle; on the various interpretations proposed for this term, see GONDA 1950.

111 On the hypothesis of submersed linguistic traditions see Trümpy 1986. I would like to especially thank Professor Butzenberger for his enlightening suggestions on this matter.

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II The R̄gvedic Scenario

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

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

![Diagram](image)

<sup>112</sup> Staal 1989.
III. Post-Rgvedic Developments: a Diachronic Analysis

III.1 The Context

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

III.1.1 Relative Chronology of the Post-Rgvedic Sources

What we are mainly dealing with are the crucial and somehow obscure periods that can be first labelled according to the different language typologies, namely the Mantra (including the prose mantra, i.e. yajus), the Yajurveda and Brāhmaṇa ones. As we have already mentioned in the Introduction, one salient distinction between the earliest text of the Vedic culture and the later ones is that while the Rgveda Samhitā is almost consisting of original compositions, the liturgical texts are an editorially constituted arrangement of Rgvedic stanzas, used as mantras, and “exegetical” parts.

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

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

113 As to the role of the different schools within the creation of the Vedic corpus, see Renou 1947.
115 For this chronological division, see Witzel 1997: 257-345 and 1989.
116 As to the concept of segmentarian lineage societies, see Sahlin 1961.
117 As for the use of the terms kṣema and yoga, see Oberlies 1998.
only realised when the society as a whole is faced with a challenge from outside itself.\textsuperscript{118}

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

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

Within this lapse of time, which entails the construction of the classical ritual, we may try to outline a relative chronology of the texts we are going to analyse, according to the ample research of Witzel and to the studies of many scholars on single schools or texts.\textsuperscript{119}

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

Especially concerning the Samhitā of the YV school (except for the White Yajurveda) we find a series of two types of texts: the mantra and the brāhmaṇa. The first type goes back to the period between the redaction of the Rgveda Samhitā and the composition of the earliest post-Rgvedic Samhitās and which is called the Floating Mantra Period. Along Witzel's\textsuperscript{120} division of the textual strata, this represents the second level after that of the RV and to this second level we can trace back the mantra parts of some Yajurvedic śākhās' texts as part of the Kātha Samhitā and Maitrayāṇī Samhitā. The expository prose (the brāhmaṇa parts) of the YV represents the third level, while the early Brāhmaṇas can be considered the fourth.

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

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

- gap -

\textsuperscript{118} See in particular the interesting and stimulating work of PROFERES (2007) on the political developments and the different aspects of the Vedic ideals of sovereignty within the construction of a leading role.

\textsuperscript{119} See, as already said, WITZEL 1997 and 1999. As to single texts, see already KITTL 1914 (on TS); SCHROEDER 1879 (on MS); GRIFFITHS-SCHMIDTEN 2007 (on AVP), as well as the specific editions mentioned in the Bibliography, Primary texts and translations.

\textsuperscript{120} See WITZEL 1995 in particular pp. 2-8, and as to the Mantra language see also NARTEN 1968: 113-114.
III.1 The Context

Kuru: Middle Vedic
1. Redaction and re-arrangement of the RV canon (close to the one we have, cf. *orthoepic diaskeusasis*)
2. Floating Mantra Period: formation of the *mantras* in the Ur-YV; Ur-Sāmaveda; Ur-Atharvaveda. → composition of MS, KS, PS (Mantra typology).

Kuru-Pañcāla: Middle Vedic
1. Mantra typology: TS, ŚS.
2. Yajurveda Prose (*brahmaṇa-prose*)
3. Early Brāhmaṇas

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

III.1.2 The Ritual Context

The rituals we know are the legacy of tribes developing from nomadic and almost autonomous groups of clans, as suggested by the theory of fission and fusion, to a much more hierarchic and fixed society. Whereas the hymns do not give many clues as to the *realia*, i.e. to the actual world in which they have been composed, already the earlier social settlement we suggested is somehow mirrored in the *Rgveda Samhitā*, e.g. the nomadic feature and the issue of a overwhelming warrior-god like Indra. We may go on speculating a correspondence between the alternating moments of *ksema* and *yoga* and the interpretation of the relation between Indra and Varuṇa as proposed by Oberlies (1998): the alternation of these two deities and their systems, one of the main features of the Vedic pantheon, could mirror the political dynamics on which those tribes were founded. Furthermore, the settling of the Kuru-Pañcāla hegemony deeply affected the performance of the sacrifice and the requests it should fulfil. Then, the social and political change entailed a period of restructuring and transformation, where many things and aspects within the society were not settled; the social and religious structure itself was not established in the way we find afterwards: “The principal unit responsible for the transmission of the verse liturgies of this *śrauta* system is the *śākhā*, the “branch” or school, which defines itself by the peculiarities of its transmitted text. However it is significant that the institution of the *śākhā* is not recognised in any *śrauta* rite. […] This strongly suggests that at the time of the creation of the prototype for the *śrauta* liturgy, the *śākhā* was not yet a recognised social unit”121. Indeed, in this unstable period of transition, religion played a significant role. As we said above, the need of a commonly shared ritual set, endowed the rite with an enormous power, and, at the same time, charged it with an increasing amount of implications and requirements, above all that of being regulated. Indeed, the rite was already the core of the Ṛgvedic society122, sacrifice was the leading element within the world view of the Vedic man: it was the binding, mandatory condition in order to acquire any goods, it stood as the junction between the divine and the

121 Proferes 2003a: 19. On the different Vedic *śākhās* see also Renou 1947.
122 Though we must never forget that the source we have, namely the *Ṛgveda Samhitā*, is one-sided source, being affected just by a strong religious-ritual bias, yet this element should have been a salient feature of that culture too.
human realm; the presence of the gods was re-established in the sacrifice every time again, hence it was the prerequisite for their epiphany. It represented the layer in the middle, the intermediate stage between the human microcosm and the divine macrocosm, and at this meso-cosmic level, the man could rule over the scores of forces that he observed taking effect on a world where everything was linked and where the principle of analogy was working. The importance of the sacrifice cannot be overstressed, as well as the salient role of its main means: the speech. The speech is powerful, it is the ritual speech of the ṛga--; nothing but the speech makes the sacrifice efficacious. Hence, the rite, the speech, the gods. The religious thought that already pervades the first Samhitā is based on the principle of analogy, and due to it, the three levels of the reality can communicate: Agni is the fire, the natural element, and yet the domestic fire of the hearth, as well as the priest introducing the sacrifice, and, in turn, the god that escorts the oblation into the divine realm. To sacrifice successfully means to have all these levels meet within the ritual ground, hence to perform an effective rite was a highly demanding issue. Already at the beginning of the Vedic culture, thus, the sacrifice was conceived as an entity in its own right, difficult to control, but along the political restructuring of the society, the capacity to rule the sacrifice has become more and more important, and the need to be able to assure its success was essential. What the sacerdotal groups came up with was, on one side, to make the sacrifice a god itself, a power to which even gods have to bend, but much more important, on the other side, to institutionalise it through a set of rules and a ramified knowledge; that process involved also the language that became extremely specialised, somehow approximating a technical jargon.

Indeed, according to the Vedic texts, there is only one way to control the sacrifice, and that is the knowledge of the mantras that allow the sacrifice itself to come back, to be performed again and again; moreover, it is necessary to know how to employ the mantras and what to do under every condition. This is the knowledge that the sacerdotal class could offer, the knowledge that could rule over sacrifice and let the world go on. Hence, a knowledge with a degree of complexity as high as it was possible to achieve. Therefore, we are presented with a countless amount of rites and prescriptions of which the aim was to cover all possible topics and handle the ritual field throughout, and indeed, as it is well known, here we witness the dawning of one of the first attempt at a science of the rite. The systematic and all-inclusive effort displayed by the redactors of the Vedic liturgy has a patent effect on the composition of the corpus, and the way they use the Rṣyadic stanzas, the mantras, inserting them as a central component within this amazing enterprise. As we will see in the next paragraph, the shape of these texts is conforming to the main issue to originate a ritual science.

III.1.3 The Vedic Web

Within this ritual context, we will try to give a picture of what may be the actual textual context, that is the way the stanzas of the Ṛṣyeda Samhitā are employed and the connections between the different Vedic śākhās and traditions. In the Vedic liturgical literature there are plenty of quotations from the Ṛṣyeda Samhitā. The stanzas are apportioned in each different rite.

123 For a general overview see Hillebrandt 1897 and the useful dictionary by Mylius 1995. As to the single studies on the Vedic rituals, we will recall here only the principal ones; on the Darśapūrṇamāseṣṭī see Hillebrandt 1879, on the Agniṣṭoma Caland-Henry 1906, on the animal sacrifice see Schwab 1886. 124 However we may consider this kind of literature, already the first anthropologist noticed its systematic issue and the effort of its authors for an all-inclusive presentation of the topics (see, e.g., Valberg – Mais 1899). Also Oldenberg underlined this characteristic of the liturgical texts with the title itself of his work on Brāhmaṇas: Vorwissenschaftliche Wissenschaft. Die Weltanschauung der Brāhmaṇa-Texte.
to be recited within a precise moment of the ritual action. Those kinds of quotations are to be found especially in the Samhitā of the Yajurveda and in the Brāhmaṇas, where they are accompanied by exegetical comments in some point or other. Most of the time we are presented with a long sequel of stanzas from different hymns and the text looks like a patchwork of quotations. As to the cultural development that resulted in such a use of the hymns, one of the most intriguing questions is whether this is a mere redactional enterprise, or if a clear intention guided the choices that the creators of the liturgies have taken.

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

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

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

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

Underlined: variants.

Bold: words not present in all occurrences.

a1- “Water- mantra”, non-RV mantra

Vedic Web
Mantra: TS 1.8.12.1a-b; MS 2.6.8: 68,6-8; MS 4.4.251,8-10; KS 15.6: 213,9-10; VS 10.4.
Mantra and Prose: SB 5.3.4.27.
Prose: SB 5.16-37; 4.1.15.

Rite
Rājasūya, the Abhiṣeka –the unction of the king during his consecration. This section deals with the preparation of the waters.
Waters from different sources are poured together into a single vessel. The mantra credits the waters with winning for the anointed on the power to rule –varcās “splendour”, cf. PROFERES 2007: 80ff; HEESTERMAN 1957: 70-74 and 114-22; see also TSUCHIYAMA 2005 for the Abhiṣeka in general and his post-Vedic development.
The collection and mixing of the waters.

Occurrences:
TS 1.8.12.1
III. Post-Rgvedic Developments: a Diachronic Analysis

a dévī āpah sám mádhumatir mádhumatībhiḥ sṛṣyadhvam máhi vārcaḥ kṣatriyāya vanvānās / b ánāḍhyāśḥ sidātorjasvātir máhi vārcaḥ kṣatriyāya dādhatīs /

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

MS 2.6.8

dévīrāpo mádhumatībhiḥ sāṃsṛṣyadhvam máhi kṣatrām kṣatriyāya vanvānāḥ / ánāḍhyāśḥ sidātorjasvātir máhi vārcaḥ kṣatriyāya dādhatīḥ/

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

MS 4.4.2

dévīrāpo mádhumatībhiḥ sāṃsṛṣyadhvam máhi kṣatrām kṣatriyāya vanvānāḥ ityetā hi kṣatriyāya vantrīnānāḍhyāśḥ sidātorjasvātir máhi vārcaḥ kṣatriyāya dādhatītyetā hi kṣatriyāya dādhyāḥ

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

VS 10.4

mádhumatīr mádhumatībhiḥ prcyantāṃ máhi kṣatrām kṣatriyāya vanvānāḥ \ ánāḍhyāśḥ sidāta sahājajaso máhi kṣatrām kṣatriyāya dādhatīḥ \\n
“O full of sweet, be mixed with the full of sweet, appropriating the great power to rule for the king, sit untouched, with the vigour-juice, putting the great power to rule into the king”

ŚB 5.3.4.27

tāḥ sārdhamaudumbare pātre samāvanayati / mádhumatīr debtumatībhiḥ prcyantāmiti nāsavatī rāsavatībhiḥ prcyantāmitiyevaitādāhā máhi kṣatrām kṣatriyāya vanvānā iti tātparō ‘kṣaṃ yajamāṇāyasamāsāste yadāba máhi kṣatrām kṣatriyāya vanvānā iti

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

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

b1- In some cases, the editorial process resulted in the changing of the stanzas’ order and the addition of stanzas from another hymn. PROFERES (2003b) has carried on a throughout analysis of this kind of process in the Yajurvedic mantra MS 4.13.1: 199,2-7; KS 15.12: 218,12-17; TB 3.6.1.1, that are also to be found in AB 2.2 where almost every pāda is followed by a sort of explanation or interpretation. The Rgvedic stanzas culled here as mantras are RV 3.8.1-3 and 1.36.-13-14. We chose to use this case here as a significant example of redactional manipulation of Rgvedic
III.1 The Context

stanzas, and, at the same time, as a clear evidence that the creation of the liturgical texts continued some poetical features of the earlier tradition.

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

aṅjantī tvām adhvare devayanto vanaspati madhunā
dāivya // RV 3.8.1

Those seeking for the gods anoint you in the sacrifice, o Vanaspati, with divine sweetness, when you would stay erect, then bring here movable goods, or when you rest in the lap of this mother;

ucchrayasya vanaspati vaṣaṃaparāhīvā adhi /
sumitī miyāmāna varco dhā yajñavāhase // RV 3.8.3

Incline upwards, o Vanaspati, over the top of the earth, founded with a good founding, bestow the radiance to the one who carries the sacrifice;

samiddhasya śrayamānāḥ purastādbrāhma vanvāno
ajāmāḥ suvīram /
āre asmad amatin bādhāmāna uccchrayasya mahate
saubhāyagāya //
RV 3.8.2

Reclining in front of the kindled one, assimilating for yourself the sacrificial formula that never gets old, full of warriors, pulling away from us the lack of inspiration, incline upwards, to a good great fortune.

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

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

1.36.13 ūrdhvā u śu na utāye tiṣṭhā devó nā savitā /
ūrdhvā vājasya sānitā yād aṇījihir / vāghādbhīr vihāyāmābe //

1.36.14 ūrdhvā naḥ pāhy āṁhaso ni ketiṇā / viśvam sam atrīṇam dhaṁ /
kṛdhi na ūrdhvān caṛāḥya jīvāse / vidā devēśu no dūvaḥ //

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

125 devayantah: in RV the term is applied to officiants but also to the patron and Baudhāyana states that the anointing is carried out by the adhvaryu, the yajamāna and the patni.
post liturgy: vāghādbhir vihāvāyāmahe” (when we contest verbally with poets/singers”\textsuperscript{126}. We have to notice, that the brāhmaṇical justification as given in the AB passage, lying only on the presence of the idea of “stand up-right” (ud- śrī) fails to fully capture the underlying rationale of the redactors of the classical liturgy. We have here a clear trace of the shift between what we called the Floating Mantra Period and the later Brāhmaṇa one, to which the AB belongs.

b2- In the second case, we have the first stanza of the hymn RV 10.96 addressed to Indra’s horses, which is used for two different rites and interestingly enough is interpolated both in TB 2.4.3.10 and in TB 3.7.9.6; TB 2.4.3.10 concerns the Darśapūrṇamāseṣṭi. Upahoma (subsidiary) mantras addressed to Indra, while in TB 3.7.96 the rites concerned are the offerings to Soma. The stanzas and formulas are to be recited to the sōdaśin cup during the Sōdaśin form of Jyotistoma, a one-day sacrifice to Indra. If we look precisely what happens to the RV stanza is that 10.96.1 is interpolated tree times: yā ṛtviyāḥ, ṇdro nāma and śrutō gaṇā are inserted.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RV 10.96.1</th>
<th>TB 2.4.3.10-11; TB 3.7.9.6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>prā te mahē vidāthe śaṃsiṣaṁ hāri práte vanve vanuṣo haryatām mādam / ghṛtām nā yō hāribihś cāru sēcata ā tā viśantu hārivarpaṃ gīrah //</td>
<td>esā brahmā prátemahē / vidāthe śaṃsiṣaṁ hāri / yā ṛṭvīyāḥ práte vanve / vanuṣo haryatām mādam / ṇdro nāma ghṛtām nā yāḥ / hāribihś cāru sēcante / śrutō gaṇā ā tā viśantu hārivarpaṃ gīrah // TB 2.4.3.10-11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“I appropriate for my self the intoxicating drink dear to you who desire to appropriate it which, pleasant as clarified butter, together with the golden, pours out; the chants should arrive to you who have the colour of gold.”</td>
<td>“This one here is the Brahmān, may I invoke in the great meeting [rite] your two steeds, I appropriate for my self the intoxicating drink dear to you who desire to appropriate it, which is in proper time; Indra by name, famous in the troops, is the one who, together with the bays ones, pours out what is dear as clarified butter; the chants should arrive to you who have the colour of gold.”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The meaning of the stanza is not extremely different from the Rgvedic stanza, but indeed there is a clear modification of the original, as long as Indra becomes the subject of the second sentence and pours out “what is pleasant as the clarified butter”, while in RV 10.96.1 it was the māda-, pleasant as the clarified butter, which pours out. In TB 2.4.3.10 it is also preceded by the words esā brahmā: what the anonymous redactor has attained is to create a clear connection within the ritual sequence (with esā brahmā and yā ṛṭvīyāḥ) and to stress the presence of Indra as warrior with troops and horses with a clear sound-play as ṇdro nāma - śrutō gaṇā.

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

\textsuperscript{126} The same is in RV 8.3.10 ṣṛṇaṁivoc chṛṣṇīṁhaṁ sāṁ dadṛśre caśalavantaḥ svāravaḥ praṭhavāṁ / vāghādbhir vā vihāvē śṛōṣamānā asmāṁ avantu ṣṛṭanaṁ. 43
III.1 The Context

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

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

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

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

The complete list of occurrences follows, first presenting those passages that are quotations of ṚV mantras. In order to analyse the semantic development of van- / vanī- it is necessary to start by separating what has been taken from the Ṛgveda Śambhitā from the actual later compositions. Furthermore, the attestations have been divided between Śambhitā and Brāhmaṇa. Within both groups, the texts are ordered along the different schools and traditions within the schools. The YV school is present most frequently. We will not take into account the AV-school here. As long as we want to analyse the ritual development in its more standardised attestation first, we will concentrate on the other three Veda. Therefore, the AV occurrences will be analysed in the next chapter. While the SV, as may be noticed easily, offers only quotations of the ṚV mantras set alone to be used to chant, that is not inserted in a ritual discourse. This is of course not surprising for the SV texts are more or less just a “singing repertoire”. The Ṛgveda Śambhitā has been analysed above, so here we will just consider the Brāhmaṇas of the RV school, which by the way has very few occurrences of van- / vanī-. This ends up in the overwhelming presence of texts of the YV-school, that are also the most interesting for the study of a ritual development because they represent the liturgical texts par excellence, containing not only mantras and yajus but, in the case of the Black YV already in the Śambhitās texts, also plenty of commentaries and exegetical notations. The analysis of the occurrences is expounded upon in the following paragraph, III.3.
III.2.1 Samhitā Occurrences

RV mantras

YV Samhitā occurrences


Taittirīya occurrences

TS 2.3.14.1g-2h

2.3.14.1g-2h ágnīṣomā śāvedasā sāḥūtī vanatam gīnāḥ / sām devatr̥ babhūvatuh // yuvāṁ //
2.3.14.2h etānī divi rocanānī agniś ca soma sākratū adhattam / yuvāṁ sindhūṁr abhiśaṁ avad yāgnī śomā anuṣcataṁ gṛhitānm //

O Agni and Soma, together invoked, having the same knowledge, appropriate the chants, you are127 together in the divine world. You two put those lights in the sky, o Agni and Soma, you, with the same intention; You two, o Agni and Soma, released from curse (misfortune-abhiśasti-) and disgrace the the rivers which were held back.

vanatam: impv. pres. 2nd du. I-VI cl.
Keith 1914: 175 “accept”
Geldner: I 120 “nehmet gut auf”
Renou: IX 73 “trouvez-agréable”
Witzel-Goto 2007: 166 “liebt”

Vedic Web:
Mantra: RV 1.93.9; .5; MS 4.10.1: 144,12-15; KS 4.16: 42,20-21; 43,1-2; TB 3.5.7.2.
Prose: TS 2.3.3.4.

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

127 babhūvatuh: ind. perf. 2nd du. from bhū- “you have become”, it has here a perfective that with a resultative.
III.2 Occurrences: Rgvedic mantras, Non-Rgvedic mantras and brāhmaṇa-portions

TS 2.6.12.1c-2c

2.6.12.1c tváyá hi nah pitárah soma púrve kármāṇi cakrúḥ pavamāna dbírah / vanvánn ávátaḥ paridhíṁr ápornu virebhir ásvair magháśa bhava128 // nah//

Through you, o Soma, our fathers, who got the vision, have formerly129 accomplished the sacrifices, o Pavamāna; you, who appropriate without being appropriated, open the enclosures130, be for us liberal with heroes and horses.

vanván: part. pres. nom. masc. sing. VIII cl.
ávátaḥ: nom. masc. sing. from áváta (adj.)
Keith 1914: 220 “Conquering, untroubled”
Gellner: III 93 “überwinder unüberwundene”
Renou: IX 44 “qui gagnez sans que nul gagne contre toi”

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

Rite
In TS, MS: Darśapurṇamāseṣṭī, Pit/rringbelowyajña, puronuvākya of the hot/rringbelow to accompany the offering of a cake on 6 potsherds to Soma Pitrmant.
In VS: Sautrāmaṇī, a ceremony constructed as a surā sacrifice to expiate the excessive consumption of Soma and then all other transgressions or mistakes. This mantra is a formula for oblation to the Fathers.

TS 3.3.11.1-2e

3.3.11.1e ví te víṣvag vātajūtaśo agne bhāmśah //
3.3.11.2e śuce śúcayaś caranti / tuvimrakṣ/amacronacuteso divy/amacronacute návagvā vánā vananti dh/rringbelowṣat/amacronacute rujántaḥ //

Shaken everywhere by the wind131, your gleaming/glowing flames, o gleaming/glowing Agni, are moving in every direction, big destroyers132, like the divine Navagvā133, they appropriate the wood breaking them boldly.

vananti: ind. pres. 3rd pl. I-VI cl.
Keith 1914: 264 “assail”
Gellner: II 98 “überwinden”
Renou: XIII 40 “triomphent”

128 RV bhavāḥ, subj. pres. 2nd sing.; KS; MS and VS read as RV.
129 púrve: nom. m. pl. referring to pitárah, functions here as an apposition with adverbial meaning or maybe better as rhema. For this kind of usage of nominative, see, among others, Elizarenkova 1995*: 202-206.
130 paridhín (acc. m. pl.): a circular channel was made by digging around the fire, and three boughs were used to mark it. These three boughs are called paridhí-, which indicates also the enclosure around the cairns, cf. the funeral hymns 10.14-18.
131vātajūtaśaḥ, from vātajúta- a tatpurusa whom second member is a PPP (váta- + júta- <rad. jú- “to press forward, to excite”) cf. Whitney1888: §1273.
132 tuvimraksasāḥ, from tuvimraksák- a karmadháraya (tuvi- “much” + mṛaksák- “destroying”) that could have been chosen also for a sound-play, considering the remarkable heights of sophistication reached by Rgvedic poetry in using phonetic features as communicative means.
133 A family of mythical priests, named among the Fathers, and connected, as the Angiras, to the myth of Indra and the cows of Paṇis, cf. Macdonell 1898: §55B.
III. Post-Rgvedic Developments: a Diachronic Analysis

Vedic Web
Mantra: RV 6.6.3.
Mantra and Prose: SB 12.4.4.2.
Prose: TS 2.4.13.1; TS 3.4.9; TB 3.7.3.5.

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

TS 4.6.1.5r

4.6.1.5r agnis tigména śoṣiṣā yāṁsad viśvaṁ ny ātrīṇam / agnír no vaṁsate rayím/

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

vanisate: subj. sigmatic aor. 3rd sing. Ā
Keith 1914: 364: “win for us”

Vedic Web
Prose: TS 5.4.4.1-5.3.

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

TS 4.6.9.4l

4.6.9.4l sugāvyam no vājī svāvīvyam pumsāb putrām utā viśvāpiṣam rayím / anāgāstvām no áditiḥ kṛṇotu ksatrāṃ no áśvo vanatāṁ havīṣmān //

Wealth of cattle may the steed / price-winner bring us, wealth of horses, sons and all sustaining riches; may Aditi make us free from sin¹³⁴, may the horse endowed with oblations appropriate for us the lordship.

vanatāṃ: impv. pres. 3rd sing. Ā I-VI cl.
Keith 1914: 380 “may win”
Geldner: I 225 “soll erringen”
O’Flaherty 1984: 92 “achieve”

Vedic Web

¹³⁴ The sin, the contamination, dwells within the action that is going to be performed: the slaughtering of the horse; the ritual effort of taking any possible sin away plays an important role within the whole sacrifice. In order to avoid the contamination involved in the slaughtering act, it is often said that the victim agrees with what is happening (cf. the expression samjãptaḥ paśuḥ, and also the Greek term ἁγεῖ ὙΔΑ: I 159) and the actions during the cutting asunder seem to have a peculiar goal: to give new life to the animal. As for this aspect in the rituals of ancient India see Malamoud 1994 and Gonda 1960.
Mantra: RV 1.162.22; VS 25.45; KS Aśvamedha grantha 6.5: III 176,2-3 (vanate subj. root aor. 3rd sing. Ā).

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

TS 4.7.14.1c-2c

4.7.14.1c māyi deva śrāvīnām ā yajantām māyy āśīr astu māyi devāḥūtiḥ / dāivyā hōtārah vaniṣanta //
4.7.14.2c pūrveṣṭāh syāma tānuvā suvīrāh //

May the gods bestow on me through sacrifice movable goods, may the prayer\textsuperscript{135} be in me, may be in me the divine invocation; may the two former divine boty appropriate for themselves, may we, through ourselves, be safe, rich of heroes.

vaniṣanta: subj. sigmatic aor. 3rd pl. Ā I-VI cl.
Keith 1914: 386 “shall win for us”

Vedic Web
Mantra: RV 10.128.3 (vaniṣanta - inj. pres. 3rd pl. Ā, hapax cf. AiGr: II 2 §316.c; Geldner: III 358 “sollen Partei nehmen”- and botāraḥ); KS 40.10 (vaniṣan -subj. -iṣ aor. 3rd pl. - and etad instead of pūrve); AVŚ 5.3.5 (saniṣan instead of vaniṣanta and etad instead of pūrve) so reads also AVP 5.4.5.
Prose: TS 5.4.11.3.

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

Maitrāyanī occurrences

MS 2.10.2: 132,16-17

2.10.2 agnistigména śociṣā yāsadvīśvam nyātrīṇam / agnirno vanate rayim//

Agni with the sharpened flame may pass over\textsuperscript{136} all evil, may Agni appropriate the richness for us.

vanate: subj. root aor. 3rd sing. Ā

\textsuperscript{135} For the form āśīr from āśiṣ-, i. “prayer” but also “wish” see EWAia: I 178 “Bitte, Wunsch beim Opfer” and AiGr: I 42f.; II, 2 21; III 229, 248, 596.
\textsuperscript{136} ni yā- “to attack, assail, pass over”, like a carriage.
III. Post-Rgvedic Developments: a Diachronic Analysis

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

Vedic Web
Prose: TS 5.4.4.1-5.3.

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

MS 4.10.1: 144,12-15

4.10.1 ágniṣomā sāvedasā sāhūtī vanatam gīr̥h / sāṃ devatr̥ā babhūvathuḥ // yuvaṃ devetāni divi rocānāryagniśca soma sākratū adhattam / yuvaṃ sindhūṁrabhīśasteravadyāgniṣomā amuñcatam gybhitān //

O Agni and Soma, together invoked, having the same knowledge, appropriate the chants, you are137 together in the divine world. You two put those lights in the sky, o Agni and Soma, you, with the same intention; you two, o Agni and Soma, released from curse (misfortune-abhiśasti-) and disgrace the rivers which were held back.

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

Vedic Web:
Mantra: RV 1.93.9; .5; TS 2.3.14.1g-2h; KS 4.16: 42,20-21; 43,1-2 ; TB 3.5.7.2.
Prose: TS 2.3.3.4.

Rite
Special Offerings, mantras of the hotṛ for Kāmyeṣṭiyājyās, offerings to Agni as desire.

MS 4.10.6: 156,8-9

4.10.6 tvāyā bí naḥ pitāraḥ soma párvve kārmāṇi cakrih pavamāna dhīr̥ah / vanvān ávātaḥ paridhīṁraporuṇu vivebhīrāsvārmaghāvā bhasa naḥ //

Through you, o Soma, our fathers, who got the vision, have formerly138 accomplished the sacrifices, o Pavamāna; you, who appropriate without being appropriated, open the enclosures139, be for us liberal with heroes and horses.

137 babhūvathuḥ: ind. perf. 2nd dual from bhū- “you have become”, has here a perfective aspect- is resultative.
138 párvve: nom. masc. pl. referring to pitāraḥ, functions here as an apposition with adverbial meaning or maybe better as rhema. For this kind of usage of nominative, see, among others, EIZARENKOVA 1995: 202-206.
139 paridhi-, (acc. m. pl.): a circular channel was made by digging around the fire, and three boughs were used to mark it. These three boughs are called paridhi-, which indicates also the enclosure around the cairns, cf. the funeral hymns 10.14-18.

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

vanvān: part. pres. nom. m. sing. VIII cl.
ávātaḥ: nom. m. sing. from ávāta (adj.)

GELDNER: III 93 “überwinder unüberwundene”
RENOU: IX 44 “qui gagnes sans que nul gagne contre toi”

Vedic Web:

Rite
In TS, MS: Darśapurṇamāseṭī, Pitṛajyā, puromavākya of the hotṛ to accompany the offering of a cake on 6 potsherds to Soma Pitṛjya,

puronuvākya of the hotṛ to accompany the offering of a cake on 6 potsherds to Soma Pitṛjya.

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

MS 4.13.1: 199,2-7

4.13.1 añjānti tvām adhvāre devayāntah / vānaspatē madhunā daīvyena / yād ārdhvās tisthā drāvinebā dhātātā / yād va kṣāyo mātīr asyā upāsthe140 / jecbrayasya vānaspatē / vārsaman prthvīyā ādhi / sūmiti miyāmānah / vāro dhā jayāvāhase141 / sāmīddhasya śrayāmānah purāstāt / brāhma vanvānō ajāraḥ suvīram // ārē asmad āmatim bādhamānah / jecbrayasya mahatē sūbbhagāya142 /

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

140 añjānti [...] upāsthe = RV 3.8.1
141 jecbrayasya [...] jayāvāhase = RV 3.8.3
142 sāmīddhasyr [...] sūbbhagāya = RV 3.8.2
143 devayāntah is referring to the priests and probably the yajamāna and his wife who are performing the rite, see PROFERES 2003b: 323.
144 Vanaspati is the Lord of wood, of the forest but also the tree of desire; despite the homophony, the noun-root vān- should not still be considered as a derivate from the verbal root var-. the relation between the two roots is quite uncertain (see EWAia: II 500).
145 madhun- is sweetness connected with the honey, Bhatta Bhāskara Miśra glosses with madhurasā “juice of honey”, while AB 2.2 explains the divine sweetness as clarified butter, áyās.
146 sūmiti- “a well made fixing” (GRASSMANN 1875 [ed.1996: 555] “schöne Aufrichtung”). Sūmiti miyāmānah represents a frequent figura etymologica, being the noun a derivate of the same root as the part. pres. miyāmānah.
148 i.e. to the east.
149 brāhmaṇ-, here understood with the original value of “sacred formulation” (THEMIS 1952: 91-129), see also GONDIA 1950.
150 āmati- KETHE (1920: 135) translates, in the same passage in AB 2.2, the word āmati- with “misfortune”; PROFERES (2003a: 324) prefers “indigence”. This translation follows Mayrhofer (EWAia: I 95) who reads it as “a-āmati- giving as meaning “Mangel, Dürftigkeit, ratlos”. The same meaning is given by GRASSMANN (1875 [ed. 1996: 90]), although he suggests a different derivation, namely “von am- im passiven Sinne”. The explanation in AB 2.2 is “asanāyā vai pāpmāmatis” “the āmati- is indeed the hunger, the evil”. There is also amāti- EWAia: I 95-96 “etwa’ Gebilde, Erscheinung, Bildnis”; GRASSMANN 1875 [ed. 1996: 90] “Wucht, Gewalt”. The accent in the Rigvedic stanza speaks clearly for āmati-.
III. Post-Ṛgvedic Developments: a Diachronic Analysis

  *Geldner*: I 345: “gewinnst”

Vedic Web
Mantra: RV 3.8.1-3; TB 3.6.1.1-(2); KS 15.12: 218,12-17.
Mantra and Prose: AB 2.2

Rite
*Mantras* for the *bot*: in the animal sacrifice, *paśukotaniruktih, yūpasamkārah* (TB 3.6.1).
According to *Proferes* (2003a: 322-329), the RV stanzas 3.8.1-5 are used for the rite requiring a single post, while the following one are recited when more posts are to be displayed.

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

4.14.10 *indhāno agnim vanavad vanusyatāḥ / kṛtābrahmā śīśevad rātābhavya it / jātēna jātām āti sā prāsarsyte / yāṃ yam yūjaman āśūvat prāsarpate / yāṃ yāṃ yūjatē brahmanaspatē.*

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

*vanuṣyatāḥ*: part. pres. acc. masc. pl. from *vanuṣya* denominative of *vanus*
  *Geldner*: I 308 “das Neider”
  *Renu*: XV 60 “vaincra”
  *Witzel-Goto* 2007: 392 “wird besiegen”

Vedic Web
Mantra: RV 2.25.1; TB 2.8.5.2

Rite
Within the division of the text this section is indicated as *yājyānuvākya*.
In the TB commentary this section is for special prayers (*kāmya*), consisting of *mantras* to be recited during the sacrifice of a polled ox to Brahmanaspati.

Kātha occurrences.

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

4.15 *gōmad dhīranyavad vāsu yād vām āśūvad īmahe / indrāgni tād vanemahi //*

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

151 For *rātābhavya* see *Elizarenkova* 1995*: 62-3.
III.2 Occurrences: Rgvedic mantras, Non-Rgvedic mantras and brāhmaṇa-portions

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

Vedic Web
Mantra: RV 7.94.9

Rite
Formulas addressed to Indrāgni, as the hymn 7.94.


4.16 ágniṣomā sāvedāsā sābhūti vanatam girah / sām devatā bahbhūvatubh // yuvāmetāni divi rocanānyagniśca soma sākratu adhātām // yuvāṁ sindhūnabhīṣatervadyādāgniṣomā amuṅcatam gṛbhitān //

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

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

Vedic Web:
Mantra: RV 1.93.9; .5; TS 2.3.14.1g-2h; MS 4.10.1: 144,12-15; TB 3.5.7.2.
Prose: TS 2.3.3.4.

Rite
Special Offerings, mantras of the hotṛ for Kāmyeṣtiyajyās, offerings to Agni as desire.

KS 15.12: 218,12-17

15.12 añjanti tvām adhvare devayanto vanaspate madhunā dāivyena / yād úrđhvas tiṣṭhāḍdrāvinebā dhattādyadu kṣayo māturasya upāsthe153 / ucchrayasva vanaspate vārṣaṁatād bhūvant五金 / śrayamāṇaḥ purastādbrhma vanvāna ajaraṁ śvīram / āre asmad amatiṃ bādhamāna ucchrayasva mahate saubhagāya155 //

Those seeking for the gods anoint you in the sacrifice, o Vanaspati, with divine sweetness, when you

152 bahbhūvatubh, ind. perf. 2nd dual from bhū- “you have become”, has here a perfective aspect and thus resultative.
153 añjanti […] upāsthe = RV 3.8.1
154 ucchrayasva […] yajñāvāhā = RV 3.8.3
155 sāmīdhasya […] saubhagāya = RV 3.8.2
156 devayāntah is referring to the priests and probably the yajamāna and his wife who are performing the rite, see PROFERES 2003a: 323.
157 Vanaspati is the Lord of wood, of the forest but also the tree of desire; despite the homophony, the noun-root vān- should still not be considered as a derive that the verbal root van-: the relation between the two roots is quite uncertain (see EWAia: II 500).
158 mādhu- is sweetness connected with the honey, Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara Miśra glosses with madhuras “juice of
would stay erect, then bring here movable goods, or when you rest in the lap of this mother; incline upwards, 
ô Vanaspati, over the top of the earth, founded with a good founding\textsuperscript{159}, bestow the radiance\textsuperscript{160} to the one 
who carries the sacrifice; reclining in front of the kindled one\textsuperscript{161}, appropriating 
for yourself the sacrificial formula\textsuperscript{162} that never gets old, full of warriors, [.2] pulling away from us the lack of inspiration\textsuperscript{163}, incline 
upwards, to a good great fortune.

\textit{vanvānāḥ}: part. pres. nom. masc. sing. Ā VIII cl. 
\textit{GELDNER}: I 345: “gewinnst”

\textbf{Vedic Web} 
\textbf{Mantra}: RV 3.8.1-3; MS 4.13.1: 199,2-7; TB 3.6.1.1-(2). 
\textbf{Mantra and Prose}: AB 2.2.

\textbf{Rite} 
\textit{Mantras} for the \textit{hotṛ} in the animal sacrifice, from TB \textit{paśukahotiraniruktih, yūpasamkārah} (TB 3.6.1). According to \textit{PROFERES} (2003a: 322-329), the RV stanzas 3.8.1-5 are used for the rite 
requiring a single post, while the following one are recited when more posts are to be displayed.

\textbf{KS 18.1: 265,1-2}

18.1 \textit{agnistigména śociśā yāṁsadviśvaṃ nyātrīṇam / agnírno vaṁsate rayím//} 
\begin{quote} 
Agni with the sharpened flame may keep all evils away, may Agni \textit{appropriate} for us the richness.  
\end{quote}

\textit{vaṁsate}: subj. sigmatic aor. 3rd sing. Ā

\textbf{Vedic Web} 
\textbf{Mantra}: RV 6.16.28 (\textit{yāsad and vanate} - subj. root aor. 3rd sing. Ā. \textit{GELDNER}: II 111 “soll gewinnen”; \textit{RENOU}: XIII 50 “gagne”-); MS 2.10.2: 132,16-17; KpS 28.2: 140; VS 17,16 follow 
the R̄ṣvedic version. TS 4.6.1.5r reads as the KS. 
\textbf{Prose}: TS 5.4.4.1-.5.3.

\textbf{Rite} 
\textit{Agnicayana}. Preparation of the fire, \textit{mantras} for the moistening of the fire and dragging of a frog, 
a reed and \textit{avakā} (herbal plant) over the fire (\textit{Pariṣecana “sprinkling” and Vikarṣaṇa “dragging 
asunder” of the fire}). This stanza is namely to accompany an oblation to Agni.

\textit{honey”}, while \textit{AB 2.2} explains the divine sweetness as clarified butter, \textit{āhya}. 
represents a frequent \textit{figura etymologica}, being the noun a derivate of the same root as the part. pres. 
\textit{mīyamānah}. 
161 i.e. to the east. 
162 \textit{brāhmaṇ}-, here understood with the original value of “sacred formulation” (\textit{THEIME} 1952: 91-129), see also 
\textit{Gonda} 1950. 
163 \textit{āmati}- \textit{KEITH} (1920: 135) translates, in the same passage in \textit{AB 2.2}, the word \textit{āmati} with “misfortune”; 
\textit{PROFERES} (2003a: 324) prefers “indigence”. This translation follows \textit{Mayrhofer} (\textit{EWAia}: I 95) who reads it as 
“a-mati, giving as meaning “Mangel, Durftigkeit, ratlos”. The same meaning is given by \textit{GRASSMANN} (1875 [ed. 1996: 90]), although he suggests a different derivation, namely “von am- im passiven Sinne”. The explanation 
in \textit{AB 2.2} is \textit{āsanāyā vai pāpmāmatis “the āmati- is indeed the hunger, the evil”}. There is also \textit{amāti-}: \textit{EWAia}: I 95-96 “etwa’ Gebilde, Erscheinung, Bildnis”; \textit{GRASSMANN} 1875 [ed. 1996: 90] “Wucht, Gewalt”. The accent 
in the R̄ṣvedic stanza speaks clearly for \textit{āmati-}.
III.2 Occurrences: Rgvedic mantras, Non-Rgvedic mantras and brāhmaṇa-portions

KS 20.14: 34,8-13

20.14 nahi te pārtām aksipād bhuvaṇa nemānāṃ vaso / āthā dūvo vanavase 164// āgniragāmi bhārato vytrabhā
purucetanāḥ divodāsasya sapatiḥ // sā hi visvātī pārthivā rayiṁ dāsān mahitvanā / vanvāṁ āvāto āestyāḥ165//

Be your reward not such that can fall into an eye, o Lord of someone166, in this way may you appropriate the homage; Agni, descended from the Bharata167, has arrived, the famous killer of Vṛtra, the great protector of Divodāsa168; indeed may he grant rich to all terrestrial things169 through his greatness, he who appropriates without being appropriated, never beaten.

vanavase: subj. pres. 2a sing. Ā, VIII cl.
GELDNER: II 110 “wirst gewinnen”
RENOU: XIII 49 “procureras”

vanvāṁ: part. pres. (nom. m. sing.) VIII cl.
GELDNER: II 110 “Sieger”
RENOU: XIII 50 “qui vainque”

āvātaḥ: nom. m. sing. from the adjective āvāta-
GELDNER: II, 110 “unbesiegte”
RENOU: XIII, 50 “sans être (jamais) vaincu”

Vedic Web

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

KS 21.14: 55,7-8

21.14 tvāyā hi naḥ pitāraḥ soma pūrve kārmāṇi cakrūḥ pavamāna dbīrāḥ / vanvāṁāvātaḥ paridhīrāparṇu170
vīrēbhīrāsvairmaghāvā bhavā nah //

Through you, o Soma, our fathers, who got the vision, have formerly171 accomplished the sacrifices, o Pavamāna; you, who appropriate without being appropriated, open the enclosures172, be for us liberal with

164 nahi te [...]. vanavase = RV 6.16.18.
165 sā hi [...]. āestyāḥ = RV 6.16.20.
166 Nemānāṃ (gen. m. pl.) from nēma- EW/Aia: II 56 “einer, ein anderer, mancher”, cf. also OLDENBERG 1901: 315.
167 bhārata- is a frequent epithet of Agni, as well as bharata-, name of the ancestor of one of the mythical Vedic families.
168 Divodāsa is the name of many figures within the Rgveda Sambhāta, often connected with Agni. See MAYRHOFFER 2003: 44.
169 As to the use of double accusative with verbs of giving cf. WHITNEY 1888: §277.
170 paridhīr- so in MSS (T; Br; Ch and W) but in MS; TS and RV is paridhīr-. Cf. SCHROEDER 1900: 21,14: 55 n. 3.
171 pūrve, nom. m. pl. referring to pitāraḥ, functions here as an apposition with adverbial meaning or maybe better as rhema. For this kind of usage of nominative, see, among others, ELIZARENKOVA 1995: 202-206.
172 paridhī- which indicates also the enclosure around the cairns, cf. the funeral hymns 10.14-18.

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III. Post-Rgvedic Developments: a Diachronic Analysis

heroes and horses.

vanůvān: part. pres. nom. m. sing. VIII cl.
śvātābha: nom. m. sing. from śvāta (adj.)

GELDNER: III 93 “überwinder unüberwundene”
RENOU: IX 44 “qui gagnes sans que nul gagne contre toi”

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

Rite
In TS, MS: Darśapurṇamāseṣṭī, Pitṛyajña, puronuvākya of the botṛ to accompany the offering of a cake on 6 potsherds to Soma Pitṛmānt.
In VS: Sautrāmaṇī, a ceremony constructed as a surā sacrifice to expiate the excessive consumption of Soma and then all other transgressions or mistakes. This mantra is a formula for oblation to the Fathers.

KS 40.10: 144,1-2

40.10 mayi devā dravinamājantām mamāśīrastu mama devabūtibh / daiyā botāro vaniṣann etadaristāssyāma mamē swirāb //

May the gods bestow on me through sacrifice movable goods, may the prayer173 be mine, may be mine the divine invocation; may the divine botṛ appropriate this here, may we, through ourselves, be safe, rich of heroes.

vaniṣan: subj. sigmatic aor. 3rd pl.

Vedic Web
Mantra: RV 10.128.3 Vivavya (?) (vanuṣanta - inj. pres. 3rd pl. Ā, hapax cf. AiGr: II 2 §316.c; GELDNER: III 358 “sollen Partei nehmen”-and pūrve instead of etad); TS 4.7.14.1c (vanuṣanta, subj. sigmatic aor. 3rd pl. Ā -and pūrve instead of etad); AVŚ 5.3.5 (saniṣan instead of vaniṣanī) so reads also AVP 5.4.5.
Prose: TS 5.4.11.3.

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

KS 40.14: 149,2-3

40.14 nāvam nū stōmamagnāye divāśeyendya jijanam / vāsvah kuvidvanāti nab

173 For the form āśir from āśiṣ-, f. “prayer” but also “wish” see EWAia: I 178 “Bitte, Wunsch beim Opfer” and AiGr: I 42f.; II,2 21; III 229, 248, 596.
III.2 Occurrences: Rgvedic mantras, Non-Rgvedic mantras and brāhmaṇa-portions

I want\textsuperscript{174} to create a new laud for Agni, the eagle\textsuperscript{175} of the sky, may it appropriate something good\textsuperscript{176} for us.

vanāti: subj. pres. 3\textsuperscript{rd} sing. I-VI cl.
\textsc{Geldner: II 191 “wird erwirken”}
\textsc{Renou: XIII 62 “gagnera-t-il”}
\textsc{Gōto 1987: 284 “wird uns lieben”}*

Vedic Web
Mantra: RV 7.15.4 Vasiṣṭha; TB 2.4.8.1.

Rite
KS 40.14 is a long series of yājyānuvāka at the end of grantha 40.
In TB: \textit{Darsāpūrnāmāseṣṭi}. \textit{Upahoma} (subsidiary) mantras addressed to Agni, an additional offering within the Mitravindeṣṭi; cf. SB 11.4.3 -where is explained the myth connected with this rite, SB 11.4.3.20 “He finds Mitra, and his is the kingdom, he conquers the recurring death […]”(trans. Eggeling) and cf. also ÁpŚS 2.21.2; Keith’s Summary (1914: 76-77) and Mylius 1995: 51. B.B. Miśra commentary: \textit{aṣṭame’nuvāke sarvamapayāgrayaṇśūktam}. The \textit{āgrayaṇa} is the first libation of the evening Soma-pressure.

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

6.5 sugāyam no vājī svāśyam puṁsāḥ putrāṁ utā visvāpuṣaṁ rayim / anāgāstvāṁ no aditiḥ kṣotu kṣatrāṁ no āśvo vanate havīṣmān //

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

vanate: subj. root aor. 3\textsuperscript{rd} sing. Ā
\textsc{Geldner: I 225 “soll erringen”}
\textsc{O’Flaherty 1984: 92 “achieve”}
Griffith in \textit{Arvā 1999: 373 “gain”}

Vedic Web
Mantra: RV 1.162.22 Dīrghatamas; TS 4.6.9.4i; VS 25.45. All these attestations have vanatām (imprv. pres. 3\textsuperscript{rd} sing. Ā I-VI cl.).

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

174 As to the use of injunctive to express the intention of the subject, see \textsc{Hoffmann 1967: 253.}
175 śyena- indicates any bird within a praying context and especially the eagle that brings the soma to the men.
176 vāsvah kuvid, kuvid put an interrogative element into the sentence (cf. \textsc{Macdonell 1916: §180}), the construction with the genitive partitive (vāsvah) creates a sound play with the verb vanāti. As to the partitive genitive with verbs of giving and asking, cf. \textsc{Whitney 1924: §297.b} and \textsc{Macdonell 1916: §202.e}, see also above, the gloss about the verb vanāti.
177 vājin-, \textsc{Geldner “siegesgewohnte”}; \textsc{O’Flaherty “racehorse”}. This term conveys the swift of the animal and its power. Is the steed that wins the prize of the race.
178 The sin, the contamination, dwells within the action that is going to be performed: the slaughtering of the horse; the ritual effort of taking any possible sin away plays an important role within the whole sacrifice. In order to avoid the contamination involved in the slaughtering act, it is often said that the victim agrees with what is happening (cf. the expression \textit{samjãptaḥ pāṣub}, and also the Greek term \textit{ἂγος EWAia: I 159}) and the actions during the cutting asunder seem to have a peculiar goal: to give new life to the animal. As for this aspect in the rituals of ancient India see \textsc{Malamoud 1994 and Gonda 1960.}

56
the mantras. The VS deals with it in the later books, 23-25, and the ṢB in the book 13th. The two hymns clearly related to this sacrifice are RV 1.162 and 1.163 (also RV 6.75 and 6.47 are used). Cf. Keith 1914: 132 ff.

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

Kapiṣṭhala occurrences

KpS 28.2: 140.

28.2 agnis tigména śociṣā yásad vísvam ny àtriṇam / agnír no vanate rayím!!

Agni with the sharpened flame may pass over179 all evil, may Agni appropriate the richness for us.

vanate: subj. root aor. 3rd sing. Ā

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

Vedic Web
Mantra: RV 6.16.28; VS 17.16; MS 2.10.2: 132,16-17; TS 4.6.1.5r; KS 18.1: 265,1-2 (TS; KS varaṁsat and yamsad).
Prose: TS 5.4.4.1-5.3.

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

Vājasaneyoccurrences (Mādhyaṃdina recension)

VS 7.17

7.17 māno ná yēṣu hávanesu tigmāṁ vípah śácā vanutbhó drāvantā \ ā yāh šāryābis tuvinynmno 

asyāśśriitādīśaṁ gābhastau180 \ esā te yonib prajāb pābi \ āpamśsto mārkāb \ devās tvā manthipāb prānayantu 

\ ānādhṛstāśi \ 

In the invocations of whom you both181, swift as mind, rushing to help, appropriate the inspired speech; the one who is very manly with arrows in his hand may burn the intention of this;182 this is your womb, protect the creature, Marka has been wiped off; may the gods, drinkers of Manthi, lead you forward, thus you are invincible.

179 ni yā- “to attack, assail”, like a carriage.
180 māno ná […] gābhastau = RV 10.61.3.
181 Along the interpretation of Pischel (PISCHEL-GELDNER 1889-1901: I 74), the subject are the Aśvin invoked by Cyavana. The myth of Cyavana can be found also in Mbh 3.122-124. As to the different interpretations of the relative pronouns and thus of the verse itself, see OLDENBERG 1912: 264 n.3 and GELDNER: III 227.
182 According to Pischel’s interpretation (ibid.), this passage is related to the myth of Indra, the very manly par excellance, weakening the will, the intention (ādiśam) of Cyavana. Cyavana stole the soma and tried to fool the god. Indra makes him bow to his power.
III.2 Occurrences: Rgvedic mantras, Non-Rgvedic mantras and brāhmaṇa-portions

vanuthāḥ: ind. pres. 2nd du. VIII cl.

GELDNER: III 227 “gut aufnehmet”
Pischel in PISCHEL-GELDNER 1889-1901: I 74 “nahmet ihr”
Griffith in AYÁ 1999: 81-2 “welcomed eagerly”

Vedic Web:
Mantra: RV 10.61.3.
Mantra and Prose: ŚB 4.2.1.12.

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

VS 15. 39-40

15.39 bhadārā utā prāsāstayo bhadrāṁ mānah kṛṣṇa vaṛṭārye \ yena samātto sāsāhab\\
15.40 yena samātto sāsābhō ’va stibhā tanubhi bhūri śārdhatām \ vanémā te abhiṣṭibhibhī\\

And may the prayers be auspicious; turn your auspicious mind\(^{184}\) to the victory on fiends; with that may you conquer in the battles, slacken the resistances, may we appropriate the many\(^{185}\) of the bolds with your protection\(^{186}\).

vanémā: opt. pres. 1st pl. I-VI cl.

GELDNER: II 321 “möchten gewinnen”
RENOU: XIII 66 “gagner”
Griffith in AYÁ 1999: 217 “vanquish”

Vedic Web
Mantra: RV 8-19-20; JS 3.56.17.

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

VS 17.16

17.16 agniś tigmēna socīṣa yāsad visvam ny ātrīnam \ agnir no vanate rayīm\\

\(^{183}\) bhadārām [...] abhiṣṭibhibhī = RV 8.19.20
\(^{184}\) mānas- is the inspired mind, the inner impulse, the mental tension toward something, see THEME 1967: 99-106, GONDA 1963, MAGGI 1989: 63-114.
\(^{185}\) stibhā bhūri śārdhatām is referred both to tanubhi and to vanémā, that is to the action of Agni and to that of men. The first one displays his power on the macro-cosmic level, while the humans operate on the micro-cosmic level, nonetheless they both perform the same action: “to slacken the numerous resistances of the bolds”. This connection between these two levels is one the main effort of the Vedic culture and represent the grid through which the world can be interpreted. Geldner and Renou refer the syntagma only to tanubhi and translate vanémā as used in the absolute sense. RENOU: XIII 149 “stibhā tanubhi scil. dhāmānī” and translates “Détends les (arcs) tendus”.
\(^{186}\) abhiṣṭibhibhī, (instr. f. pl.) from abhiṣṭi- “protection”, is employed here with a distributive connotation: “your protection in any battle”.

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III. Post-Rgvedic Developments: a Diachronic Analysis

Agni with the sharpened flame may pass over all evil, may Agni appropriate the richness for us. 

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

Vedic Web
Mantra: RV 6.16.28; MS 2.10.2: 132,16-17; KpS 28.2: 140; TS 4.6.1.5r; KS 18.1: 265,1-2 (TS; KS read yamsad and vanisate -subj. sigmatic aor. 3rd sing. Ā).
Prose: TS 5.4.4.1-5.3.

Rite
Agnicayana. Preparation of the fire, mantras for the moistening of the fire and dragging of a frog, a reed and avakā (herbal plant) over the fire (Parisecana “sprinkling” and Vikarsana “dragging asunder” of the fire). This stanza is namely to accompany an oblation to Agni.

VS 19.53

19.53 tvāyā hi nab pitārah soma pūrve kārmāṇi cakṛih pavamāna dhīrāh \ vanvāṁn āvāAH paridhiṁn āpomnu \ virēbhīr āśiav maṣṭhānā bhavāh nab \  
Through you, o Soma, our fathers, who got the vision, have formerly accomplished the sacrifices, o Pavamāna; you, who appropriate without being appropriated, open the enclosures, be for us liberal with heroes and horses.

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

Vedic Web:

Rite
In VS: Sautrāmaṇī, a ceremony constructed as a surā sacrifice to expiate the excessive consumption of Soma and then all other transgressions or mistakes. This mantra is a formula for oblation to the Fathers.
In TS, MS: Darśapurṇamāṣṭī, Pitṛyajña, puronuvākya of the hotṛ to accompany the offering of a cake on 6 potsherds to Soma Pitṛmānt.

187 ni yā- “to attack, assail, pass over”, like a carriage.  
188 pūrve: nom. masc. pl. referring to pitārah, functions here as an apposition with adverbial meaning or maybe better as rhema. For this kind of usage of nominative, see, among others, ELIZARENKOVA 1995: 202-206.  
189 paridhiṁ (acc. m. pl.): a circular channel was made by digging around the fire, and three boughs were used to mark it. These three boughs are called paridhī-, which indicates also the enclosure around the cairns, cf. the funeral hymns 10.14-18.
III.2 Occurrences: Rgvedic mantras, Non-Rgvedic mantras and brāhmaṇa-portions

**VS 25.45**

25.45 sugāryaṃ no vāj/svāśvyaṃ puṁsāḥ putrāḥ utā viśvāpūṣaḥ rayīm / anāgāstvām no āditiḥ kṣatrāṃ no āsiva vanatāḥ havismān /

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

vanatāṃ: impv. pres. 3rd sing. Ā I-VI cl.
Geldner: 1225 “soll erringen”
O’Flaherty 1984: 92 “achieve”
Griffith in Arya 1999: 373 “gain”

Vedic Web
Mantra: RV 1.162.22 Dīrghatamasa; TS 4.6.9.4l; KS Aśvamedha grantha 6.5: III 176,2-3 (vanate subj. root aor. 3rd sing. Ā).

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

SV Samhitā occurrences

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

Jaiminiyasamhitā (17) and Kauthumasaṃhitā (13)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>JS</th>
<th>KauS (KauS ^ JS)</th>
<th>RV</th>
<th>notes (JS ^ RV)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.3.2 22 =JS</td>
<td>6.16.28</td>
<td>yamsad ^ yasād</td>
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<td></td>
<td>= VS 17.16; KpS 28.2 (=RV)</td>
<td>TS 4.6.1.5; KṛS 18.1 (=JS)</td>
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<tr>
<td>1.14.4 128 (yamat ^ yamata)</td>
<td>8.92.31</td>
<td>yamata ^ yaman</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.19.1 175 =JS</td>
<td>10.153.1</td>
<td>vanvanāsah ^ bhejānāsah</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

190 vājin-, Geldner “siegisgewohnte”; O’Flaherty “racehorse”. This term conveys the swift of the animal and its power. Is the steed that wins the prize of the race.
191 The sin, the contamination, dwells within the action that is going to be performed: the slaughtering of the horse; the ritual effort of taking any possible sin away plays an important role within the whole sacrifice. In order to avoid the contamination involved in the slaughtering act, it is often said that the victim agrees with what is happening (cf. the expression samjāptah paśub, and also the Greek term ἀγος EWAia: I 159) and the actions during the cutting asunder seem to have a peculiar goal: to give new life to the animal. As for this aspect in the rituals of ancient India see Malamoud 1994 and Gonda 1960.
III. Post-Rgvedic Developments: a Diachronic Analysis

<table>
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<tr>
<th></th>
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<th>suvīryam ^ nakīnā</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2.5.5</td>
<td>I.8 (594)</td>
<td>9.61.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.3.3</td>
<td>II.24 (674) =RV</td>
<td>9.61.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.6.3</td>
<td>II.57 (707) =JS</td>
<td>6.16.18</td>
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<td>3.8.8</td>
<td>II.82 (732) =JS</td>
<td>8.45.23</td>
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<td>3.16.8</td>
<td>II.170 (820) =JS</td>
<td>9.101.7</td>
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<tr>
<td>3.20.13</td>
<td>II.229 (879)</td>
<td>8.103.9</td>
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<td>3.20.19</td>
<td>II.235 (885)</td>
<td>8.95.6</td>
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<td>3.22.14</td>
<td>II.267 (917)</td>
<td>7.94.2</td>
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<td>3.28.1</td>
<td>II.335 (985)</td>
<td>5.13.2</td>
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<tr>
<td>3.28.7</td>
<td>II.335 (985)</td>
<td>5.70.1</td>
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<tr>
<td>3.44.7</td>
<td></td>
<td>9.61.24</td>
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<tr>
<td>3.56.17</td>
<td>II,910 (1560) =JS</td>
<td>8.19.20</td>
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<tr>
<td>4.6.4</td>
<td></td>
<td>8.60.14</td>
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<tr>
<td>4.6.8</td>
<td>22 =JS</td>
<td>6.16.28</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Non-RV mantras – Yajurveda prose

YV Samhitā occurrences

Taittiriya occurrences

TS 1.6.4.2o-3o

1.6.4.2 o ēmā agmann āśīso dōhakāmā īndravantah //
1.6.4.3 vanāmahe dbuṣiṁmāhi praśām īśam //

Here have come the blessings\(^{192}\), eager for milking, possessing Indra, may we appropriate, may we milk offspring and food.

vanāmahe: subj. pres. 1st pl. Ā I-VI cl.
KEITH 1914: 87 “may we win”

Vedic Web:
Mantra: TS 3.2.7.2i (indriyāvanto).

\(^{192}\) The blessings are the two deities mentioned in the verses before (TS 1.6.4.2n): Indra and Agni. Cf. TS 1.7.4.3, where is said that the sacrificer indeed milks the gods, which he prays, and the sacrifice on both sides.
III.2 Occurrences: Ṛgvedic mantras, Non-Ṛgvedic mantras and brāhmaṇa-portions

Prose: TS 1.7.4.

Rite
Darśapūrṇamāseṣṭī, this section gives the mantras for the anuyāja193 - this verse is recited by the yajamāna, after the adhvaryu has called upon him.

TS 1.8.12.1a-b

TS 1.8.12.1a dévīr āpaḥ sám mādhumatīr mādhumatibhibhī sṛjyadhvam māhi vārcaḥ ksatriyāya vanvānās /
TS 1.8.12.1b ānādhyastāḥ sidatōrjasvatīr māhi vārcaḥ ksatriyāya dadhātīs /

Divine water, full of sweet, be mingled with the full of sweet, appropriating for the king194 a great splendour195; sit untouched, possessing the vital energy196, putting a great splendour195 into the king.

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

Vedic Web
Mantra: MS 2.6.8: 68,6-8; MS 4.4.2: 51,8-10; KS 15.6: 213,9-10; VS 10.4; ŚB 5.3.4.27.
Mantra and Prose: ŚB 5.3.4.27.
Prose: ŚB 5.16-37; 4.1.15.

Rite
Rājasūya, the Abhiṣeka –the unction of the king during his consecration. This section deals with the preparation of the waters.
Waters from diverse sources are poured together into a single vessel. (… more description in Proferes) The mantra credits the waters with winning for the anointed on the power to rule – varcás “splendour”, cf. PROFERES 2007: 80ff; HEESTERMAN 1975: 74-70 and 114-22; see also TSUCHIYAMA 2005 for the Abhiṣeka in general and his post-Vedic development.
The collection and mixing of the waters.

TS 2.4.5.1c

2.4.5.1c dhātā dadātu no rayím ĺiśano jāgatas pātib / sá naḥ pūrnēna vāvanat //

May Dhātṛ give us wealth, the Lord, the father of the living, may he have appropriated197 us completely198.

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

193 In the Darśapūrṇamāseṣṭī, the supplementary offerings, after the main one, are three: for barhis, narāśamsa and svistakṛt.
194 ksatriyāya “for him who is eligible for rule” cf. PROFERES 2007: 97.
197 The subjunctive can also have a future meaning, hence vāvanat can also be read as “he will have appropriated”.
198 pūrnēna: from pūrṇa-, here the instrumental is used adverbially.

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III. Post-Rgvedic Developments: a Diachronic Analysis

Vedic Web:
Prose: TS 2.4.6.

Rite
Special Sacrifices
Citrā sacrifices (citra is the earth, in the earth all things are produced, so the earth is variegated) cf. 2.4.6

TS 2.6.9.8

2.6.9.8 [nántár eti] 199
śastrásya śastram
dśastrám dhümām á mā śastrásya śastrám gamyāt /
indriyāvanto vanāmahe dhukṣīmāhi praśām īṣam /

You are the śastra of the śastra, may the śastra milk for me the vital energy 200, may the śastra of the śastra come to me, possessing the might may we appropriate, may we milk offspring and food.

199 Although at the beginning of paragraph 8th, nántár eti is the end of the preceding paragraph.
201 As to the meaning of ūṛ-, see SCHARFE 1985: 545 and PROFERES 2007: 101.
III.2 Occurrences: Rgvedic mantras, Non-Rgvedic mantras and brāhmaṇa-portions

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

Vedic Web
Mantra: TS 1.6.4.3o (Indravantaḥ).
Prose: TS 1.7.4.

Rite
Supplement of the Agnistoma, stotra and śastra, this mantra is recited by the sacrificer at the end of the bahiṣpavamāna stotra202, cf. ŠB 4.6.6.7.

Maitrāyanī occurrences

MS 2.1.2: 2,5-15

2.1.2 agnaye vaisvānarāya dvādāṣakāpālam nirvaperkāmāya samvatsarō vā agnirvaiśvānarāḥ samvatsarō kāma āpyate samvatsarāmeṇvāpatso 'smai kāmāmpanο ti yātkāmo bhāvayagnyaye vaisvānarāya dvādāṣakāpālam nirvaperkāmāya samvatsarō vā agnirvaiśvānarāḥ samvatsarō śāmasyate samvatsaraśeṣeśvāpatravarnām kāmamahhidhruhyagnyaye vaisvānarāya dvādāṣakāpālam nirvaperkāmāya samvatsarō prājyāntsamvatsarō vā agnirvaiśvānarāḥ samvatsarāya ādānyaṃ prājyāntsamvatsarō prājyāntsamvatsarō sātām samām vanute sā yādā vanivāthāgniye vaisvānarāya dvādāṣakāpālam nirvaperkāmāya samvatsarō vā agnirvaiśvānarāḥ samvatsarāmeśa prājyakte samvatsarā etāsmā vanute tāmeva bhāginamakastām vyamangyām dosīyāttasmai dākṣinām dadyāptāṣāṃ vo eṣā carati tāmāvāminprātīmuṇcyākāhāyano gaūrdākṣinām sa hi samvatsarāsya pratimā //

May he offer for a desire to Agni Vaiśvānara a sacrifice on 12 potsherds; indeed Agni Vaiśvānara is the year, within an year the wish is obtained; he, indeed, completed the year203, he204, for this one, gains the wish that he has205.

May he offer to Agni Vaiśvānara a sacrifice on 12 potsherds, he who wants to act with treachery against the common agreement206; indeed Agni Vaiśvānara is the year, on an year there is an agreement; having indeed completed the year, he acts with treachery at wish against what is not falling into Varuna power207.

May he offer to Agni Vaiśvānara a sacrifice on 12 potsherds, he who will go begging (who is eager to win wealth); indeed Agni Vaiśvānara is the year, for one year it208 is accepted; having indeed completed the year, he appropriates for himself, then may he sacrifice to Agni Vaiśvānara on 12 potsherds; indeed Agni Vaiśvānara is the year, indeed this here yokes the year, the year appropriates for this here; indeed he made it209 partaking of the share, he unyoked it, to the one he may hate he shall give the sacrificial fee

202 One of the nine ‘verses’ stotra- that the udgaty and his assistants sing in the morning pressing,
203 He fulfilled the year, the year has gone by. The same structure is repeated four times: the prescription of the sacrifice, the identity of Agni Vaiśvānara and the year, the action the sacrificer has not accomplish during the year to gain his desire.
204 Agni as the year.
205 In a sentence without a temporal degree bhāvati indicates a status, see AMANO 2009: 431 n.1691 “bhāvati […] bedeutet ‘ist im gegebenen Fall’”. See also TICHTY 2006: 70.
206 For sām am-., “to swear”, see EWAia: I 96-97 and in particular HOFFMANN 1969: 193-215, for the verbal adjective sāmānta- see also DEELRUCK 1888: 272.
207 The bahuvrīhi avarūna- can be a predicative referred to sāmānta- (the agreement that is not anymore under Varuna protection) or adverbially used, in this case meaning “without Varuna (interfering)”.
208 What is received during the year is the purchase, that at the end is gained, see AMANO 2009: 432.
209 The sacrificer that has yoked the year, after the year, must unyoke the year itself, otherwise it could be dangerous, see TS 2.2.6.4.

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III. Post-Rgvedic Developments: a Diachronic Analysis

(daksinā). This here\textsuperscript{210} walks through a noose, he fixes this around it tight; the sacrificial fee is a one-year cow, for this is an image of the year.

\textit{vanvīta:} opt. pres. 3\textsuperscript{rd} sing. Ā VIII cl.
\textit{AMANO 2009:} 432 “trägt”

\textit{vanute:} ind. pres. 3\textsuperscript{rd} sing. Ā VIII cl.
\textit{AMANO 2009:} 432 “trägt […] davon”

Vedic Web:
Mantra: cf. TS 1.5.11 a-f.

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

\textbf{MS 2.6.8:} 68,6-8

2.6.8 dévārāpo mádbhunmatib sāṃśrjaadhvam máhi kṣatrám kṣatriyāya vanvānāḥ l
ānādh/rringbelowṣṭāḥ sīdatórjasvatīrmáhi várcaḥ kṣatriyāya dádhatīḥ//

O divine water, full of sweet, be mingled, \textit{appropriating} for the king\textsuperscript{211} the great power to rule; sit untouched, possessing the vital energy\textsuperscript{212}, putting a great splendour\textsuperscript{213} into the king.

\textit{vanvānāḥ:} part. pres. nom. fem. pl. Ā VIII cl.

Vedic Web
Mantra: TS 1.8.12.1a-b; MS 4.4.2: 51,8-10; KS 15.6: 213,9-10; VS 10.4; ŚB 5.3.4.27.
Mantra and Prose: ŚB 5.3.4.27.
Prose: ŚB 5.16-37; 4.1.15.

Rite
Rājasūya, the Abhiṣeka –the unction of the king during his consecration. This section deals with the preparation of the waters.
Waters from diverse sources are poured together into a single vessel. (… more description in Proferes) The \textit{mantra} credits the waters with winning for the anointed on the power to rule – \textit{vārcās} “splendour”, cf. Proferes 2007 p. 80ff; Heesterman 1975 p.74-70 and 114-22; see also Tsuchiyama 2005 for the Abhiṣeka in general and his post-Vedic development.
The collection and mixing of the waters.

\textsuperscript{210} Here the cow is meant, as is clear from the following sentence.
\textsuperscript{211} kṣatriyāya “for him who is eligible for rule” cf. \textit{PROFERES 2007:} 97.
\textsuperscript{212} As to the meaning of ārjasvat-, ārj- see Scharfe 1985: 545 and \textit{PROFERES 2007:} 101.
\textsuperscript{213} About vārcas- “vital power, brilliance” \textit{EWAia:} II 516 “Glanz”, see \textit{PROFERES 2007:} 91 and 101-104; \textit{GONDA 1992:} VI/2 366-376.
III.2 Occurrences: R̄gvedic mantras, Non-R̄gvedic mantras and brāhmaṇa-portions

MS 3.6.9: 73,1-4

3.6.9 nānyātrādikṣitam dīkṣitavimitāntāryo 'bhinimrōcennābhīyādyādikṣitavratāmeva tádyajñó vai devānām ná sāmabhavattām bhrtyā sāmabhāvyanyādabhṛtyīm vanutē yajñāṣya sāmbhūtyai rāsveyatsomēti yādhiṃyādetāvadsya syat.

May the sun do not set otherwise upon the consecrated, upon the temporary dwelling of the consecrated, while he is sleeping, may (the sun) not rise over this vow of the consecrated; the sacrifice did not fall to the share214 of gods, indeed, they furnished him215 with support when he appropriate the support for the production216 of the sacrifice ‘Give so much, o Soma’, be in his possession217 so much as he might have said.

vanutē: ind. pres. 3rd sing. Ā VIII cl.

Vedic Web
Mantra: KS 2.4; TS 1.2.3.2e-f; MS 1.2.3.
Prose: TS 6.1.4.4-9.

Rite
Within Agniṣṭoma, the Dikṣa moment, the consecration of the sacrificer.
The brāhmaṇa-portion are the explanation of the restriction of the dīkṣita, the adhvarādīnāṃ trayāṇāṃ vidhi.
Within the section more similar to KS 23.6, there are indeed four statements, where is worth noticing the repetition of the verb saṃ bhū-, yajñó vai devānām ná sāmabhavattām bhrtyā sāmabhāvyanyādabhṛtyīm vanutē yajñāṣya sāmbhūtyai: those statements present the whole sacrifice as bound in a circular movement between 3 entities, gods, men and the sacrificial substance. We are told that “the sacrifice did not prosper from the gods”, indeed they contribute the support but it is the consecrated that through this support “in this way puts together the sacrifice”.

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

4.1.10 ṥādhiṃnāmabhīṃsāyaia vrajāṃ gacha gosthānamiti chándānśi vai vrajó gosthānāschāndāhyayēvāsmai vrajām gosthānam karoti vārṣatu te ṇārjānyādevā vṛṣṭīṁ vanute badhānā deva savitāḥ śatēna pāśaṁ pārāvātīti.

‘For the safeness218 of herbs go into a fold serving as abode for cows’ he says, the metres are indeed a fold serving as abode for cows; he makes for him the metres exactly a fold serving as abode for cows; ‘may it rain for you through Parjanya, o god, he appropriates the rain for himself, bind219, o god Savitṛ, with a hundred of

214 sam bhū-, “to fall to the share” + gen. The idea expressed here is that the production of the sacrifice is not directly connected with gods: the gods give the daksinās (nourishment) to the consecrated. With that he generates the sacrifice. The sacrifice will, at the end, reach the gods. The image underlying the whole passage is that of circular passage between gods and men.
215 The object of the sentence is the consecrated and, according to the KS, what they give to him is the daksinā. As to the dīkṣita see among others, the analysis of HESTERMAN 1964.
216 sāmbhūtyai, dat. sing. f. (for the dative in -ai in analogy with -i declension, see MACDONELL 1916: §98b n.4) from sāmbhūt “birth, production”. The possibility of an infinite dative is less probable within the construction of the sentence, moreover there is no attestation of this form in the RV (cf. GRASSMANN 1875).
217 Lit. “be of him”.
218 For not harming.
219 The object is not specified, for it is not important. What the mantra is expressing here is that Savitṛ should bind somewhere else, far from us.
III. Post-Ṛgvedic Developments: a Diachronic Analysis

chains in the remotest distance’.

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

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

Rite
In the Darśapūrṇamāsesṭī, the Puroḍāśīya.

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

4.1.14 marúto vai vṛṣṭyā īṣate te ‘smai vṛṣṭiṃ nínayanti tāto no vṛṣṭyāvatāti marūdbhya eva vṛṣiṃ vanute cākṣuspa āgne ‘si cākṣurme pāhōti cākṣurevāsya pāti //

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

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

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

Rite
In the Darśapūrṇamāsesṭī, the Puroḍāśīya.

MS 4.4.2: 51,8-10

4.4.2 dévīrāpo mádhumatiḥ sāmsṛyadhvam māhi kṣatrām kṣatīyāya vanvān ītyet ā kṣatrāsya vantrinādhyāstāḥ sīdatorbhavatīrmāhi vārcah kṣatīyāya dādhatīrityet ā kṣatrāsya dhātriḥ //

‘O divine waters, full of sweet, be mingled, appropriating for the king220 the great power to rule’ so he says, for they, brilliant221, are those who appropriate the power to rule ‘sit untouched, possessing the vital energy222, putting the splendour223 into the king’ so he says, for they are those who put the power to rule.

vantrīḥ: nom. f. pl. from vantṛ, nomen agentis (rare in RV, only two occurrences with rayah)

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

Vedic Web
Mantra: TS 1.8.12.1a-b; MS 2.6.8: 68,6-8; KS 15.6: 213,9-10; VS 10.4; ŚB 5.3.4.27.
Mantra and Prose: ŚB 5.3.4.27.
Prose: ŚB 5.16-37; 4.1.15.

221 ētā: “of variegated colour, shining”. Worth noticing that both ētā and vārcas are connected with the brilliance of light, which is one of the element used to describe the royal power.
III.2 Occurrences: Rgvedic mantras, Non-Rgvedic mantras and brāhmaṇa-portions

Rite

The other occurrences of this formula are connected with:
Rājasūya, the Abhiṣeka – the anointing of the king during his consecration. This section deals with the preparation of the waters.

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

The collection and mixing of the waters.

MS 4.13.9: 212,10-13

4.13.9 víśvaṃ priyám áśāste / yád anéna havíśa áśāste / tád aśyāt tád ōdhyaát / tád asmai devá rāsantām / tád agní dvé devēbhyo vanutām / vayám agnír mānúsāh / īśām ca vītām ca / ubhē ca no dyāvāărśhivī añbhasaḥ pātām224 / ibā gattir vāmāṣya idāṃ/ nāmo devēbhyaḥ //

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

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

Vedic Web
Mantra: TB 3.5.10.5 (vámate - subj. aor. 3rd sing. Ā I-VI cl. – idāṃ ca instead of idām); ŚB 1.9.1.16; 19-20; cf. TS 2.6.9.8.

Rite
Darśapurnāṃaṣṭi. The after offering formulas, Anuyāja, of the botṛ for the Suktāvāka, evocation of blessing.

224 yád [...] pātām = ŚB 1.9.1.16; .19-20.
225 ā śas- “pray for” but also “desire”.
226 ōdhyaát optative to be distinguished from the preceding precative, aśyāt.
227 īśām ca vītām ca is an ambiguous clause: īśat could be interpreted as “what is desired” (cf. Eggeling 1900: 253) or “what is offered” (so glosses Bhatta Bhāskara Miśra: “yāganimittaṃ svargādikam”), while vītām from vī- means “to crave for”, cf. EWAia: II 509-510 “sich zuwenden, verfolgen”, but ŚB.1.9.1.20 reads vittam (while TB.3.5.10.5 read as MS 4.13.9: 212,12) from vī- “to find”, hence Eggeling “what was searched for and found”. Anyway Eggeling 1900: 253 n. 2 suggests the TB-variant to be the original one and translates it as follows “what has been offered and accepted”.
228 Bhatta Bhāskara Miśra glosses “iba havise vāmāṣya vananīyaṣya dhanasya gātibh yāptibh i idāṃ ca etaddhavīlakṣānam”: hence in the oblation this is the way to get the desireable prize, this is the sign of the oblation itself.
May offer a sacrifice on 12 potsherds to Agni Vaiśvānara he who may eat the food, who wants to eat, Agni Vaiśvānara indeed is the year, through the year he eats indeed what is well prepared and purified, if, having eaten, he offers, the year indeed makes sweet for him what was eaten.

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

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

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

Vedic Web
Mantra: cf. TS 1.5.11a-f.
Prose: cf. TS 2.2.6; MS 2.1.2: 2,5-15.

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

229 For sám am-, “to swear”, see EWAia: I 96-97 and in particular HOFFMANN 1969: 193-215, for the verbal adjective sámānta- see also DELBRUCK 1888: 272.
230 The bahuvrīhi avaruṇa- can be a predicative referred to sámānta- (the agreement that is not anymore under Varuṇa protection) or adverbially used, in this case meaning “without Varuṇa (interfering)”. 231 The object of the verbal adjective is expressed in TS 2.2.6.3-4 where the sacrificer accepts (pratigrah-) some animals (like a ship) and therefore has to offer to Agni Vaiśvānara.
tasminpacamina vyadasyatso 'gnaye rudravate 'ṣṭākapālam niravapatkṛṣṇānām vrihiṇāṃ tasya yat kimca dhītarāṣṭrayasya hitasya hitavasakaraṇaṃ vidrāṇamabhiyuacchattā vipraśnikā avindanbrāhmaṇo vai tuvāyamabhicarati tasminmāhavesi

The Naimisya\textsuperscript{32} celebrated a \textit{sattra} sacrifice\textsuperscript{233}, as they finished, they appropriated for themselves 27 young bulls among the Kuru-Pañcālas, Vaka Dālbhi\textsuperscript{234} said: “You divide these ones and I will go to this Dhītarāṣṭra son of Vicitravīrya, he will make houses for me”. He came to this one, this one did not care about him and pushed him forward “These cows here, o unworthy Brahmān” so he spoke, Paśupati kills the cows “Go away cooking” “Their Devasū\textsuperscript{235} let prepare for me the food of the king”; having cut off the thighs he cooked them; while he was cooking, it\textsuperscript{236} came to an end; he sacrificed to Agni Rudravat eight potsherds of dark grains; whatever belonged to Dhītarāṣṭra, at the sunshine\textsuperscript{237} was scattered\textsuperscript{238} and spread away; the future-tellers discovered him “The Brahmān indeed makes witchcraft against you, seek his protection”.

\textit{avamavata:} ind. impf. 3rd pl. Ā VIII cl. 
\text{CALAND 1908: 52 “erbeuteten”}
\text{FALK 1986: 59 “verlangten (und erhielten)”}

Vedic Web
∅

Rite

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

This part is the explication of the \textit{iṣṭi} on eight potsherds to Agni Rudravat for someone who wants to damage the enemy, in the TS and MS corresponding sections is only short mentioned.

The story, which can be found also later in MhB IX, 41, is that of the ritual dispute between the \textit{ṛṣi} Vaka (or Baka) Dālbhya and the king Dhītarāṣṭra. As to the connection with the \textit{vrātya}s, see HEESTERMAN 1962: 29-31 and FALK 1986: 58-60.

KS 13.16: 200, 7-8

13.16 dbhātā dadātū no rayīm īśāno jāgatas pāṭih / sā naḥ pūrṇēna vāvanat /

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

233 \textit{satramāsata:} it is maybe worth noticing the use of the verb ās- “to sit” together with \textit{sattra}- which literally means “session” deriving from the root sad- (cf. EWAia: II 690). For \textit{sattra} instead of \textit{sattrā}, cf. AiGr: I 114 and I,1 62. The \textit{sattra} sacrifice is a soma sacrifices of 12 or more pressing days.


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

236 The verb \textit{vidas-} is referred to a bad witchcraft in KS 10. In KS 10.7 and here it is without subject and it refers to Rudra who stops killing the cows.

237 As to \textit{abhvivas-} with two verbal adjectives, see HOFFMANN 1960: 21 n. 12.

238 The text reads avakārṇam (with variants avakarna and arghakarna), an \textit{hapax}, that could be only connected to avakarnapraśṛtā (Āpastambha SS 13.13.5, cf. AiGr: II 1 282). The suggestion made by HOFFMANN (1960: 21 n.12) that the liquid vowel traces back to an original \textit{-ī-}, so that it should be read as \textit{avakirṇam}, is confirmed also by the MhB version and seems much more consistent with the context.
III. Post-Ṛgvedic Developments: a Diachronic Analysis

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

vāvanat: subj. perf. 3rd sing.
KEITH: 179 “May he favour us with a (full) gift”

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

Rite
Section of formulas for the Paśubandha rite, within the Caraka branch of the Kāṭha school. The Caraka Saṁhitā is older than the Maitrayāni and Kāṭha Saṁhitā but somehow near to these two. It belongs to a period when the Yajurvedic prose was not already set. The fragments we have show a brāhmaṇa-prose prior to the one of the YV and contemporary to the collection of the mantras, cf. WITZEL 1981; 1982.

KS 15.6: 213,9-10

15.6 dévārāpo mādhumatissāḫṣryadhvam mahi kṣatram kṣatriyāya vanvānāḥ / anādhyātābānaḥvarcāḥ kṣatriyāya dadatīh/

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

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

Vedic Web
Mantra: TS 1.8.12.1a-b; MS 2.6.8: 68,6-8; MS 4.4.2: 51,8-10; VS 10.4; ŚB 5.3.4.27.
Mantra and Prose: ŚB 5.3.4.27.
Prose: ŚB 5.16-37; 4.1.15.

Rite
Rājasūya, the Abhiṣeka –the unction of the king during his consecration. This section deals with the preparation of the waters.
Waters from diverse sources are poured together into a single vessel. The mantra credits the waters with winning for the anointed on the power to rule –varcās “splendour”, cf. PROFERES 2007 p. 80ff; HEESTERMAN 1975 p.74-70 and 114-22; see also TSUCHIYAMA 2005 for the Abhiṣeka in general and his post-Vedic development.
The collection and mixing of the waters.

239 The subjunctive can also have a future meaning, hence vāvanat can be also read as “he will have appropriated”.
240 pūrṇena: from pūrna-, here the instrumental is used adverbially.
241 iti śrīyajuṣi kāṭhake caraka -branch of KYV whom rites and practices are different from the ŚYV- śākyāyām śīmbinikāyām (śīmbika: name of a section of KS) paśubandham nāma trayodasaṁ sāhanakam sampārnam.
242 kṣatriyāya “for him who is eligible for rule” cf. PROFERES 2007: 97.

71
III.2 Occurrences: Rgvedic mantras, Non-Rgvedic mantras and brāhmaṇa-portions

KS 23.6: 81,19-82,2

23.6 pūṣa sanināḥ  some rādhasāmīti pūṣa bi sanināmiśo some rādhasām rāsvetyatsometi some vā etadetasmai rāsate yadvanute ā bhiyo bharetyāgame byenam bhīyo devassavitā vasorvasudāveti savṛtiprasūta eva prātiṣhayātmano bhīhs āyai d ev e b h yo v ai y aj ņo n a p r ā bh a v a t t a m daksinobhissamabhāvayanyaddīkṣito bhrīṃ vanute yajñaneva sambhāvayati tasmāddvāśvāsa rātrirdīkṣito bhrīṃ vanvīta yāvānena yajnastam sambhāvayati //

‘Pusan of rewards, Soma of gifts’ he says245 for Puṣan is master of rewards, Soma of gifts. ‘Give o Soma so much’ he says, Soma shall indeed give to this one246 what he appropriates. ‘Bring more hither’ he says, he indeed attained247 more ‘God Savitri, good Givers of goods’ the one roused by Savitri receives for not hurting himself. The sacrifice did not originated from the gods, they affected248 him with daksinās (the cows), when the consecrated appropriates the support, in this way he puts together the sacrifice, therefore the consecrated shall appropriate as support the cows of 12 nights, in this way as much (yāvān) the sacrifice affects (sambhāvayati) him.

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

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

Vedic Web

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


Prose: TS 6.1.4.4-9.

Rite

Within the Agniṣṭoma, the Dikṣa moment, the consecration of the sacrificer. This passage and MS 3.6.9 are dealing with the same moment, and we find quite the same words used. The brāhmaṇa-passages are the explanation of the restrictions of the dīkṣita, the adhvarādīnāṃ trayāṇāṃ vidhi.

KS 30.8: 189,20-21

30.8 pāsīpatheb paśavo virūpāssadṛśa uta / teṣām yam vavnire devāṣtaḥ svarādiṃvanyataṁ //

Of Paśupati249 are the sacrificial animals, manifold and similar; of them250, what the gods have appropriated.

245 iti

246 etasmai (dat. m. sing. from the determinative pronoun esas-) “to the consecrated”, as to the role of the dīkṣita see among others, the analysis of HEESTERMAN 1964.

247 āgame, stative aor. 3rd sing. cf. KIMMEL 1996. See also AVŚ 6.81.2c where āgame is quite unclear, cf. WHITNEY-LANMAN 1905: I 341-2 for possible interpretations of the word.

248 sam bhā-, “to affect s.o. (acc) with (instr)”. The idea expressed here is that the production of the sacrifice is not directly connected with gods: the gods give the daksināḥ (nourishment) to the consecrated. With that he generates the sacrifice. The sacrifice will, at the end, reach the gods. The image underlying the whole passage is that of circular passage between gods and men.

249 Lord of animals, Paśupati can be an epithet applied to many deities, for eg. Rudra, who is the Lord of the cattle par excellence, but it also can represent a god himself.

250 sadṛśa uta / teṣām could be also interpreted referring teṣām to sadṛśāḥ (plus gen.), the animals are, thus, similar to these here—the men or maybe the animals that are actually to be sacrificed (paśī-): “The animals of Paśupati are manifold and similar to these here”. On the other hand, the animals can be manifold and though similar along the contradictory speech which is common in the Vedic logic. The genitive plural of the demonstrative pronoun is then referred to the priests performing the rite (cf. TS 3.1.4.1b). Moreover the symmetrical structure with the two genitives suggests the presence of two level: what belongs to divine level
III. Post-Ṛgvedic Developments: a Diachronic Analysis

this may the self-ruler\textsuperscript{251} approve\textsuperscript{251} (anu man\textsuperscript{251}).

\textit{vanvire}: ind. perf. 3\textsuperscript{rd} pl. Ā \to \textit{vanvire}, (so corr. Ch., cf. also Keith 1914: 226 n. 1) stative aor. 3\textsuperscript{rd} pl. Ā

Vedic Web
Mantra: cf. TS 3.1.4.1b;
Prose: cf. TS 3.1.5 and KS 30.9.

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

Vājasaneyu occurrences (Mādhyaṃdina recension)

VS 10.4 (t-u)

10.4 mādhumātur mādhumatībhiḥ \textit{pcrantām māhi kṣatrāṃ kṣatriyāya vanvānāḥ} ānādh\textsuperscript{rringbelow}ṣṭāḥ σi\textsuperscript{rringbelow}data sa\textsuperscript{rringbelow}bānsa\textsuperscript{rringbelow}σo māhi kṣatrāṃ kṣatriyāya ḍa\textsuperscript{rringbelow}dbā\textsuperscript{rringbelow}ḥ

The full of sweet be mingled with the full of sweet, appropriating for the king\textsuperscript{252} the great power to rule; sit untouched, with the juicy vigour\textsuperscript{253}, putting a great power to rule into the king.


Vedic Web
Mantra: TS 1.8.12.1a-b; MS 2.6.8: 68,6-8; MS 4.4.2: 51,8-10; KS 15.6: 213,9-10; ŚB 5.3.4.27.
Mantra and Prose: ŚB 5.3.4.27.
Prose: ŚB 5.16-37; 4.1.15.

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

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

The collection and mixing of the waters.

(the macro-cosmic one) and what belongs to the ritual level (the meso-cosmic one). The animal, symbol of the sacrifice, shares both the levels.  

\textsuperscript{251} śvārāj- is the subject of the action and is an epithet of Agni who is also Lord of the animals, cf. the same passage in TS 3.1.4.1b where the subject is Agni and the same verb is used (\textit{anu manyasva}). According to TS what Agni should approve is the sacrificial action itself performed by the priests.

\textsuperscript{252} kṣatriyāya “for him who is eligible for rule” cf. Proferes 2007: 97.

\textsuperscript{253} ojās- is “vigour” as well as “juice”, therefore the translation tries to keep also the material tinge-shade that this word conveys within the idea of vigour.
III.2 Occurrences: Rgvedic mantras, Non-Rgvedic mantras and brāhmaṇa-portions

III.2.2 Brāhmaṇa Occurrences

RV mantras

RV Brāhmaṇa occurrences


Aitareya occurrences

AB 1.25.7

1.25.7 upasadyāya mīḷhuṣa254 imām me agne samidham imām upasadam vaner255 iti / tisrastisraḥ sāmidhenyo rūpasamādhaḥ etad vat yajñasya samāddhāṃ / yad rūpasamādhaṃ yat karma kriyamāṇam ṣa abhivadati

‘To the one who is to worship256, to the generous, may you appropriate, o Agni, this kindling stick of mine, this being by you (upasad) of mine’ three verses each257 are the kindling verse perfect in form, that of the sacrifice is perfect what is perfect in form, the verse describes the sacrifice258 which is being performed.

vaneḥ: opt. pres. 2nd sing. I-VI cl.
GELDNER: I 283 “mögest du gern annehmen”
RENOU: XII 45 “agréer”
KEITH 1920: 126 “do accept”

Vedic Web
Mantra: RV 2.6.1ab; ĀŚS 4.8.11.

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

254 upasadyāya mīḷhuṣa = RV 7.15.11
255 imām [...] vaner RV 2.6.1ab
256 upasadya-, “to be worshipped, to be addressed with respect” is the gerundive of the verb upasad- “to seat near, to approach respectfully” and the same root is used in the next verses as abstract noun, as the god is asked to appropriate samidham and upasadam.
257 tisrastisraḥ, the repetition of the cardinal has a distributive force. As also Sāyana explains the sentence, the kindling verses are thus the three verses of each hymn quoted through the first pāda (pratika), namely RV 7.15.1 and 2.6.1.
258 karmam, “action” and “sacrifice” as the pivotal action, is the cognate object of kriyamānam, the etymologic accusative cannot be reproduced in the translation, unless with an hazard: “the sacrifice which is being sacrificed”.

74
AB 2.2

2.2.1-13 añjmo yūpam, anubrūhīty āhādhvaryur / añjanti tvām adhvare devyantat ity anvāhā/dhvare hy enaṃ devyanto 'ñjanti / vanaspate madhunā daiyeyesty / etad vai madhnu daiyam yad ayam / yad ārdhvas tiṣṭhā draṇeṣvara bhattaś yad vā kṣayo mātur asyā upastha iti / yadi ca tiṣṭhāt yadi ca savāsat draṇen evāṃṣāgu bhattaad ity eva tad abhocr bhayasa vanaspata ity uccbhryamānavabhirūpa / yad yājñe bhirūpaṃ tat samṛddham / varṣam pṛthiviyai adhyai / etad vai varṣma pṛthivyai / yatra yūpam unminvantii / sumitii miyāmānu varco dhā yajñavāhasa ity aśīṣam āśāste / samiddhasya śrayamāṇaḥ purastād iti / samiddhasya hy eva etat purastāc bhayate / bhramavānaṇāra aṣaṃvarām ity aśīṣam evāṣāsta / āre asmad amatim bādhamānā ity. aṣaṃvarāc tad āho/c chrayasva vanaspate ity ucchrīyamāṇāyābhirūpa / yad yajñe 'bhirūpaṃ tat samṛddhamānā ity aśīṣam evāṣāsta / varoṣman pīvityā adhīty / etad vai varṣma pīvityai / yatra yūpam umminvantii / sumitii miyāmānu varco dhā yajñavāhasa ity aśīṣam āśāste / samiddhasya śrayamāṇaḥ purastād iti / samiddhasya hy eva etat purastāc bhayate / bhramavānaṇāra aṣaṃvarām ity aśīṣam evāṣāsta

‘You do recite -we anoint the post-‘ says the adhvaryu ‘Those seeking for the gods259 anoint you in the sacrifice’ he recites for indeed those seeking for the gods anoint this one in the sacrifice ‘O Vanaspati260, with divine sweetness261 indeed the divine sweetness is the clarified butter ‘When you would stay erect, then bring here movable goods, or when you rest in the lap of this mother’ ‘If you would stand or lay, give us movable goods’ this indeed he says ‘Incline upwards, o Vanaspati’ the appropriate (verse) for this being inclined upwards, what is appropriate in the sacrifice, that is perfect, ‘Over the top of the earth’ the top for the earth is that: where they set up right the post ‘Founded with a good founding262, bestow the radiance263 to the one who carries the sacrifice’ he prays this prayer264; ‘Reclining in front of the kindled one265 for he reclines in front of the kindled one ‘Appropriating for yourself the sacrificial formula266 that never gets old, full of warriors’ he prays this prayer ‘Pulling away from us the lack of inspiration267 the lack of inspiration is indeed the hunger, the evil, he pushes it away from the sacrifice and from the sacrificer ‘Incline upwards, to a good great fortune’ he prays this prayer.

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

GELDNER: I 345 “gewinnst”
KEITH 1920: 135 “winning”

Vedic Web

Rite

259 devaṃtāntah is referring to the priests and probably to the yajamāna and his wife who are performing the rite, see PROFERES 2003a: 323.
260 Vanaspati is the Lord of wood, of the forest but also the tree of desire; despite the homophony, the noun-root ván- should still not be considered as a derivate from the verbal root van-: the relation between the two roots is quite uncertain (see EWAia: II 500).
261 madhunā is sweetness connected with the honey, Bhāṭṭa Bhāskara Miśra, in his commentary to the TB, glosses with madhurasa “juice of honey”, while AB 2.2 explains the divine sweetness as clarified butter, aṣaṃvarāc.
262 suṣmiti- “a well made fixing” (GRASSMANN 1875 [ed.1996: 555] “schöne Aufrichtung”), Suṣmitii miyāmānabh represents a frequent figure of speech (a figura etymologica) being the noun a derivate of the same root as the part. pres. miyāmānabh.
264 aṣaṃvarā aśāste, the verb aṣams- is used here with aṣiṣam as cognate object or etymologic accusative.
265 i.e. to the east.
266 brāhmaṇ-, here understood with the original value of “sacred formulation” (THIEME 1952: 91-129), see also GONDA 1950.
267 āmati-, KEITH (1920: 135) translates the word āmati- with “misfortune”; PROFERES (2003a: 324) prefers “indigence”. This translation follows Mayrhofer (EWAia: I 95) who reads it as “a-mati-, giving as meaning “Mangel, Dürftigkeit, ratlos”. The same meaning is given by GRASSMANN (1875 [ed. 1996: 90]), although he suggests a different derivation, namely “von am- im passiven Sinne”. The explanation in AB 2.2 is aṣāṃvarā vai pāṃmānabh “the amati- is indeed the hunger, the evil. There is also aṃmati- EWAia: I 95-96 “etwa’ Gebilde, Erscheinung, Bildnis”; GRASSMANN 1875 [ed. 1996: 90] “Wucht, Gewalt”. The accent in the Rgvedic stanza speaks clearly for āmati-.
III.2 Occurrences:Ṛgvedic mantras, Non-Ṛgvedic mantras and brāhmaṇa-portions

Mantras for the botṛ in the animal sacrifice, paśukabotraniruktīḥ, yūpasamkāraḥ (TB 3.6.1).

According to Proferes (2003a: 322-329), the RV stanzas 3.8.1-5 are used for the rite requiring a single post, while the following one are recited when more posts are to be displayed. In the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa almost every pāda is followed by a sort of explanation or interpretation.

YV Brāhmaṇa occurrences


Taśtirīya occurrences

TB 2.4.3.10-(11)

2.4.3.10 imā dhānā gḥrtaṃnuvah / hāri īhā ṣaṭvākṣatah / īndrāṃ sukhaṃtaṃ rāthe[268] // esā bhraṃmā pṛā te mabhā / vidāthe saṃsṛṣat āhārī / yā vṛtvāh pṛā te vane / vamūṣo baryatāṃ mādām / īndro nāma gḥṛtam nā yāh / hāribhiṣ cāru sècata / śrutō gaṇā a ṛva viṣantu // [.11] hārivorpaṃ gṛraḥ[269] //

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

pṛā vanev: ind. pres. 1st sing. Ā VIII cl.
Geldner: III 304 “habe Gewinn”

vamūṣah: gen. masc. sing. of vamūṣ
Geldner: III 304 “Eifrigen”

Vedic Web

268 imā dhānā […] rāthe = RV 1.16.2.
269 pṛā te mabhā […] hāri; pṛā te vane […] mādam; gḥṛtam nā […] sècata and ā ṛva […] gīraḥ = RV 10.96.1. The stanza 10.96.1 is intermingled three times, yā vṛtvāh, īndro nāma and śrutō gaṇā are inserted, and it ends in the following paragraph (anuvāka). The meaning of the verses is not extremely different from the Ṛgvedic stanza, but indeed there is a clear modification of the original, as long as Indra becomes the subject of the second sentence and pours out “what is pleasant as the clarified butter”, while in RV 10.96.1 it is the māda-, pleasant as the clarified butter, which pours out.

270 About the interpretation of the word sukha- see Rossi 2003.
271 As to the exact meaning of vidāthe- as already a ritual fest or just as social meeting, see Gonda 1992: VI/1 310-337, Kuper 1974: 129-132 and Oldenburg 1900: 608-611.
272 Miśra glosses prāptakālaḥ madah, and Sāyaṇa also vasantādytukāle prāptaḥ.
273 Dumont 1963: 453 “pours out”, both Miśra and Sāyaṇa gloss samavaiṭi “to mix together”.

76
III. Post-Rgvedic Developments: a Diachronic Analysis

Mantra: RV 10.96.1; TB 3.7.9.6; AVŚ 20.30.1.

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

TB 2.4.5.5

2.4.5.5 aivasvāyann āsītam deva vásvah / dávidhvato raśmāyah sūryasya / cārma_iwa_avādhus támo apsvāntah274 // parjānaya prágyata / divās putrāya midhiṣe / sā no yāvasam içeatsu //ācchā vada tavāsam gīrbhir ābhīh275 // stubhī parjānāṁ nāmasā ēvāsā / kānikradad vṛṣabhō jirādānuh / réto dadbātv ēsābhīṣu gārbham276 //

The good gods pull off the black, shaking violently the rays of light, the skin of the sun, they plunged the darkness into the water; would he begin to celebrate for Parjanya, son of the gods, generous bestower; he should desire for us a field of grass, salute the strong with these chants, extol Parjanya, desire to appropriate him with homage; the bull, shouting continuously277, dropping abundantly, should put his semen, the offspring, into the plants.

vivāsā: impv. pres. 2nd sing. I cl., from desiderative stem vīvās
GELDNER: II 86 “bitte her”

Vedic Web
Mantra: RV 4.13.4 Vamadeva; 5.83.1 Atri.

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

TB 2.4.6.2

2.6.4.2 tád asya priyām abhi páthbo aṣyām / náro yatra devavāvo mādhantī / urukramāsya sā bi bāndhur itthā / viśnoḥ padē paramē mādhva útsab278 // kratvā dā asthu šrēṣṭhab / adyā tvā vamvānt surēknāb / márta ānāsā surāktmī279 // imā brahma brahmavāha / priyā ta a barbhīḥ sīda / vīhī sūra puroḍāsām //

May I, a man, attain this agreeable place of him, where men are exhilarated; for this is the true connection of Viṣṇu of wide steps, a fountain of sweet in the foremost step; the giver should be280 the best here due to his skills, the mortal, rich in possession, appropriating you, has gained an excellent praise. The formulas, o you to

274aivasvāyann āsītam [...] apsvāntah = RV 4.13.4b-d.
275 BS: abhi.
276aśca vada [...] gārbham = RV 5.83.1.
277 kānikradad, pres. part. of the intensive form of krand “to cry out”.
278 tád asya [...] útsah = RV 1.154.5.
280 asthu Sāyaṇa: “astu” and so reads also Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara Miśra.
whom the sacrificial formulas are offered, be dear to you, sit on the sacrificial grass, crave for the sacrificial cake.

\text{vanānt:} \text{part. pres. nom. masc. sing. VIII cl.}

GELDNER: II 111 “der […] gewinnt”
RENOU: XIII 50 “gagnant”

Vedic Web
Mantra: RV 1.154.5 Dirghatamas (devatā Viṣṇu); 6.16.26 Bharadvāja (devatā Agni).

Rite
\text{Darśapūrnāmāseṣṭi. Upahoma} (subsidiary) mantras addressed to Viṣṇu, an additional offering within the Mitravindeṣṭi; cf. SB 11.4.3 -where is explained the myth connected with this rite, SB 11.4.3.20 “He finds Mitra, and his is the kingdom, he conquers the recurring death [...]” (trans. Eggeling) and cf. also Āp II 21.2; Keith’s Summary (KEITH 1914: 76-77) and MYLIUS 1995: 51.

TB 2.4.8.1

2.4.8.1 \text{sā pratnavān nāvyāsā} / āgne dyumnēna samyātā / bhṛtā tānantha bhānūnā / nāvam nū stōmam agnūye / divāh sīyāṣa ḵiṣīnaṃ / vāsob kuvid vanāti nāb / svārtāhā sīyā srīyo drē / rayir virāvato yathā / āgre ṣayāṣa cētātab //

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

\text{vanēti: subj. pres. 3rd sing. I-VI cl.}

GELDNER: II 191 “wird erwirken”
RENOU: XIII 62 “gagnera-t-il”
GOTO 1987: 284 “wird uns lieben”
Bhatta Bhāskara Miśra and Sāyana’s gloss: “ददात”

Vedic Web
Mantra: RV 7.15.4 Vasiṣṭha; 6.16.21 Bharadvāja; KS 40.14.

Rite
\text{Darśapūrnāmāseṣṭi. Upahoma} (subsidiary) mantras addressed to Agni, an additional offering within the Mitravindeṣṭi; cf. SB 11.4.3 -where is explained the myth connected with this rite, SB 11.4.3.20 “He finds Mitra, and his is the kingdom, he conquers the recurring death [...]” (trans. Eggeling) and cf. also ĀpŚS 2.21.2; Keith’s Summary (KEITH 1914: 76-77) and MYLIUS 1995: 51.

281 \text{vibhī, from vi-} \text{EWAia: II 509: “sich zuwenden, streben”}.
282 \text{sā pratnavān […] bhānūnā = RV 6.16.21}.
283 \text{nāvam mī […] nābī = RV 7.15.4; KS 40.14}.
284 \text{sā referred to a 2nd person can be considered as an emphatic particle.}
285 As to the use of injunctive to express the intention of the subject, see HOFFMANN 1967: 253.
286 \text{ṣyena-} indicates any bird within a praying context and especially the eagle that brings the soma to the men.
287 \text{vāsob kuvid, as to the partitive genitive with verbs of giving and asking, cf. WHITNEY 1924: §297.b and MACDONELL 1916: §202.e, see also above the gloss of the verb \text{vanāti} (Bhatta Bhāskara Miśra: \text{dadāti}) The use of the genitive creates a sound play with the verb.
288 \text{drē scil. ‘bhatantī’, literally “are at seeing”, cf. the commentaries: Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara Miśra \text{drē darśanīyāḥ bhatantī}; Sāyana \text{drē darśanāya nāśriyo bhatantī}}.
Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara Miśra commentary: *aṣṭame’nuvāke sarvamapyaāgrayansūktam*. The āgrayaṇa is the first libation of the evening Soma-pressure.

TB 2.8.5.2-3


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

vanavat: subj. pres. 3rd sing. VIII cl.
GELDNER: I 308 “überwinden”
RENOU: XV 60 “vaincrā”
WITZEL-GOTO 2007: 392 “wird besiegen”

vanusyatāḥ: part. pres. acc. masc. pl. from vanuṣya derivative of vanūs

289 gharmaśvedodhīr [...] vyānāt = RV 10.67.7d, pādas a-c are quoted in the preceding paragraph.
290 Dumont: śāvasā ‘sarat.
292 Dumont: āti sā prāśṛṣte, probably based upon RV 2.25.1, so reads also MS 4.14.10.
293 īndhāno [...]brāhmaṇaspātī = RV 2.25.1; MS 4.14.10.
294 brāhmaṇaspāte [...] bāvam = RV 2.24.15 (vāyasvat, gen. sing. from vāyasvat “mächtig, labungsreich” Grassmann 1875 [ed. 1996: 1215]).
295 sā āti [...] brāhmaṇaspātī = RV 2.26.3.
296 sā āti [...] antāḥ = pratikā of RV 6.58.3a (here samudre is left).
297 śūrāṃ te anayāḥ = pratikā of RV 6.58.1a.
298 pūṣā imā śāh = SS 6.10.4.
299 prāpatha [...] pūṣā = RV 10.17.6a.
300 The subject is Brahmanaspati and those ‘perspiring with heat’ are the bulls, cf. the end of the paragraph before.
301 For manyū- see EWAlia: II 313 “erreger Sinn, Eifer”.
302 yathāvaśām: “as a desire” or “at will”.
304 This translation follows Dumont’s emendation, being āti sā prāśṛṣte to be found also in MS 4.14.10
305 Or “of Vivasvat”, for the connection between Vivasvat and the sun, see MACDONELL 1898: §18.
307 These (yās te [...]) pūṣā are three different mantra that are to be recited as puronuvākya -according to Bhatta Bhāskara Miśra. They are indeed fragments of Rgvedicṣyā, probably used as pratikas. For āśi- see GRASSMANN 1875 [ed. 1996: 187] “Weltgegend, Himmelsrichtung”.
III.2 Occurrences: Rigvedic mantras, Non-Rigvedic mantras and brāhmaṇa-portions

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

ā vívāsati: ind. pres. 3rd sing. form desiderative stem vívās
**GELDNER**: I 309 “zu gewinnen sucht”
**RENOU**: XV 61 “cherche à gagner à soi”
**WITZEL-GOTO** 2007: 393 “zu gewinnen sucht”

Vedic Web
Mantra: RV 10.67.7; 2.24.14; 2.25.1; 2.24.15; MS 4.14.10; RV 2.26.3; RV 6.58.3; .1; RV 10.17.6a.

**Rite**
Animal sacrifices with special prayers (kāmya).
As to 2.8.5.2, it consists of the mantras to be recited during the sacrifice of a polled ox to Brahmanspati.
As to 2.8.5.3 it consists of initial words or entire mantras to be recited during the sacrifice of a black or a lean cow (the comment says only that has to be a female) to Pušan.

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


The bosterousness[112] that you have, o Indra, Maghavan, [.]8]bestow on the friends, o much invoked, the gift somehow covered[115], Indra, king of the world, of the people and of which is manifold in this earth, then, shall he give goods to the worshipper, he impels the favour in our direction after being praised; praise at him who has a superior power, Indra, who appropriates, without being appropriated, the much invoked, the invincible, vigorous[114], victorious[115] [.9] bull of the people increase with these chants.

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

āvātab: nom. masc. sing. from āvāta
**GELDNER**: II 115 “unbesiegte”

Vedic Web
Mantra: RV 7.27.2; 7.27.3; 6.18.1.

**Rite**
Animal sacrifices with special prayer (kāmya).

309 yá īndra [...] rādhabh = RV 7.27.2.
310 īndro rājā [...] arvāk = RV 7.27.3.
311 tām u [...] carsaṇinām = RV 6.18.1.
312 sūsma- “Prasseln, Ungestüm” EWAia: II 649.
313 pārīvṛtām, RV 7.27.2 reads pārīvṛtam, Bhatta Bhāskara Mīśra glosses with purīśara “cover, surrounding”.
314 ugrā- is connected with the same root of ṥūs- “juice” and the vigour that comes from the juice.
315 sābhamānām can be read as part. pres. nom. masc. sing. Ā from sah- “to prevail”, as well as a compound: “full of manas-”. Here I would think both meaning are intended.

80
Mantras to be recited for the sacrifice to Indra of a brown ox, for invigorating the faculties.

TB 3.5.7.2

3.5.7.2 vayáḥ syáma pátayo rayínãm\(^{316}\) / sá veda putráḥ pitáraḥ sá mātāram / sá sīnúr bhuvat sá bhuvat púñarmaqghah / sá dyáṃ ātuṇḍh antárśkaḥ sá siváḥ / sá visá bhúvo ahbhavat sá ahbhavat\(^{317}\) / āgniṣomá savedasá / sáhūti vanatam gírah / sám devatrā babhuvathuh\(^{318}\) / yuvám etáni divi rocanáni / agniś ca soma sákrati adhattam\(^{319}\) /!

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

vanatam: impv. pres. 2nd du. I-VI cl.
GELINER: I 120 “nehmet gut auf”
RENOD: IX 73 “trouvez agréable”
DUMONT 1960: 5 “do you accept”
WITZEL-GOTO 2007: 166 “liebt”

Vedic Web
Mantra: RV 4.50.6d\(^{321}\); TS 2.2.12.1a-d; AVŚ 7.1.2; RV 1.93.9; AVŚ 2.3.14.1g-2h; MS 4.10.1: 144,12-15; KS 4.16: 42,20-21; 43,1-2.

Rite
Darśapurṇamāseṣṭi. Special Offerings, mantras of the hotṛ: yājyā for the oblation of clarified butter to Prajāpati and puronuvākyā of the hotṛ for the second offering of the rice cake to Agni and Soma.

TB 3.6.1.1-(2)

3.6.1.1 añjánti tváṃ adbhare devayántah / vánaspate mádbhunā\(^{322}\) dáivyena / yád úrνâvâs tiśṭhâ\(^{323}\) drávinaḥ thā dabhattā / yád vā kṣáyo mātus aṣyā upāsthe\(^{324}\) / ucchrayasa vánaspate / várṣaman pṛthivyā ādhi / sūmiti mìyāmānaḥ / vârco dhâ yàjñâvâbsa\(^{325}\) / sàmìddhasya srîyāmānâb purâvât / brâtma vanvâno ajâraḥ / sudvram // [2.2] ārē asmâd āmatim bâdhmanâb / ucchrayasva mahâtē sàubhâgâya\(^{326}\) /

316 vayáḥ syáma […] rayínãm = RV 4.50.6d, this is a recurring pāda cf. RV 5.55.10d; 8.40.12d; 8.48.13d; 10.121.10d.
317 sá […] ahbhavat = TS 2.2.12.1a-d where is referred to Agni; AVŚ 7.1.2.
318 āgniṣomá […] babhuvathuh = RV 1.93.9; TS 2.3.14.1g; MS 4.10.1; KS 4.16.
319 yuvám […] adhattam = RV 1.93.5a-b; TS 2.3.142a; MS 4.10.1; KS 4.16.
320 ahbhavat WHITNEY 1905: VII 389 “he came to be here”.
321 This is a recurring pāda within the Ṛgveda Samhitā, cf. RV 5.55.10d; 8.40.12d; 8.48.13d; 10.121.10d.
322 BI mādbhunā.
323 DUMONT (1962: 248) corrects tiśṭhâ according to the reading of RV 3.8.1.
324 añjánti […] upāsthe = RV 3.8.1
325 ucchrayasa […] yàjñâvâbsa = RV 3.8.3
326 sàmìddhasya […] sàubhâgâya = RV 3.8.2

81
Those seeking for the gods\footnote{devayántaḥ} anoint you in the sacrifice, O Vanaspati\footnote{Vanu-vānāḥ: part. pres. nom. masc. sing. Ā VIII cl.}, with divine sweetness\footnote{mádhu-: is sweetness connected with the honey, Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara Miśra glosses with madhurasa “juice of honey”, while AB 2.2 explains the divine sweetness as clarified butter, ājya-}, when you would stay erect, then bring here movable goods, or when you rest in the lap of this mother; incline upwards, O Vanaspati, over the top of the earth, founded with a good founding\footnote{ámati-: KEITH (1920: 135) translates, in the same passage in AB 2.2, the word ámati- with “misfortune”; PROFERES (2003a: 324) prefers “indigence” and DUMONT (1962: 249) “poverty”. This translation follows Mayrhofer (EWAia: I 95) who reads it as ‘a-mati, giving as meaning “Mangel, Dürrigkeit, ratlos”. The same meaning is given by GRASSMANN (1875 [ed. 1996: 90]), although he suggests a different derivation, namely “von am- im passiven Sinne”. The explanation in AB 2.2 is aśanāyā vai pāpmāmatis “the ámati- is indeed the hunger, the evil”. There is also amāti-: EWAia: I 95-96 “etwa’ Gebilde, Erscheinung, Bildnis”; GRASSMANN 1875 [ed. 1996: 90] “Wucht, Gewalt”. The accent in the Vedic stanza speaks clearly for ámati-.
\footnote{pur te […] mādam; ghṛtam nā […] sēcata and ā tvā visantu = RV 10.96.1. The stanza 10.96.1 is intermingled tree times: yā tṛtīyāḥ, indro nāma and śrītō ganā are inserted. The meaning of this passage is not extremely different from the Vedic stanza, but indeed there is a clear modification of the original, as long as Indra becomes the subject of the second sentence and pours out “what is pleasant as the clarified butter”, while in RV 10.96.1 it is the māda-, pleasant as the clarified butter, which pours out.}}, to a good great fortune.

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

GELDNER: I 345 “gewinnst”

DUMONT 1962: 249 “winning”

Vedic Web


Mantra and Prose: AB 2.2.

Rite

Mantras for the botṛ in the animal sacrifice, paśukabotraniruktīḥ, yūpasaṃskārah. Mantras to be recited when anointing and erecting the sacrificial post. According to PROFERES (2003a: 322-329), the RV stanzas 3.8.1-5 are used for the rite requiring a single post, while the following one are recited when more posts are to be displayed.

TB 3.7.9.6

3.7.9.6 prā te mahé vidāthe śaṁcandrabīṃdźo mādam / indro nāma ghṛtam nā yāḥ / hārībhīs cāru sēcata / śrūtu ganā ā tvā visantu / hārivarpasaṃ gīrāḥ\footnote{śrutó gaṇá “Glanz”, see PROFERES 2007: 91 and 101-104: GONDA 1992: VII/2 366-376.} / ādhipatis tvām devānāṃ āsī / ādhipatīnī māṃ / āyumnantaṃ vārcaśeṣtam manuṣyeṣu kuru\footnote{índr/amacronacutedhipaté “Wucht, Gewalt”. The accent in the Vedic stanza speaks clearly for ámati-.
\footnote{335 prā te […] mādam; ghṛtam nā […] sēcata and ā tvā visantu = RV 10.96.1. The stanza 10.96.1 is intermingled tree times: yā tṛtīyāḥ, indro nāma and śrītō ganā are inserted. The meaning of this passage is not extremely different from the Vedic stanza, but indeed there is a clear modification of the original, as long as Indra becomes the subject of the second sentence and pours out “what is pleasant as the clarified butter”, while in RV 10.96.1 it is the māda-, pleasant as the clarified butter, which pours out.\footnote{336 ādhipatē […] kuru = ApŚS 14.3.5.}} //
III. Post-Ṛgvedic Developments: a Diachronic Analysis

I invoked337 in the great meeting [rite]338 your two steeds, I appropriate for my self the intoxicating drink dear to you who desire to appropriate it, which is in proper time339; Indra by name, famous in the troops, is the one who, together with the bays ones, pours out440 what is pleasant as clarified butter, the chants should arrive to you who have the colour of gold; O Indra, o ruler, you are the ruler of gods, make me life and bright-energy possessing441 ruler among the human beings.

...

Vedic Web

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

Rite

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

Śatapatha occurrences (Mādhyamādina recension)

ŚB 4.2.1.12

4.2.1.12 sā śrīṇāti / máno na yēṣu bāvanēṣu tigman vīpah śācayā vanutho drāvantā ā yah śāryabhūṣuṇyōṇmnō asyāśrīṇādāṃśa gābhastāv[342]eṣā te yōnib prajāb pāhīṭi[441] sādayatyādāyo byetamānvyādā bimāh prajā vīṣatasmādādahāṣa te yōnib prajāb pāhīṭi

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

337 prá aśa/mcandrabindusiṣam, ind. aor. while in TB 2.4.3.10 following RV 10.96.1 there is the inj. pres. śaṃsiṣam.
338 As to the exact meaning of vidātha- as already a ritual fest or just as social meeting, see GONDA 1992: VI/1 310-337, KUPER 1974: 129-132 and OLDENBERG 1900: 608-611.
339 Miśra glosses prāptakālaḥ madaḥ, and Sāyaṇa also vasantādy/rringbelowtukāle prāptaḥ.
340 DUMONT 1963: 453 “pours out”, both Miśra and Sāyaṇa glosse samavaiti “to mix together”.
341 áyusmāntam vārcassantam: the first adjective is a common one for a king. As to the second adjective, see Gonda’s study on vārcas- (GONDA 1992: VI/2 366-376) for the connection with the sun having a brightening effect and for the frequency of the couple áyus – vārcas.
342 máno nā […] gābhastau = RV 10.61.3.
343 máno nā […] pāhī = VS 7.17.
344 Along the interpretation of Pischel (PISCHEL-GELDNER 1889-1901: I 74), the subject are the Āśvīn invoked by Cyavana. The myth of Cyavana can be found also in Mbh 3.122-124. As to the different interpretations of the relative pronouns and thus of the stanza itself, see OLDENBERG: 1912: 264 n.3 and GELDNER: III 227.
345 According to Pischel’s interpretation (ibid.), this passage is related to the myth of Indra, the very manly par excellence, weakening the will, the intention (ādiṣam) of Cyavana. Cyavana stole the soma and tried to tool the god. Indra makes him bow again to his power.
346 Scil. grāha, the cup for the libation.
III.2 Occurrences: Rgvedic mantras, Non-Rgvedic mantras and brāhmaṇa-portions

vanuthaḥ: ind. pres. 2nd du. VIII cl.
Geldner: III 227 “gut aufnehmet”
Pischel in Pischel-Geldner 1889-1901: I 74 “nahmet ihr”
Eggeling 1882-1900: II 281 “accept with favour”

Vedic Web
Mantra: RV 10.61.3; VS 7.17.

Rite
Agniṣṭoma. During the Great Pressing (Mahābhiṣava), two cups, Sukra -representing the sun- and Manthi -representing the moon-, are drawn for two Asura-Rakṣas, Saṇḍa and Marka, but then offered to gods for the libation (cf. ŚB 4.2.1-1-7). The Manthi cup, drawn for Marka, is mixed with barley meal and with these verses.
A legend about Cyavana where the Aśvin are also involved is recalled at the end of the preceding adhyāya (ŚB 4.1.5.1-13).

ŚB 10.1.1.10

10.1.1.10 esō atrāpītih nā ba vā asyāputrātāyai kā canā sāṅkā bhavatī yā evāmetai mithunāvātmānām
cāgniṃ ca vedānnaṃ ha tvēvāyātmām dākṣīnānmaṃ vanute yō na ātmēti hy apyṣīnābhūktam

This347 is also here indeed, there is absolutely no fear of him348 for the lack of offspring, for the one who knows indeed these two, the body (ātmān349) and Agni being in pairs, but also the body is the food “Daksina appropriates the food that is our vital breath (ātmā)” indeed it has beed said by a seer.

vanute: ind. pres. 3rd Ā VIII cl.
Geldner: III 327 “bringt ein”
Eggeling 1882-1900: IV 285 “winneth”

Vedic Web
Mantra: RV 10.107.7c

Rite
Agnicayana. In the construction of the Fire Altar the concept of mithuna “couple” plays an important role. Here this idea is deployed also to create the bandhu which will explain the reason of the building itself. An example could be the triad “year-Prajāpati-Altar” corresponding to “days-those joint with him-bricks”.
In this part the vital fluid (made of ṛc and sāman) enters in the Fire Altar, which is Agni, itself consisting of many pairs (mithuna). The body of the vital fluid is also a pair, being the mithuna of vāc (f.) and prāṇa (m.).

347 The mated body of the vital fluid entering the Fire Altar, which has been said being composed of speech and breath (ŚB 10.1.1.9).
348 Agni.
349 ātmān- already in the Brāhmaṇa period means the Self and also the body, as it is used here all over this chapter. Whereas in the Rgveda Sambhātā it mostly means “vital breath” or “self” and this older meaning is meant in the Rgvedic pāda, quoted at the end; therefore there the word ātmān- has been translated with “vital breath”.

84
They say ‘If one’s fires may mingle, in that case which sacrifice, which expiation?’ If it comes burning from behind, he should know this ‘The light did not come from behind, the gods were there to help me, I will get more glorious’, if it wounds his heart, he should sacrifice a cake on eight potsherds to Agni Vivici, the procedure of this is: he should recite these seventeen sāmiddhāna verses, the two portion of clarified butter are related to the slaying of Virāj, the two formulas (saṃyājyā) are two virāj verses and these are the invitatory (yājyā) and offering (anuvākyā) formulas ‘Shaken everywhere by the wind, your gleaming/glowing flames, o gleaming/glowing Agni, are moving in every direction, big destroyers, like the divine Navagva, moreover one who wants to get rid of the hostile rival should sacrifice with this (formula), having this as desire, indeed he will turn away from him; this indeed is the sacrifice in that case.’

vanantī: ind. pres. 3rd pl. I-VI cl.
GELDNER: II 98 “überwinden”
RENOU: XIII 40 “triomphent”
EGGELING 1882-1900: V 192 “overpower”

Vedic Web
Mantra: RV 6.6.3; TS 3.3.11.2e.
Brāhmaṇa: TB 3.7.3.5.

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

350 ví te […] rujānta = RV 6.6.3; TS 3.3.11.2e.
351 Verses recited while the fire is kindled.
352 saṃyājyā- term for anuvākyā and yājyā mantras.
353 The virāj is a metre of 10 or a multiple of ten pādas.
354 viśajūtaśabha, from viśajūta- a tatpurṣa whom second member is a PPP (śāta- + jāta- < rad. jū- “to press forward, to excite”) cf. WHITNEY 1888: §1273.
355 tuvimrakṣāsabh, from tuvimrakṣā- a karmadhāraya (tuvi- “much” + myakṣā- “destroying”) that could have been chosen also for a sound-play, considering the remarkable heights of sophistication reached by R̄gvedic poetry in using phonetic features as communicative means.
356 A family of mythical priests, named among the Fathers, and connected, as the Angiras, to the myth of Indra and the cows of Paṇis, cf. MACDONELL 1898: §55B.
357 This formula is the stanza RV 5.8.3.
358 Literally a cousin, a son of a father’s brother: bhrātyāya-.
III.2 Occurrences: Rgvedic mantras, Non-Rgvedic mantras and brāhmaṇa-portions

Non-RV mantras – Brāhmaṇa prose

YV Brāhmaṇa occurrences

Taittirīya occurrences

TB 2.4.3.4-5 non-RV mantra and RV mantra

2.4.3.4 agniś ca viṣṇo tápa uttamám maháḥ359 / dikṣāpālēbhyo vánatam hi śakrā / viṣvair devār javiniyaib samvidānāu / dikṣām asmāi yajamānāya dhaṭtam // prā tad viṣṇub stavate viṇyāya / mṛgā nā bhūmāḥ kucarō griṣthāḥ / yāṣya uṣiṣu triṣu vikrāmanēṣu / ādhiṣṭhāṇyāṁ bhūvanamāṁ viṣvā360 // nī mārtō dayate sansīyān yāḥ / viṣnava urugāyāya dāsāt // [.5] prā yāḥ satrācā mānasā yajātai / etāvantam nāryām avīsāt464 // vicakrame pṛthivim esa etām / kṣētryāṇa viṣnur mānuṣu daśasyān / dhruvāsā asya kirāyo jānasāb / urukṣitām sujāmāmā ca kākārā // trīr devāḥ pṛthivim esa etām / vicakrame satārcaśam mahīdē / prā viṣṇur astu tavāsā tavāyān / tveśām by asya sātuvināṣya nāma365 //

O Viṣṇu, and Agni, appropriate for the protectors of the dikṣā the greatest heat, o you two indeed powerful365, jointed with the sacrifices to all gods, give the dikṣa to the sacrificer; Viṣṇu is praised for the heroic deed366, he, like the terrific antelope who walks around and lives in the mountain, in whose three wide strides all the creatures are settled; the mortal, willing to win, now shares, he who offers to Viṣṇu of wide strides, [.5] who wants to appropriate a powerfulness367 of such an extent, who will sacrifice with the whole spirit. This here strode through this earth, according it as land for Manu368, the people of this one, weak368, became steady, he, creating good things, made a spacious dwelling. Three times the god strode through this earth endowed with one hundred verses370, mighty, should Viṣṇu be superior, stronger than the strong, for the name of him, powerful-solid, is vehement371.

vánatam: impv. pres. 2nd du. I-VI cl.

Bhatta Bhāskara Miśra’s gloss: “वाचतम्”

Mitra’s edition: “दीापायोऽवनत- Sāyaṇa’s gloss: “अवनत वाचतम्”

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

359 agniś ca […] mahāḥ = AB 1.4.8
360 prā tad […] bhūvanāṁ viśvā = RV 1.154.2 (viṇyēna).
361 nī mārtō […] avīsāt = RV 7.100.1.
362 vicakrame pṛthivim […] ca kākārā = RV 7.100.4.
363 trīr devāḥ […] nāma = RV 7.100.3.
365 śakrā, dual referred to Agni and Viṣṇu, the two gods are here, as the comment of Bhatta Bhāskara Miśra suggests (indrasamāṇau yuvām), compared with Indra, to which the semantic field of the root śac- is often connected.
366 viṇyāya, the comment of Bhatta Bhāskara Miśra says: tasminkarmāṇaḥ yajamānānaṁ viṇyārthaḥ, while RV 1.154.2 has viṇyēna (Geldner “ob seiner Heldentat”) and the AV Śaunaka recension has viṁyāṇi. This variations seem to suggest that the interpretation of the original viṇyēna was already uncertain at that time. If we translate as Geldner and understand the dative as referred to Viṣṇu, the heroic deed is probably that described immediately after.
367 nārya- “manly, powerful, suitable for man” often “goods” or “food”. Here is likely referred to Viṣṇu, who represent indeed a power which is “so great” (etāvantam). What the man wants to appropriate through the sacrifice is, then, the presence, the power of the god.
368 The primordial man, the Man.
369 As to the meaning of the world kīrī- “poet” or “humble” cf. Pischel in PISCHEL-GELDNER 1889-1901: 216-228; KEWA: I 215 and EWAlA: I 357. Here, in opposition to dhruvā, kīrī- conveys the idea of a lack of fix dwelling. Thank to Viṣṇu the people of Manu got, for the first time, a land to live in.
371 tveśā- EWAlA: I 686 “erregt sein, ungestüm”
III. Post-Rgvedic Developments: a Diachronic Analysis

GELDNER: II 269 “gewinnen möchte”

Vedic Web
Mantra: RV 1.154.2 Dirghatamas; RV 7.100.1ab Vasistha (devatā of both hymns is Viṣṇu).

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

TB 3.5.10.5

3.5.10.5 uttarāṃ devayāyāṃ āśāste / bhūyo haviṣkāram āśāste / divyāṃ dhāma āśāste
tā ṣāṃ / viśvaṃ priyām āśāste / yād anēna haviṣā āśāste / tād aśyāt tād rdhyāt / tād asmai devā rāsantām / tād aṅgir devā devēbhoyo vānate / uṣṭāṃ mānūsāḥ / īṣṭām ca vitām ca / ubhē ca no dyāvāpythīvi anhahasāḥ pātām
tā ṣāṃ / ihā gatīr vāmāṃ yām ca / nāmo dekhbyah
tā ṣāṃ / dharmadhyāt / tād aśyāt tād asmai devēbhoyo vānate / ubhē ca no dyāvāpythīvi anhahasāḥ pātām
tā ṣāṃ / ihā gatīr vāmāṃ yām ca / nāmo dekhbyah

He prays for a future worship to the gods, he prays for a bigger preparation of the oblation, he prays for a heavenly abode, he prays for all that is dear; may he attain this, this he wants to accomplish, which he prays for through this oblation, may the gods give this to him, may the god Agni appropriate this from the gods, we, man, from Agni; that which has been offered, that which has been craved for, and let both the heaven and the earth protect us from the enclosure; here and this is the procedure for what is desirable, honour to the gods.

vānate: subj. aor. 3rd sing. Ā I-VI cl.
EGGELING 1882-1900: XII 253 “may solicit”
DUMONT 1960: 9 “obtains”
Bhatta Bhāskara Miśra’s gloss: “संज्ञिनवते”

Vedic Web

Rite
Darśapurṇamāseṣṭi. The after offering formulas, anuyājas of the botṛ for the Suktāvāka,
evocation of blessing. *Mantras* to be repeated by the *botṛ* when the *adhvaryu* is about to throw the Darbha grass into the fire.

Śatapatha occurrences (Mādhyaṃdina recension)

**ŚB 1.9.1.19**

1.9.1.19 ṛṣipād kāṇīyasīḥ sapta / tádasmāi devā rāsantāmiti tádasmāi devā ānumanyantāṁtye vaitádābha tádāgniřeṛvō devēbhyo vanutām vayāmagneh pári mánuṣā iti tádagnirṛdevō devēbhyo vanutām vayāmagnerādīyasām ētādvanavāmahāḥ180 ēteyavitádābha

Even less indeed, seven. “May the gods give this to him” “May the gods grant this to him” “May Agni, as god, appropriate this from the gods, we, as men, from Agni” “May Agni, as god, appropriate this from the gods, we would then appropriate it for this one from Agni” this he says.

2x vanutām: impv. pres. 3rd sing. Ā VIII cl. 
EGGELING 1882-1900: I 253 “may solicit”

vanavāmahai: subj. pres. 1st pl. Ā VIII cl. 
EGGELING 1882-1900: I 253 “will solicit”

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

Rite
Dārśapūrṇamāseṣṭī. The after offering formulas, Anuyāja, of the *botṛ* for the Suktāvāka, evocation of blessing.

**ŚB 3.8.2.22**

3.8.2.22 áthāha stokebhyō 'nubṛūhīti / sa āgneyī stokebhyō 'nvāḥā tadyādāgniyeī stokebhyo 'nvāhetāhpradānā vai vṛṣṭīto byagnirvṛṣṭīṃ vanute sā etai stokaireṇtstokāṃvyanute tá ete stokā varsāntī tásmādāgniyeī stokebhyō 'nvāḥā yadā śītā bhāvati

Then he says “Recite at the two drops” he recites at the two drops verses addressed to Agni182; the reason why he recites verses for Agni at the two drops is that the rain exists through the oblation from this world183, for from here Agni appropriates the rain, he appropriates those drops with these two drops, and those drops rain down. For this reason he recites at the two drops verses addressed to Agni, when it184 becomes cooked / roasted.

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

380 tádasmāi [...] etādvanavāmahā cf. TB 3.5.10.5; MS 4.13.9: 212,10-13 and tádagnirṛdevō [...] etādvanavāmahā cf. TS 2.6.9.8.
381 kāṇīyasīḥ, from kāṇīyas- “smaller, less”, scil. āśishab.
382 The *mantras* to be recited are RV 1.75.1 and the whole hymn 3.21, both addressed to Agni. In 3.21 Agni is asked to taste the drops of clarified butter and the word stokā- is repeated through all the 5 stanzas.
383 itáhpradānā-, “offering from here”.
384 the *omentum*.
III. Post-Rgvedic Developments: a Diachronic Analysis

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van- is used in connection with the rain only once in RV 10.98.3 where Devāpi is asking for the rain to come (वर्षिम् सांतनवे वानावा).

Rite

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

ŚB 5.3.4.27

tāḥ sārdhamaudumbare pātre samāvanayati / mādhumatirmādhumatibhibh pṛcyantāṁiti rāsavatī rāsavatibhib pṛcyantāṁityevaitādāhā māhi ksatrāṁ ksatrīyāya vanvānā iti tātparó 'ksam yājamānyāśisamāśāste yadāha māhi ksatrāṁ ksatrīyāya vanvānā iti

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

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

Vedic Web

Mantra: TS 1.8.12.1a-b; MS 2.6.8: 68,6-8; MS 4.4.2: 51,8-10; KS 15.6: 213,9-10; VS 10.4. Mantra and Prose: ŚB 5.3.4.27. Prose: ŚB 5.16-37; 4.1.15.

Rite

Rājasūya, the Abhiṣeka –the unction of the king during his consecration. This section deals with the preparation of the waters, the collection and mixing of the waters. Waters from diverse sources are poured together into a single vessel. The mantra credits the waters with winning for the anointed on the power to rule –varcās- “splendour”, cf. PROFERES 2007 p. 80ff; HESTERMAN 1975 p.74-70 and 114-22; see also TSUCHIYAMA 2005 for the Abhiṣeka in general and his post-Vedic development.

385 He pours together the waters that are before divided in sixteen different kinds.
386 A vessel made with the wood of the udumbara plant (Ficus Glomerata).
387 rāsavat-, from rāsa- “sap, juice, essence”, in ŚB 5.3.4.3 is compared to urjasvat-
388 ksatrīyāya “for him who is eligible for rule” cf. PROFERES 2007: 97.
389 āśīṣamāśāste, the verb āśams- is used here both as “to pray” “to ask for” with two object: āśam (cognate object or etymologic accusative) and tāt.

89
III.3 Analysis of the Occurrences

III.3.1 The Development of the Nuclear and Ritual Meanings

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

Rgveda schools: *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*: 2 (1); *Kausitaki Brāhmaṇa*: (1).
Śuklayajurvedic school: *Vājasaneyā Saṃhitā–mādhyamāṃ* rec.: 7; –kānyā rec.: 6; *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*: 6.
Kṛṣṇayajurveda schools: *Taittiriya Saṃhitā*: 15; *Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa*: 17; *Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā*: 18; *Kapisthalakatha Saṃhitā*: (1(2); *Katha Saṃhitā*: 17.
Sāmaveda schools: *Kauthumā Saṃhitā*: 13 (4); *Jaiminīya Saṃhitā*: 17 (4).
Athravavedic schools: *Śaunakīya Saṃhitā*: 33; *Paippalāda Saṃhitā*: 27.

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

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

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

RV 6.16.28 agnis tigména śocíṣā vīśvam ny àtríṇam \ agnír no vanate rayím \ Agni with the sharpened flame may pass over all evil, may Agni appropriate the richness for us.

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

RV 1.162.22 sugávyaṃ no vāj/i svāsvyaṃ puḥsāḥ putrāḥ utá vīśvāpūṣaṃ rayím \ anāgāstvāṃ no àditiḥ kṣatráṃ no áśvo vanatāḥ havísmaṇ \ 390 ni yā- “to attack, assail, pass over”, like a carriage.
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Wealth of cattle may the steed / prize-winner bring us, wealth of horses, sons and all sustaining riches; may Aditi make us free from sin, let the horse endowed with oblations appropriate for us the lordship.

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

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

\textit{RV 7.94.9 gómad dharíyasyad vásu yád vám áśvávad ímabe / indrígni tád vanemahi //}

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

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

\textit{ví te víṣvag v/amacronacutetajūtāso agne bh/amacronacutemásaḥ / śuce śúcayaś caranti / tuvimrakś/amacronacuteso divyá návagvá vánā vananti dh/rringbelowṣat/amacronacute rujántaḥ}

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

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

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

\textit{10.1.1.10 esó atráptíbh / ná ha vá asyāputrátyai ká caná šáṅká bhavati yá evámêtaï mithunávatmánam cāgníṃ ca vedánam ba tveváyámatmá dákṣiṇám manúte yó na ātméti hyap/rringbelowacuteṣiṇābhyùktam}

This\textsuperscript{393} is also here indeed, there is absolutely no fear of him\textsuperscript{394} for the lack of offspring, for the one who knows indeed these two, the body (\textit{ātmán}\textsuperscript{395}) and Agni being in pairs, but also the body is the food “Daksīna

\textsuperscript{391} \textit{vājin-}, Geldner “siegesgewohnte”; O’Flaherty “racehorse". This term conveys the swift of the animal and its power. Is the steed that wins the prize of the race.

\textsuperscript{392} The sin, the contamination, dwells within the action that is going to be performed: the slaughtering of the horse; the ritual effort of taking any possible sin away plays an important role within the whole sacrifice. In order to avoid the contamination involved in the slaughtering act, it is often said that the victim agrees with what is happening (cf. the expression \textit{samjãptaḥ paśuḥ}, and also the Greek term \textit{ǎγος EWAia: I 159) and the actions during the cutting asunder seem to have a peculiar goal: to give new life to the animal. As for this aspect in the rituals of ancient India see MALAMOUD 1994 and GONDA 1960.

\textsuperscript{393} The mated body of the vital fluid entering the Fire Altar, which has been said being composed of speech and breath (ŚB 10.1.1.9).

\textsuperscript{394} Agni.

\textsuperscript{395} \textit{ātmán-} already in the Brāhmaṇa period means the Self and also the body, as it is used here all over this chapter. Whereas in the \textit{Ṛgveda} \textit{Saṃhitā} it mostly means “vital breath” or “self” and this older meaning is
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appropriates the food that is our vital breath (ātman)” indeed it has been said by a seer.

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

RV 2.25.1 indhāno agníṃ vanavad vanuṣyatāḥ / kṛtábrhmā śuśuvad rātáhavya it / jatēna jatām āti sā prāsarsyte / yām yam yuṣṭāṃ kṛṇutē brahmaṇaspatīṃ.

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

The other way is the use of the syntagma vanvan avāta- as divine attribute, a structure conveying both the idea of a conquest against someone and the gaining of some goods; it is so in RV 2.25.1 that we find in TB 2.8.5.7-8; in RV 6.16.20 quoted by KS 20.14 and in RV 9.96.11 which is used four times: in TS 2.6.12.1-2; MS 4.10.6; KS 21.14; VS 19.53. It is worth noticing that both these uses of the verb, approximating the idea of a conquest, of a war-like appropriation, though quite frequent in the hymns, are rarely used in the liturgical texts and are to be found in Ṛgvedic quotations only.

d- The fourth group, represent those occurrences where the men van- an element of the rite: the most frequent word is still gīra-, the chant -often related to Agni: the RV stanzas 1.93.9 and 5 are quoted four times in KS 4.16; MS 4.10.1; TS 2.3.14.1 and in TB 3.5.7.2 (TS and KS use also stanzas 1, 6 and 7 of the same hymn):

RV 1.93.9 ágniṣomā sávedasā sáhūtī vanataṃ gīraḥ / sám devatr/amacronacute  babhvathuḥ // yuvāmet/amacronacuteni divi rocan/amacronacutenyagníśca soma sākratū adhattam / yuvām sindhunrabbhiśasteravyāyāgniṣomā amuñcatatāṃ gṛbhītān //

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

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

20.14 nahi te pūrtāṃ aśṭāṃ bhūvan nemānāṃ vaso / áthā dūvo vanavase 398// āgniragāmi bhārato vṛtrahā

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

396 For rātáhavya see ELIZARENKOVA1995*: 62-3.
397babhvathuḥ: ind. perf. 2nd dual from bhū- “you have become”, has here a perfective aspect- is resultative.
398 nabi te [...] vanavase = RV 6.16.18.
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Puruscetanah divodāsasya sapatiḥ // sā hi vīśvātī paṁthivā rayōṃ dāśam maṁtvanā / vanvāṁn āvāto āṣṭṛtaḥ139//

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

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

Also samidha together with upasāda appears only once in RV 2.6.1.a-b and is used in AB 1.25.7 for the Upasad805 in the Soma sacrifice (samidham imām upasadam vaneh).

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

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


Ritual meaning: 6
Non-ritual meaning: 65

Samhitās:
JS 3.8.8 (RV 8.45.23) van- without object - not significantly modified (brahmādviṣam ^ brahmādviṣah)
KS 40.10 (RV 10.128.3) van- without object, modified
TS 4.7.14.1 (RV 10.128.3) van- without object, not modified

Brāhmaṇas:
TB 2.4.6.2 (RV 6.16.26) van- the god
TB 2.8.5.3 (RV 2.26.3) a vivās- the god
TB 2.4.5.5 (RV 5.83.1) vivās- the god

399 sā hi [...] āṣṭṛtaḥ = RV 6.16.20.
400 Nemānāṃ (gen. m. pl.) from néma- EWAia: II 56 “einer, ein anderer, mancher”, cf. also OLDENBERG 1901: 315.
401 bhārata- is a frequent epithet of Agni, as well as bharata-, name of the ancestor of one of the mythical Vedic families.
402 Divodāsa is the name of many figures within the R̥gveda Samhitā, often connected with Agni. See Mayrhofer 2003: 44.
403 As to the use of double accusative with verbs of giving cf. Whitney 1888: §277.
404 The Upasad is connected with the mythological eternal fight between gods and Asuras, as the gods expelled the Asuras out of the three worlds with three Upasads, then the Asuras took refuge in the seasons and the gods again banished them also from the season, then also from the days, and so on. This myth is told in many parts of the Vedic corpus.
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Out of 24 non-RV mantras or prose (19 Samhitās - 5 Brāhmaṇas):
Ritual meaning: 2
Non-ritual meaning: 22

TS 1.6.4.2; .3: non-RV mantra in YV-Level
TS 3.2.7.2 = TS 1.6.4.2; .3

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

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

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

10.128.3 máyi devā drāvīṇam āyajantām
máyy āśim āśir āśāh máyi devāhūtiḥ
dāivyā hōtiś vanuṣanta pūrve
āriṣṭāḥ syāma tanuvā suvīrāḥ

May the gods bestow on me through sacrifice movable goods, may the prayer405 be in me, may be in me the divine invocation; may the two former divine boty appropriate for themselves, may we, through ourselves, be safe, rich of heroes.

In KS 40.10, where many of the stanzas of 10.128 are quoted as mantras during the construction of the altar, namely during the laying down of the bricks on the dhīṣṇya altar, the stanza 3, right at the beginning of this section, undergoes two variations: the first is the substitution of vanuṣanta with vaniṣan, so a subjunctive aorist instead of a present injunctive: this variation does not convey a real change in the understanding of the stanza, and it is easy to trace back the reason of the change to the oddness of the Ṛgvedic hapax406, namely vanuṣanta. The second variation is the substitution of pūrve, “sacrificed” in order to put etad instead, a neuter accusative of the determinative pronoun, that is an element that can be deployed as object of the verb, when no object was “available”. In the Ṛgvedic occurrences, as said before, we have found van- without an explicit object, and we have proposed that in those cases the object implied were “the gods” and that the verb could mean “to make some enter into the circle of sacrifice”. Thus, this substitution could be the sign of a loss of functionality of the specific ritual meaning of the verb: that is, the use van- as “to make some enter into the circle of sacrifice” is not clear anymore, therefore the verb needs an object in order to be understood. The object is furnished to the detriment of the adjective. Moreover, the deictic pronoun is usually pointing, within a ritual context, to some concrete instrument involved in the action. This could then lead to the hypothesis that the loss of functionality develops into a new use of van-: the verb loses its first ritual meaning, which was connected with the poetic effort of actually evoking gods, and flows into another meaning, which is still rooted into the ritual moment, but is pointing to a concrete action within the pragmatic and prescribed sequence. We will consider all the Atharvavedic occurrences in the next chapter, nonetheless it is useful to take into consideration here this single

405 For the form āśir from āśis-, i. “prayer” but also “wish” see EWAia: I 178 “Bitte, Wunsch beim Opfer”and AiGr: I 42f.; II, 2 21; III 229, 248, 596.
406 Cf. GRASSMANN 1875 [ed. 1996: 1205].
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case. In the AVŚ -whose redaction is by general consensus a later one- the corresponding pāda reads as follow: daivāḥ bōtāraḥ sanīṣan na etād. The shift is completed: the verb van- was understood as to “win” “possess” and therefore substituted with the verb usually conveying this meaning, san-.

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

TB 2.8.5.3 sā jānena sā viśā sā jānmanā / sā putrāṅ vājam bharate dhānā nēbhīḥ / devāmām yāḥ pitāram āvīvasati / śraddhāmanā taviṣā brāhmaṇaspātīṃ

This one, indeed, with the tribe, this with the tribe, this through births, this with sons brings the victory; 

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

2.4.5.5 avavyāyann āśitam deva vāsvah / dvādśvatvo rāśmāyaḥ sūryasya / cārma_iva_āvādhus tāmo apsvāntah408 // parjānyya prāgyaṭa / divās putrāya mīḍhuse / sā no yavasam iĉhatu /ācchā vada tavāsām gīrbhir ābhīḥ409 / stuhī parjānyam nāmāsā vīvāṣa / kāṃkradad vṛṣabhō jirādānuḥ / réto daďbātv ośadbhīṣu gārbham410 //

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

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

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

TS 1.6.4.2; .3 ēṁa āgmann āśiṣo dōhakāmā āndravantah // vanāmabe dībukṣimāhi prajām īṣam

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

and TS 3.2.7.2:

TS 3.2.7.2, šastrāṣya šastrām / asy āūjam māhyanā šastrāṃ dūhām ā mā šastrāṣya šastrāṃ ganayāt / āndrīvayanto vanāmabe dībukṣimāhi prajām īṣam

408 avavyāyann āśitam […] apsvāntah = RV 4.13.4a-b-d.
409 BS: ābbi
410 ācchā vada […] gārbham = RV 5.83.1.
411 kāṃkradad, pres. part. of the intensive form of krand “to cry out”.
412 Cf. Geldner’s translations of the desiderative occurrences with “einladen” or “her bitten”.

95
You are the śastra of the śastra, may the śastra milk for me the vital energy, may the śastra of the śastra come to me, possessing the might may we appropriate, may we milk offspring and food.

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

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

III.3.2 van- / vani- in the Non-Rgvedic Passages: a Chronological Perspective

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

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

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

- Mantra-Language:

At the level of the YV-mantra there are 13 non-RV mantras

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

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

\[
\text{MS 4.4.2 devirāpo mādhumatiḥ sāmśrayadhumā mahī kṣatrām kṣatryāya vanvān ā itetā hi kṣatryāya vantrīnādhyāṣṭāḥ sīdatōrjasvatīrmāhi várcch kṣatryāya dādhatiśīyāya hi kṣatryāya dhāthī.}
\]

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

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

In one case the object is the rain vṛṣṭi-:

\[
\text{MS 4.1.10 őśadhīnām áhi/mcandrabindusāyaia vrajāṃ gacha gosth/amacronacutenamīti chándā/amacronacutenaśchándā/mcandrabindusyev/amacronacutesmai vrajāṃ gosth/amacronacutenaṃ karoti várṣatu te  parjanya-devā v/rringbelowacuteṣṭi/mcandrabindu vanute badhānā deva śavitaḥ śatēna pāśaiḥ paramāyām paramāvāti.}
\]

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

We will find the rain again in the next groups, but we can already notice that neither the rain nor the power are objects one can actually possess, but rather be granted of, and the preceding

\(^{413}\) kṣatryāya “for him who is eligible for rule” cf. Proferes 2007: 97.

\(^{414}\) āta: “of variegated colour, shining”. Worth noticing that both āta and várcas are connected with the brilliance of light, which is one of the element used to describe the royal power.


III.3 Analysis of the Occurrences

mantra indeed says vārṣatu te parjānyā: may it rain for you through Parjanya, which is the rain-cloud, but also the god of the rain. Elsewhere another kind of power is the object of van-, namely in TB 2.4.3.4, the object is the tapas-, the ascetic power.

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

TS 2.6.9.8 tād agnir devēbhya vānate vayám agnēr mānuṣā īty āhāgnir devēbhya vanutē vayám manusyēbhya

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

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

KS 30.8 paśupateḥ paśavo virūpāsadd/rringbelowśā uta / teṣāṃ yaṃ vavnire devāsta/mcandrabindu svarāḍanumanyatām

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

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

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

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

dhāt/amacronacute dadātu no rayím /imacronacuteśāno jágatas pátiḥ / sá naḥ pūrṇéna vāvanat

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

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

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

• Prose layers:

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

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

\begin{verbatim}
MS 3.6.9 nānyātrādīkṣitam dīkṣitavimāntāntāryo 'bhīnātrocchāniḿbhayādīdikṣitavratāmevā tyāyāni sa devānām nā sāmabhavattām bhṛtyā sāmabhāvayanyādbhyttām vanutē yajñya-sāmbhūtai ṛāśvēyatōtaṃ yādṛśitēdāvadāsya yāt.

May the sun do not set otherwise upon the consecrated, upon the temporary dwelling of the consecrated, while he is sleeping, may (the sun) not rise over this vow of the consecrated; the sacrifice did not fall to the share of gods, indeed, they furnished him with support when he appropriate the support for the
\end{verbatim}

418 mādhumatirmādhumatibhibh prcyantāmīti rāsavati rāsavatibhibh prcyantāmītīyayevaitādāhā máhi kṣatrām kṣatriyāya vanānā iti tātparā ‘kṣam yājanmānyāśisamāsāste yadāha máhi kṣatrām kṣatriyāya vanānā.

419 Cf. Caland 1908: 8-10.

420 \textit{sam bhū-}, “to fall to the share” + gen. The idea expressed here is that the production of the sacrifice is not directly connected with gods: the gods give the \textit{daksinās} (nourishment) to the consecrated; With that he generates the sacrifice. The sacrifice will, at the end, reach the gods. The image underlying the whole passage is that of circular passage between gods and men.

421 The object of the sentence is the consecrated and, according to the KS, what they give to him is the \textit{daksinā}.
III.3 Analysis of the Occurrences

production of the sacrifice ‘Give so much, o Soma’, be in his possession so much as he might have said.

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

Within the section which is more similar in the two occurrences, there are indeed four statements, *devēbhyo vai yaśī no prābhavattam daksinobbis samabhāvayanyad diśito bṛhīṃ vanute yaṇīmeva samabhāvayati tasmādavādāśa rātrirdiśito bṛhīṃ vanvīta yāvāneva yaṇīstam samabhāvayati //

‘Puṣan of rewards, Soma of gifts’ he says for Puṣan is master of rewards, Soma of gifts. ‘Give o Soma so much’ he says, Soma shall indeed give to this one what he appropriates. ‘Bring more hither’ he says, he indeed attained more ‘God Savitṛ, good Givers of goods’ the one roused by Savitṛ receives for not hurting himself. The sacrifice did not originated from the gods, they affected dakṣināḥ (nourishment) or, more generally, the support (bhūti-) to the consecrated. With that he generates the sacrifice, and the sacrifice will, at the end, reach the gods.

As to the *dīkṣita*, see, among others, the analysis of HEESTERMAN 1964.

422 *sāṃbhūtai*, dat. sing. f. (for the dative in -ai in analogy with -ī declension, see MACDONELL 1916: §98b n.4) from *sāṃbhūti* “birth, production”. The possibility of an infinite dative is less probable within the construction of the sentence, moreover there is no attestation of this form in the RV (cf. GRASSMANN 1875).

424 Lit. “be of him”.

425 *etasmāi* (dat. m. sing. from the determinative pronoun *esa*- “to the consecrated”, as to the role of the *dīkṣita* see among others, the analysis of HEESTERMAN 1964.

426 *āgame*, stative aor. 3rd sing. cf. KUMMER 1996. See also AVŚ 6.81.2c where *āgame* is quite unclear, cf. WHITNEY-LANMAN 1905: I 341-2 for possible interpretations of the word.

427 *sam bhū-, “to affect s.o. (acc.) with (instr.)”*. The idea expressed here is that the production of the sacrifice is not directly connected with gods: the gods give the *daksināb* (nourishment) to the consecrated. With that he generates the sacrifice. The sacrifice will, at the end, reach the gods. As the image underlying the whole passage is that of circular passage between gods and men.

428 For *naimiṣya-* see EWAIA: II 57 “Waldgebiet” *naimiṣya* “deszen Bewohner” and MACDONELL-KEITH 1912 1955: I 460. They are also mentioned in Kauśitaki Brāhmaṇa 26.5; 28.4 and in Chāndogya Upaniṣad 1.2.13, being clearly of special sanctity.

429 *satramāsata*: it is maybe worth noticing the use of the verb *ās-* “to sit” together with *sattrā*: literally means “session” deriving from the root *sad-* (cf. EWAIA: II 690). For *sattrā* instead of *sattrā*, cf. AiGr: I 114 and I,1 62. The *sattrā* sacrifice is a *soma* sacrifices of 12 or more pressing days. See also FALK 1986.
appropriated for themselves 27 young bulls among the Kuru-Pañcālas. The story, which can be found also later in MhB IX, 41, is that of the ritual dispute between the ṛṣi Vaka (or Baka) Dālbhya and the king Dhṛtarāṣṭra. Although Falk (1986: 59) translates the verb *avanvata* with “verlangten”, it seems quite probable that the Namīsyas appropriated the bulls.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

IV.1 Nominal Derivatives

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

IV.1.1 Rgvedic occurrences

1- vanús- vanuṣya-

Let us begin with the two derivatives of most frequent occurrence in the Rgveda Samhitā: vanús-, adjective, secondary derivative of the verb root van- / vanī-, and the denominative vanuṣya-, which take on a sense that it is almost always negative. For the adjective vanús- we have no corresponding substantive, although we may conjecture, like Renou (1939: 181), an intermediary nomen actionis *vánus “contro-partie funeste” of vánas- (by analogy with the paradigmatic sequence táras- tárus- tarús-); with regard to this hypothesis, see also AiGr: II 2 §316β, where in fact Debrunner deals with this form among the terms in us- which also show a corresponding form in as-.

The negative value taken on by these two derivatives – a value which Renou (ibid.) sees as the outcome of transition through the ambiguous vánus- – can be understood as developing from
IV.1 Nominal Derivatives

one of the specific values with which we saw the verb root employed: suffice it to recall the many passages in which man or the god "appropriates" the enemy. In these cases, therefore, "to appropriate" takes on the sense of conquest and control: I have it enter into my circle and so I dominate.

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

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

8.25.15 té hi śmā vanīṣo náro
abhimātim kāyasya cit
tigmāṇi nā ksodāḥ pratighnānti bhūṁayaḥ

These heroes, truly, shatter, ever moving like a rapid stream, the assault of the one who wishes to appropriate them, whoever he may be.

vanūsaḥ: genitive masc. singular, from vanīs-
GELDNER: II 334 “Eifersuchtig”
RENOU: V 92 "rival"

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

6.62.10 āntaraiś ca kairas tāṃyaḥ vartir
dyumātā yatam nṛṣṭā ṛathena
sāṃtyena tvājasi mārtyasya
vanuṣyatām api śirā savyktam

With inner wheels approach, you two, the circuit, with the chariot rich in heroes and shining, in favour of our descent; thanks to secret isolation of the mortal grant us the heads of those who wish to appropriate us.

vanuṣyatām: present participle (gen. m. pl.), denominative from vanīs-
GELDNER: II 164 “Neider”

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

9.91.5 sā pratnavān nāvyase viśavāra
sūktāya pathāḥ kṛṇubhi prācaḥ
yē duḥṣāhāso vanūsa bhāntas
tāms te aṣyāma purukṛt puruṣo

430 bhūṁayaḥ (nom. m. pl.) from bhūṁi- adjective derived from the root bhūr- “to move compulsively and continuously” cf. Lat. furere.
431 vanūsaḥ: to be seen as genitive rather than accusative in analogy with vanūsām ārāṭih cf. 4 50.11.
432 Or: in other words: start the journey in the sky; the Aśvins are addressed here.
433 tvājasi (instr. n. sing.) from tvājas- ; for interpretation of this term as “isolation” “abandonment” and in this sense “danger” (isolation is a serious danger for Vedic man) cf. GONDA 1957?: 52 ff.
IV. “To desire”: a Synchronic Analysis

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

vanürśā: instrumental masculine singular, from vanús-
GELDNER: III 88 “Neider”
RENOU: IX 40-1 “ennemi”

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

4.22.9 asmé várśiṣṭhā kṛnuḥ pāyyiṣṭhā
nṛmmāṇi sāhure sāhansī
asmbāhyam vṛtā subāhāni randhī
jāhī vādhar vanīṣo mārtiyasya

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

vanīṣaḥ: genitive masculine singular, from vanús-
GELDNER: I 449 “neidisch”
WITZEL-GOTO-SCARLATA 2013: 156 “begehrenden”

7.25.3 śātāṃ te śiprin ūtāyah sudāse
sāhāraṁ sāṁsā utā rāṭī rāstu
jāhī vādhar vanīṣo mārtiyasya
asmé dyumnāṁ ādhī rāṭin ca dhehi

A hundred are your aids for Sudas, may the prayers and gifts number a thousand, destroy the weapon of the mortal wishing to appropriate us, place splendour and riches for us.

vanīṣaḥ: genitive masculine singular, from vanús-
GELDNER: II, 204 “neidischen”

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

6.15.12 tvaṁ agne vanuṣyātvāṁ nā pāhi
tvaṁ u naḥ sāhabāvan avadyāt
sām tvā dhvam mansād abhi etu pāthaḥ
sām rayi śpyhaūdyaḥ sahasrī
c

It is indeed you, O Agni, who protect from those who wish to appropriate us, and you, victorious, protect us from censure; thanks to you the pasturage gathers endowed with shade, wealth gathers a thousand times endowed with shade.
that which is desired.

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

- **GELDNER**: II 108 “Neider”
- **RENOU**: XIII 48 “qui jalouse”
- **SCHMIDT** 1973: 24 “the greedy”

7.1.15  
śed āgni r yo vanuṣyató nipaṭi
sameddháram ambasa uriṣyāt
sujātāsah pári caranti virāh

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

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

- **GELDNER**: II 181 “Neider”
- **RENOU**: XIII 53 “rival-jalous”

7.56.19  
imé turám marūto rāmayanti
imé sāhaḥ sāhasa ā namanti
imé śāṃsaṃ vanuṣyató ni pānti
gurū dvēṣo áraruṣe dadhanti

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

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

- **GELDNER**: II 232 “Neidischen”
- **RENOU**: X 43 “rival”

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

1.132.1  
tváyā vayám maghavan pauruṣe dhána
indatrotāḥ sásabhyaṁ pratyayatō
vanuṣyáma vanuṣyatáḥ
nēdiṣṭhe asmin áhanti
ādhi vocā nā sumvātē
asmin vajñē ví cayemā bhāre kṛtām
vājayānte bhāre kṛtāṃ

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

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

- **GELDNER**: I 185 “wollen übertrumpfen”
- **RENOU**: XVII 46 “vaincre”
- **WITZEL-GOTO** 2007: 247 “möchten überhaupt”

with shade” as being “covered with dust”, “hard to see” or because “darkening”, and so comparison is suggested between the herd advancing and a grey cloud darkening the sky, cf. **SCHMIDT** 1973: 1-39 and in particular 24.
IV. “To desire”: a Synchronic Analysis

vanusyatāḥ: present participle (acc. m. pl.), denominative from vanús-
GELDNER: I 185 “Eifersüchtigen”
RENOUN: XVII 46 “qui cherchent à nous vaincre”
WITZEL-GOTŌ 2007: 247 “die zu gewinnen suchen”

2.25.1-2 índhāno agníṃ vanavad vanusyatāḥ
ktārābhāmā śūśwad rāṭābhavā it
jātēna jātām āti sā prā sarṣtē
yān-yān yajam kṛṣuṭe brāhmaṇas pātiḥ //
vīvēbhir virāṅ vanavad vanusyatāō
gōbhī rayim paprathad bōdhati tmānā
tokāṃ ca tāṣyā tāṇayaṃ ca vardhate
yān yān yajam kṛṣuṭe brāhmaṇas pātiḥ

Let him who kindles Agni appropriate those who wish to appropriate him, let him who offers oblations and accomplishes the sacred formulation wax great; besides the son born of the son, anyone whom Bṛhaspati has made an ally survives.
With the male children let him appropriate the male children of whomsoever wishes to appropriate him, let him have a great wealth with cows⁴３⁹ and of himself present⁴⁴⁰; he whom Bṛhaspati has made an ally increases his offspring and that of his family.

vanavat: present subjunctive 3rd sing., VIII cl.
GELDNER: I 308 “wird überwinden”
RENOUN: XV 59-60: “vaincra”
SANI 2000: 90: “vincerà”
WITZEL-GOTŌ 2007: 392 “wird besiegen”

vanusyatāḥ: present participle (acc. m. pl.) denominative from vanús-
GELDNER: I 308 “Neider”
RENOUN: XV 59-60: “les (adversaires) cherchant-à-vaincre”
SANI 2000: 90: “desiderando vincero”
WITZEL-GOTŌ 2007: 392 “die Angrefenden”

vanavat: present subjunctive 3rd sing. VIII cl.
GELDNER: I 308 wurd überwinden
RENOUN XV 60: “vaincra”
SANI 2000: 91: “vincerà”
WITZEL-GOTŌ 2007: 392 “wird besiegen”

vanusyatāḥ: present participle (gen. m. sing.) denominative from vanús-
GELDNER: I 308 “des Neider”
RENOUN: XV 60 “les (adversaires) cherchant-à-vaincre”
SANI 2000: 91: “colui che lo vuol vincere”
WITZEL-GOTŌ 2007: 392 “die Angrefenden”

2.26.1 jūr ic chāमso vanavad vanusyatō
devayām iḍ ādevayantam abhy āsat
suprāvṭ iḍ vanavat pṛṣṭi dusṭāram
yāyved ayatyuṃ vi bhaṭati bhōjanam

Let him who rightly prays⁴⁴¹ appropriate those who wish to appropriate him, let him who belongs to the gods

⁴３⁹ paprathad (perf. subj. 3rd sing.) from the root prath- “to expand” “to extend”, perfect with resultative value – logical perf. (cf. DI GIOVINE 1996, in particular 273 ff.).
⁴⁴⁰ bōdhati (ind. pres. 3rd sing.) from the root budh- “to be present” “to be self aware”, in RENOUN (XV 60) “veille-t-il sur lui-même”.
⁴⁴¹ jūr ic chāṃsaḥ: tmesis of jūrśāṃsaḥ (nom. m. sing.) bahuvrībi from karmadhāraya (jūr- “just, righteous” +
IV.1 Nominal Derivatives

overwhelm those who are lacking; let him who is a very zealous\(^{442}\) appropriate in battles even those who are difficult to overwhelm, the priest distributes the food\(^{443}\) of the impious.

\(\textit{vanavat}:\) subjunctive present 3\(^{\text{rd}}\) sing., VIII cl.
- \(\text{GELDNER: I, 309 “wird überwinden”}\)
- \(\text{RENOU: XV, 61 “vaincra”}\)
- \(\text{WITZEL-GOTO 2007: 393 “wird besiegen”}\)

\(\textit{vanuṣyatāḥ}:\) present participle (acc. m. pl.) derivative from \(\textit{vanūs-}\)
- \(\text{GELDNER: I 309 “die Neider”}\)
- \(\text{RENOU: XV 61 “les (adversaires) cherchant-à-vaincre”}\)
- \(\text{WITZEL-GOTO 2007: 393 “die Angreifenden”}\)

When, oh Indra and Agni, these peoples invoke on various sides with a sustained chant, we wish with our men to defeat the attackers, to appropriate those who wish to appropriate us, let all the others crumble away.

\(\textit{vanuvāma}:\) present optative 1\(^{\text{st}}\) pl., VIII cl.
- \(\text{GELDNER: II 353-4: wollen überbieten}\)
- \(\text{RENOU: XIV 58: vaincre}\)

\(\textit{vanuṣyatāḥ}:\) present participle (acc. m. pl.) derivative from \(\textit{vanūs-}\)
- \(\text{GELDNER: II 353-4 “Eifer”}\)
- \(\text{RENOU: XIV 58 “qui cherchent à vaincre”}\)

Let this one, who has knowledge, appropriate those who wish to appropriate us, this drop\(^{444}\), thanks to the perfectly whole poetic thought much praised, that has placed the embryo in the lap of the strong\(^{445}\) and flows towards the opened enclosure\(^{446}\) of the cows.

\(\textit{vanavat}:\) present subjunctive 3\(^{\text{rd}}\) sing., VIII cl.
- \(\text{GELDNER: III 72 “soll überbieten”}\)
- \(\text{RENOU: IX 26 “l’emporte”}\)

\(\textit{vanusyatāḥ}:\) present participle (acc. m. pl.) derivative from \(\textit{vanūs-}\)

\(\text{śāṁsa- “prayer” \text{“he who rightly prays”}}.\)

\(\text{\textit{suprāvīr} (nom. m. sing.) from \textit{suprāvi- “very attentive”; a somewhat unclear interpretation is given by \text{GELDNER, (I 309 n. 1c) “Wer gut zuredet”, who, in the note, refers to the verb \textit{pra vihi} in the following stanza: \textit{suprāvi} derives from \textit{su “well” and pra-avī < rad. av- “to protect” while the verb \textit{pra–vī- “to hasten, set moving “to inspire”, from which \textit{pra vihi}, has no connection with this root.}}}}\)

\(\text{\textit{Urubjām (acc. m. sing.) from uruḥjā, adjective of uncertain etymology, see EWAia: I 223; other interpretations in OLDENBERG 1912, 173 n. 4 and in RENOU IX 88; the term clearly contains the idea of “that which is opened”.}}\)
IV. “To desire”: a Synchronic Analysis

In the passage that follows, the poet succeeds in recreating the same semantic play, in this case bringing into contraposition the adjective and the denominative itself: wishing to appropriate those who wish to appropriate us, Agni is asked to consume the adversaries with fire (spṛdho vanuṣyān vanuṣo nī jūrvā).

6.6.6 ā bhāninā pārthivānī jāyāmsi mahās todasya dhṛṣṭā tatantha sā bādhavā āpa bhayā sābobhi spṛdho vanuṣyān vanuṣo nī jūrvā

Courageous, you have set out with the light of the great Instigator the earthly ranges, you, indeed, dispel fears with your powers, wishing to appropriate those who wish to appropriate us, consume the adversaries with fire.

vanuṣyān: present participle (nom. m. sing.) denominative from vanús-
Geldner: II 99 “eifernd”
Renoù: XIII 41 “vainquant”

vanuṣah: accusative masculine plural from vanús-
Geldner: II 99 “die Eiferer”
Renoù: XIII 41 “qui jalousent”

In particular, moreover, we see that in certain passages vanús- takes on a more precise meaning when occurring in the binomial arī-/vanús-: the outer, foreign enemy and the inner enemy (cf. Renoù VII, 84); this contraposition between within and without also recurs taking on different forms at other points, one of which being the form cited above, adopted in these four stanzas.

7.21.9 sākhāyas ta indra viśvāha syāma namouydhāso mabīnā tarutva vanuṇātā smā te ācāsā samikē abhistim aryō vanuṣāṃ śāvāṃsi
Let it be granted to us, oh Indra, to be your companions forever, we who greatly strengthen you with devotion, conqueror; in the clash, with your protection, let those appropriate the attack of the foreigner, the strength of those who wish to appropriate them.

vanuṇātā: imperative present 3rd pl., VIII cl.
Geldner: II 201-2 “sollen überwinden”

vanuṣāṃ: genitive masculine plural, from vanús-

447 “You have spread light on the earth” tatantha (ind. perf. 2nd sing.) from tan- “to extend, to spread” here used with a sense much as in the tenth mandala (cf. 10.90.6 a-b yāt pūrṇaḥ baviṣā devā yajñām ātanvata) where it is the sacrifice that is “extended”, “prepared” thanks to man, and just as there is no sacrifice without pūrṇaḥ, so here there is no earth without light; on this point see also Malamoud (1994: 223) “To accomplish the sacrifice […] is to open it out: give it its entire extension while preserving its continuity”.

448 yanvántu (impv. pres. 3rd pl.) from the root van-; while in the two previous pāda the verb has as subject an “us”, here the subject is clearly a group other than that which is performing the rite, possibly a group in attendance or for whom the rite is performed (warriors going into battle?).

449 ariyāḥ (gen. m. sing., Vedic form cf. Whitney 1888: §340.e) from arī- “enemy”; for the present translation we follow the interpretation proposed by Thieme 1938; see also Oldenberg 1900: 167-180 and EWAta: I 111-2.

To be noted here in particular is the contraposition: ‘arī-vanūś-’ the outside enemy, foreigner, and the internal enemy (cf. Renoù VII 84).
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GELDNER: II 201-2 “Neider”

7.83.5 indrāvarṇaṇāv ābhī ā tapanti mā
gbāṇī aryō vanīsām ārātayaḥ
yuvām ātīva udbhāyasya rājatho
ādhā sīnā no avantām pārīye dvī

Oh Indra and Varuna, the foreigner’s evil acts are rekindled\textsuperscript{450}, the evil intentions of those wishing to appropriate us; you two rule both the realms\textsuperscript{451}, so, truly, grant us your favour, it being the decisive day.

\textit{vanīsām}: genitive masculine plural, from \textit{vanīs-}

GELDNER: II 255 “Neider”
RENOU: V 100 “envieux”

In these two cases in particular we find the last two \textit{pādas}, practically as if a formula, repeated identically in both stanzas.

4.50.11 bṛhaspatya indara vārdhataṃ naḥ
sācā sā vām suamatī bhuṭu asmē
avīśāṃ dhiyo jīgrāṃ páramdhīr
jajastāṃ aryō vanīsām ārātīḥ

Oh Bṛhaspati, oh Indra, let us prosper together, let this benevolence of yours be in us, protect the sights, reawaken abundance\textsuperscript{452}, wear down the foreigner’s evil intentions\textsuperscript{453}, of those who wish to appropriate us.

\textit{vanīsām}: genitive masculine plural, from \textit{vanīs-}

GELDNER: I 481 “Eifersüchtigen”
RENOU: XV 65 “des envieux”
SANI 2000: 89 “i rivali”
WITZEL-GOTO-SCARLATA 2013: 199 “begehrenden”

7.97.9 iyāṃ vām brahmanas pate suvrktīr
brāhma índrāya vajrīṇe akāri
avīśāṃ dhiyo jīgrāṃ páramdhīr
jajastāṃ aryō vanīsām ārātīḥ

For you two, oh Bṛhaspati and Indra, this fine hymn, for Indra, possessor of the thunderbolt, the sacred formulation has been accomplished; protect the sights, reawaken abundance, wear down the foreigner’s evil intentions, of those who wish to appropriate us.

\textit{vanīsām}: genitive masculine plural, from \textit{vanīs-}

GELDNER: II 267-8 “Eifersüchtiger”
RENOU: XV 69 “des envieux”

There are, however, also various other binomials to be interpreted as the same contraposition taking on different forms: thus, for example, the syntagma \textit{jām/ṛ ājāmīn} “relatives and non-relatives”, which we find in 6.19.8, where the derivative \textit{vanīs} does not appear, but the verb root \textit{van-} / \textit{vari-} is nevertheless there, and the plea is in fact to be able to appropriate the enemies, be

\textsuperscript{450} \textit{aryāh} (gen. m. sing., Vedic form cf. WHITNEY 1888: §340.e) from \textit{arī-} “enemy”, cf. previous note.

\textsuperscript{451} The earthly ones and the heavenly ones.

\textsuperscript{452} Here abundance of inspiration.

\textsuperscript{453} \textit{aryāh} (gen. m. sing., Vedic form cf. WHITNEY 1888: §340.e) from \textit{arī-} “enemy”; for the present translation we have followed the interpretation proposed by THIEME 1938; see also OLDENBERG 1900: 167-180 and EWAia: I 111-2. To be noted here in particular is the contraposition: ‘\textit{ari-vaniś-}’: the outside enemy, foreigner, and the internal enemy (cf. RENOU VII 84).
they relatives are not, while we also find the same binomial together with the adjective *vanúṣ* used in 6.25.3.

6.19.8  अ नो भोरा विषाणम् सासम मित्रा
द्वारा स्वादीक देवता
येना वाःसाम त्रिपाठसु सात्रु
तवंत्वहि उता जानन्हि जामनि

Bring us, oh Indra, a lowing bull, which bears away the booty, well fattened and very strong, with which we wish to appropriate with your aids in the battles the enemies, relatives and non-relatives.

*vāṃsāma*: subjunctive aorist 1st pl.

GELDNER: II 117 “können überwinden”

6.25.3  इन्द्रा जामया उता ये ‘जामयो
अवैभिषिको वानुषो युयुहे
ते मुष्मति विथुरा वाससी
जाते विषष्ययी क्रयुहि पाराचाब

Oh Indra, those who, relatives or strangers, turned against, wishing to appropriate us, have taken up arms, of these make the strength unsound, lay waste all their courage, keep them far away.

*vanúṣaḥ*: nominative masculine plural from *vanús-*

GELDNER: II 124 “Neider”

Another form taken on by this contraposition is to be seen in the binomial near enemy-far enemy (*āntaro vanuṣyāt - sānutyaḥ*) as in 6.5.4.

6.5.4  यो नाह सानुतयो अभिदासाद अग्ने
यो अंतरो मित्रांबो वानुष्यात
त्रम अजेबहि विषाभ्यस्ति तवा स्वास
तपाती पातिष्ठा तापसात्ता तापसवान

He who, far away, may attack us, oh Agni, he who, nearby, wants to appropriate us, oh you who have the greatness of Mitra, with your bulls that never grow old, make him burn, O you who burn more than all, with fierce heat, you have fierce heat.

*vanuṣyāt*: subjunctive present 3rd sing., denominative from *vanús-*

GELDNER: II 98 “sollte eifern”
RENOU: XIII 40 “jalouse”

As we have seen, in all the stanzas quoted so far the two derivatives take on a clearly negative sense; the only passages where a positive value is to be found come to four, and the use made of *vanús-* (in three cases) as of *vanuṣya-* is again to be associated with the other functions we have identified for the verbal root.

More precisely, in 1.150.3 and 3.27.11 we find reference to the ritual action, to having the god come into the circle of the sacrifice (as in certain attestations of the verb root, cf. 9.7.6; 6.16.26 or 5.74.7); here, then, it is a matter of the wish to accomplish such an action – an undoubtedly just desire, to be welcomed.

1.150.3  सा कंद्रो विप्रा मायी
महो व्रतदंतां दिवि

454 To be noted between Agni as sacrificial fire and Agni associated with Mitra (with the “Pact”) a division of tasks symmetrical to the contraposition between the distant enemy (*sānutyaḥ*) and the enemy nearby (*āntaro vanuṣyāt*): for both Agni is invoked, but with different function and attributes.
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prá prét te agne vanúsah siyāma

Oh inspired sage, this luminous mortal is great, is that which has grown most in the heavens; may we, wishing to appropriate you⁴⁵⁵, stand, oh Agni, before all.

vanúsah: nominative masculine plural from vanús-
GELDNER: I 208 “eifrig (Verehrer)"
RENOU: XII 39 “(nous qui sommes) gagnés à toi”
WITZEL-GOTO 2007: 276 “Anhänger”

3.27.11 agníṃ yantúram aptúram
r̥tásya yúge vanúsah
vīprā vājāḥ sām indhate

Agni, the guide, he who overtakes the waters⁴⁵⁶, the inspired sages, wishing to appropriate him, in application of the order, kindle him with the rewards of battle.

vanúsah: nominative masculine plural from vanús-
GELDNER: I 361 “eifrig”
RENOU: XII 68 “qui veulent te gagner”
WITZEL-GOTO-SCARLATA 2013: 48 “eifrig”

In 10.96.1 it is Indra who is eager to appropriate elation; just as in the earlier verbal attestations we encountered at the beginning of the functional analysis of the verbal root in the Rgvedic and post-Rgvedic occurrences, what this god appropriated was soma (cf. 10 105.5c vanóti śīprābhyaṁ śīprinivāṁ), so now we see him eager for that state of exaltation which the drink brings on.

10.96.1 prá te mahé vidāthe śamsisam hāri
prá te vanve vanúsā haryatāṁ mádām
ghṛtām nā yō haribhiś cāru sécata
ā tva viśantu hārivarpasam gīrab

May I invoke in the great meeting [rite]⁴⁵⁷ your two steeds, I appropriate for my self the intoxicating drink dear to you who desire to appropriate it which, pleasant as clarified butter, together with the golden ones⁴⁵⁸, pours out; the chants should arrive to you who have the colour of gold.

vanve prá: present indicative 1st sing. Ā VIII cl.
GELDNER: III 304 “habe Gewinn”

vanúsah: ablative masculine singular from vanús-
GELDNER: III 304 “Eifrigen”

Finally, in 9.7.6 the priest wishes to “appropriate” with “poetic work”, vanuṣyate matí, following a pattern similar to á vamsad dhītābhīh in 10.26.2 and gīrbhiḥ vīvasāta in 6.15.6: here we have an absolute use of the denominative in a very precise ritual context – a use that lent itself to analysis in certain attestations of van- / van- and in particular of the stem of the desiderative (6.15.6 is an example). Murmuring prayers, the priest wishes to have the god enter the circle of the sacrifice. In this stanza there is also another element to point out, namely the

455 “To have you enter the circle of the sacrifice”.
456 aptúram (acc. m. sing.) from aptúr- (m. f. n.); interpretation of the term as derived from áp- “water” + root tr- “to cross” see THIEME 1952: 7 and LÜDERS 1951-1959: 235.
457 As to the exact meaning of vidāthā as already a ritual fest or just as social meeting, see GONDA 1992: VI/1 310-337, KUIPER 1974: 129-132 and OLDENBERG 1900: 608-611.
458 “The golden” are the drops of Soma.
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phonetic play the poet artfully creates bringing together the verb vanuṣyate in pāda c and the substantive vána- (“wood”, “tree”, “forest”) in the previous pāda, a paronomasia which we will encounter again, still more forcefully, where it is used both with the adjective vanin- and, subsequently, with the rarer derivatives in order to bring out and possibly meld the very meaning of the two roots.

9.7.6 ávyo v/amacronacutere pári priyó
bāhir vāneṣu sidati
rebhó vanuṣyate mati

The beloved steed\textsuperscript{459} sits on the [pieces of] wood, all around the threads of wool\textsuperscript{460}; he who prays “wishes to have enter the circle of the rite” thanks to the poetic work\textsuperscript{461}.

vanuṣyate: present indicative 3\textsuperscript{rd} sing. Ā, denominative from vanús-
RENOU: VIII 6 “est mis-en-état-de-grâce”

Besides stanza 4.44. 3, in which van-/van- is associated with the term jṭā-, there remain two attestations of the adjective vanús- that are quite enigmatic.

The first is in an invocation to be listened to and protected, for the Shielding Goddess, like the other divinities whose identity cannot be clearly defined. The divine beings Ekadhenu are attested only here, while the appellation for Rudra, abhir budhnīya, is less mysterious, but still somehow out of place in a hymn dedicated to Savitř. The people described as mitho vanuṣāḥ, whether we take it in the sense of Geldner, or of Renou, are hardly identifiable.

7.38.5 abhī yē mithó vanuṣāḥ sāpante
rātim divō rātisācab pṛthuṣyāb
abhir budhnīya utā nah śrṇotu
vārūtri ēkadhenubhir ni pātu

They who \textit{wish to appropriate} from each others take ahead the gift of the heavens and the earth, having the gift as attribute\textsuperscript{462}, and may Abhir Budhnya\textsuperscript{463} listen to us, may the Shielding Goddess\textsuperscript{464} with the Ekdhenu\textsuperscript{465} protect us.

vanuṣāḥ: nominative masculine plural, from vanús-
GELDNER: II 220 “gegenseitig eifersuchtig”
RENOU: XV 29 “à l’envi les uns des autres”

The second attestation is, in the first two pādas, fairly clear: we are in the context, already familiar to us through other occurrences, of the rite of clarification of soma and in particular, as is indicated by the terms often used for soma, in the figural field of the horse race. The last part of the stanza, however, is not so clear: the meaning of pāda c, sídanto vanuṣo yathā, has been

459 The horse of the sacrifice.
460 In these first two pāda what is described is the place where the sacrifice is being performed; the threads of wool were used to filter the juice obtained by squeezing the soma plant.
461 On the meaning of matī- “poetic thought expressed” (< root man- from which also mānas-) cf. GONDA 1963; MAGGI 1989: 63-114 and RENOU I 2 ff.
462 Here with the ambiguity between the objective and subjective value of the compound adjective is deliberately maintained.
463 Appellation of Rudra ( “serpent that stays on the ground” or “serpent of the depths” cf. GONDA 1980: I 63).
464 Vārūtri (nom. f. sing.) is one of the appellations of the Goddess.
465 Ekdhenubhir (instr. m. pl.) from ēkadhenu- literally “who possesses the only cow” GELDNER (II 220 n. 5d) “die eine einzige oder eine gemeinsame Milchkuh [die Wunschkuh ?] haben”; here it is used as a proper noun for divine entities otherwise unknown.
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interpreted in various ways, but always through an interpolation: Renou (VIII, 39) takes there to be a principal “s’ assayant au séjour du Rta”; Gelnder (III, 50) substitutes sādīntaḥ with sādīntaḥ: “wetteifernden Reiter”; but a third interpretation also seems possible: the vanūṣaḥ “those who wish to appropriate” are, in the most frequent sense of vanūs-, the enemies, the antagonists (rather than the devout), while the seated posture (sādīntaḥ - present participle-) of the vanūṣaḥ seems to take on a very clear significance when seen in contrast to the movement of the soma (akramīt –aorist-), which in fact “leapt” on the prize of victory; all this seems to suggest that the soma, rapid as it is, having gained victory, its enemies find themselves, in every sense, seated.

9.64.29 hinvānō hetīr bhīr yatā
ā vājāṇ vāji akramīt
sādīntaḥ vanīso yathā

Incited by the inciters, held, the racer leapt on the prize of victory, so that those who wished to appropriate it found themselves seated.

vanīsoḥ: nominative masculine plural from vanūs
Gelnder: III 50 “Wetteifernden”
Renou: VIII 39 “dévots”

2- vanū-

Another derivative which can be taken to be much the same as vanūs- (cf. AiGr: III §151α) and at the same time associated with the verbal adjectives vániyās- / vāniṣṭha- (cf. AiGr: II 2 §273c), is the adjective vanū-.

Renou (1939: 182) finds in this derivative the same ambivalence encountered, albeit to a considerably lesser extent, as we have seen, with the adjective vanūs-, while Mayrhofer (“Die Altiranische namen” point 72) translates it with the German “begehrend”. This difference is due to two factors which make it very difficult to arrive at a definitive solution to the question. The first factor is, in fact, the scant number of attestations, granting little support to any hypothesis: this adjective is to be found only in two points in the Rgveda Sāmhitā. To this is added the second factor: in one of the two attestations (4.30.5) the adjective vanū- has a clearly negative value, despite the fact that Migron (1980: 278 n. 47) translates the adjective with “(previously) victorious”, associating it with the gods “once victorious” and now defeated by Indra, while in the second attestation (10.74.1) we can hardly help reading it in the positive sense with which it is used. Bearing in mind the indeterminate (unpredictable) nature of the situation, following Renou’s hypothesis of a recurrence here of the ambiguity detected in the adjective vanūs-, we can only look to the attestations where this adjective takes on a positive sense or, better, return to that aspect of the verb root which the poet adopted in these cases, and see whether we might take the negative sense as being due, in analogy with vanūs-, to the meaning “to conquer” “to dominate”, and the positive sense thus arising from the “sacrificial” value of van- / vani-, which we have in fact seen also occurring in some of the “positive” attestations of di vanūs- (cf. 1.150.3 and 3.27.11). However, we still have the great stumbling block consisting in the fact that there are only two attestations: for any hypothesis we may venture, the possibility of comparison and confirmation or exclusion lies only in indirect comparison with other forms among the derivatives of van- / vani- or any possible paradigmatic comparisons.

4.30.5 yātra devāṁ rghāyatō
IV. “To desire”: a Synchronic Analysis

viśvāṁ áyudhya ēka īt
tuvám indra vanúṁr ahan

Where you fought the gods who attacked you with violence, all, you alone; you, Indra, killed those who wished to appropriate you.

vanúṁ: accusative masculine plural

GELDNER: I 458 “Vanu’s”
WITZEL-GOTO-SCARLATA 2013: 165 “Begehrenden”

10.74.1 viśunāṁ vā carkṛsa ēyakṣan
dhiyā vā āyaṁ vā yajñaīr vā rōdāsīyoḥ
vanim vā vē suśrūṇaṃ suśrūto dhūḥ

Desiring, the Vasu166 I pray with the sight, with the sacrifices the two worlds I pray; let the steeds that are endowed with wealth, let them send in victory ‘him who appropriates’ let those who listen make ‘him who appropriates’ well listened to.468

vanum: accusative masculine singular

GELDNER: III 254 “Eifrigen”
OLDENBERG 1912: 227 n. 1 “Eifrigen”

3- Verbal adjectives

Deriving from the root van- / van- are also the two verbal adjectives vāniyas-, in the comparative, and vāniṣṭha-, in the superlative, attested in four occurrences evenly and, curiously, symmetrically distributed within the Rgveda Samhitā: in both cases the comparative is used in relation to man while the superlative refers to the divinity.

In all four attestations the verbal adjectives appear, however, to take on the same sense we had identified in the present participle of the verb root, i.e. vanvan- as divine attribute: the god is in fact “he who appropriates” par excellence, and as we have seen the participle, in these cases, combines the two meanings of “to dominate” and “to possess”. That it is used in this sense also with reference to man is hardly very surprising if we consider that in both cases man is not vāniyān, but can become so once he has adopted the right behaviour, sacrificing at the right moment or performing “good” deeds: by acting according to the established rules he can be made better than other men at “appropriating” and so to a certain extent like one who is truly powerful. Of course, this is not to say he is elevated to a divine level, but he can certainly be made more able than others (and not “the most able”) “to appropriate” both the enemy and material and “spiritual” riches.

On the verbal adjectives in the comparative and superlative, see also AiGr: II 2 § 272.

5.77.2 prātar yaṛadhvaṁ aśrīnāa hinota
nā sāyāṁ asti deveyā añuṣṭam
utāyān aśmad yaṣate vē cāvah
pārvah pūrvo yaṭamāno vāniyān

466 Appellation of the gods, from viśu- (m.f.n.) “good” (cf. viśu- (n.) “well-being”), but also a of divine beings consisting of Agni and seven other gods (earth, wind, atmosphere, sun, sky, moon, stars) cf. GONDA 1981: 133 n. 14.

467 vanum, whatever it may mean, is in a position central to the two symmetrical propositions and is to be taken in relation to both verbs.

468 The many vā present in the stanza have more the value of a list than of a series of disjunctive elements.
IV.1 Nominal Derivatives

Sacrifice in the early morning! Set in motion the Aśvin. The evening, unpleasing, is not the time to seek the gods: also another, other than us, sacrifices and dawns whenever⁴⁶⁹ early in the morning there is the sacrificer: it is he who appropriates more than others.

vánīyān: nominative masculine singular from vánīyas-
   GELDNER: II 82 “desto mehr gewinnt er”
   WITZEL-GOTO-SCARLATA 2013: 328 “um so mehr gewinnt er”

10.117.7 kṛṣān it phāla āśītam kṛnoti
   vādaṁ brahmā āvadato vánīyān
   prṇāṁ aprṇantam abhi śyaṁ

The ploughshare that ploughs completes the road that opens with his legs⁴⁷⁰; the Brahmán who speaks excels those who do not speak, the ally who lavishes excels the one that does not lavish: it is they who appropriate more than others⁴⁷¹.

vánīyān: nominative masculine singular from vánīyas-
   GELDNER: III 343 “gewinnt mehr als”
   AMBROSINI 1981: 108 “vale di più”
   O’FLAHERTY 1984: 69 “is better than”
   SANI 2000: 205 “vale di più”

7.10.2 sūvar ná vástot uṣásām aroci
   yajñāṁ tantrānā uṣījo nā mānma
   āgnir jámmāni devā á vi vidvān
   dravād dātō devayāvā vánīṣṭhaḥ

[Agni] like a sun lit up the dawn as day rose; like the Uśij⁴⁷² who extend the sacrifice, the poetic invocation; Agni, the god able to discern between the generations, is the racer, the messenger who reaches the gods, he who appropriates more than others.

vánīṣṭhaḥ: nominative masculine singular, from vánīṣṭha-
   GELDNER: II, 189 “der am meisten erwirkt”
   RENOU: XIII, 60 “procurat (aux hommes des biens) par excellence”

7.18.1 tuvē ha yāt pitāraś cin na indic
   vīśā vāmā jārītāro āsāman
   tuvē gāvāḥ sudāghās tvē bī asvās
   tuvām vāsu devayatē vánīṣṭhaḥ

For you being there, oh Indra, our bard fathers obtained all desirable goods, then you being the cows are easy to milk, you being there horses are there, you are the one who more than others appropriates well-being for whomsoever loves the gods.

⁴⁶⁹ The repetition of a term can take on a distributed value, to be understood in this case as “every time that” cf. WITHNEY 1888: §1257.
⁴⁷⁰ GELDNER (III, 343) “wer mit den Beinen ausschreitet, beendet seinen Weg”, and thus according to SANI (2000: 205) and AMBROSINI (1981: 108), while for O’FLAHERTY (1984: 69) it is “the legs that walk put the road behind them”.
⁴⁷¹ vánīyān is in a position central to the two symmetrical propositions and is to be taken in relation to both verbs.
⁴⁷² Class of persons not well defined; this term is used not only as proper noun but also as an epithet for the sacrificer and indeed Agni himself (cf. EWAia: I 234-5); GELDNER in I 185 conjectures that it is the name of a family of priests, although here (II 189) he translates it is a common noun (“Fürbitter (?)”).

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**vániṣṭhaḥ**: nominative masculine singular, from vániṣṭha-

*GELDNER: II 194* “du bringst am meisten Gut ein”

**vāma**: accusative neuter plural, adjective functioning as noun from *vant*-ma (cf. EWAla: II 544)

*GELDNER: II 194* “Gute”

4- **vanín-**

While **LUBOTSKY (1997: 1230)** lists all the attestations of **vanín** under a single stem, most of the scholars seem to distinguish two or possibly even three stems:

1- **vanín-**, deverbal adjective derived from the stem **van-** with suffix –ín, indicating person or thing “that brings to completion the concept expressed by the verb”, “den Verbalbegriff vollziehend” as **DEBRUNNER** put it (in AiGr: II 2 §216), translating **vanín-** as “verlangend” (ibid. y).

2- **vanín-**, denominative adjective with suffix –ín, from **vána-** “wood”, “tree”, “forest”, means “den Begriff des Grundworts an sich habend, damit versehen” (AiGr: II 2 §216) or, according to **THIEME (1971: 191)** “der Besitzer (im weitesten Sinne) von einer ihm eigentümlichen Sache (die durch den dem Formans vorausgehenden Nominalstamm bezeichnet ist) charakterisiert”.

The existence of this second stem, which is not attested in the dictionaries – **BÖHTLINGK-ROTH (1885-1875: 676)** records in the first instance only the deverbal adjective and the substantive – is borne out by **GELDNER’s translations** (1 139.10; 1 180.3; 3 40.7) and successive outcomes attributed to the substantive **vánin-** (kl. **vanin-** “im waldbewohnender Brahmane” (AiGr: II 2 §215d.).

3- **vanín-** (**GRASSMANN, ELIZARENKOVA 1995b: 37, AiGr II 2 §214**) or **vánin-** (Böhtlingk-Roth ibid.), substantive, is the term of early formation whose etymology, as well its precise connection with the substantive **vána-** and the noun root **van-** remain truly obscure⁴⁷³; for a study on the meaning of this substantive, see **ELIZARENKOVA 1995b: 32-43**.

On the meaning and development of the suffix –ín, in concurrence with the suffixes –vant- -mant-, reference is made not only to AiGr: II 2 §212-217, but also to **THIEME 1971: 661-695** and **TUCKER 2006**.

Of the three stems postulated above, here we take into account only those attestations which are not considered, at least by the majority of scholars, to be traceable to the third stem in our list, **vanin-** substantive, since this is beyond the scope of our analysis of the verb root derivatives, and also in view of the fact that between this and the noun root the connection is purely homophonic – a connection that proves very productive, but which obviously belongs to a later development of the language.

As for the first two stems, on the other hand, the situation is a little more confused: in fact, two adjectives are postulated, derived respectively from the verb and noun stems, but the distinction seems to rest solely on the context in which we find use of the term **vanín-**, so that precisely which of the two stems the poet meant to use may equally prove unequivocal or questionable, and the context does not always turn out to be decisive here.

Let us begin with the stanzas in which it seems possible to determine the meaning attributed to **vanín-** beginning, in fact, from the context in which it appears:

1.119.1  á vām rátham purumāyām manojūvaṃ
jirāṣwam yajīgyaṃ jivāye huve
sahāsrekaṃ vānīnaṃ śatādvāṃ
śrūṣṭivānavān varivodhāṃ abhi prāyah

The chariot of you two, that of the many arts, swift like the inspired mind, with winged horses, to which sacrifice needs to be made, I invoke to live; that of the thousand forms, he who is endowed with wood, with a hundred goods, ready to listen, and who grants room I invoke to the libation.

vaninam: accusative masculine singular

GELDNER: I 161 “sieggewohnte”

PIRART 1995: 244 “enchante.” The author (ibid. 245) suggests – in this case alone, however – taking it here as a derivative from *vána- = vánas-, a term of decidedly obscure meaning or which he proposes the French substantive “charme”.

WITZEL-GOTO 2007: 217 “gewinnenden”

1.180.3 yuvām páya usrīyāyām adhattam
paktām ām/amacronacuteyām āva pírvāṃ goh
antā yād vanīno vām tṛapsū
hvārō nā súcir yājate haviṣmān

You two have placed the milk in the cow and that which was first of the cow, cooked, in the raw; it is this that he who offers the libation, shiny like a serpent, sacrifices in what is made of wood, for you two, whose breath proceeds in order.

vaninah: genitive masculine singular

GELDNER: I 258 “im Holzgefässe”

PIRART 1995: 331 “(fils) de l’arbre” (considering it a patronymic genitive)

WITZEL-GOTO 2007: 328 “zwischen den Bäumen”

3.40.7 abhi dyum̐nāi vaninā
indrām sacante ākṣitā
pítvī sōmasya vāvṛdbhe

The splendours, indestructible, of him who is endowed with wood proceed towards Indra; having drunk the soma, he has grown greater.

vaninah: genitive masculine singular

GELDNER: I 382 “Holzgefässe”

RENOU: XVII 83 “du (soma) sis dans (le cuves de) bois”

OLDENBERG 1090: 230 n. 40,7 “die Gewinnenden”

WITZEL-GOTO-SCARLATA 2013: 75 “Begehrenden”

8.3.5 indram id devatātaya

474 Agni, fire, is by his very nature “endowed with wood” or “characterised by wood”, as is, of course, the chariot, through vanin- “having wood” cf. TUCKER 2006.

475 While the first two pāda clearly refer to the chariot of the Aśvin, the second two can be understood as referring to Agni, fire, which has in fact countless forms and hears the prayers of men. They can, moreover, also refer to the chariot, for Agni is hardly likely to be named in hymns addressed to the Aśvin.

476 Made of wood is the bowl into which the clarified butter was poured before being thrown into the fire, through vanin- “having wood” cf. TUCKER 2006.

477 tṛapsū ( voc. m. du.) from tṛapsu- (m.f.n.) bahuvrīhi of karmadhāraya, “those whose breath is the truth” from tṛi- “order, law, truth” and psu- “breath” (cf. ψὖχ in Greek), a substantive present only in the Vedic compounds (EWAia: II 199); for interpretation of the term cf. RENOU III 29 and THIEME 1971: 72-81 in particular 77-79.

478 dyumānāi (nom. n. pl.) from dyumā- “splendour, light”, but also “power”, “glory” GELDNER (I 382) “Herrlichkeiten”, RENOU (XVII 83) “formes-(éclatantes)”; in the present translation the splendours are understood as flames, the little flashes produced by fire (Agni) to which the adjective vaninah refers.

479 Agni, fire, is by his very nature “endowed with wood” or “characterised by wood”, as is, of course, the chariot, through vanin- “having wood” cf. TUCKER 2006.
IV. “To desire”: a Synchronic Analysis

We invoke Indra for the divine office, Indra we invoke, the sacrifice begins, Indra in the clash we invoke thanks to him who is endowed with wood

vaninab: nominative masculine plural

GELDNER: II 286 “eifrig” referring to Indra; evidently, reads vaninam
PIRART 1995 : 245 “nous qui disposons d’un charme”

In 1.64.12 the problem is whether to take the first two pāda to refer to Agni, son of Rudra and certainly endowed with wood; here, however, it seems that the subject are the Marut, and the supposition is borne out by another attestation (6.66.11) were the same syntagma (rudrāṣya sānīm) unmistakably refers to this divine group. Can it then be that the Marut are endowed with wood? This attribute is certainly not totally unfounded if we recall that the Marut are the lords of the tempest, which manifests itself with all its power in the forests, striking the trees with its thunderbolts.

1.64.12 ghṛṣṇam pavākāṃ vaninam vīcārṣanīṃ
rudrāṣya sānīṃ havāsā grīṇāsī
tajastūram tavāsām mārūtam gānām
ṛṣīṇam viśaṇām saścata śriyē
The vital, pure one, he who is endowed with wood, the one whose bounds are wide, son of Rudra we sing with the invocation; to have fortune follow the troops that belong to the Marut, who crosses through the ether, powerful, the bull that receives the residue of the soma.

vaninam: accusative masculine singular

GELDNER: I 85 “siegewohnte”
RENOU: X 17 “victorieux”
WITZEL-GOTO 2007: 122 “unersättlichen”

So far the attestations we have analysed can clearly be traced back to vanin- as adjective derived from the substantive vána-. Actually, there remains one attestation that can be interpreted in a different way, and it is stanza 1.139.10. Here the intention may be to include both meanings, or to evoke one through the other, playing on the homophony of the two roots, with the sort of play already encountered in 9 7.6 b-c (hārir váneṣu siddati rebhó vanuṣyate mati) and which becomes all the more forceful with the use of other derivatives.

In this stanza, in fact, we encounter a whole series of ambiguities, also at the level of grammatical interpretation, which make it very difficult to provide a definitive translation. In vaninō vanta váryam, for example, the phonetic play (paronomasia or etymological figure) employed here is quite evident, regardless of whether we consider vaninō and vanta to derive from the same root (RENOU V 9 and MIGRON 1980: 279 n. 48) or not (GELDNER I 194). If vaninō is

vaninō: vaninā u against Pp.: vaninab, the choice is dictated by the strangeness of the form within the pāda (GELDNER II 286 in fact reads it as vaninam) and we follow the hypothesis that vanin- is Agni, fire, by his very nature “endowed with wood” or “characterised by wood”, as is, of course, the chariot, through vanin- “having wood” cf. TUCKER 2006.


As to the meaning of vīcārṣanī, see THIEME 1967;

havāsā grīṇāsī: cf. 6.66.11 (hymn to the Marut) havasā vivāse “I call here with the invocation” (present indicative 1st sing. Ā from vivāś-, stem of the desiderative from van-); in this case, too, the object of the action is the son of Rudra.

480 vaninō: vaninā u against Pp.: vaninab, the choice is dictated by the strangeness of the form within the pāda (GELDNER II 286 in fact reads it as vaninam) and we follow the hypothesis that vanin- is Agni, fire, by his very nature “endowed with wood” or “characterised by wood”, as is, of course, the chariot, through vanin- “having wood” cf. TUCKER 2006.


482 As to the meaning of vīcārṣanī, see THIEME 1967;

483 havasā grīṇāsī: cf. 6.66.11 (hymn to the Marut) havasā vivāse “I call here with the invocation” (present indicative 1st sing. Ā from vivāś-, stem of the desiderative from van-); in this case, too, the object of the action is the son of Rudra.
IV.1 Nominal Derivatives

Genitive singular we can consider its position as *apò koinù* between the two verbs, which also seems to be suggested by the symmetrical structure that takes shape in the two phrases. At the same time, however, a verb form is used – deliberately, in my opinion – which could equally well be third person singular (and so have as subject the *botr*) or third person plural, thus referring to *vaninab* as nominative plural. There is no evidence leading us to opt for either of the two possible interpretations.

1.139.10 *bóta yakṣad vanino santa vāryam bṛhaspātir yajati venā ukṣābbih puruvārebhir ukṣābbih jagrbbmā dārādāśam ślokam ādēr ādha tmānā ādhārayad ararindāni sukrātubh purī śādmāni sukrātubh*

The *botr*\(^{484}\) shall sacrifice for the *vanin-*, for the *vanin-* appropriates the well chosen\(^{485}\), Bṛhaspāti, attentive, performs sacrifices with the herds, herds rich with gifts: *we*, by ourselves, have grasped the rhythm of the stone which arrives afar; he who is full of resources has arranged the many places for the sacrifice ...\(^{486}\), he full of resources.

*vanta*: -injunctive aorist 3\(^{rd}\) sing. Ā, I-VI cl.

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GELDNER: I 194 "beansprucht"
OLDENBERG 1909: 142 n. 10 contemplates both and seems to favour this, but offers no translation
MICRON 1980: 279 n. 48 "shall get"
WITZEL-GOTO 2007: 260 “gewinnt sich”

\(^{1}\) -injunctive present 3\(^{rd}\) pl. (from *vananta*) Ā, I-VI cl.
RENOU V 9 "gagnent"

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*vaninab*: -nominative plural masculine

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RENOU: V 9 “qui veulent gagner”

\(^{2}\) -genitive singular masculine

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GELDNER: I 194 “des Holzgefässes”
WITZEL-GOTO 2007: 260 “eines Begehrenden”
MICRON 1980: 279 n. 48 “the conquering one’s”

At this point we can try to draw some conclusions: we started out from the fact that in the *Rgveda Samhitā* the attestations of *vanin-* as derived from the verb *van-* (GRASSMANN 1875 [ed. 1996: 1209]) or at any rate that cannot be traced back to the substantive *vanin-* number six: in five the term can, quite clearly, be taken as an adjective derived from the substantive *vāna-* (“wood” “tree”, “forest”), while 1 139.10 is the only passage where it could have been used as deriving from *van-*; however, interpretation of this stanza must remain open – it is so rich in ambiguity that no support, nor indeed starting point, can be drawn from it for any firm hypothesis.

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484 The *botr* is in this case both the human priest and Agni, and begins the sacrifice and the chants uttering the sacred words; similarly, maintaining the human world–divine world symmetry, Bṛhaspāti is both the Brahmān (GELDNER I 194 n.10b) and the *adhvaryu*, the human corresponding to the Lord of the formula.

485 *vāryam* (acc. n. sing.) from *vārya-* “treasure” “asset which entails choice” from the root *vr-* “to choose” cf. *vāna-* “choice”.

486 *ararindāni* (acc. n. pl. ?) *hapax*, here, as in GELDNER (I 194) and RENOU (V 9), is not translated. Renou suggests taking the term to be in apposition to *śādmānī*, but it does not seem to be possible to attempt a plausible translation; on this, see GRASSMANN 1875 [ed. 1996: 104]; EWAia: I 110; AiGr: II 2 §164 and 224; OLDENBERG 1909: 142 n. 10.
IV. “To desire”: a Synchronic Analysis

All this, then, suggests that no verbal derivative vanîn- from van- finds a place in the Rgveda Samhitâ, or at least we may say that there are no passages in which it is clearly and unequivocally employed.

5- Derivatives of problematic definition.

The derivatives we are about to analyse are assembled in a single group to bring out two elements common to them. The first is very rare use in the text of the Rgveda Samhitâ, which is also characteristic of the two verbal adjectives and the adjective vanû-, and in fact here it is a characteristic that is associated with a further point of interest: the second common element lies in the fact that we have no attestations of this group of derivatives within the so-called “family books”, with the exception of vananvati in 7.81.3, and the seventh book may be the most recent between the second and seventh mandâla.

a) vânas-

Of this substantive, derived in –as from the verb root^487, we have only one occurrence in the Rgveda Samhitâ in 10.172.1. The translations and interpretations proposed for the term vânas are many and varied, given that this substantive, while being a hapax, plays an important role in the debate on the relationship between the two meanings we have seen attributed to the verbal root itself (“to desire”- “to conquer”), above all in the light of the undeniable affinity between vânas- and the Latin substantive venus-^488. Thus we find the same division previously noted in the first Chapter and in the various translations offered by the two great scholars, Renou and Geldner, who follow also here the two different interpretative lines in the respective translations (cf. §I.2). In fact, the German scholar (III 396) uses the term Vorliebe (preference), while RENOU (XII 77-8 n. 13) continues with the French gain. OLDENBERG (1912: 363 n. 1), too, is of the opinion that a meaning associated with the sphere of desire was not to be read into this term, proposing splendour, and making reference to KEITH (1909 [ed. 1995: 284]), he uses the same term. There are, however, a number of scholars who look to the sphere of desire and love, foremost among which BOHTLINGK-ROTH (1855-1875: 673) etwa. Verlangen, Anhänglichkeit oder Lieblichkeit, as also NOWICKI (1976: 109) in his interesting study on the sigmatic neuter stems; considering vânas a nomen actionis, he glosses it with the German Verlangen, Lust. Similarly AMBROSINI (1981: 147) uses the Italian term “amore”: the scholar interprets the entire hymn as a dialogue between the narrator-sacrificer and fire (Agni) as the sun rises, when in fact one of the most important sacrifices took place, performed in support of re-establishment of the cosmic order as the new day comes into being; in this stanza the cows are, then, the sunbeams that follow the same path as Ușas (dawn) and the poet begins the hymn invoking the presence (ā yâhi) of Agni, fire, which was in fact kindled as the first light appeared.

Here we have sought to follow the hypothesis proposed by RENOU (1939: 181) that there exists a *vánus- “contro-partie funeste” of vânas- (hence the adjective vanús-, in analogy with táras- tárus- tarús-) and that, therefore, reversing the order vânas- is a nomen actionis (“Vollzug des

487 On the neuter substantives in –as see AIGr: II 2 §122-132 and the study by NOWICKI 1976.
488 On the various interpretations of the term vânas see also the bibliography in EWAia: II 500.
IV.1 Nominal Derivatives

Verbalbegriff” cf. AiGr: II 2 §127b.a) not connoted qualitatively: thus the term would be taken to indicate literally “appropriation”, or better, given the ritual value of the verb root, the action of having the gods enter the circle of the rite, upon which the god arrives.

\[10.172.1 \, \dot{\text{ά}} \, \dot{\text{yāhī}} \, \text{vānasā} \, \text{sahā} \, \text{gāvah} \, \text{sacanta} \, \text{vartanīm} \, \text{yād} \, \text{ūdhabhibh} \]

Come here together, on the act of having enter the circle of the rite, the cows follow the course of the chariot when they are with full udders.

vānasā: instrumental neuter singular

b) vanānā-

This, too, like the previous case, is a substantive attested in one point alone in the text of the Rgveda Samhitā. As a derivative with suffix in -ana it is to be considered a “Verbalabstrakta” which DEBRUNNER translates as “Wunsch” (cf. AiGr: II 2 §85 and in particular γ). RENOU (IX 99 n. 40) here conceives of a *vanan-, allomorph of vānas- in relation to *vanar, of which vanānās is an “extension”. Again, we are up against the impossibility of formulating a definitive solution, and can only note this “extension” which the stem seems to undergo, given that we will also find it in other derivatives of decidedly rare use and later than the early Vedic corpus.

\[9.86.40 \, \text{sin mādhva ēurmīr vanānā atiṣṭhipad} \, \text{apō vāsāno mabhiśa vi gāhate} \, \text{rājā pavitraratho vājam āruhat} \, \text{sahārasabhṛṣṭār jayati śrāvo bhāt} \]

The wave of honey has raised our own things, the buffalo clothing himself with waters plunges into it; the king who has as chariot the filter obtains the prize of victory, the king of a thousand points gains high glory.\[489\]

vanānāḥ: accusative feminine plural

GELDNER: III 83 “Begehren”
RENOU: IX 36 “les aspirations”

c) vānīvan-

GRASSMANN (1875 [ed. 1996: 1209]) traces this form to the root van- / van-, deriving it from the aorist stem (vani-) with primary suffix serving as nomen agentis (as also GELDNER III 205), in analogy with forms like yaj-van- “sacrificer”, “who is sacrificing”, while BOHTLINGK-ROTH (1885-1875: 677) takes vānīvan- to derive from the form of the intensive (see also MACDONELL 1916: §172-3 and WHITNEY 1888: §1002 f-g), translating with the German “heischend”. Another possibility is to consider the term as secondary derivative from the adjective vanín- with suffix -van (and lengthening of the short vowel cf. WHITNEY 1888: §1234), which would thus mean “mit dem Begriff des Grundworts versehen” (for the value of this type of derivative, see AiGr: II 2 §718, in particular b).

\[489\] The king who has as chariot the filter (rājā pavitrarathaḥ) is soma, the liquid squeezed from the plant of the same name and then filtered; in this image, however, there is reference to a precise stage in the sacrifice of the soma: the chariot race in which the king has in fact to defeat Soma; on the connection between these three elements, see SPARREBOOM 1985: 21-23.
IV. “To desire”: a Synchronic Analysis

Apart from this one occurrence in the Rgveda Samhitā, a further attestation is to be found in a passage (IV 14. 8) of the Maitrayāṇīsaṃhitā, the collection of formulas handed down, in fact, by one of the schools of the black Yajurveda: while this passage makes clear the ritual moment in which this mantra is adopted, it is of scant relevance to our aim to clarify the possible meaning of the term vānīvan-.

10.47.7 vānīvāno māma dātasa ṯdram
stomāś caranti sumatiṁ iyāṁb
hydispiśō mānasā vacyāmānā
asmābhyaṁ cītṛām vṛṣanaṁ rayin dāb

Appropriating, my messengers, the hymn, come to Indra asking for favourable inspirations; Oh you who touch the heart, thanks to inspired thought that has taken the form of words, give us a shining wealth, a bull.

vānīvān: nominative masculine plural

GELDNER: III 205 “werbende”

d) vānānvat-

Of this term, entailing difficulties also at the level of grammatical and morphological analysis, we have five attestations. We shall look at them considering the terms with which vānānvat- is associated.

1) 7.81.3: úṣaḥ vananvati

7.81.3 práti tvā dubitar diva
úso jīr abhutsmahi
yá vāhasi puruś sparhāṁ vananvati
rātinaṁ nā dāṣīṣa māyāḥ

We awakened you, oh Uṣas, daughter of the heavens, oh swift one, you who to whomsoever has honoured you bring as a desired treasure much joy, oh you who truly appropriate.

vananvati: vocative feminine singular

GELDNER: II 252 “Wagensitzende”
RENOU: III 102-3 “ô gracieuse”
PISCHEL in PISCHEL-GELDNER 1989-1901: III, 200 “o du geile”

2) 8.1.31: āśvān vānānvatah

8.1.31 ā yād āśvān vānānvataḥ
śraddhāyāṁ rāthe ruhāṁ
uṭā vāmasya vāsunā ciketati
yō āsti yāduṣaḥ paśūḥ

When I am mounted, by the chariot, on the horses of him who truly appropriates, thanks to the act of

490 iyāṁb (nom. f. pl. pres. part. Ā) from the root i- “to go” but also, in the Ā forms, in fact, “to approach to ask”.
491 Indra, who in 10.27.9d is he who yokes horses (āyuktaṁ yunajad vavanv/) is “he who appropriates”. In the present translation vānānvataḥ is interpreted as genitive (of position, referring to āśvān) in consideration of the structure of the entire stanza, which draws a parallel between the paśūḥ yāduṣaḥ (Yadu’s cattle) and the āśvān vānānvataḥ (the horses of him who appropriates).
IV.1 Nominal Derivatives

faith<sup>492</sup>, may also the cattle, which are of Yadu, perceive<sup>493</sup> the desirable well-being.

vánanvataḥ: accusative masculine plural  
Geldner: II 281 “ans Holz gespannten”  
Pischel in Pischel-Geldner 1989-1901: III, 200 “begierigen (Rosse)”

vāmāṁ: accusative neuter singular, adjective used as noun from *van-h ma (EWAia: II 544)  
Geldner: II 281 “Gute”

3) 8.6.34: vánanvati matiḥ

8.6.34 abhi kāṇvā anūṣata  
ápō nā pravātā vatiḥ  
indraṁ vánanvati matiḥ

The Kanva like the waters that flow torrential raised cries of joy to Indra, the poetic work<sup>494</sup> it is it who truly appropriates.

vánanvatī: nominative feminine singular  
Geldner: II 297 does not translate, but in II, 252 n. 3c conjectures “Holzkufe”  
Renou: III 103 n. 3c “cherchant à plaire ou: à gagner”  
Pischel in Pischel-Geldner 1889-1901: III, 200 “verlangende”

4) 8.102.19: svādhitir vánanvati

8.102.19 nahi me āsti āghniyā  
nā svādhitir vánanvati  
āthāitād bharāmi te

I have no cow<sup>495</sup> nor does the axe appropriate<sup>496</sup>; so, then, in this way I offer to you.

vánanvati: locative masculine singular  
Geldner: II 433 “Holzbesitzer”  
Renou: XIII 82 “sur l’arbre”

>ī: nominative feminine singular  
Oldenberg 1912: 57 n. 3 “schnedig”

3<sup>rd</sup> sing. present indicative  
Pischel in Pischel-Geldner 1889-1901: III, 201 “fällt (Bäume)”

5) 10.92.15: svādhitir vánanvati

10.092.15 rébhād ātra janūsā pūrvo āṅgā

492 For the importance of śraddhā-, as sacrifice in the cult of the dead and as divinity, cf. Gonda 1980 and 1981: I 80-1.
493 ciketati (subj. perf. 3<sup>rd</sup> sing) from the root cit- which expresses the idea of understanding through visual perception, perfect with resultative value – logical perf. (cf. Di Giovine 1996, in particular 273 ff.).
495 āghniyā (nom. f. sing.) from āghniyā- “cow”, from *a-g'hu- īāā: a-subtractive + root ghnah- “to kill” : “the one not to kill”.
496 Scil. wood, to honour Agni.

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Grávána úrdhwá abhí caksur adhváram
yébbir viháya abhavaad vicakstanáh
páthaḥ sumékam svádhítir vánanvati

The first Angira sings here from birth; the raised stones looked on the sacrifice, stones thanks to which the shining becomes vigorous; the place is well-established, the axe appropriates.

Vánanvati: locative masculine singular
Geldner: III 291 “Holzbesitzer”

>ī: nominative feminine singular
Oldenberg 1912: 37 II 3 “schnedig”

3rd sing. present indicative
Pischel in Pischel-Geldner 1889-1901: III, 204: “fällt (Bäume)”

What in fact emerges clearly in comparison between the passages quoted is that in the first three attestations the term is employed as an adjective applied to gods or “divine” powers (on the role of the “powers” and functions as autonomous entities in the Vedic world, see Gonda 1981: I 64 ff. and in particular 1957b), while in the last two it is somehow applied to or at any rate associated with the axe (svádhíti-).

Beyond this little is certain, and proceeding with our analysis we will endeavour to make clear, also in visual terms, the range of possibilities opening out. The interpretations offered in the case of vánanvat- differ from both the grammatical and semantic points of view (cf. AiGr: II 2 §80 γ and §713 γ). There are two questions to consider.

1. The first, at the semantic level, is a matter of the root to which the term vánanvat- is to be traced, or in other words

   a- whether this derivative is to be traced to vána- (“wood” “tree”, “forest”), as is done by Geldner, who sees it as an adjective with suffix –va(n)t-.

   b- or whether it is to be considered a derivative of the verb root van- / vani-.

The first three attestations suggest the latter of these hypotheses, not only on account of the difficulty of associating “wood” with Usas or matí-, but above all because the function taken on by vánanvat- at the three points mentioned seems to be meant to evoke that of the present participle of the verb van- (vanvan-) which is employed in most of the attestations with absolute value, becoming a divine attribute (cf. 2.21.2; 5 29.9 and 6.12.4), often in contrast with ávāta- (6.16.20; 6.18.1; 9.89.7; 9.96.8 and 11). Vánanvat- appears, then, to be a form “enhanced” by repetition from the participle vaman-.

2. The second, more strictly morphological question is, at this point:

   a- whether vánanvat- may not be an adjective derived with suffix -va(n)t, as conjectured by Oldenberg (1912: 57 n. 3) and Grassmann (1875 [ed. 1996: 1208]), who denies the possibility of a verbal form, there being no similar attestations for the purpose of comparison, and as also argued by Renou (III 103 n. 3c), who conjectures the existence of a *vanan- allomorph of vánas- in relation to *vanar (cf. ahán/ahás < *ahar), also to be traced in the substantive vánaná.

   However, this proposal entails some difficulties in interpretation of the latter two attestations, compelling Renou (XIII 82) to trace vánanvati to vána- in stanza 8 102.9, and Oldenberg (1912: 497 Cf. previous note.

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b- Thus there is room for the hypothesis that we have here a verb form (cf. also BÖHTLINGK-ROTH 1855-1875: 669-670) vánanu-, which appears in the first three attestations in the present participle and in the last two in the indicative present, 3rd person singular, with śvādhiti- as subject. This interpretative proposal calls for further consideration on how such a verb form came about.

· Pischel (PISCHEL-GELENER 1889-1901: III §22, 198-204) conjectures a denominative from *vananú- = rad. van + -anu- suffix, in analogy with krandanú nabhanú vibhañjanú and, starting from “auf etwas losgehen” as Grundbedeutung of the verb van- proposes translation of the two attestations with “fällt”, conjecturing a semantic shift recalling the shift Schmidt proposed for the Avestan verb van-; this hypothesis was previously mentioned in analysis of the desiderative forms of the verb root, precisely on account of the outward movement they also seemed to show.

· Another morphological hypothesis may lie in contemplating a verb formation beginning directly from the root van- in which the suffix of the stem of the present is “doubled”, or rather using both the suffixes with which the two stems of the present of the basic level root, and so conjecturing a form *van- a- no/nu-.

Surveying the range of possibilities we are faced with like a map, almost, there is clearly no decisive evidence in favour of either of the hypotheses. The translations of the five passages given above follow, in the case of the first three stanzas, the hypothesis that here, at the semantic level, we have a parallel, extended form of vánvan-, while for the last two support is found in the hypothesis argued by Pischel (ibid.), with which, from the semantic point of view, the hypothesis argued in this work shows some affinity. What appears evident in the last two attestations, which are moreover the most difficult to explain, is the choice made by the poet to use the root van- / van-, a choice that must surely depend on an evocative intention, through paronomasia exploiting the homophonetic connection between the verb and noun roots.

Analysing this last group of derivatives, a significant stumbling block lies, as we have seen, in the difficulty in detecting decisive evidence to determine the meaning. With regard to the first two substantives, the fact that the attestations are isolated cases is crucial, leaving no room for comparison. Turning, then, to the other two derivatives, what we seem to have here is the intention to expand the word with a number of suffixes, as we began to see in the case of vánivan. In the case of vánanvat-, this intention combines with the evocative play previously noted in the use of the adjective vanin- which, quite explicitly, is also present among the attestations of the verb root. Let us take a stanza that seems to be a perfect example: in 6.6.3, in fact, the image is of fire eating wood and the poet uses the two homophonic roots to create with juxtaposition of vánā and vanani, that phonetic play we discuss before, here even more readily to be appreciated.

6.6.3 vi te viśvāg vātajūtāso agne
bhāmāsaḥ sīce sīcayās caranti
tuwimrakśāso divyā nāpavī
vānā vananti dhīṣatat rujaṁat

Stirred on every side by the wind⁴⁹⁸, oh shining Agni, your shining flames move in all directions, destroyers⁴⁹⁹,
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like the divine Navagva[500], appropriate the wood breaking it with force.

vananti: indicative present 3rd pl., I/ VI class
Geldner: II 98: überwenden
Renou: XIII 40: triomphent

IV.1.2 Post-Rgvedic occurrences

Within this second group there is a subdivision according to type of the occurrence: to try to understand the presence of the meaning “to desire” and the distribution of the derivatives along the different linguistic strata we have divided into three type of attestations: derivatives that occur only in Rgvedic quotations (§IV.1.2.1), derivatives that occur both in Rgvedic quotations and non-RV quotations –i.e. non-Rgvedic mantras and Brāhmana passages–(§IV.1.2.2), derivatives that occur only in non-RV quotations (§IV.1.2.3).

IV.1.2.1 Derivatives that occur only in RV quotations

a) vānas-

KauB 26.10

26.10 āyāhi vanaśa sahetai dvipaddvā āvadāvadvai prathamasyāhno rūpam

‘Come hither with vanaś’ is made of two pādas, it has the word hither, indeed what contains the word ‘hither’ is a symbol of the first day.

vānasā: instr. n. sing.
Keith 1920: 501 “beauty”

Vedic Web:
Mantra: RV 10.172.1a

Rite
Agniṣṭoma, the chandomas: the 7th and 8th days of the dvādaśaha rite. Here the suffix a- is here explained as the connection between this hymn and the first day.

JS 1.46.7 = KauS 443

1.46.7 = 443 ā yāhi vanaśa saha gāvah sacanta vartaniṃ yād ūdhabhiḥ

Come here together, on the act of having enter the circle of the rite, the cows follow the course of the chariot when they are with full udders.

500 Family of mythical priests, named among the Fathers, connected, like the Angiras, to Indra in the myth of the cows of Paṇis cf. Macdonell 1898: §55B.
IV.1 Nominal Derivatives

vánasā: instr. n. sing.

Vedic Web:
Mantra: RV 10.172.1a

Rite
Agniṣṭoma, the chandomas: the 7th and 8th days of the dvādaśaha rite. Here the suffix ā- is here explained as the connection between this hymn and the first day.

b) vanīvan-

The only occurrence is MS 4.14.8: 227, 9-10, quoting RV 10.47.7 that we have analysed within the RV occurrences of the primary derivatives. See above § 3.1.1.

c) vant-

KS 8.17: 203,21-22

8.17 svastāye vājībhīṣca pranetassāṃ yāṁ mahāriśā āśātsi pūrvīḥ / rāyō vantāro bhatāssyāmāsmē astu bhāga indra praśadān //

For a good fortune, when you, o driver, sit with the steeds near to many large refreshments, may we be those who appropriate a wide richness, O Indra, let the part rich of offspring belong to us.

vantārab: nom. masc. pl. of vant-

Vedic Web:
Mantra: RV 3.30.18

d) vanús-

JS 3.1.7 = KauŚ II.5

JS 3.1.7 = KauŚ II.5  hinvanō hetībhir yatā á vājam vājī akramit / sādanto vanūṣo yatḥā //

Incited by the inciters, held, the racer leapt on the prize of victory, so that those who wished to appropriate it found themselves seated.

vanūṣāḥ: nom. m. pl. of vanús

Vedic Web:
Mantra: RV 9.64.29; KauŚ II.5.
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AVŚ 20.30.1

20.30.1 prá te mahé vidāthe śamsīsam hāri prá te vanve vanuṣo haryatām mādam / ghṛtām nā yō hāribhiścarū sēcata ā tvā viśantu hārivarpasam girah

May I invoke in the great meeting [rite][501] your two steeds, I appropriate for my self the intoxicating drink dear to you who desire to appropriate it which, pleasant as clarified butter, together with the golden ones[502], pours out; the chants should arrive to you who have the colour of gold.

vane pra: ind. pres. 1st sing. Ā VIII cl.
Śāyaṇa: praivate
vaniṣah: gen. masc. sing. of vanuṣ-

Vedic Web:
Mantra: RV 10.96.1; TB 2.4.3.10-(11); TB 3.7.9.6.

Rite
Mantras to be recited in the Atirātra.

AVŚ 20.143.3

20.143.3 kō vām adyā karate rātāhavya utāye vā sutapēyāya vārkaiḥ / ṣtāsyā vā vanuṣe pūrviyāya nāmo yemānā aśvīnā vauwartat

Who, now, offering libations, shall sacrifice to you with hymns for protection or for drinking soma, or (who) will turn you here, o Aśvin, paying homage to the one who wishes to appropriate the Cosmic Order?

vanuṣe: dat. masc. sing. of vanuṣ-

Vedic Web:
Mantra: RV 4.44.3.

Rite
Mantras to be recited in the Atirātra as parīdhāniyaśastrayāja, the final verses of the litany recited by the botṛ.

IV.1.2.2 Derivatives that occur both in RV quotations and in non-RV quotations

a) vanuṣya-

RV mantras

501 As to the exact meaning of vidātha- as already a ritual fest or just as social meeting, see GONDA 1992: VI/1 310-337, KUPER 1974: 129-132 and OLDENBERG 1900: 608-611.
502 “The golden” are the drops of Soma.
IV.1 Nominal Derivatives

JS 3.36.8 = KauŚ II.483

JS 3.36.8 = KauŚ II.483 ayo vāre pari priyo harir vanesu sidati / rebho vanusyate mati //

The beloved steed\(^{503}\) sits on the [pieces of] wood, all around the threads of wool\(^{504}\); he who prays wishes to have enter the circle of the rite thanks to the poetic work\(^{505}\).

vanusyate: ind. pres. 3\(^{rd}\) sing. Ā of the denominative vanusya-

Vedic Web:
Mantra: RV 9.7.6.

TS 2.5.12.2-3t

2.5.12.2t indrāvarunā yuvām adhvāraya nah //
3t viśē jānāya māhi śārma yachatam / dirghāprayajyum āti yō vanusyāti vayām ājyema pṛtanāsu diḍhyāḥ //

O Indra and Varuna extend over our sacrifice, over the tribe, over the people great protection; whomsoever wishes to appropriate the man who perseveres in sacrifices, those who have bad visions, may we conquer them in battles.

vanusyati: ind. pres. 3\(^{rd}\) sing. of the denominative vanusya-

Keith 1914: 204 “is fain to overpower”

Vedic Web:
Mantra: RV 7.82.1; MS 4.12.4: 187,1-2.
Prose: TS 2.3.13.

Rite
Darśapūrṇamāseṣṭī, mantras to be recited by the botṛ for the Kamyeṣṭi for one long diseased and for one desiring life.

MS 4.12.4: 187,1-2

4.12.4 indrāvarunā yuvām adhvāraya no viśē jānāya māhi śārma yachatam / dirghāprayajyumāti yō vanusyāti vayām ājyema pṛtanāsu diḍhyāḥ //

O Indra and Varuna extend over our sacrifice, over the tribe, over the people great protection; whomsoever wishes to appropriate the man who perseveres in sacrifices, those who have bad visions, may we conquer them in battles.

vanusyati: ind. pres. 3\(^{rd}\) sing. of the denominative vanusya-

Vedic Web:

\(^{503}\) The horse of the sacrifice.

\(^{504}\) In these first two pāda what is described is the place where the sacrifice is being performed; the threads of wool were used to filter the juice obtained by squeezing the soma plant.

\(^{505}\) On the meaning of matī- “poetic thought expressed” (≪ root man- from which also mānas-) cf. Gonda 1963; Maggi 1989: 63-114 and Renou I 2 ff.
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Mantra: RV 7.82.1; TS 2.5.12.2-3t.
Prose: TS 2.3.13.

Rite
Dārsāpūrṇamāseṣṭī, mantras to be recited by the botṛ for the Kamyeṣṭi for one long diseased and for one desiring life.

MS 4.14.18: 247,13-14

4.14.18 īmē turāṁ marūto rāmayaṁimē sāhāḥ sāhasā ānāmanti / īmē šāmsam vanuṣyatō nipāntī gurū dvēṣo āraṇṣe dadhanti

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

vanuṣyataḥ: pres. part. (abl. m. sing.) of the denominative vanuṣya-

Vedic Web:
Mantra: RV 7.56.19; TB 2.8.5.6.

Rite
Kamyeṣṭi, mantras to be recited on the sacrifice to the Maruts of a cow that has brought forth only once. Anuvākyā verses.

KpS 48.13

48.13 yo naḥ sanutyo abhidāsadagne yo antaro mitramahō vanuṣyāt / tamajarebhīrṣabhīstava svaistapā tapaṣṭha tapaṣṭa tapasaṣvān //

He who, far away, may attack us, oh Agni, he who, nearby, wants to appropriate us, oh you who have the greatness of Mitra506, with your bulls that never grow old, make him burn, O you who burn more than all, with fierce heat, you have fierce heat.

vanuṣyāt: subj. pres. 3rd sing. of the denominative vanuṣya-

Vedic Web:
Mantra: RV 6.5.4.

AB 1.10

1.10 sed agnir agnīḥr aty astv anyān sed agnir yo vanuṣyatō nipāti507 ty ete

This Agni here may be over those other Agnis, this Agni here who protects from those who desire to

506 To be noted between Agni as sacrificial fire and Agni associated with Mitra (with the “Pact”) a division of tasks symmetrical to the contraposition between the distant enemy (sānutyaḥ) and the enemy nearby (āntaro vanuṣyat): for both Agni is invoked, but with different function and attributes.

507 sed agnir yo […] nipāti =RV 7.1.15a.
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appropriate.

\textit{vanuṣyatāḥ}: pres. part. (abl. masc. sing.) of the denominative \textit{vanuṣya-}

Keith 1920: 114 “from the foe”

Vedic Web:
Mantra: RV 7.1.15a

Rite
Within the introductory sacrifice of the \textit{Agniṣṭoma}, invitatory and offering verses for the
oblation to Agni Sviṣṭakṛt. The \textit{Sviṣṭakṛt} is an offering that makes the sacrifice perfect.

TB 2.8.5.6

2.8.5.6 vākṣaḥsu rukmā úpāśiśryānāḥ / vī vidyūto nā vyṛṣṭībhī rucānāḥ / ánu svadhām áyudhair
yacchamanāḥ\textsuperscript{508} / yā vah śārma šaśaṃnāya śānti / tridhātāni dāśūse yacchata, ādhi / asmābhyaṃ tāni maruto
viyanta / rayīṃ no dhatta vṛṣaṇaḥ svirām\textsuperscript{511} / imē turām maruto rāmayaṃ / imē sahāh sāhāsa ānāmanti /
imē śāntaṃ vanuṣyaṭō nīpānti\textsuperscript{510} //

‘Gold ornaments are on the breast\textsuperscript{511}, fitting closely, glittering, shining like with the excellent swords\textsuperscript{512},
brandishing weapons willingly’ ‘Those shelter, which you have for the zealous, grant them threefold to the
worshipper, o Maruts, spread those out for us, give us, o bulls, a richness consisting of warriors’ ‘These
Maruts make the quick stop, these bend the greatest strength, these protect the praise from who desires to
appropriate it’.

\textit{vanuṣyatāḥ}: pres. part. (abl. masc. sing.) of the denominative \textit{vanuṣya-}

Vedic Web:

Rite
\textit{Kamyeṣṭi, mantras} to be recited on the sacrifice to the Maruts of a cow that has brought forth
only once.

non-RV mantras

JS 1.35.5 = KauŚ 336

\begin{itemize}
\item JS 1.35.5 = KauŚ 336 yo no vanuṣyānabhidāti marta ugaṇā vā manyamānasturo vā / kṣidhī yudhā śavasā vā
tam indrābhi syāma vṛṣaṇās tvotāḥ //
\end{itemize}

\textsuperscript{508} vākṣaḥsu […] yacchamanāḥ = RV 7.56.13b-d.
\textsuperscript{509} yā […] svirām = RV 1.85.12.
\textsuperscript{510} imē […] = RV 7.56.19a-c.
\textsuperscript{511} The breast of the Maruts as it is clear with regard to the end of the preceding paragraph which is the first
\textit{pāda} of the stanza 7.56.13.
\textsuperscript{512} vyṛṣṭī- (RV reads vyṛṣṭībhī “through the rain”) is the proper name of an excellent like a sword or a spear.
Miśra glosses \textit{āyudhavīśeṣair vyṛṣṭyākhyair vīśeṣeṇa rocānāḥ}.
IV. “To desire”: a Synchronic Analysis

The mortal, who, desiring to appropriate, is after us, thinking to be powerful or quick, destroy him in the battle or with the strength, may we overcome him, o courageous, Indra, through your help.

vanusyan: part. pres. (nom. masc. sing.) denominative of vanus
Benfey 1848: 229 “kriegslustig”
Narten 1963: 61 “anfeindend”

Vedic Web:
∅

b) vāniyas-

RV mantras

MS 4.12.6: 195,16-17

4.12.6 prātáryajadhvam aśvánā hinota / nā sāyāmasti devayá ājuṣṭam / utānyo asmādyajate vicāyāh / pūrvah pārvojayamānovāniyān

Sacrifice in the early morning! Set in motion the Aśvin. The evening, unpleasing, is not the time to seek the gods: also another, other than us, sacrifices and dawns whenever early in the morning there is the sacrificer: it is he who appropriates more than others.

vāniyān: nom. masc. sing. of vanīyas-

Vedic Web:
∅

Mantra: RV 5.77.1-2; TB 2.4.3.13.

Rite
Soma sacrifice. Kamyeṣṭī sacrifice.

TB 2.4.3.13

2.4.3.13 indrabahi prathamō yaṇiṇyānām / yā te kākūt sukṛtyā yā vāriṣṭhā / yāyā śāśvat piḥasi mādhva ūrmiṁ / tāyā pāḥi prā te adhvaryūraṁ / sānte vājro vartatām indra gavyūḥ / prātaryūjā vibodhaya /

513 abhidāti, Benfey 1848: 229 “nachstellt” and in the note 5 “abhidāti = asmākam adattványeybhyo dadātī arthah (SvC.)”; the commentator gloss the verb with dā “to give”, using the form dadāti, which indeed is ind. pres. while dāti should be a subj. root aor.; moreover the current meaning of the verb doesn’t seem to fit the context, and the twisting interpretation is rather doubtful. The form abhidāti could also be understood as ind. pres. from dā- “to divide” which could suggest an action whose result is not quite fair for the receiver, but indeed dā doesn’t seem to be used that way elsewhere. Not feeling able to reach an entirely certain conclusion, I settle for translating as “to be after so”, following Benfey’s interpretation. See also Narten (1963) with regard to the relation between abhidā- and abhidhāsāti.


515 The repetition of a term can take on a distributed value, to be understood in this case as “every time that” cf. Withney 1888: §1257.

516 indrāgahi […] yaṇiṇyānām = RV 6.41.1d.

517 yā […] gavyūḥ = RV 6.41.2.
Come here, o Indra, as the first of the those worthy of worship, your mouth with which, well arranged, widest, you drink always again the wave of the sweet drink 522, with it drink! The adhvaryu has stood up, the clubs, o Indra, desirous of cows, should come with; wake up those yoked early, the Aśvin should come here, give to drink with this soma; they should drink before the illiberal vulture, they indeed perform the sacrifice early at morning, the poet-seers pray those receiving the first share; ‘Sacrifice in the early morning! Set in motion the Aśvin. The evening, unpleasing, is not the time to seek the gods: also another, other than us, sacrifices and dawns whenever 523 early in the morning there is the sacrificer: it is he who appropriates more than others.’

vāniyān: nom. masc. sing. of vāniyas-

Vedic Web:
Mantra: RV 1.22.1; 5.77.1-2; 6.41.1d-2; MS 4.12.6: 195, 16-196,2.

Rite
Dārśapūrṇamāṣṭī. Upahoma mantra s, subsidiary mantra s for an additional offering within the Mitravindeṣṭī, here addressed to the botṛ and the Aśvin.

non-RV mantras

AVP(K.) 19.38.16

19.38.16 kaviṛ yaiṁasa pra thanoṣi panthām <nā>kasya pṛṣṭhe abbi didhyānaḥ / yena havyam vahasi devadūta itaḥ pracetā amuto vāniyān//

The sage stretches the path of the sacrifice on the back of the firmament, towards the shining ones, whereby you carry the offering, as messenger, hence attentive, thence with more gain.

vāniyān: nom. masc. sing. of vāniyas-

Vedic Web:
Mantra: cf. TS 3.5.5.3.
Keith commentary on the corresponding TS section: “Curiously enough the other texts have no parallel”. The only one, we have to add, is in AV tradition.

518 Aufrecht reads āśvināv ēhā as RV 1.22.1.
519 pṛātaryāyāj […] pītāye = RV 1.22.1.
520 pṛātaryāyāṇā […] pūrvabhājaḥ = RV 5.77.1; MS 4.12.6: 196.1-2.
521 pṛātaryāyādhyāṃ […] vāniyān = RV 5.77.2.
522 mādhu- could be milk, honey, the soma, it is a sweets or a sweet drink, cf. EWAia: II 302-303
523 The repetition of a term can take on a distributed value, to be understood in this case as “every time that” cf. WITHNEY 1888: §1257.
IV. “To desire”: a Synchronic Analysis

AVP(K.) 19.40.11

19.40.11 svādiyasī surāyā lavanā cārur madhurā / gobhyo vaniyasi ca me //

The salt is more sweet than the wine, it is agreeable, pleasant and more desirable than the cows for me.

vaniyāsī: nom. fem. sing. of vaniyas-

Vedic Web:
∅

19.40.11 svādiyasī bhava madhormadhutarā bhava AVP.8.12.3. (referred to the surā).

IV.1.2.3. Derivatives that occur only in non-RV quotations

a) vanuṣvat-

The term vanuṣvat- is an hapax in Brāhmaṇas and Saṃhitās. The RV 1.44.11c stanza reads manuṣvat- The interchange between m- and v- is already an old Indo-Aryan phenomenon, and especially the roots man- and van- interchange a number of times already in the Rgvedic text. Therefore, this occurrence should maybe be considered a wrong writing for manuṣvat-.

TB 2.7.12.6

2.7.12.6 divi śrāvo dadhire yajñīyāsah / náktā ca cakrāt uṣāsā vírūpe / kṣrnām ca várnamarunām ca sámdhuh / tvám āgna ādityāsa āsām / tvám jihvāḥ śicayasacakra kave / tvām rātiṣāco adhvarēṣu sāscire / tvē devā havir adanty dhūtam // ni tvā yaṅīṣyaya sādhanaṃ / āgne hótāramtvijām / vanuṣvāddeva dhīmahi prācetasam / jīrām dūtām āmartyam 524 //

Those who is worthy of worship have set the sound in the sky and combined the nights with the wheel of morning and night, the two variegated colour, the black and the reddish colour; the Adityas, blazing, have done (sacrificed) you, o Agni, the mouth, your tongue, o inspired sage; they, liberal in gifts, have served you in the sacrifices, through you, o god, they eat the sacrificed oblation; may we deploy you, the stick/success of the sacrifice, o Agni, you as hot sacrificing at proper time, o god vanuṣvat, you as attentive, quick and immortal messenger.

vanuṣvat: voc. masc. sing. of vanuṣvat-

Vedic Web:
Mantra: cf. RV 1.44.11c reads manuṣvat instead of vanuṣvat.

Rite
Sava, a one-day Soma sacrifice for the fulfilment of a defined desire, implying also an Abhiṣeka, in this case the sava is performed for attaining offspring. Mantras to be recited when sprinkling the sanctified fluid.

b) vāni-


524 ni tvā […] āmartyam = RV 1.44.11, RV manuṣvat instead of vanuṣvat.
only in these passages of the Atharvaveda Samhitās, while in the R̄gveda Samhitā it is present only within the compound upamāti-vāni etc.

AVŚ 5.7.2

5.7.2 yām arāte purodbhatsē pūruṣaṁ parirāpiṇam / nāmas te tāsmai kṛṣmo má vanīṁ vyathayīr māma //

The calumnious\textsuperscript{525} man that you make the Purohita, o Arāti\textsuperscript{526}, to this one of you we pay the homage, may you do not cause my desire/earnings to fall.

\textit{vanīṁ}: acc. masc. sing. of \textit{vanī-}

WHITNEY 1905: 232 “winning”

Vedic Web:
Mantra: AVP 7.9.2

Rite
The verses are used in the \textit{nirīrtikarman} with an offering of rice-grains and in other rites. The hymn as a whole an euphemistic offering of reverence to appease Arāti “Miserliness” (see also note to the translation).

AVŚ 5.7.3

5.7.3 prā no vanīr devākṣtā divā nāktaṁ ca kalpatām / ārātim anuprēmo vayām nāmo astv ārātaye //

Let the earnings/desire made by the gods prosper for us by day and night, we follow Arāti, homage be to Arāti.

\textit{vanīr}: nom. masc. sing. of \textit{vanī-}

WHITNEY 1905: 232 “winning”

Vedic Web:
Mantra: AVP 7.9.4.

Rite
See above.

AVŚ 5.7.6

5.7.6 má vanīṁ má vācaṁ no vīrtśir udbhāv indrāgni ā bharatāṁ no vāsūṁ īśāve no adyā dītsantō ’rātiṁ prāti baryata //

\textsuperscript{525} As to the actual meaning of \textit{parirāpiṇ-} and the different explanations of the possible paradoxical intention within the \textit{pāda}, see GRIFFITHS (2009: 335-336) whose translation has been followed here also. The noun is clearly connected with the root-noun \textit{parināp-} and the verbal root \textit{rap-} “to talk.”

\textsuperscript{526} Arāti is one of the personification of evil qualities, that are to be found especially in the Atharvaveda, it means “miserliness, failure”, on the word \textit{ārāti-} see KUPER 1961-62: 50 n. 10 “the negative power which detains the gifts of the nether world” as antagonist to \textit{pūraṃdhi-} “the cosmic power of present-giving”.  

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IV. “To desire”: a Synchronic Analysis

Do not wish to vanish\textsuperscript{527} our desire/earnings, nor our speech, let both Indra and Agni bring us goods; all those who wants to give to us today, let them welcome Arāti.

\textit{vanīm}: acc. masc. sing. of \textit{vanī-}  
\textit{WHITNEY 1905: 233 “winning”}

Vedic Web:  
Mantra: AVP 7.9.8.

Rite  
See above.

\textbf{AVŚ 12.4.11}

12.4.11 yā enāṃ vanīm āyānti tēsāṃ devākṣyā / brahmaipīyaṃ tād abruvan yā enāṃ nipriyāyāte //

The cow made by the gods is of those who go to the appropriation of her, when someone keeps her in his own possession, they call it oppression of Brahmans.

\textit{vanīm}: acc. masc. sing. of \textit{vanī-}  
\textit{WHITNEY 1905: 695 “winning”}

Vedic Web:  
AVP(K.) 17.17.1.

Rite  
The cow as belonging only to the Brahmān. The verses are not used in the ritual manuals, except once, where they have to be spoken by the giver of a cow after sprinkling it.

\textbf{AVP 7.9.2}

7.9.2 yam arāte purodhate puruṣaṃ parirāpiṇaṃ / namas te tasmai kṛṇmo mā vanīm mama vivyathah //

The calumnious\textsuperscript{528} man that you make the Purohita, o Arāti, to this one of you we pay the homage, may you do not cause my desire/appropriation to fall\textsuperscript{529}.

\textit{vanīm}: acc. masc. sing. of \textit{vanī-}  
\textit{GRIFFITHS 2009: 335 “earnings”}

Vedic Web:  
Mantra: AVŚ 5.7.2.

Rite  
Hymn to appease Arāti, see AVŚ 5.7.2. As to the whole hymn, see also GRIFFITHS 2009: 334.

\textsuperscript{527} \textit{vīrtṣī}, inj. -\textit{iṣ} aor. of the desiderative form of \textit{vi-} ṛdh-. The whole \textit{pāda} is clearly not well preserved, see also AVP 7.9.8.  
\textsuperscript{528} As to \textit{parirāpiṇa-} and Arāti, see note on AVŚ 5.7.2.  
\textsuperscript{529} \textit{vivyathah}, red. subj. aor. with a causative meaning. See also GRIFFITHS 2009: 336.
IV.1 Nominal Derivatives

AVP 7.9.4

7.9.4 pra no vanir devakṛtā divā naktam ca sidhṛyatu / arātim anupremo vayam namo stv arātaye //

Let the appropriation/desire made by the gods be successful for us by day and night, we follow Arāti, homage be to Arāti.

vanīr: nom. masc. sing. of vanī-
GRIFFITHS 2009: 338 “earnings”

Vedic Web:
Mantra: AVŚ 5.7.3.

Rite
See above.

AVP 7.9.8

7.9.8 mā vanīm mā vācaṃ no vijaśū urgrāv indrāgni nā bhajatām vasīni / sarve no adya ditsanto arātim prati haryata //

Do not wish to vanish our desire/appropriation, nor our speech, let the terrible Indra and Agni grant us goods; all those who wants to give to us today, let them welcome Arāti.

vanīm: acc. masc. sing. of vanī-
GRIFFITHS 2009: 342 “earnings”

Vedic Web:
Mantra: AVŚ 5.7.6.

Rite
See above.

AVP(K.) 17.17.1

17.17.1 ya enāṃ vanīm āyanti teṣāṃ devakṛtā vaśā / vrahmajyeyaṃ tad avruvan ya enāṃ nu priyāyate //

The cow made by the gods is of those who go to the appropriation of her, when someone does not treat her kindly, they call it oppression of Brahmans.

vanīm: acc. masc. sing. of vanī-

Vedic Web:
AVŚ 12.4.11

530 vijaśū, inj. -iṣ aor. of the desiderative form of vi- ṭdb-. The whole pāda is clearly not well preserved, cf. GRIFFITHS 2009: 342-343.
531 Bhattacharya edits adhi dipsanto instead of adhya ditsanto, on the problematic desiderative participle of dabh- “to injure” and how it entered the transmission, see GRIFFITHS 2009: 343.
532 The second half of the pāda is not clear, after Barret edition, it can be speculated that vrahmajyeyaṃ can be read as brahma0 and avruvan as abruvan; nu priyāyate is very questionable; priyāya- “mit Liebe behalten” (PW) can also be regarded as wrong reading for nipriyāya-, cf. in AVŚ 12.4.11.

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c) ványa-

As to this derivative, we find it indeed in two passages that are repeated in the texts of the different schools: in one case it is clearly connected with the wood or the forest \((\text{vanin})\) and we find this passage in TS 4.5.6.1i-k; MS 2.9.6; KS 17.14; KpS 27.4; VS 16.34 . While in the other attestation, which occurs nearly the same in TS 5.5.9.1-2f; MS 2.13.12 and KS 40.3, the meaning is more doubtful, and indeed Keith translates it with “desirable”; nonetheless, it could possibly mean “the one abiding in the wood”. If we settle for considering also this second case as connected with \(\text{vána}\) “wood”, then this derivative should fall out of our investigation. The occurrence in AVŚ 6.20.3, although is not matching any of the preceding passages, can be positively reckoned among those connected with \(\text{vána}\) - \(\text{vanin}\), as long as the adjective is referred to a disease, which is reddish, makes pale and is by no means “desirable”. It is worth to be noticed that in the \(\text{Rgveda Samhitā}\) this adjective occurs only once meaning “wooden” (RV 9.97.45 \(\text{sómaḥ sutó dhārayāyo nā bītvā sīndhur nā nimnám abhi vájy ākṣäh / ā yónim ványam asadat punānāḥ sām indur göbbir asarat sām adbhīḥ //}\), characterising the vessel where the \(\text{soma}\) goes, here referred to as \(\text{yoni}\).

TS 5.5.9.1-2f

5.5.9.1 ágna udadhe yā ta īṣur yuvā nāma tāyā no mṛḍa tāṣyās te nāmas tāṣyās ta úpa jivanto bhūyasama / ágne dudhra / gāhya / kimśilā / vanyā yā ta īṣur yuvā nāma tāyā no mṛḍa tāṣyās te nāmas tāṣyās ta úpa jivanto bhūyasama / pāṅcā va ete ‘gnāyo yac cita ya udadhīr eva nāma prathamā dudhrāḥ // [2f] deśītyo gāhyas tytiyāh kimśilās caturāt vānyāḥ pañcamās tēbhṛyo yād abhuṛ nā jhubyād adhvaryaṁ ca ya jaṁnaṁ ca prā dhāheur yād etā abhuṛ jhubōti bhāgadṛṣṭaṁvāṁ nāṁ cha myati nārīṁ ārchaṁ adhvaryaṁ nā ya jaṁnaṁs /

O Agni, ocean, with your arrow, named the young, be gentle to us, homage of this to you, may we continue to exist living upon this of you; o Agni the violent, the unfathomable, the gravelly, the one abiding in woods; with your arrow, named the young, be gentle to us, homage of this to you, may we continue existing living upon this of you; indeed these five Agnis are the layers, the first is named the ocean, the second the violent, the third the unfathomable, the fourth the gravelly, the fifth the wooden (one abiding in the wood), if he would not offer the oblations to them, they would burn the \(\text{adhvarya}\) and the sacrificer (\(\text{yajamāna}\)), if he offers these oblations, he indeed appeases them with the share, the \(\text{adhvarya}\) doesn't fall in pain neither the sacrificer.

2x \(\text{ványah}\): nom. masc. sing. of \(\text{ványa}\)-

Keith 1914: 448 “desirable”

Vedic Web:
Mantra: cf. MS 2.3.12: 162,6-8; KS 40.3: 237,10-11.

Rite
Agnicayana. Mantras and \(\text{brāhmaṇas}\) for the five oblations to the five Agnis.

TS 4.5.6.1i-k

4.5.6.1i-k námo ványāya ca kāksyāya ca / námah śravāya ca pratīṣravāya ca //

Homage to the one abiding in the wood, and to the one abiding in the shrubs, homage to the sound and to echo.
IV.1 Nominal Derivatives

ván̄yāya: dat. masc. sing. of ván̄ya-
Kurri 1914: 358 “him in the wood”

Vedic Web:
Mantra: MS 2.9.6: 125.7; KS 17.14: 257,11-12; KpS 27.4 135,2-3; VS 16.34.
Rite
Agnicayana. Mantras of the šatarudrīya litany, for the offerings on the fire to Rudra.

MS 2.9.6: 125.7

2.9.6 námo ván̄yāya ca kákyāya ca námaḥ śrav/amacronacuteya ca pratiśrav/amacronacuteya ca //
Homage to the one abiding in the wood, and to the one abiding in the shrubs, homage to the sound and to echo.

ván̄yāya: dat. masc. sing. of ván̄ya-

Vedic Web:
Mantra: TS 4.5.6.1i-k; KS 17.14: 257,11-12; KpS 27.4 135,2-3; VS 16.34.
Rite
Agnicayana. Mantras of the šatarudrīya litany, for the offerings on the fire to Rudra.

MS 2.13.12: 162,6-8

2.13.12 yávā áyavā úmā ēvā ábdah ságaraḥ sumékó 'gne kahyágne kiṁśilágne duḍhrágne ván̄yágne kákṣyá yá tā iṣuryué náma tāyá vidbema tásyai te námas //
Just like the first half of the moon, the dark half, the ūmā533, the year, o Agni, o unfathomable534 Agni, o gravelly Agni, o violent Agni, o Agni of the wood, o you abiding in the shrubs, your arrow, named the young, with this we worship you, homage to this of you.

ván̄yágne: voc. masc. sing. of the compound ván̄yágni

Vedic Web:
Mantra: cf. TS 5.5.9.1-2f; KS 40.3: 237,10-11.

KS 17.14: 257,11-12

17.14 námo ván̄yāya ca kákyāya ca námo duṇḍhūbhyāya cāhananyāya //
Homage to the one abiding in the wood, and to the one abiding in the shrubs, homage to the kettle-drum and to the one beating (the drum).

ván̄yāya: dat. masc. sing. of ván̄ya-

533 ūmā- EWAia: I 225 “etwa: Flachs […] Weiteres bleibt unklar”.
534 kahyágni = gahyágni one of the epithet of Agni, probably connected with gáhana EWAia: I 481 “Abgrund, Tiefe, Versteck” and gáb- EWAia: I 486 “eindringen, eintreten”, cf. also duṛgāha.

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IV. “To desire”: a Synchronic Analysis

Vedic Web:
Mantra: TS 4.5.6.1i-k; MS 2.9.6: 125,7; KpS 27.4: 135,2-3; VS 16.34.

Rite
Agnicayana. Mantras of the śatarudrīya litany, for the offerings on the fire to Rudra.

KS 40.3: 237,10-11

40.3 agne didhrāgne kahyāgne kiṃśilāgne vanyāgne kaksya yā ta iṣuryuvā nāma tasyai te vidhema tayā nab pāhi tasyai te svāhā //

O Agni, o violent Agni, o unfathomable\(^{535}\) Agni, o gravelly Agni, o Agni of the wood, o you abiding in the shrubs, your arrow, named the young, this of you we worship, protect us with it, blessing (svāhā) to this of you.

vanyāgne: voc. masc. sing. of the compound vanyāgni

Vedic Web:
Mantra: cf. TS 5.5.9.1-2f; MS 2.13.12: 162,6-8.

Rite
∅

KpS 27.4: 135,2-3

27.4 namo kakṣyāya ca vanyāya ca namo dundubhyāya cāhananyāya ca //

Homage to the one abiding in the shrubs, and to the one abiding in the wood, homage to the kettle-drum and to the one beating (the drum).

vanyāya: dat. masc. sing. of vānya-

Vedic Web:
Mantra: TS 4.5.6.1i-k; MS 2.9.6: 125,7; KS 17.14: 257,11-12; VS 16.34.

Rite
Agnicayana. Mantras of the śatarudrīya litany, for the offerings on the fire to Rudra.

VS 16.34

16.34 nāmo vānyāya ca kāksyāya ca nāmaḥ śravāya ca pratiśravāya ca nāma aśuṣeṇāya cāśūrathāya ca nāmaḥ śuṃacāya cāvabhedine ca //

Homage to the one abiding in the wood, and to the one abiding in the shrubs, homage to the sound and to echo and homage to the one with swift arrows and with a fast chariot and homage to the hero and to the splitting one.

vānyāya: dat. masc. sing. of vānya-

\(^{535}\) kābyāgni = gābyāgni one of the epithet of Agni, probably connected with gāhana EWAia: I 481 “Abgrund, Tiefe, Versteck” and gāb- EWAia: I 486 “eindringen, eintreten”, cf. also durgāba.
IV.1 Nominal Derivatives

Griffith in *ARYA* 1999: 230 “him in the wood”

Vedic Web:
Mantra: TS 4.5.6.1i-k; MS 2.9.6: 125,7; KS 17.14: 257,11-12; KpS 27.4: 135,2-3.

Rite
*Agnicayana.* Mantras of the *śatarudrīya* litany, for the offerings on the fire to Rudra.

**AVŚ 6.20.3**

6.20.3 ayāṁ yó abhiśocayiṣṇúr víśvā rūpáni hárítá kṛṣṇōsi / tásmai te 'ruṇāya babhráve námaḥ kṛnomi
ványāya takmāne //

You here who burning make every shape get pale yellow, to this here, to you, the reddish, the brown the disease abiding in the wood we pay homage.

ványāya: dat. masc. sing. of vānya

*Whitney* 1905: 295 “woody”

Vedic Web:
∅

Rite
Against the disease *takmán*.

d) *vantu-*

This derivative is an *hapax legomenon* and we must consider here the noun *mantu-*., as long as the corresponding Rgvedic stanza 9.73.6 reads *mántavaḥ*; as we said also with regards to another *hapax*, *vanusvat-*., the interchange between the roots *man-* and *van-* is particularly frequent already at the Rgvedic level. Moreover, this word occurs in a mantra whose general sense is not clear at all, and this makes quite difficult to understand the context and speculate on the meaning of the derivative; indeed the translation of the whole stanza is after *Griffiths* 2009: 138.

**AVP 6.11.3**

6.11.3 pratnān mānāt pari ye saṃbabhūvah / ślokavantaḥ saumanasasya vantavah / apänakśāso bādhīrā
ahāśata-/ -tasya pānthāṃ na taranti dūṣkṛtaḥ //

Those renowned ones who have assembled from the old building, the winners (?) of favour – the blind, the deaf ones have stayed behind, the evil ones do not cross the path of order.

vantavah: nom. masc. pl. of *vantu-*

*Griffiths* 2009: 138 “the winners”

Vedic Web:
Mantra: cf. RV 9.73.6 reads *mántavaḥ* instead of *vantavah*.
IV. “To desire”: a Synchronic Analysis

Rite
Hymn for safe entrance to the altar ground, for a throughout analysis of the hymn, see Griffiths 2009: 132-134. The stanza 3 is anyway particularly difficult, as long as it has no parallel in AVŚ nor in the śrauta-texts and, unlike the stanzas 1 up to 5, it doesn’t contain material that could match with other liturgical passages.

IV.1.3 Analysis of the nominal derivatives

We begun this survey with the question whether the semantic field of desire was present in the nominal derivatives. In the Rgvedic occurrences we did not find any trace of this sense. Looking back to the first part of the chapter and the first derivatives we analysed, the situation looks rather differentiated and we may say that there is all the more justification for the attempt to trace back the senses and values underlying the meanings taken on by the various terms with a fair degree of clarity. These sense and values can in all cases be seen to follow on from those identified for the verbal root, like “to dominate” in vanús- and vanuṣya-, or “to possess – to conquer” in the two verbal objectives (vánīyas- and vániṣṭha-) or the ritual action of “having enter the circle of the sacrifice” in some senses of the two most frequent derivatives, as indeed in the adjective vanú-. Once we mapped a similar semantic distribution for the primary derivatives in the Rgveda Saṃhitā as that of the verbal root, we still miss the meaning “to desire”: that seems to imply that this sense was not conveyed in the nominal derivatives.

With regard to the post-Rgvedic attestations, the first thing to be noticed is that some derivatives are to be found only in passages quoting the Rgvedic stanzas like the noun vanas-, the nomen agentis vantr- and also the term vānīvan-. As to the the adjective vanús-, though we find it only in Rgvedic quotations, yet we can spot its denominative vanuṣya- which is used also in an non Rgvedic mantra in Sāmavedic Saṃhitās, and in both cases it conveys the same meaning as in all other occurrences (“to wish to appropriate”). The only derivative that is more frequent (two times out of three) in non Rgvedic quotations is vánīyas-: we find it twice, in both cases in the nineteenth book of the Atharvaveda Paippalāda, clearly conveying the idea of appropriation as in AVP(K) 19.38.16 where it substitutes sanīyan in the corresponding mantra of the Taittirīya Saṃhitā (TS 3.5.5.3). Therefore, except for some doubtful cases, we may say that these derivatives are employed exactly as in the Rgvedic occurrences. With regard to the derivatives that are not to be found in the Rgveda Saṃhitā, the possibility to speculate cannot go much further on. In fact, two terms out of four are hapax legomena and the third one is vanya, which is probably to be taken out of consideration, as long as we settle for considering it as always connected with vāna- “wood”. The last derivative is vānī-: this noun is employed in four stanzas which are to be found identical in both Atharvaveda Saṃhitās. Though Grassmann 1875 [ed. 1996: 1209] suggests for vānī- “Heischen, Begehren, Wunsch”, both Whitney and Griffiths translate it with “earnings”; indeed in all the occurrences it can be translated both ways and it is indeed not possible to settle for one or the other option.

To sum up, here, once more, we have the evidence that the semantic field of desire is almost absent in the primary derivatives. Only in few cases it can be speculated as a possible meaning, besides, these occurrences are either quite controversial or they belong to the Atharvavedic anthologies; from them we cannot endorse the hypothesis of a nominal development of the meaning “to desire”. The only noun that clearly conveys this idea is vāmā-, that seems to stand alone among all the other attestations of the root van- / van-.. Finally, we may conclude that the sense of desire was not mainly conveyed by nominal stems. In the last part of this chapter we
IV.1 Nominal Derivatives

will verify the hypothesis we speculated upon at the beginning of the work (§II.3), that is if “to desire” represent a synchronic meaning of the verbal root that survived only in a parallel linguistic tradition attested only in the Atharvavedic texts.

IV.2 The Atharvaveda: Diastratic Evidences on van- / vanı-

Considering the few hints on the presence of the semantic field of desire within the primary derivatives of van- / vanı-, we will analyse here the attestations of the verb within the Atharvaveda school. Indeed we find occurrences of it only in the Samhitās, in the Śaunaka and Paippalāda recensions. This group of texts represents a different tradition from that of the texts met so far; though the extant texts of this school are clearly a young product, they contain data that can be traced back to a period even older than that of the Ṛgveda Samhitā. Both Samhitās are of considerable age, but the differences in certain mantras cannot be declared to be earlier or later in one or the other śākhā. Many studies have been carried on about this subject536, and in particular, there is an on-going stream of research with regards to the Paippalāda recension, due to the discovery of some Oriya manuscripts of the Paippalādin school537.

As we said at the beginning of this work, materials from different social groups are collected in the Atharvavedic texts. They are not concerned with the classical public cults, and moreover, they do not only represent the priestly class which was responsible for all the Vedic canon. Therefore, these texts cannot be mapped into the Brahmanical ritual development because they stand somehow outside the classical liturgical tradition to which all other texts belong. The so called vrātya-element is one of the most interesting example: whether we consider this group following the interpretation of Falk or that of Heesterman,538 it seems quite reasonable to speculate that they did represent -though at different degrees- a part of the society that was neglected by almost all the other Vedic literature and their presence has been clearly stated and even sustained only in the Atharvavedic texts. Indeed, these texts could grant us different informations about the use of the verb van- / vanı-, involving a different social and linguistic cross-section.

IV.2.1 Atharvaveda Occurrences

Here follows the complete list of occurrences of van- / vanı- in the Atharvaveda Samhitās, first those of the Śaunaka recension and after those of the Paippalāda. Within both groups the attestations are divided between Śākta mantra s and non-Śākta mantra s as in the paragraphs §III.2.1; 2 entailing the post-Śākta attestations of the verbal root.

RV mantra s

The text of the Atharvaveda Samhitā, Śaunaka recension (AVŚ), is after Atharva Veda Sanhitā.

536 See BLOOMFIELD 1899; WHITNEY 1905 and more recently WITZEL 1997: 275-283. See also PARPOLA 1983, 2012 for the different waves of migrations.
IV. “To desire”: a Synchronic Analysis


The text of the Atharvaveda Samhitā, Paippalāda recension (AVP), is after Paippalāda-Sambitā of the Atharvaveda. Volume one, consisting of the first fifteen Kāṇḍās, and Volume two, consisting of the Sixteenth Kāṇḍa. Critically edited from palmleaf manuscripts in the Oriya script discovered by Durgamohan Bhattacharyya and one Śaradā manuscript, ed. by Dipak Bhattacharya, The Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 1997 and 2008, or, for the Kāṇḍās seventeenth to twentieth after The Kashmirian Atharva Veda, ed by L.C. Barret, 1905-1940. The Kashmir ms. readings are indicated by K.

Note.
The stanza 20.127.14 of AVŚ (quoted in Vishva Bandhu within the occurrences of van-) has not been taken into consideration. Although the Visvha Bandhu edition reads in 20.127.14.c vanādadhidhvano” this pāda seems corrupted. Bloomfield (Vedic Concordance) reads as the other manuscripts: do cano dadhiṣva no giro.
The stanza 1.19.4 of the AVP reads

\[
\text{esām yañhamuta varco dade bhareham rāyaspoṣamuta vittānyagne / sapalā asmaddhare bhavantītame devā jyotiṣi dhattanemam //}
\]

and K. is quite corrupted, Barret supplied the words with the corresponding Śaunaka (AVŚ 1.9.4). Only the Śārada ms reads varco vaneyam in a. Therefore this attestation, though given in Vishva Bandhu, has not been taken into consideration.
The stanza AVP 8.9.8= K. 8.9.7 (again quoted in Vishva Bandhu within the occurrences of van-) has also not been taken into consideration. Although the Kashmir ms reads sādaṃ vanati, this pāda seems corrupted. The Bhattacharya edition reads śīram vahati.

Śaunaka occurrences

AVŚ 20.22.2

\[
20.22.2. má tvā mirā avisyāvo mōpabāsvāna ā dabhān / mákim brahmadvīṣo vanab //
\]

May not trick you away539 the vehement mūra540, nor who laughs at you, never let enter in the circle of

539 ā dabhān, subj. aor. or inj. 3rd pl., cf. EWAia: I 694 and HOFFMANN 1967: 243; as to the different meanings of the root dabb-, and the form dambhāyati, we follow INSLER (1969). According to his work, there could be a verbal theme dambhāya- buid on the adjective dabhri- (by analogy with randhāyati : radhrā-) therefore not connected with dabh-; for the verbal root he suggests three meaning, the first being is “to trick” “persuade through deceive”; the translation INSLER (1969: 22-3 “trick away (from us)”) proposes for ā dabh- seems to catch a common worry of Vedic men, that the enemies or the 'heretics' may drive away the gods with their presence.

540 This noun seems to be referred to a group of people that falls apart the Brahmanic religion, so to say, representing the 'heretics', a meaning which is not too far from the idea of mistake (“some who fails”) as suggested by PECA CONTI 1982-83: 41-51. The meaning of this term is although not clearly established for all the occurrences.
IV.2 The Atharvaveda: Diastratic Evidences on van-/ vani-

_sacrifice_ the brahma-haters.

_vanaḥ:_ inj. pres. 2nd sing. I-VI cl.
Sāyaṇa: “mā vanah mā bhajetāḥ”
GELDNER: II 362 “vorziehen”
RENOU: XII 77-8 N, 13 “n’attire pas à toi”
MICON 1980: 270 “get”
GOTO 1987: 284 “finde Gefallen”
HOFFMANN 1967: 87 “liebe”. He also speculates the thematization of an ancient root aorist that would then convey a prohibitive-preventiv meaning: “finde nicht Gefall an”
INSLER 1969: 22-3 “do not long for”

Vedic Web
Mantra: RV 8.45.23; SV 2.82.

Rite
_Atirātra_, a form of Soma sacrifice mainly to Indra.
This stanza is the one we have already found when we analysed the ritual meaning within the _Rgveda Samhitā_, and we have noticed that in this case the others meaning given for the verb _van-_ (to win, to desire) were quite not matching the context of the verses.

AVŚ 20.30.1

20.30.1 _prá te mahé vidāthe šamsiṣam hári _prá _te _vanve _vanuṣo _haryatāṃ _mādam / ghytaṁ _nā _yo _hāribhisācaru _sēcata _ā _tvā _visāntu _hārśarpasaṇu _girāḥ //

May I invoke in the great meeting [rite] your two steeds, I appropriate for my self the intoxicating drink dear to you who desire to appropriate it which, pleasant as clarified butter, together with the golden ones, pours out; the chants should arrive to you who have the colour of gold.

_prá vanve:_ ind. pres. 1st sing. Ā VIII cl.
Sāyaṇa: “pra vanve prayāce”
GELDNER: III 304 “habe Gewinn”

_vaniṣaḥ:_ gen. masc. sing. from _vanus_
Sāyaṇa: “sutrahimsakasya yācyamānasya vā”
GELDNER: III 304 “Eifrigen”

Vedic Web
Mantra: RV 10.96.1; TB 2.4.3.10-(11); TB 3.7.9.6.

Rite
_Atirātra_, a form of Soma sacrifice mainly to Indra.

541 This binary structure mákīm _van_ – _dviś_ can be compared with the antinomy good-evil that can be traced allover the thought of Zarathustra as a _leitmotiv_ of the Gāthas.
542 Here the term means not only “holy formula” (THEME 1952: 91-129), but is already referring to the wider implications as “universal principle” and spirit of the whole; for a bibliography on this term, see GONDA 1950.
543 As to the exact meaning of _vidātha_ as already a ritual fest or just as social meeting, see GONDA 1992: VI/1 310-337, KUPER 1974: 129-132 and OLDENBERG 1900: 608-611.
544 “The golden” are the drops of Soma.
IV. “To desire”: a Synchronic Analysis

AVŚ 20.35.15

20.35.15 asmā idu tyādānu dāyyesām ēko yād vaṃné bhūrerīśānaḥ / praītāśaṃ sūrye pāspṛdhānāṃ saṁvaśreṣānaḥ śānaḥ / praītāśaṃ s/umacronacuterye pasp/rringbelowdhānāṃ saúvaśvye sūṣvimāvad índraḥ //

To this one may it be given back\(^{545}\) that\(^{546}\) what he, the lord of the abundant, the only one between them, has appropriated; Indra protected Etaśa\(^{547}\), the soma presser\(^{548}\), who fought in the horse race, Sūrya being present.

GELDNER: I 79 “errungen hat”  
RENOU: XVII 25 “a gagné”  
WITZEL-GOTO 2007: 115 “gewonnen hat”  
Śāyaṇa: yācitaveṇ “to ask”

Vedic Web  
Mantra: RV 1.61.15.

Rite  
Mādyhamdinasavana (the middle pressing of the soma) in the Aptoryāma sacrifice, a development of Agniṣṭoma.

AVŚ 20.67.1

20.67.1 vanóti hí sunván kṣāyaṃ pārīṇasaḥ sunvānó hí śmā yājaty āva dviśo devānām āva dviśah / sunvānā it siṣāsati sabhāśrá vāy āvtrabh / sunvānāyendro dadāty ābhūvam rayīṃ dadāty ābhūvam //

Indeed who presses the soma appropriates an abode of abundance, indeed who presses the soma for himself get rid of the enemies of the gods by means of a sacrifice, rid of the enemies; this who presses soma for himself desires to win, thousand times unchecked winner; to who presses the soma Indra gives a efficacious\(^{549}\) treasure, efficacious.

tvanóti: ind. pres. 3rd sing. VIII cl.  
Śāyaṇa:∅  
GELDNER: I 187 “gewinnt”  
RENOU: XVII 48 “gagne”  
WITZEL-GOTO 2007: 249 “gewinnt”

Vedic Web

\(^{545}\) Dāyi, from dā-, ind. aor. 3rd sing. passive, without augment, conveying an injunctive aspect cf. MACDONELL 1916: §155 and WHITNEY 1888: §844.c.  
\(^{546}\) Tyād, (acc. n. sing.) from syā-, the demostrative pronoun here refers to what is peculiar to Indra: the soma.  
\(^{547}\) As to the contest between Sūrya and Etaśa and Indra’s help, see MACDONELL-KEITH [1912] 1995: I 120; Etaśa could also be the horse of Indra, a horse of variegated colour (ēta- (m. f. n.) “of variegated colour”.

\(^{548}\) sāṣṭri-, indeed “pressing out”.  
\(^{549}\) ābhūvam (acc. m. sing.) from ābhū- (m. f. n.) < root bhū-, “present”, PW: “tüchtig, wirksam”, as a continuos presence that comes every time in to existence and is efficacious.
IV.2 The Atharvaveda: Diastratic Evidences on van- / vanī-

Mantra: RV 1.133.7.

Rite

Prṣṭhidyadāha, a group of rites consisting of one Agniṣṭoma, two Ukthya, one Šodaśin and one more Ukthya.

AVŚ 20.75.3

20.75.3 ád it te asyā virāyasya carkiran mādeṣu vsṛṇu usīpo yād āvīthasakhiyātō yād āvīthas/cakāriṁ ebbhyaḥ prīnanāṣu prāvantave/tē anyām anyāṁ nadyāṁ saniṣṇata śrāvasyāṁtāṁ saniṣṇata //

Thereupon may they commemorate your heroic deed in exhilaration, o bull, when you protected the Uśij550 who attend you as friend, when you protected; for them you did the action, for them to appropriate you in the battles, for you they gain one river after another going to the glory, they keep gaining.

prāvantave: inf. dat., cf. WHITNEY 1888: §982.a
GELDNER: I 185 “den Sieg gewinnen”
RENOU: XVII 46 “gagnent”
WITZEL-GOTO 2007: 246 “gewinnen”
Sāyaṇa:∅

*The prefix pra is used only here and in RV 10.96.1b, which is quoted in AVŚ 20.30.1. In that case the man appropriates the soma, which is the drink of Indra, who indeed by means of this magic plant performs heroic deeds. As there the men pra-van- the soma that gives strength, imitating Indra, in the same way here the Uśij pra-van- Indra who makes them stronger. Indeed Indra is the god that both armies address before the battle: to whom Indra may grant his favour, that is the winner. Here san- expresses the idea of making someone else enter into a circle of friendship, and that is a peculiar feature of the relationship between Indra and his sakhī: “they appropriate you and therefore they are your mates”.

Vedic Web
Mantra: RV 1.131.5.

Rite

Prṣṭhidyadāha, a group of rites consisting of one Agniṣṭoma, two Ukthya, one Šodaśin and one more Ukthya.

AVŚ 20.143.2

20.143.2 yuvāṁ śrīyam aśvinā devātā tāṁ dīvo napātā vanathabh śācibhiḥ /yuvōr dvāpur abhi ṃpśaḥ sacante vāhante yāt kakuhāso rāthe vām //

You, o Aśvin, among gods, appropriate this beauty551 with your powers, o sons of the sky, the nourishments follows your your form when the tall horses552 pull your chariot.

550 The term is usually used as epithet os the sacrificer as well as of Agni (cf. EWAia: I 234-5), GELDNER (I 185) suggests it is the name of a priests family.
551 śrī “beauty, grace, light”, is here the splendour of the light of the sun and the dawn, coming right after the chariot of the Aśvin.
552 kakuhāsaḥ (nom. m. sing.) kakuhā- (m. f. n.) “lofty, prominent, tall” from kakūbh- “peak”, cf. MACDONELL-KEITH [1912] 1995 : I 131.
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vanathāḥ: ind. pres. 2nd du. I-VI cl.

GELDNER: I 476 “habt Gewinn”

WITZEL-GOTO-SCARLATA 2013: 191 “liebt”

Śāyāna:

Vedic Web
Mantra: RV 4.44.2.

Rite
Atirātra.

AVŚ 6.126.1

6.126.1 úpa śvāsaya prthivīnātā dyām purutrā te vanvatāṃ viṣṭhitam jāgat / sā dundubbe sajāndrenā devārdāddāvīyo āpa sedha śātrūn //

Fill with roaring the earth and the heaven, let the creatures scattered in many places appropriate for themselves for you / of you; o drum, o you, at the same time together with Indra and the gods, drive away the enemies, farther than far.

vanatāṃ: impv. pres. 3rd pl. Ā VIII cl.

WHITNEY 1905: 375 “win”; Whitney translates “let them win for the scattered living creatures”, commenting that the translation is “according to the reading of our text”. In the RV mantra the living creatures are the subject of the sentence, and they think, commemorate (manutām) the drum; I think here also the meaning should be maintained, van- meaning perhaps something different as “to win”. To be noticed that in this case the verb is used for the second time with the genitive.

Śāyāna: vanatām sambhajatām | vana ṣaṇa sambhaktau

Vedic Web
Mantra: RV 6.47.29; AVP 15.11.9; VS 29.55; TS 4.6.6.6a MS 3.16.3: 187.8 (sam instead of sa); KS Aśvamedha grantha 6.1: III 174,5-6. All the mantras read manutām instead of vanvatām. In AVP Bhattacharya edition “tena sunutām”.

Rite
To the drum: for success against the foe.

Non-RV mantras

Śaunaka occurrences

AVŚ 1.34.4

1.34.4 mādhBORsmi mādhutaro madūghāṃmādhumattaraḥ / māṁti kilva tvāṃ vānāḥ sākhāṃ mādhumatatimva //

I am sweeter than the sweet, possessing more sweet than the Madugha plant, may you desire me indeed as a branch full of sweet.

vānāḥ: subj. pres. 2nd sing. I-VI cl.

WHITNEY 1905: 35 “shalt thou be fond (?van)”

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Sāyaṇa: *sambhajeḥ* “to share, to join in” and he regards the plant as also addressed in the final *pādas*.

Vedic Web
Mantra: AVP 1.55.4.

Rite
Love-spell with a sweet herb. In Kāuśika Sūtra is used for superiority in disputation and in nuptial ceremonies.

AVŚ 4.15.10

4.15.10 *apāmagnistānubhīḥ samvidāṇō yā ōṣadhāmadhipā babhūva /
śa no varsāṁ vanutāṁ jātavedāṁ praṇāṁ prajabhyo amṛtām divās pāri //

This Agni united with the bodies of the waters who has become the king of the herbs, he, the Jātavedas, should appropriate for us the rain, the breath for the offspring, the immortality<sup>553</sup> (*amṛta*) from the sky.

vanutāṁ: impv. pres. 3rd sing. Ā VIII cl.

*Sāyaṇa:* *prayacchatu* “to stretch forth, to present, to grant”

Vedic Web
Mantra: AVP 5.7.8.

Rite
This hymn is used to get abundant rain. This and stanza 11 are used specifically with oblations to Agni and Prajāpati in expiation of the portent of inundations, see *Whitney* 1905: 172.

AVŚ 4.15.15

4.15.15 *khanvakhaḥ i khaimakhā i mādhye taduri /
varsāṁ vanudhvaṃ pitaro marutāṁ māna icchata //

O Khanyakhā, o khaimakhā, in the middle o Taduri<sup>44</sup>! appropriate (for yourselves) the rain, o fathers, seek the spirit<sup>555</sup> of the Marut!

vanudhvaṃ: impv. pres. 2nd pl. Ā VIII cl.

*Sāyaṇa:* “prayacchata”

Vedic Web

Rite

<sup>553</sup> Sāyaṇa paraphrases “*amṛtam*” with “*amṛtatva&pdpakam*”, it is not the immortality but rather what leads to it; as to the connection between *amṛta*- and ambrosia, see *Lazzaroni* 1998: 65-80.

<sup>554</sup> These are names of female frogs. During the hymns the beings invoked for bringing the rain are the Marut, Agni, Prajāpati, Parjanya, Varuṇa and, at the end, these female frogs (vss. 14-15).

<sup>555</sup> *mānas-* means “thought” “mind”. *Whitney* (1905: 175) translates it as “favour”, but maybe here is meant the spirit of the Marut, that is needed to get the rain.
IV. “To desire”: a Synchronic Analysis

This hymn is used to get abundant rain.

**AVŚ 5.4.3-4**

5.4.3  āśvatthó devasādanast/rringbelowt/imacronacuteyasyāmitó divi /
tātrām/rringbelowacutetasya cákṣaṇaṃ dev/amacronacuteḥ kūṣṭhamavanvata //

The holy fig tree, seat of the gods, is in the third heaven from here; there the gods appropriated (for themselves) the appearing (the image) of immortality, the kūṣṭha plant.

5.4.4  hiraṇyāyī naúracaraddhíraṇyabandhanā divi /
tātrām/rringbelowacutetasya pūṣyaṃ dev/amacronacuteḥ kūṣṭhamavanvata //

The golden boat with golden bands moved about in the heaven; there the gods appropriated (for themselves) the blossom of immortality, the kūṣṭha plant.

**Vedic Web**

**Mantra:** = AVŚ 6.95.1

**Rite**

This hymn is dedicated to the plant kūṣṭha, that is invoked against a fever (takmān). The plant is described as born in the north, in the mountain and brought down to men. These verses are connected with the divine aspect of the plant, and in this section (st. 3-5) the word “gold” is repeatedly used. In the last part the attention is on the man that has to be healed by the plant.

**AVŚ 5.20.9**

5.20.9  samkrándanaḥ pravadó dhṛṣṭunāsenah pravedakṛdbahudhá grāmaghoṣi /
śrīyo vanvanó vayúnāni vidv/amacronacutenkīrtím bahúbhyo vī bara dvirājé //

Roaring drum, with bold army, making known in many directions, sounding among men, appropriating glory (power), knowing the ways, do distribute the glory to many in the battle of the two kings.

vanvanáḥ: part. pres. nom. m. sing. Ā VIII cl.

**Vedic Web**

**Mantra:** cf. AVP 9.27.9

**Rite**

Hymn to the war drum. This hymn is quoted by Kāuśika Sūtra in a battle rite, for infusing terror.
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into a hostile army and in Vāitāna Sūtra with beating of a drum in a sattra sacrifice.

**AVŚ 6.9.3**

6.9.3 yāsāṃ nābhūr ārēhanaṁ hydi samvānaṁ kṛtāṁ gāvo ghytāṣya mātāro 'mūṃ sām vānayantu me //

Whose navel is a kissing, in whose heart there is the subduing/charming (the mutual fondness), let the cows, mothers of the clarified butter, make her there love me.

sām vānayantu: impv. pres. 3rd pl. of the causative vānaya-

Vedic Web
Mantra: AVP 2.90.4

Rite
To win a woman’s love. The whole hymn is used together with 6.8 to bring a woman under one’s control.

**AVŚ 6.82.1**

6.82.1 āgāchata āgatasya nāma gṛhnāmyāyatāḥ /
indrasya vṛtragno vanve vāsavāsyā satākraṭoh //

I take the name of the arriving, of the arrived, of the one who is coming near; I appropriate for myself (the name) of Indra, the Vṛtra-slayer, the one related to the Vasu, the one with hundred skills.

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

Vedic Web
Mantra: AVP 19.17.4 rajño instead of vanve.

Rite
To obtain a wife. The hymn is used by Kāuśika Sūtra in a kāmya rite by one desiring a wife, and in nuptial ceremonies. It consist in 3 stanzas, and Indra is addressed to assign the wife by means of his golden hook (aṅkuśa).

**AVŚ 6.95.1-2**

6.95.1 aśvatthō devasādanastṛīyasyāmitō divi /

560 ārēhana, Sāyaṇa explains it with āsvādaniyam “something to be enjoyed by tasting”, cf. rib- “to lick, to kiss”.

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`tātram/tasya ca kṣaṇaṃ devāh kūṣṭhamavanvata //
[2] birānyāyī nairacaraddhiranyabandhanā divi /
tātram/tasya puṣpam devāh kūṣṭhamavanvata //

The holy fig tree, seat of the gods, is in the third heaven from here; there the gods appropriated (for themselves) the appearing (the image)\(^{561}\) of immortality, the \(kūṣṭha\) plant.
The golden boat with golden bands moved about in the heaven; there the gods appropriated (for themselves) the blossom of immortality, the \(kūṣṭha\) plant.

2x avanvata: ind. impf. 3\(^{rd}\) pl. Ā VIII cl.

Rite
For relief from disease with \(kūṣṭha\). It is included in the same passage of 5.4, and these two stanzas are exactly the same as 5.4.3-4 except for \(puṣpam\) instead of \(puṣyam\), whereas both words mean “flower, blossom” and the Sanskrit writing in this case could be misleading (as also in 5.4.4, some manuscripts read \(puṣpam\)). In the third and last stanza the plant is addressed as young, as coming from the snowy mountain and it is asked to relieve man from disease.

AVŚ 7.103.1

7.103.1 kō asyā no druhō vadyāvartiyā āṁśeṣati kṣatriyō vāṣya ichān /
kō yajitākāmaḥ kā u pūrtikāmaḥ kō devēṣa vanute dirghāṃ āyuḥ //

Who will lead us out of this disgraceful harm (offence – harmful situation)? the \(kṣatriya\) (the king) seeking after an increasing wealth? who, the one desiring the sacrifice or that desiring the reward, who appropriates a long life-time among the gods?

vanute: ind. pres. 3\(^{rd}\) sing. Ā VIII cl.

Rite
For betterment. Probably a Brahmán seeking employment. \(ātmadaivatam\) (worshipping one’s self – having one’s self as god?).

AVŚ 8.2.13

8.2.13 agnēṣte prāṇaṁmṛtāyyuṣmato vanve jātavedasab /
yāthā nā riṣya aṃṛtāḥ sa祖父ṣastāte kṛṇomi tādu te sāmyādibhātām //

I appropriate (in myself) for you the breath from Agni, the immortal, the long lived, the Jātavedas, so that you may not be hurt and at the same time be immortal, that I make for you, let that be accomplished on your

\(^{561}\) As to the meaning of \(cākṣanaṃ\) in this context, see also RV 1.170.4 \(tatrāṃṭasya cetanam.\)
IV.2 The Atharvaveda: Diastratic Evidences on van- / vani- 

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

WHITNEY 1905: 478 “win” 

Sāyaṇa: yāce (for Sāyaṇa is even not achieved, it is still a asked). It is very clear here that the meaning of van- conveys an idea of passage, rather than a posses, as it is also pointed out by the occurrences in the RV where Agni takes (van-) goods in order to held them down to men.

Vedic Web 
Mantra: AVP 16.4.3.

Rite 
To prolong someone’s life. Together with hymn 8.1 is used in the upanayana ceremony, and vss. 12-13 are specifically prescribed in case of family quarrel. 
The hymn is a pray against death and diseases in a very concrete way (food and drink as poison-less) but still connected with cosmological powers etc.

AVŚ 9.1.14

9.1.14 mádhu janiṣīya mádhu vamsiṣīya / 
páyasvān agna āgamam ām ma sām srī vārcaśā //

May I generate honey, may I appropriate honey; o Agni, I have come here full of milk, mix this me with the splendour (vārcaś).

vamsiṣīya: opt. aor. 1st sing. Ā sigmatic aorist (-sī)

WHITNEY 1905: 520 “may I win” 

Sāyaṇa:∅

Vedic Web 
Mantra: AVP 16.33.4.

Rite 
To the honey-whip (madhumatī kāśā). In Vaitāna Sūtra it accompanies the mixing of soma in the Agniṣṭoma rite. It is reckoned to the varcasya gaṇa. 
The hymn is a description and extoll of the honey-whip that is also compared to an embryo.

AVŚ 12.1.58

12.1.58 yād vādāmi mádhumat tād vādāmi yād īke tād vananti mā / 
tvīśimān asmi jītimān avānīyān hammi dōdbatab //

What I speak, I speak it sweet; what I see, (is) that they desire me; shining I am, being impetuous I smite the others that are violent (fierce).

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

WHITNEY 1905: 671 “win”. He translates the final part of padā b “that they win (? van) me” 

Sāyaṇa:∅

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Mantra: AVP 17.6.5 vadantu instead of vananti.

Rite
To the earth. It is used in ceremony for giving firmness to the building (vastospatya), or for safety from earthquake. The whole hymn is extolling the earth while asking, in the final verses, all kind of goods and protection, especially from enemies.

AVŚ 12.2.36

12.2.36 yáti kṛṣāte yād vanute yāc ca vaśnena vindāte / sārvaṁ mārtyasya tān nāsti kravyāc cēd ānirāhitab //

What one ploughs, what one appropriates and what one finds by paying, all that is not of a mortal if the flesh-eating one is not taken away.

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

Whitney 1905: “wins (van)"

Sāyaṇa:∅

Vedic Web
Mantra: ∅ – AVP has the same hymn (17.33) but this stanza is missing.

Rite
The flesh-eating and the householder’s fire. It is used in ceremony of preparing the house fire. The hymn deals with all the moments of this procedure with much of attention and the author is not extolling the god Agni, but he is rather worried that something may disappoint the fires, the ritual and the non-ritual ones.

AVŚ 12.3.53

12.3.53 varsāṁ vanusvāpi gacha devāṁstvacā dhūmāṁ pāryut pātayāsi / viśvāvyacā ghṛtāpyṣtho bhavisyāṁsāyoniḥlokāniḥ yāhyetām //

Appropriate the rain, also, reach the gods, make the smoke fly up from the hide; you who are going to embrace all562, to have the back shining with ghee, you of the same origin, go up to that world.

vanusva: impv. pres. 2nd sing. Ā VIII cl.

Whitney 1905: 692 “win”

Sāyaṇa:∅

Vedic Web
Mantra: cf. AVP(K.) 17.41.3

Rite
Cremation as sacrifice, sava ceremony. The hymn often refers to two people, Whitney suggests it might be the husband and the wife.

562 viśvāvyacā is usually referred to Aditi, cf. in this hymn st. 12-13. In this stanza the person addressed is probably the corpse, the body of the dead man, that will become as Agni -usually described as ghṛtāpyṣtho- and Aditi. He will go reach the other world and he is sāyoniḥ, that is he has the same origin.
IV.2 The Atharvaveda: Diastratic Evidences on van- / vani-

AVŚ 16.9.4

16.9.4 vasyobhūyāya vāsumān yajñō vāsva vāṃsiṣīya vāsumān bhūyāsaṃ vāsva māyi dhehi //

For the increasing wealth, the sacrifice is rich in goods, may I appropriate goods, may I be rich in goods, put goods in me.

vāṃsiṣīya: opt. aor. 1st sing. Ā sigmatic aorist
WHITNEY 1905: 803 “may I win (van?)
Sāyaṇa:∅

Vedic Web ∅

Rite
Pārśya (a regularly recurring series of formula, especially in the atrātra) the ninth.

AVŚ 20.132.6-7

20.132.6 ugrāṃ vaniṣādātatam //
[7] nā vaniṣadānātatam //

May he desire it\textsuperscript{563} powerful and stretched; may it not desire it un-stretched.

2x vaniṣād: subj. aor. 3\textsuperscript{rd} sing sigmatic aorist
Sāyaṇa:∅

Vedic Web ∅

Rite
The hymns concerns the preparation and use of some instruments, as a lute, a drum and a nest.

Paippalāda occurrences

AVP 1.55.4

1.55.4 mādhumamnāma nīsanām jaghānam mādhumamnāma /
māmit kilā tvam vāvanah sākhān mādhumatimāv //

Full of sweet is my bottom\textsuperscript{564} full of sweet are my hips, may you have desired me indeed as a branch full of

\textsuperscript{563} Scil. kulāya, ‘nest’ which is mentioned in the preceding pāda: kulāyaṃ kṛnavādīti.

\textsuperscript{564} As to the interpretation of the word nīsanām as “the bottom”, it is a conjectural effort to explain this hapax. The conjectural hypothesis is the i.e. root *h₁e₁s₁₁, (see EWAIA: I 181) plus the prefix ni- and the kṛt-suffix -ana, which is used to create denominatives (cf. AiGr: II 2): *ni Hs-ana > *ni Hs-ana (zero grade)> *ni-hs-ana (therefore no cerebralization of the following sibilant and the lengthening of the previous vowel) >
IV. “To desire”: a Synchronic Analysis

sweet.

vāvanaḥ: subj. perf. 2nd sing. I-VI cl.

Vedic Web
Mantra: cf. AVŚ 1.34.4cd vanāḥ instead of vāvanaḥ (K. sām atikṛtvam instead of māmit kila tvam).

Rite
A love-charm.

AVP 2.33.1

2.33.1 ūdhnā vana hydā vana mukhena jīhvayā vana /
prapīnā payasā vana //

Let you desire with the breast, let you desire with the heart, let you desire with the mouth, with the tongue, let you desire with the swollen out / overflowed vital fluid565.

4x vana: impv. pres. 2nd sing. I-VI cl.
ZEHNDER 1999: 92 “liebe”

Vedic Web
∅

Rite
Hymn of love.

AVP 2.90.4

2.90.4 yāsāṃ nābhir ārehaṇam hṛdi samvananam kṛtam gāvo gṛtasya mātaro ‘mūṃ sam vānayantu me //

Whose navel is a kissingā66, in whose heart there is the subduing / charming (the mutual fondness), let the cows, mothers of the clarified butter, make her there love me.

sāṃ vānayantu: impv. pres. 3rd pl. of the causative vānaya-
ZEHNDER 1999: 197 “zugeneigt machen”

Vedic Web
Mantra: AVŚ 6.9.3.

Rite
To win a woman’s love, cf. AVŚ 6.9.3.

nisana, instead of the regular ni.āsana > nyāsana. I owe much of this hypothesis to Rainer Kimmig, who gave me important and decisive suggestions.

565 The etymological pun with the root pryai- involves the verb prapyai- and the derivate noun payas-, the fluid that has swollen up and then has flowed, cf. EWAia: II 83 “Milch, Milchstrom (übertragen auch ‘Saft, Samen, Lebenskraft’ u.a.).”

566 ārehaṇa, Sāyaṇa explains it with āsvādaniyam “something to be enjoyed by tasting”, cf. rib- “to lick, to kiss”.

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IV.2 The Atharvaveda: Diastatic Evidences on van- / vani-

AVP 5.7.8

5.7.8 *apāmagnistanúbhiḥ samvidāno ya oṣadhīnāmadhipā babhūva /
  să no varṣaṃ vanūtāṃ jātavedāḥ prāṇam praṇyayo amṛtām divas pari //

This Agni united with the bodies of the waters who has become the king of the herbs, he, the Jātavedas, should appropriate for us the rain, the breath for the offspring, the immortality\(^{567}\) (amṛta) from the sky.

*vanūtām*: impv. pres. 3rd sing. Ā VIII cl.  
LUROTSKY 2002: 34 “let get”

Vedic Web  
Mantra: AVŚ 4.15.10.

Rite  
Hymn for abundant rain.

AVP 5.37.8

5.37.8 *vanve te putraṃ pari devatābyo anu manyantāṃ marutab prēnimātarab /
  garbhas tu daśamāsyaḥ pra viśatu kumāraṃ jātam pipṛtām\(^{568}\) upasthe //

“I appropriate for myself a son from the divinities, let the Marut, sons of Prśni, approve; let the embryo of ten months enter into you, let these two protect the child born in the lap.””

*vanve*: ind. pres. 1st sing. Ā VIII cl.  
LUROTSKY 2002: 133 “ask”

Vedic Web  
∅

Rite  
Hymn for the birth of a son.

AVP 7.15.5

7.15.5 *annena prāṇam vanute tiro dhatte paridhānena yakṣamam /
  hinayamāvām gām dadat kṛnute varma daksinām //

He appropriates for himself the breath by means of the food, he removes the sickness by means of the garment, may he grant-pay (granting) a cow, a golden horse, he makes for himself the ritual fee (daksinā) a shelter.

*vanute*: ind. pres. 3rd sing. Ā VIII cl.  
GRIFFITHS 2009: 406 “gains”

567 Sāyaṇa paraphrases “amṛtam” with “amṛtatvapṛāpakam”, it is not the immortality but rather what leads to it; as to the connection between *amṛta*- and ambrosia, see LAZZERONE 1998: 65-80.  
568 *pipṛtām*, impv. pres. 3rd du. (K. reads *pipṛtāt*) since *pp-* is always active, it may refer to Agni and Prajāpati or to Aditi and Prajāpati who are mentioned in the preceding verses.

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IV. “To desire”: a Synchronic Analysis

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∅

AVP 9.27.9

9.27.9 samkrandanaḥ pravedo dhṛṣṇesenah pravedakiṛdhabudhā grāmaloṣi / šreyo vanavano vayunāmi vidvānirītīm bahuḥro vi bhaja dvīraie //

Roaring drum\(^{569}\), with bold army, making known in many directions, sounding among men, appropriating the better position, knowing the ways\(^{570}\), do distribute\(^{571}\) the glory to many in the battle of the two kings.

vanavaḥ: part. pres. nom. m. sing. Ā VIII cl.

Vedic Web
Mantra: cf. AVŚ 5.20.9

AVP 16.4.3

16.4.3 agneṣte prānamamṛtādaṣtāt manave jātavedasab / yathā na riṣyā amṛtab sajūrasastatte kṣnomi tadu te samādyatām //

I comprehend for you the breath from Agni, the immortal, the long lived, the Jātavedas, so that you may not be hurt and at the same time be immortal, that I make for you, let that be accomplished on your behalf.

K. reads vanave instead of manave.
AVŚ reads vavne.

Vedic Web
Mantra: AVŚ 8.2.13.

AVP 16.33.4

16.33.4 madhu janiṣīya madhu mamsiṣīya / payasvānagna āgamam tam mā sam sṛja varcasā //

May I generate honey, may I perceive honey; o Agni, I have come here full of milk, mix this me with the splendour (\(\text{varcas-}\)).

AVŚ reads vamsiṣīya instead of mamsiṣīya.

Vedic Web
Mantra: AVŚ 9.1.14

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569 pravedo, wrong reading for pravad-\(_{\text{\`a}}\), PW: “einen Laut von sich gebend: Trommel.”
570 For vayunā- as “path” but also “way, art” see Pischel in PISCHEL-GELDNER (1889-1901: I 295-308) 297 “die Arten des Kampfes”, and EWAIa: II 510.
571 vi bhaja, impv. pres. 2\(^{\text{nd}}\) sing. is referred to the drum mentioned in the first part within a metonymy for the fighting armies.

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IV.2 The Atharvaveda: Diastatic Evidences on van- / vani-

AVP(K.) 17.41.3

17.41.3 va\rṣam vani\vsāpi gaccha devāṃs tato dhūmāṃ pari utpātayāmi / vi\vsāvya\vcā vi\vsākarma svargas sayonīm lokam upa yāh etam //

Appropriate the rain, also, reach the gods, make the smoke fly up from here; you embracing all\textsuperscript{572}, accomplishing everything, going to heaven, you of the same origin, go up to that world.

AVŚ reads \textit{vanuṣva} (impr. pres. 2\textsuperscript{nd} sing. Ā VIIIcl.) instead of \textit{vaniṣva}. Barret reads \textit{vaniṣva} (ind. aor. 1\textsuperscript{st} du. -iṣ aorist). The original śarada manuscript reads \textit{vanuṣvāpi} [f227b].

Vedic Web
Mantra: cf. AVŚ 12.3.53

AVP(K.) 19.26.5

19.26.5 vanuṣva vi\vsādevesu vanuṣva tvāṃ vṝbpsataũ / ghṛ\ntena pra\jāṁ vanuṭe ghṛ\ntena rayim aṣnute //

Appropriate among all the gods, appropriate among Bṛhaspati,\textsuperscript{573} you, he appropriates the offspring through the clarified butter, he obtains the richness with the clarified butter.

2x \textit{vanuṣva}: impr. pres. 2\textsuperscript{nd} sing. Ā VIII cl.

\textit{vanuṭe}, ind. pres. 3\textsuperscript{rd} sing. Ā VIII cl.

Vedic Web
∅

AVP(K.) 19.26.6

19.26.6 ghṛ\ntena\yusyam varcasyam devebhyo vanuṭe pari / parjanyah pippalam tūṣyān nadyo garbham seastaye //

With the clarified butter he appropriates what gives a long life and the vital power, may the rain-cloud satisfy Pippala, offspring of the river, for a good fortune.

\textit{vanuṭe}: ind. pres. 3\textsuperscript{rd} sing. Ā VIII cl.

Vedic Web
∅

AVP(K.) 19.26.10

19.26.10 indrasya prathamam vaco devānām aparām vacaḥ / tṛtiyāṃ aśvinor vacas tena gāṃ vānayāmasi //

The first speech is that of Indra, later the speech of the gods, third the speech of the Aśvin, with this we make the cow/you (if along Barret we read \textit{tvam} (Agni) instead of \textit{gāṃ} ) desirous.

\textsuperscript{572} vi\vsāvya\vcā is usually referred to Aditi, cf. AVŚ 12.3.12-13. In this stanza the person addressed is probably the corpse, see note to AVŚ 12.3.53.

\textsuperscript{573} vṝbpsataũ wrong writing for bhṝbpsataũ.
IV. “To desire”: a Synchronic Analysis

vānayāmasi: ind. pres. 1st pl. of the causative vānaya-


Vedic Web
∅

AVP(K.) 20.3.5

20.3.5 ko no asya druho avadyavatā umnesyatī ksatriyo vasya icchan /
kaś pūrtikāmaś ko u yajjakāmaś ko deveśu vanute dirgham āyuḥ //

Who will lead us out of this disgraceful harm (offence – harmful situation)? The ksatriya (the king) seeking after an increasing wealth? Who, the one desiring the reward or that desiring the sacrifice, who appropriates for himself a long life-time among the gods?

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

Vedic Web
Mantra: AVŚ 7.103.1

AVP(K.) 20.24.4

20.24.4 indras tvāgre vānayat savitā tvā tato ‘parab / tṛtiyam aśvinā tvāgre vamsatāb //

Let Indra first make you desirous, then Savitṛ later, third the Aśvin may appropriate you.

vānayat: inj. pres. 3rd sing. of the causative vānaya-
vamsatāb, subj. root aor. 3rd du.

Vedic Web
∅

AVP(K.) 20.61.11

20.61.11 śālālā tvaṃ saṃvananaṃ vanād vananam ādytam / yena gayo gandharvo ‘psarasām samavānayat /
tenāham amūm iha vā nayāmy ā mṛtyor ā parāvataḥ //

You the house (?), may he appropriate the attentive desire causing mutual fondness, with which the gandharva Gaya made the apsaras love, with that I lead her here from the death, from the distance (or : from the distance of death).

vanād: subj. pres. 3rd sing. I-VI cl.

samavānayat, ind. impf. 3rd sing of the causative vānaya-
samvanananam, acc. sing. neu. of samvanana-, adj. “propitiating, causing mutual fondness” cf. sam-vānaya-
vananam, acc. neu. sing. of vana n. (Nir. .. ) there is vananā f. “wish, desire” (RV 9.86.40)

Vedic Web

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IV.2.2 Analysis of the Atharvaveda Occurrences

In the first place, we may notice that, unlike all other post-Rgvedic texts, there are few Rgvedic quotations among the occurrences of van- / vani- in the Atharvaveda Samhitās. This is not surprising as long as we bear in mind that the fourth Veda doesn’t belong to the same tradition as the others, as mentioned before. Nonetheless, we can again find the verb used to convey the idea of a possession as in AVŚ 16.9.4 which is very similar to many Rgvedic attestations:

AVŚ 16.9.4 ivasbhiyāyā vásumān yajñō vásu vaṃsiṣīya vásumān bhūyāsaṃ vásu máyi dhehi //

For the increasing wealth, the sacrifice is rich in goods, may I appropriate goods, may I be rich in goods, put goods in me.

On the other side, here the verb is also deployed within the semantic field of “to love, to desire” and the appropriation, in many cases, seems to be almost connected with a “love-conquest”. If we systematically consider the attestations of the verb, we may outline three types of occurrences: firstly, those where the meaning is still “to appropriate”, like the previous example or -a frequent case- those where the object is the rain (AVŚ 4.15.10 = AVP 5.7.8; AVŚ 4.15.15; 12.3.53; AVP 17.41.3), and this is an object we have already seen in the liturgical texts. Secondly, a group of occurrences that leaves room for speculating, because in these cases is not easy to settle for “to appropriate”, and the meaning of the verb seems to shift to the idea of sharing or granting. It is worth noticing that we already noticed a similar development in the post-Rgvedic occurrences:

AVŚ 7.103.1  kó asyā no druhó 'vadyāvatyā īmesyati ksatriyo váśya ichān /
kó yajñākāmāh kā u pūrtikāmāh kó devēsū vanite dirghām āyub //

“Who will lead us out of this disgraceful harm (offence – harmful situation)? the ksatriya (the king) seeking after an increasing wealth? who, the one desiring the sacrifice or that desiring the reward, who appropriates a long life-time among the gods?”

The hymn AVŚ 7.103 is for improving one’s own condition and is probably referring to a Brahmā, hence we may think that he wouldn’t simply appropriate a long life-time but rather appropriate and grant it to his patron, that is to share it; the stanza AVP 19.26.6 conveys a similar idea. Finally, we can spot a third group where “to desire” seems to be just the meaning intended. The stanza AVŚ 6.82.1 may not be considered a positive example, but the syntactical construction of the pāda c seems to point to a different interpretation of van- / vani- other than “to appropriate”:

AVŚ 6.82.1 āgáchata āgatasya nāma gṛhāmyāyatāḥ /
indrasya vṛtraṅghō vanve vāsavāsya sātākratōh //

I take the name of the arriving, of the arrived, of the one who is coming near; I appropriate for myself (the name) of Indra, the Vṛtra-slayer, the one related to the Vasu, the one with hundred skills.
IV. “To desire”: a Synchronic Analysis

Here the verb takes the genitive of the object, and Whitney noticed that this verb has never been used that way; it is of course possible to settle for inserting nāma from the pāda a. On the other side, we may explain this construction in analogy with that of desiderative verbs, often accompanied by the genitive. The meaning of the pāda could thus be “I desire for me Indra, the Vṛtra-slayer”. There is only one other occurrences where van- / vani- takes the genitive, in AVŚ 6.126.1, but this stanza is a Rigvedic quotation and RV 6.47.29 reads manutāṃ instead of vanvatām, it is thus difficult to settle for maintaining the reading of the text, being the interchange between -v- and -m- an old Indo-Iranian phenomenon that occurs especially with the two roots van- and man- and their derivatives already in the Rgveda Samhitā754.

6.126.1 sípa śvasaya prthivimutā dyām puruatā te vanvatāṃ viṣhitam jāyat / sā dundubbe sajūrindrena devārdāddāviyo āpa sedha śārīrṇ //

Fill with roaring the earth and the heaven, let the creatures scattered in many places “appropriate” for you / of you; o drum, o you, at the same time together with Indra and the gods, drive away the enemies, farther than far.

Much more revealing is the stanza AVP 2.33.1, a hymn of love.

2.33.1 ādbhnā vana hṛdā vana mukhena jihvayā vana / prapīnā payasā vana //

Let you desire with the breast, let you desire with the heart, let you desire with the mouth, with the tongue, let you desire with the swollen out / overflowed vital fluid.

The same use of van- / vani- is to be found also elsewhere, e.g. in AVŚ 1.34.4 and in AVP 1.55.4 where is deployed in a love charm, and the request in the second half of the stanza goes as follows: māmit kila tvam vāvanāb sākhām madhumatimiva “full of sweet are my hips, may you have desired me indeed as a branch full of sweet”. As a further development of this semantic field, we can see the use of a causative form that emerges only in the Atharvaveda. The verb, often connected with the noun-adj. samvānana-, clearly conveys the idea “to make desirous”, and we find it also as sam-vānaya-

20.61.11 śālālā tvam samvānanam vanād vānumam ādṛtām / yena gayo gandharvo ‘psarasāṃ samavānayat / tenāham amīm iha vā nayāmy añē myyor ā parāvataḥ //

You the house (?), may he appropriate the attentive desire causing mutual fondness, with which the gandharva Gaya made the apsaras love, with that I lead her here from the death, from the distance (or : from the distance of death).

We may go on speculating and consider if the verb, together with the prefix sam, could even have a “perfective” meaning, that is “to make (s.o.) love”. It is worth noticing that sam-van- is used in two occurrences out of four (in 19.26.10 and 20.24.4 we find vānayāmasi and vānayat), while throughout the Rgveda Samhitā the verb occurs with the prefix sam only once in 5.7.3, where it conveys the idea of the complete fulfilment of the action. In the following stanza, it is also clear that the aim is to get a woman’s love and the semantic context is that of desire, expressed also by the noun samvānana-

6.9.3 yāsāṃ nābhīr āreṇānāṃ hrdi samvānanam kṛtām gāvo ghṛtasya mātāro ‘mīṃ sām vānayantu me //

Whose navel is a kissing, in whose heart there is the subduing/charming (the mutual fondness), let the cows, mothers of the clarified butter, make her there love me.

574 See GRIFFITHS 2009: 139.
IV.2 The Atharvaveda: Diastratic Evidences on van- / vanī-

Moreover, if we take into consideration the hymn AVŚ 6.9 (= AVP 2.90.2-4) we also find another derivative of van- / vanī- which is quite interesting, namely vāñch-, a verbal derivative whose meaning is clearly “to wish” “to desire”\(^575\). This verb occurs almost only in the texts of the Atharvaveda school, for we find it only once in RV 10.173.1, where the verb already conveys the same idea we will meet in the Atharvavedic passages:

10.173.1 ā tuḥbāraṣam antār
edhi dhruvaś tiṣṭhāvicaṭāḥ
viśaś tvā sārvā vānchantu
mā tvād rāṣṭrām ādhi bhraśat

I fetched you, be among [us], stand unchangeable and firm, let all the tribes desire you, may the kingdom never abandon you.

The same stanza is then quoted, with different degrees of manipulation, in TS 4.2.1.4; 5.2.1.4; MS 2.7.8; KS 16.8; 19.11; KpŚ 31.1 as well as in VS 12.11 and SB 6.7.3.7, all concerning the preparation of the fire ground and the placing of the fire in the pan on the throne during the Agnicayana. While in KS 37.9; AVŚ 4.8.4 and in TB 2.7.15.4 the stanza is used to accompany the consecration of the king (cf. PROFERES 2007: 124). The corresponding AVP 4.2.5, and AVP 4.27.4, have āyatū instead of vāñchantū. AVŚ 6.87.1; KS 35.7; KpŚ 48.9 and TB 2.4.2.8 are also connected with kingship, and the first three stanzas of RV 10.173 are indeed used to establish one's sovereignty.

We find the same royal context outlined above in the liturgical use of the Rgvedic stanza also in AVP 10.26.6-7:

AVP 10.26.6-7 tubhyam sam yantu valayastubhyam śulkaḥ pra vīyatām / tubhyam virāt payo dubām tvām vāñchantū viso māhī / 6 vāñchatu tvā bhādvaśtram tvām mukha āhītā / tvām devānām bhava priyaśtvayi gāvo adhi śritāḥ // 7

6. Let the gifts arrive to you, let the price be strived after (pravīyatām) for you, let the vital power of the milking ones shine forth for you, let the tribes, the earth desire you. 7. Let a wide kingdom desire you, let the vehemence be placed in your mouth, be the dear among gods, let the cows be attached to you.

Except for the quotations of the Rgvedic stanza, we find the verb vāñch- outside the Atharvaveda tradition only in KauB 25.15. This passage concerns the Agniṣṭoma, and in particular the one-day soma sacrifice viśajit.

25.15 vatsachāvīṃ paridadhīta riricāna iva vā etasyā ātmā bhavati yaḥ sarvāṃ vatsaṃ vai paśavo vāñchanti punamā paśavo vāñchāniti

May he wear the skin of a calf, and emptied, as it were, becomes the Self of the one who gives everything ‘The cattle desire the calf, further may the cattle desire me’.

Here the verb is used within the ritual procedure, as part of a yajus that the sacrificer has to think while wearing the calf's skin. Both in this occurrence as in the previous ones, though the context is not that of love or physical desire, nonetheless the verb conveys the idea of a tension, a kind of attraction which will link the king to his kingdom or the sacrificer to the cattle. The context of next passages is a different one; let us start with the hymn AVŚ 6.9\(^576\).

575 See PW: 901 “begehren, wünschen, lieben, mögen” as well as EWĀia II 501.
576 Cf. AVP 2.90.2-4: vāñcha me pādau tavaṃ vāñcha saktisyau vāñcha saktisyau vyāsyataṃ keśā oṣṭhau mām te kāmāṃ śuyatām // 2 mayi tvā dosaniśīlam kṛnomi hydayaśīlam / yathā māmā kratūvāso māmāṣcedasidapi // 3 yāsāṃ nabhīrāreśanām hydi sampanamanā kṛtam gāvo ghyāsya mātaro ‘māṃ sam
IV. “To desire”: a Synchronic Analysis

6.9 váñcha me tawām pādau váñchākṣyaù váñcha saktlyai /lakṣyaù vṛṣṭyántyāḥ kéśā mām te kāmena śuṣyantu // 1
māma tvā dosanaśrīsām kṛṣṭī hydyaśrīsām / yathā māma krātv āso māma cittām upāyasī // 2
yāsām nābhir ārēhanām hyaṃ samvānano mītam gāvo ghṛtasya mātāro ’mūṃ sām vānayantu me // 3

1. Desire the body of me, desire the feet, desire the eyes, the thigh; let the eyes and the hairs of you lusting dry up with love. 2. I make you clasp to my forearm, to my heart; so that you may be in my power, that you may fall into my intention. 3. Whose navel is a kissing, in whose heart there is the subduing / charming (the mutual fondness), let the cows, mothers of the clarified butter, make her there love me.

This hymn is used to win a woman’s love: the expressions are all very physical and point to the importance of “kindling” the desire, which will enable the man to have the woman in his power, and in fact the word samvānana conveys this tension, which is invoked three times at the very beginning through the verb váñch-: this seems to confirm the hypothesis that here the root van- / vani- is mainly connected with the idea of desire, concerning both its nominal and verbal derivatives. The hymn 2.33 belongs to the same context; it is a hymn to love, and here again the same stanza as in 6.9.1 occurs in 2.33.2, while in the first verse of the hymn we again find van-.

AVP 2.33.1 údhnā vana hṛdā vana mukhena jihvayā vana / prapīnā payasā vana // 1
vāñcha pado vāñcha tevačam / vāñchākṣyaù váñcha saktlyai /vatsamanu pra te mano nimnaṃ vāriva dhāvatu // 2

1. Do love with the breast, do love with the heart, do love with the mouth, with the tongue, do love with the overflowed vital fluid. 2. Desire [my] feet, desire [my] skin, desire [my] thigh; let your spirit run after [me] the calf like the water in the hollow.

It is worth noting that in most of the occurrences this verb appears together with van- / vani- or with another derivative of the verb, linking the primary verbal root and its cognates within the semantic field of desire. If we take the points we made with regard to the Atharvaveda occurrences in conjunction with the uses of the verb váñch-, we may go on to conjecture that the meaning of the verb van- / vani- “to desire” was not only present in the Atharvaveda, but was in fact a rather strong feature of its semantic field. Additionally, we have seen that, among the derivatives of van- / vani-, the attestations showing a possible link to this meaning are to be found once again in the Atharvaveda texts. To sum up, we may set that in fact it is just in the Atharvaveda that we can clearly spot the meaning “to desire” and reckon it as positive meaning of the verb van- / vani-, which is though still conveying the idea of possession and also that of sharing. It is then worth noticing that “to desire” does not rule out the other meanings of the verb, but is rather coincident. If we consider this and the peculiar position of the Atharvaveda, e.g. its manifold chronological strata, we may conclude that “to desire” and “to appropriate” are to be considered as a concurrent meanings, with a different development.

vānayantu me // 4
577 vṛṣṭya- EWAia: II 577 “brünstig sein”.
578 mām can be also translated together with kāmena “through loving me” cf. Whitney 1888: § 272.
579 Here the call is the men speaking, as also confirmed by the parallel RV 10.145.6c-e mām ānu pra te māno vatsāṃ gair iva dhāvatu pathā vār iva dhāvatu.
580 In this section all the occurrences of the verb váñch- have been taken into account except for AVP(K.) 20.23.4 eṣa te agne vatsa tam vāñchas tam satyam agnim vrūmaḥ. Its meaning is quite unclear and does not seem to add any interesting information to the analysis.
V. Conclusions

V.1 Diachronic Analysis: A ritual Development

The research has focused on the uses of the verbal root *van- / vanি- throughout the Samhitās and Brāhmaṇas. I set out to investigate the semantic changes within the first steps of the Vedic ritual language, and I chose a verb that, given its own semantic duplicity already at an Indo-European level, would provide us with an interesting complexity.

With regard to the question we first addressed, about the possibility of reading two different forms (*yen / *yen-H) endowed with two different meanings, on the evidence of the analysis of the occurrences within the Vedic texts the outcome of the verbal root and its derivatives do not show any such symmetry between pseudo-morphologising phonetics and semantics. As we have already said, we may conclude that it hardly appears appropriate to establish a biunique correspondence between the two meanings – or the different senses which the Sanskrit shows – and the morphological alternation. The presence of the laryngeal, which is transparent from an Indo-European point of view, does not seem to imply a semantic value: there is an alternation, which cannot be seen as arbitrary or random, and which could – according to some authors – have its own distinctive role. The shortcoming of occurrences where the presences of a laryngeal is beyond doubts makes any conclusive statement rather elusive. As to the Rgvedic and post Rgvedic liturgical texts we shall speculate a coalescence of the reconstructed I.E. verbal root, assuming a hiatus between the two I.E. forms and the Vedic outcome.

Moreover, through a functional analysis of the Rgvedic attestations we charted two usages of the verb. In most of the occurrences of the Rgveda Samhitā *van- / vanि- shows different nuances of a single nuclear meaning “to appropriate”, that has to be understood differently according to the various contexts. We proposed three main context-bound variants of the nuclear meaning, namely “to possess” “to win / to conquer” and “to appropriate” on behalf of someone, the last one implying a further act of sharing. On the other side, a ritual value is attached to the verb when the action is bound to an actual moment of the sacrifice and conveys the idea of letting some one enter in the sacrificial area; this second aspect of the verb entails the one most basic aspect of the Vedic culture, namely the sacrifice.

In the post-Rgvedic Samhitās and Brāhmaṇas the verb hardly keeps its ritual value; it is rather employed to express the idea of a possessing, or an appropriation and even a sharing, as a further development of the idea of transference and exchange, in any case no longer involving a ritual exchange. Indeed, the non-RV occurrences besides showing the absence of the ritual meaning, they witness the shift of the verb toward an “extreme” sharing, which will result in a giving, as it is also hinted at by the commentators who gloss the verb with dā- “to give” or sambha- “to grant” “to distribute”. The idea of possessing is almost completely lost (as we will also see in the Atharvavedic and classic Sanskrit occurrences). The different uses which *van- / vanि- undergoes, can be traced back to a change in the perception of the rite. In fact, the model and purpose of the Vedic ritual is to produce an epiphany, to bring the gods to the humans’ ritual ground in order to partake of the oblations and to satisfy the requests. Nevertheless, the Rgvedic and post Rgvedic passages present us with a different scenarios; in the Rgveda Samhitā the verb *van- / vanि- is often used at the moment of evoking the gods an its ritual meaning is deeply connected with the semantic field of inspiration, that is with the supremely important skill to have the presence of gods. Indeed, within the hymns, the semantic field of inspiration is very frequent (see, e.g., the presence of words like dhī or vipas), and the topos of getting the inspiration, the “inspired chant”, can be reckoned as one of the central subjects of the first
V. Conclusions

On the other side, in the later texts, the action of having the gods enter the circle of sacrifice no longer represents an important stage in the sacrifice. Due to a “standardisation” of the procedure of the rite itself, it is then necessary to be in command of the sacrificial result and to be able to guarantee its success, therefore the uncertainty that the idea of inspiration entails could no longer play a major role. Within this development, whatever was connected with the semantic area of the poetic inspiration would also be fading out. The sacrifice of the post-Rgvedic period had to be predictable, and every step, provided that is performed as prescribed, should bring the same result, while the action of evoking entails the possibility of failure. The inspiration and the skills of a single individual cannot play anymore a significant role within the whole process. Finally, we may consider the ritual development, or in other words the development of the verb in the compositions of the Brahmanical part of Vedic corpus, as a “path” where van- / van- loses the concrete ritual aspect and the functional meanings we detected in the Rgvedasāṁhitā, whereas the strong need for a precise specialist vocabulary drove the word towards the idea of sharing which can be conceived as a development of the idea of “passage” that we saw as a potentiality of the nuclear meaning.

V.2 Diastratic Analysis: A Social Counterpart?

The semantic field of desire, though it could be arguably considered as absent in the Rgvedic occurrences of the verb, is attested at the Indo-European level and in the Atharvavedic tradition. The hypothesis that this work has presented is that the two linguistic traditions have survived independently one from the other: the one that came down to us through the Rgveda Sāṁhitā and the other one that is partially recorded in the Atharvedic sources. In the latter the meaning to desire is clearly present, while in the first one has almost disappeared. Nevertheless the linguistic tradition fragmentary attested in the Atharveda texts might date back to the I.E. period and it is plausible to suppose that it has continued –although we have but scanty attestations of it – later on through the Vedic period up to the moment when Sanskrit appears. The shift in meaning between the two groups of texts is not a development to be caught within a diachronic perspective alone, but rather as a differentiation/dissimilation that takes place on a social level, a synchronic polysemy to be analysed with a diastratic frame of reference. As we have seen, in the Atharvaveda occurrences the semantic field of desire plays a relevant role: this meaning, given in the etymological Lexicon for the Indo-European reconstructed root *gen / *gen-IH, occurs in all the other textual evidences only as a secondary development among the derivatives, but in fact the Atharvaveda setting is quite different. As it is evident from the attestations, in this tradition the meaning “to desire” “to love” is a primary one.

It would then be possible to speculate that what we see in the Atharvaveda occurrences is a social counterpart of the ritual meaning eventually lost in the Brāhmaṇas. Hints, traces, of this are to be found, as we have seen, also in the noun derivative, both in the post-Rgvedic occurrences as well as in the Rgvedasāṁhitā itself. Nonetheless it is precisely only in the fourth Veda that we are confronted with so many cases where the verb van- is positively pointing to the value “to desire” “to love”. With regard to the relevant social features of the substratum of the Atharvavedic texts as a different one from that of the so called Brahmanical tradition, there is not much to be disputed, whereas we are unable to describe the non-Brahmanical elements that affected these texts with any precision, and a clear picture of that substratum is far from being traced out. In addition, the extant Atharvaveda texts contain variegated material partially hailing
V.2 Diastratic Analysis: A Social Counterpart?

from elder strata of the Indo-Aryan waves of migrations.581

Within this broad picture, we can settle on an interpretation of the semantic differentiation following a pattern that could be “that which I have enter my circle, I make mine” / “that which is good” > “that which is desirable, the good which I stretch out to”, not really as a diachronic development, but rather as the different outcomes of two concurrent meanings. One spreads in the Rgveda Samhitā and in the liturgical texts, leaving no room for the other which is, instead, positively present in the Atharvaveda together with the first one. In this analysis it is worth noting that in the post-Rgvedic Samhitās and Brāhmaṇas the school where we find the highest number of occurrences of van- / vani- is the Atharvaveda one. Moreover, among the liturgical texts the Rgvedic quotations account for the majority of the occurrences, while the opposite situation is to be seen in the Atharvaveda. This could suggest, as already mentioned, that the nuclear meaning, and even more the ritual meaning, which were alive in the Rgvedic period, fade away in the Brahmanical period, i.e. when the redactional enterprise to create a common rite took place, while the meaning “to desire” which was at the very outset not connected with this part of the society, escaped, as it were, this vanishing process. In conclusion, we may say that the analysis of the texts where the meaning “to desire” occurs sheds light on the different strata of Vedic society and seems to suggest that this sense does not represent a secondary development of the idea of appropriating, but is rather a concurrent meaning which might have been widespread among a group or groups other than the sacerdotal – Brahmanical class, and which were clearly part of the Vedic society, though perhaps not belonging to the same wave of migrations as that of the Rgvedic one.

To sum up, we started, at the Indo-European level with two possible meanings “to desire” “to win” and we decided to replace this opposition with the nuclear meaning ‘to appropriate’ – ‘to make one’s own’; besides this meaning we also detected a ritual meaning, and we followed its development within the liturgical texts of the Yajurveda school in particular. Throughout this analysis the meaning “to desire” was totally absent, except for few derivatives. The Atharvaveda occurrences prove the meaning “to desire” not to be a secondary derivation of the nuclear meaning, but rather a concurrent meaning that develops beside the other. The examination of the root van- / vani- furnished us with a deeper understanding of the perception of ritual within the passages between the Rgveda Samhitā, the first Yajurveda Samhitās and the later Brāhmaṇas; on the top of it, has provided important elements on the strong presence within the Vedic society of what may be called “heterodox” groups leaving their traces within the texts. The present work has only analysed a portion of the Vedic corpus, but it could be meaningful to enlarge the research, not only going further and surveying the Śrauta Sūtra manuals, but also going “back”, that is to concentrate on the Indo-European level. Considering the frequency of the laryngeal form (cf. §5.1.2), it could be interesting to investigate the occurrences of the verbal root in the other Indo-European languages focusing on the percentage of the form *yaen-H. In the Vedic corpus it’s not possible to detect a sharp semantic division between van- and vani-, nonetheless, the outcomes of the laryngeal form seem to increase in the later verbal and nominal derivatives. Analysing the extant outcomes of the Indo-European root under this perspective may lead to discover if there is any kind of significant division in the usage of *yaen and *yaen-H at a earlier level of the language. With regard to the semantic shift we outlined for the ritual meaning, between the Rgveda Samhitā and Brāhmaṇas, it is worth underling once more that the shift took place within a change in the perception of the rite that especially involved the role of inspiration. A wide survey of other terms belonging to the semantic area of inspiration would also be very important. Finally, the heterodox elements within the Atharvaveda tradition are an important

581 As to the chronologically and socially variegated components of the Atharvaveda Samhitās, see above §IV.2.
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field of research that still need to be investigated -when it comes to the data, and that can shed a light on those parts of the Vedic society which didn’t belong to the Brahmical group.

In the effort to have a clearer idea of the different usages of the verbal root \( \text{van-} / \text{vani-} \) and its developments, we try to represent them all in a scheme, and thus attempt to resume the intricate avenues of this work in one and the same draw to be used as a map of the labyrinth, which forms, as always, at the end.
VI. Appendix

VI.1 Tables

VI.1.1 Laryngeal and non-laryngeal attestations of the verb in the *Rgveda Saṃhitā*

**a- Laryngeal**

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<th>Verbal form</th>
<th>pāda</th>
<th>translation Geldner-Renou</th>
<th>I.E. root</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Indicative</strong></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><em>vananti</em> (ind. pres. 3&lt;sup&gt;rd&lt;/sup&gt; pl. I-VI cl.)</td>
<td>6.6.3d *vānā *vananti ḍhrṣatā rujántaḥ</td>
<td>überwinden triomphent</td>
<td>*ṭṝn-H-e-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>vanate</em> (ind. pres. 3&lt;sup&gt;rd&lt;/sup&gt; sing. Ā I-VI cl.)</td>
<td>5.65.1d <em>mitrō</em> vā vānate girāḥ</td>
<td>gut auf nehmen aimée</td>
<td>*ṭṝn-H-e-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5.65.4b <em>kṣāyāya</em> gātūṃ vanate</td>
<td>gewinnt gagne</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6.38.1d <em>jānasya</em> rātīṃ vanate sudāṃub</td>
<td>begehrt</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10.53.11d <em>(abhī)</em> siṣāsānir vanate kārā ō jītim</td>
<td>pflegt den Sieg zu erringenagnera</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5.41.17c ā devāso vanate mártiyo vah</td>
<td>gewinnt gagner</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6.15.6d-e devō devēṣu vānate bi vāriyam devō devēṣu vānate bi no dúvah (=-&lt;c&gt; √upa vo girbhīr amītam vitāṣata&lt;/c&gt;)</td>
<td>gewinnt gagne</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6 20.9a sā śūm spṛ́ḍbo vanate āpratīto</td>
<td>überwinden</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>
## VI. Appendix

| 6.25.4a | śūro vā śūram vanate sārirais | überwindet |
| 3.19.1d | rāyē vājāya vanate maghāni | erwirkt |
| vanase (ind. pres. 2nd sing. Ā I-VI cl.) | 1.140.11d tēnāsmābhyaṃ vanase rātnam ā tuvām | gewinnst |
| vanāmahe (ind. pres. 1st pl. Ā I-VI cl.) | 5.7.3a sāṃ yād iṣo vānāmahe | zusammen bringen |
| vanatho (ind. perf. 3rd sing.) | 6.23.5a āsmai vayāṃ yād vāvāna āṣāṃ vāvāna | verdient hat (guadagnare) |
| Subjunctive | 7.15.4c vās梵ah kuviḥ vanati nabh | erwirken |
| vanāmahe (ind. pres. 1st pl. Ā I-VI cl.) | 9.101.9d rayāṃ yēna vānāmahe | Sieger sein werden |

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### VI.1 Tables

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<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Inflection</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Syllable Marking</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| **vánāva**  
(subj. pres. 1st du. I-VI cl.) | 10.98.3c yáyá vrśtím śāmtanave vánāva | können gewinnen | * ṣeH- |
| **Imperative** | | | |
| **vánatam**  
(impv. pres. 2nd du. I-VI cl.) | 1.3.2c dhīṣṇiyā vánatam girah  
7.94.2b indrāgni vánatam girah  
1.93.9b sāhūti vanatam girah | nehmet gut auf  
nehmet gut auf  
gagnez (a votre cause)  
nehmet gut auf trouvez agréable | * ṣeH- |
| **vanata**  
(impv. pres. 2nd pl. I-VI cl.) | 8.7.9c (vanatā metri causa) imām me vanatā hāvam | nehmet gut auf agréer | * ṣeH- |
| **vanatām**  
(impv. pres. 3rd sing. Ā I-VI cl.) | 1.162.22d kṣatrām no áśvo vanatāṃ haviṣmān | soll erringen | * ṣeH- |
| **vāvandhi**  
(impv. perf. 2nd sing.) | 5.31.13c vāvandhi yājyūmr utá téṣu dhehi | begünstige | * ṣe- ṣónH/ ṣuH- (?-?) |
| **Injunctive** | | | |
| **vanab**  
(inj. pres. 2nd sing. I-VI cl.) | 8.45.23c mákām brahmadviṣo vanab | vorziehen n’attire pas à toi | * ṣe-H- |

### b- Non-Laryngeal

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Indicative</th>
<th>Injunctive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| **vanve**  
(ind. pres. 1st sing. A VIII cl.) | 10.96.1b prā te vanve vanūṣo haryatām mādam | habe Gewinn | * ṣe- nēu / nu- |
<p>| <strong>vanōsi</strong> | 1.31.13d kīrēś cin māntram | begehrt | * ṣe- nēu / |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(ind. pres. 2nd sing. VIII cl.)</th>
<th>mánasā vanóṣi tám</th>
<th>gagne en ton cor</th>
<th>nu-</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.31.14b spārhāṃ yād rékṇaḥ paramāṃ vanóṣi tát</td>
<td></td>
<td>gewinnst gagne</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vanóti (ind. pres. 3rd sing. VIII cl.)</td>
<td>1.133.7a vanóti hi sunván ksāyam pārīṇasah</td>
<td>gewinnt gagne</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.23.10a rām yemānā rām id vanoti</td>
<td></td>
<td>hat Gewinn von der Wahrheit</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.105.5c vanóti śīprābyāḥ śīprīṇīvān</td>
<td></td>
<td>verlangt</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
| vanuthāḥ (ind. pres. 2nd du. VIII cl.) | 2.30.6a prá hi krātum vyāhato yāṃ vanuthō | abgesehen habt auf | *
| | 10.61.3b vīpah śāciyā vanuthō dvāvantā | gut aufnehmet | nu- |
| vanute (ind. pres. 3rd sing. A VIII cl.) | 10.27.12d svayāṃ sā mitrāṃ vanute jāne cit | gewinnt | *
| | 10.107.7c dāksinānnam vanute yō na ātmā | bringt ein | nu- |
| avanvan (ind. impf. 3rd pl. VIII cl.) | 1.51.2 abbām avanvan suabhīṣṭim ūtyo | bevorzugten ont gagné à eux | *
| | 6.18.3b ēkāḥ kṛśīr avanor āriyāya | gewannst | nu- |
| avanoh (ind. impf. 2nd sing. VIII cl.) | 5.29.9d kūtsena devaír āvanor ha śiṣṇam | hattest überwunden | *
| | 10.69.10d utā pūrvāṃ avanor vṛādbataś cit | hast überwunden as gagné à toi | nu- |
| vavne (ind. perf. 3rd sing A double) | 1.36.17a agnīr vavne suvīryam | gewann a gagné | *
<p>| | 1.61.15b ēko yād vavné bhūrer | errungen hat | en |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>stem)</th>
<th>Íśañah</th>
<th>a gagné</th>
<th>hat gewonnen</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>vavanmá (ind. perf. 1 pl. double stem)</td>
<td>7.37.5c vavanmá nu te yūjiyābhīr īṭī</td>
<td>haben Gewinn gehabt</td>
<td>avons gagné</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vavanmá (ind. perf. 1 pl. double stem)</td>
<td>8.13.33 c vavanmā hi prātiṣṭutim vṛśā hāvaḥ</td>
<td>hast Ausspruch</td>
<td>* ye yón / ūn-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subjunctive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vanavat (subj. pres. 3rd sing. VIII cl.)</td>
<td>2.25.1a īndhāno agnim vanavad vanusyatāḥ</td>
<td>wird überwinden</td>
<td>* yên</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2.25.2a virēbhīr virān vanavad vanusyatō</td>
<td>wird überwinden</td>
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<td>2.26.1c suprāvīr ēd vanavat prtsū duṣṭāram</td>
<td>wird überwinden</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5.3.5d sā yajñēṇa vanavad deva mārtān</td>
<td>wird überbieten</td>
<td>l'emportera sur</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5.37.2a sāmiddhāṅgir vanavat stirmābaraḥ</td>
<td>den Vorrang gewinnen soll</td>
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<td>5.44.7d asmākāṃ sārma vanavat suāvasuh</td>
<td>möge zuwenden</td>
<td>assure nous</td>
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<td>6.33.1c saūvaśviyāṃ yō vanāvat suāśvo</td>
<td>gewinnt</td>
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<td>9.77.4a ayāṃ no vidvān vanavad vanusyatā</td>
<td>soll überbieten</td>
<td>l'emporte</td>
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<td>10.27.18d drūanna ēd vanavat sarpīrannabh</td>
<td>wird gewinnen</td>
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<td>vanavase</td>
<td>6.16.18c āṭhā dúvo vanavase</td>
<td>wirst gewinnen</td>
<td>* yên</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(subj. pres. 2nd sing. Á VIII cl.)</td>
<td>procureras</td>
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<tr>
<td>vanate (subj. aor. 3rd sing. Á VIII cl.)</td>
<td>werd gewinnen gagnera *yen</td>
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<tr>
<td>5.3.10d <strong>sumnám agnír vanate vāṛḍhanāḥ</strong></td>
<td>erlangen gagne soll gewinnen gagne</td>
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<tr>
<td>5.4.3d <strong>sā devēṣu vanate vāryāṇi</strong></td>
<td>verlangt gagne</td>
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<tr>
<td>6.16.28c <strong>agnir no vanate rayim</strong></td>
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<td>8.72.1b <strong>adhvaryur vanate pūnah</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>váṃsāma (subj. aor. 1st pl.)</td>
<td>können überwinden *yen</td>
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<tr>
<td>6.19.8c <strong>yēna váṃsāma pṛṭanāsu śātrūn</strong></td>
<td>überwinden puissions vaincre</td>
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<tr>
<td>8.60.12a <strong>yēna váṃsāma pṛṭanāsu śārdhatas</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>váṃsat (subj. aor. 3rd sing.)</td>
<td>soll gewinnen gagne möchte gewinnen souhaite gagner</td>
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<tr>
<td>6.68.5d <strong>vāṃsad rayim rayivātaś ca jámnān</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>10.26.2c <strong>vīpra á vāṃsad dhītiḥiś</strong></td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>
| vávānah (subj. perf. 2nd sing. double stem) | aufnehmen wirst auras gagnée *yen-
| 4.11.2c **viśvebhīr yād vávānah śukra devais** | |

**Optative**

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>vaneb (opt. pres. 2nd sing. I/VI cl.)</th>
<th>mögest du gern annehmen agréer *yen (thematic opt. from athetic aor.)</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2.6.1b <strong>imām upasādāṃ vaneḅ</strong></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>vanemabi (opt. pres. 1st pl. Á I/VI cl.)</td>
<td>möchten gewinnen gagner (pour soi) *yen (thematic opt. from athetic aor.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>7.94.9c <strong>indrāgni tād vanemabi</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>vanema (opt. pres. 1st pl. I/VI cl.)</td>
<td>möchten gewinnen *yen (thematic opt. from athetic)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.92.31c <strong>tuvā yujā vanema tāt</strong></td>
<td>wollen gewinnen</td>
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<tr>
<td>1.129.7a <strong>vanema tād dhōtarayā</strong></td>
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<td>Sanskrit</td>
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<td>----------</td>
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<tr>
<td>citāntiyā</td>
<td>gagner</td>
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<td>2.5.7d vanēmā rarimā vayām</td>
<td>mögen Gewinn haben</td>
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<td>1.70.1a vanēma pūrvir a ryō maniśā</td>
<td>überbieten</td>
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<tr>
<td>8.19.20d vanēmā te abhiṣṭibhiḥ</td>
<td>möchten gewinnen</td>
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<tr>
<td>7.47.1d ghṛtaprūṣam madhumantaṃ vanema</td>
<td>gewinnen</td>
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<tr>
<td>2.11.2b dhīyaṃ vanema ṛṭayā sāpantah</td>
<td>wollen Gewinn haben</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.105.8b ṛcā vanema anīcāḥ</td>
<td>wollen überbieten</td>
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<tr>
<td>vanuyāmā</td>
<td>überbieten</td>
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<td>(opt. pres. 1st pl. VIII cl.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>1.73.9b virair virān vanuyāmā tuvotāḥ</td>
<td>überbieten</td>
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<tr>
<td>1.132.1c vanuyāma vanusyatāḥ</td>
<td>wollen übertrumpfen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3.6 a vayāṃ agne vanuyāma tuvotā</td>
<td>wollen überbieten</td>
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<tr>
<td>8.40.7e vanuyāma vanusyatō</td>
<td>wollen überbieten</td>
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<tr>
<td>10.38.3 d tvāyā vayāṃ tān vanuyāma samgamē</td>
<td>wollen überwinden</td>
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<tr>
<td>vamsimāhi</td>
<td>möchten gewinnen</td>
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<tr>
<td>(opt. aor. 1st pl. double stem)</td>
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<tr>
<td>6.19.10 b vamsimāhi vāmām śrōmatebhīḥ</td>
<td>möchten gewinnen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.72.8d rayīṃ piśāṅgam babulāṃ vasīmāḥ</td>
<td>möchten uns umgeben</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Imperative
### VI. Appendix

<p>| vanuṣva  | 1.169.1d | sumnā vanuṣva táva hi práyisthā | gewinn gagne | *yen |
|vanvántu | 7.21.9c | vanvántu smā te āvasā samiké | sollen überwinden | *yen |
| vámśva  | 1.48.11a | úṣo vājaṃ hí váṃsva | gewinne gagne | *yen |
| Injunctive | 5.70.1c | mītra váṃsi vāṃ sumatím | möchte gewinnen je veux gagner | *yen |
| vanvan  | 7.48.3b | viśvāṁ aryā uparatāti vanvan | übertrumpfen vainquent | *yen |
| vanuṣanta | 10.128.3c | daivyā hótāro vanuṣanta pūrve | sollen Partei nehmen | *yen |
| Infinite | 1.131.5e | pṛtanāśu právantave | den Sieg gewinnen gagnent | *yen |
| Precative | 1.127.7g | á vaniṣṭa médhirah | möge überwinden | *yen |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(prec. pres. 3rd sing. Ā)</th>
<th>puisset conquérir</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td><strong>Participle</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>vanván</strong></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>(part. pres. nom. m. sing. VIII cl.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.121.9c kūtsāya yātra puruhūta vanván</td>
<td>Partei nehmend gagnant la bataille</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.12.4c drúanno vanván krátuvā nā árvā</td>
<td>der gewinnt gagnant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.16.20c vanván ávāto áśṛtaḥ</td>
<td>Sieger qui vainc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.16.26 b adyā tvā vanván suréknāḥ</td>
<td>der [...] gewinnt gagnant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.18.1b vanván n ávātaḥ puruhūtā indraḥ</td>
<td>Sieger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.31.3c viśvā vanván amitriyā</td>
<td>überwindend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.89.7a vanván ávāto abhí devāvītim</td>
<td>überwinder qui gagnes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.96.8a sā matsa rāḥ pṛṣū vanván ávātaḥ</td>
<td>überwinder qui gagnes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.96.11c vanván n ávātaḥ paridhiṛn āpomu</td>
<td>überwinder qui gagnes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.61.2a sā id dānāya dābbiyāya vanvān</td>
<td>sich bemühte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>vanvántah</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(part. pres. nom. m. pl. VIII cl.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.4.9b gūhā vanvánta úparāḥ abhī syūḥ</td>
<td>überbieten en gagnant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.16.27d vanvánto aryō árātih</td>
<td>die [...] überwinden vainquant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.61.24b syāma vanvánta āmūraḥ</td>
<td>wollen überwinden</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
VI. Appendix

| vanväté  | qui vainquent | 2.21.2 a a b h i b ú v e abhibhāṅgāya vanvate | gewinnenden vainqueur | *uṇ -nēy / nu- |
| vanvántā | überwandert vainquant | 7.83.4b bhedām vanvántā prá sudāsam āvatam | *uṇ -nēy / nu- |
| vanvanāḥ | gewinnst | 3.8.2b brāhma vanvānā ajāram suvāram | *uṇ -nēy / nu- |
| vanvanāḥ | überwinder | 7.88.7c ávō vanvanā áditer upāstbād | *uṇ -nēy / nu- |
| vavanván | der Sieger | 10.27.9d átho áyuktam yunajad vavanván | *uṇ -nēy / nu- |
| vavanvāms | die Gewinner | 10.61.4d vavanvāmsa nā īṣam āsmṛtadbrū | *uṇ -nēy / nu- |

VI.1.2 Laryngeal and non-laryngeal attestations of the verb in the post-Rgvedic Saṃhitās, Brāhmaṇas and in the Atharvaveda (barring RV-quotations)

a-Laryngeal

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verbal form</th>
<th>occurrence</th>
<th>translation</th>
<th>I.E. root</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Indicative</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>vananti</td>
<td>AVŚ 12.1.58 yād vādāmi mádbhumā tad vādāmi yād ikṣe tad vananti mā</td>
<td>WHITNEY 1905: 671 “win”</td>
<td>*uṇ-H-e-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subjunctive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vanāmahe</td>
<td>TS 1.6.4.2-3o ēmā agmann dōhakāmā indravantah / vanāmahe dhūṣimāhī</td>
<td>KEITH 1914: 87 “may we win”</td>
<td>*uṇ-H-e-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## VI.1 Tables

<table>
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<tr>
<th>1st p l. À  I/VI cl.)</th>
<th>pra-jām īṣam</th>
<th>TS 3.2.7.1-2h indriyāvanto vana-mahe dhukṣimā hi pra-jām īṣam</th>
<th>KEITH 1914: 247 “may we conquer”</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>vanāḥ (subj. pres. 2nd sing. I/VI cl.)</td>
<td>AVŚ 1.34.4 māmīt ki-la tvām vana-h śākhaṁ mādbhuma-timiva</td>
<td>WHITNEY 1905: 35 “shalt thou be fond” *</td>
<td>yen-H-e-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vanād (subj. pres. 3rd sing. I/VI cl.)</td>
<td>AVP 2.61.11 šāla-lā tvam sanvaanan-man vanād vananam ādṛtam</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>yen-H-e-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperative</td>
<td>vanatam (impv. pres. 2nd du. I/VI cl.)</td>
<td>TB 2.4.3.4-5 dikṣāpāle-bhyo vana-tam bi śakrā</td>
<td>*</td>
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<tr>
<td>van-(impv. pres. 2nd sing. I/VI cl.)</td>
<td>AVP 2.33.1 ūdh-nā vana hṛdā vana mukhena jihvāyā vana / prapinā payasā vana</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>yen-H-e-</td>
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### b-Non-Laryngeal

<table>
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<th>I.E. root</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Indicative</td>
<td>vanute (ind. pres. 3rd sing. À VIII cl.)</td>
<td>KS 10.3 (2x) sātām saniṃ vanute [...]etad etasmai sanoti yad vanute</td>
<td>*yen-</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
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<td>MS 2.1.2 (2x) sātām saniṃ vanute [...] saṅvatsarā etāsmai vanute</td>
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<td>MS 3.6.9 bhṛtim vanute yajñasya</td>
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<td>KS 23.6 (2x) rāsate yadvanute [...] dikṣito bhṛtim vanute</td>
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<td>MS 4.1.10 te parjanyādeva vṛṣṭiḥ vanute</td>
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<td>MS 4.1.14 marūdh-bhyā eva vṛṣṭim</td>
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<tr>
<td>vanute</td>
<td>KEITH 1914: 219 “wins”</td>
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<tr>
<td>TS 2.6.9.8 abāgnir devēbbyo vanutē</td>
<td>EGGELING 1882: II 196 “obtains”</td>
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<tr>
<td>ŚB 3.8.2.22 (2x) agnirv/rringbelowacuteṣṭiṃ vanute</td>
<td>WHITNEY 1905: 462 “wins”</td>
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<tr>
<td>sā etai stokairetāntstokānvunute</td>
<td>WHITNEY 1905: “wins”</td>
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<tr>
<td>AVŚ 7.103.1 kō yajñākāmaḥ kā u pūrtikāmāḥ kō devēṣu vanute dirghām āyuḥ</td>
<td>GRIFFITHS 2009: 406 “gains”</td>
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<td>AVŚ 12.2.36 yāt kṛśāte yād vanute yāc ca vasmēna vindāte</td>
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<td>AVP 7.15.5 annena prāṇam vanute tiro dhatte paridhānena yakṣam</td>
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<td>AVP 19.26.5 ghṛtena prajāṃ vanute ghṛtena rayim aṣnute</td>
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<td>A V P 19.26.6 ghṛtenāyuṣyam varcasyam devēbhyo vanute pari</td>
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<td>AVP 20.3.5 kaṣ pūrtikāmas ko u yajñākāmas ko deveṣu vanute dirghām āyuḥ</td>
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<td>LUBOTSKY 2002: 133 “ask”</td>
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<td>AVŚ 6.82.1 índrasya vrtraghnó vanve vāsavāsyā śatākratoḥ</td>
<td>WHITNEY 1905: 478 “win”</td>
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<tr>
<td>A V Ś 8.2.13 agnēste prānāmāṁtādāy uṣmato vane jātāvedasāḥ</td>
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<td>AVP 5.37.8 vanve te putram pari devatābhyo anu manyantāṁ marutaḥ prśimātaraḥ</td>
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<table>
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</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>(ind. impf. 3rd pl. Ā VIII cl.)</td>
<td>WHITNEY 1905: 350 “won”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KŚ 10.6 kurupaṁcāleṣu vatsatarānavanvata</td>
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<tr>
<td>AVŚ 5.4.3 tātramīṭasya cākṣaṇam devāh kūṣṭhamavanvata</td>
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<td>AVŚ 5.4.4 tātramīṭasya pūṣyam devāh kūṣṭhamavanvata</td>
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<td>AVŚ 6.95.1 tātramīṭasya cākṣaṇam devāh kūṣṭhamavanvata</td>
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<tr>
<td>AVŚ 6.95.2 tātrāṃṭasya pūṣpam devāḥ kūṣṭhamavanavatā</td>
<td>Whitney 1905: 350 “won”</td>
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<tr>
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<td>---</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>vavnire</strong> <em>(ind. perf. 3rd pl. Ā)</em></td>
<td>KS 30.8 teṣāṁ yam vavnire devāstāṁ svarādamunanyatām</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Optative</strong></td>
<td><em>yen-</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>vanaṁśiṣīya</strong> <em>(opt. aor. 1st sing. Ā sigmatic aorist)</em></td>
<td>AVŚ 9.1.14 mādhu janiṣiṣya mādhu vanaṁśiṣīya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Whitney 1905: 520 “may I win”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Whitney 1905: 803 “may I win”</td>
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<td><strong>Subjunctive</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>vāvanabh a i</strong> <em>(subj. pres. 1st pl. Ā VIII cl.)</em></td>
<td>ŚB 1.9.1.19 vāyāmagnerādhyasmā etādvāvanabhā</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Eggeling 1882: I 253 “will solicit”</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>vānate</strong> <em>(subj. aor. 3rd sing.)</em></td>
<td>TS 2.6.9.8 tād agnir devō devēbhyo vānate</td>
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<td>Keith 1914: 216 “shall win”</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>vanisād</strong> <em>(subj. aor. 3rd sing. sigmatic aorist)</em></td>
<td>AVŚ 20.132.6 ugrāṃ vanisādātattam</td>
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<td></td>
<td>AVŚ 20.132.7 nā vanisadānātattam</td>
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<td><em>yen-</em></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>vamsataḥ</strong> <em>(subj. aor. 3rd du. root aorist)</em></td>
<td>AVP 20.24.4 tṛṭiyan āśvinā tvāgre vamsataḥ</td>
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<td><em>yen-</em></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>vāvanat</strong> <em>(subj. perf. 3rd sing.)</em></td>
<td>KS 13.16 sa nah pūrṇena vāvanat</td>
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<td>Keith 1914: 179 “May favour us”</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>vāvanaḥ</strong> <em>(subj. perf. 2nd sing.)</em></td>
<td>AVP 1.55.4 māmit kila tvam vāvanaḥ sākhāṁ madhumatimiva</td>
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<td><em>yen-</em></td>
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<td>Participle</td>
<td>TS 1.8.12.1 várcaḥ kṣatriyāya vanvānāḥ</td>
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<td>vanvānāḥ</td>
<td>MS 2.6.8 kṣatrām kṣatriyāya vanvānāḥ</td>
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<td>MS 4.4.2 kṣatrām kṣatriyāya vanvānāḥ</td>
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<td></td>
<td>VS 10.4 kṣatrām kṣatriyāya vanvānāḥ</td>
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<td>KS 15.6 kṣatrām kṣatriyāya vanvānāḥ</td>
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<td></td>
<td>ŚB 5.3.4.27 kṣatrām kṣatriyāya vanvānā</td>
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<td>vanvānāḥ</td>
<td>AVŚ 5.20.9 śṛiyo vanvanō vayūnāni vidvāṅkirtim bahubhyo vi bhara dūrājē</td>
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<td>AVP 9.27.9 śṛeyo vanvano vayunāni vidvāṅkirtim bahubhyo vi bhaja dūrājē</td>
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<td>AVŚ 4.15.10 sā no varśām vanutām jātavedāḥ prāṇāṃ prajābhyo amṛtam divās pari</td>
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<tr>
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<td>AVP 5.7.8 sā no varśam vanutām jātavedāḥ prāṇam prajābhyo amṛtam divas pari</td>
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<td>vanudhvam</td>
<td>AVŚ 4.15.15 varśām vanudhvam pitaro marūtāṃ mána icchata</td>
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<td>vanuṣva</td>
<td>AVŚ 12.3.53 varśām vanuṣvāpi gacha devāṃstvacō dhūmāṃ pāryūt pātayāsi</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
VI.2 Data-base

VI.2.1 Objects of van- / van- in the *Rgveda Samhitā*

- • = indicates that the subject/object is implied within the verse, when a pronoun referring to it is present, it is indicated.
- Ø = the subject is the generic human side of the rite: “we” - “I” (all occ. are 1st person, except one, which is nonetheless referring to the priests of the sacrifice).

### a- “goods”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>object</th>
<th>Q.</th>
<th>occurrences</th>
<th>van- / van'</th>
<th>subject/notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ánnam</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10.107.7</td>
<td>vanute</td>
<td>Dakśina</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>10.61.4</td>
<td>vavanvámsa</td>
<td>Áśvin</td>
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<td>áyuktam</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10.27.9</td>
<td>vavanván</td>
<td>Indra• (horse•)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuvíd</td>
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<td>vanáti (nah)</td>
<td>Agni</td>
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<tr>
<td>(váśvah)</td>
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<tr>
<td>ksáyam</td>
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<td>sunvan</td>
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<td>vanavat (asmákaṃ)</td>
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<td>Mitra</td>
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<td>6.16.18</td>
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<td>Agni•(as metaphor for oblation)</td>
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<td>á vamsate</td>
<td>Agni•</td>
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<td>rayím</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6.16.28</td>
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<td>Agni</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>1.129.7</td>
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<td>Ø</td>
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<td>6.68.5</td>
<td>vámsad</td>
<td>sáh</td>
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<td>9.101.9</td>
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VI. Appendix

<table>
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<th>subject / notes</th>
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<td>vanvantu</td>
<td>té (Indra’s horses•)</td>
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<td>Ųbhū•</td>
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<td>*maniṣá</td>
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<td>Ø (aryāḥ -gen.)</td>
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<td>ārāṭīḥ</td>
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<td>Ø (tāranto aryā ádiśab)</td>
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<th>van- / van-</th>
<th>subject / notes</th>
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<td>vámsva</td>
<td>Agni</td>
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</table>
**VI. Appendix**

| sumatím | 1 | 5.70.1 | vāṃsi | Ø |
| sumnám | 2 | 5.3.10 | vanate | Agni |
| sumná | 1 | 1.169.1 | vanusva | Indra |

**d3- rite’s element - components**

<table>
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<tr>
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<th>subject / notes</th>
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<td>rtá</td>
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<td>4.23.10, 1.46.14</td>
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<td>yemānāḥ</td>
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<td>vānatum, vanata, vānate, vanatā</td>
<td>Aśvin</td>
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<td>vanāmahe</td>
<td>Ø</td>
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**e- the gods – ritual action**

<table>
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<tr>
<th>object</th>
<th>Q.</th>
<th>occur.</th>
<th>van-/van'-</th>
<th>instrument</th>
<th>subject- notes</th>
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<tr>
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<td>vanema</td>
<td>rca</td>
<td>Ø</td>
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<tr>
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<td>1</td>
<td>6.15.6</td>
<td>upa vivāsata</td>
<td>girbhīr</td>
<td>Ø</td>
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<tr>
<td>Indra• (im-īndram)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.131.5</td>
<td>prāvantave</td>
<td>avanvan</td>
<td>Usīj ātāyabh-rbāvabh</td>
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<td>krātvā</td>
<td>dá</td>
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<td>vanate</td>
<td>mārtvabh</td>
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<td>5.74.7</td>
<td>ā vāne</td>
<td>yajṇāiḥ</td>
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**c/e- no object**

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<th>occur.</th>
<th>van-/van'-</th>
<th>instrument</th>
<th>subject / notes</th>
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<td>c- divine attribute</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6.12.4</td>
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<td>vanvān</td>
<td>Agni Indra</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It may be worth noticing some words on account of these criteria:

a) those, which are object of van- meaning a ritual action

b) out of quantity
c) object involved in the ritual action

Excluding criteria:
d) pronouns
e) names of gods

- devá- (a)
- amítam (a)
- brahmádviś- (a)
- gir- (b) (c)
- várya-(b)
- rāi- (b)
- dhí- (c)
- rçā- (c)
- yajñá- (c)

VI.2.2 Objects of van- / vané- in the post-Rgvedic literature

RV occ. → all post-RV correspondences:
a- “goods”
### VI.2 Data-base

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Q.</th>
<th>RV occ.</th>
<th>Post- RV correspondences</th>
<th>van- / van'-</th>
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<tr>
<td>ánnam</td>
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<td>10.107.7c</td>
<td>ŠB 10.1.1.10</td>
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<td>kṣatrá</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.162.22</td>
<td>TS 4.6.9.41; VS 25.45; KSAśv 6.5</td>
<td>vanatām vanate</td>
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<tr>
<td>narya</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7.100.1</td>
<td>TB 2.4.3.5</td>
<td>ā vivāsāt</td>
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<tr>
<td>mādam</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10.96.1</td>
<td>TB 3.7.9.6; TB 2.4.3.10-(11)</td>
<td>pra vanve</td>
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<td>rái</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6.16.28</td>
<td>MS 2.10.2; KpS 28.2; VS 17.16 KS 18.1; TS 4.6.1.5r</td>
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<td>vána</td>
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<td>6.6.3</td>
<td>TS 3.3.11.1-2e; ŠB 12.4.4.2</td>
<td>vananti</td>
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<td>vásu</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7.15.4 7.94.9</td>
<td>KS 40.14; TB 2.4.8.1 KS 4.15</td>
<td>vanāti (kuvid) vanemahi</td>
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</table>

### b- a conquest

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Q.</th>
<th>RV occ.</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>sthirá</td>
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<td>8.19.20</td>
<td>VS 15.39.40</td>
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<tr>
<td>vanusya</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.25.1</td>
<td>MS 4.14.10; TB 2.8.5.2-3</td>
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</table>

### d3- rite’s element - components

<table>
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<tr>
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<th>Post- RV correspondences</th>
<th>van- / van'-</th>
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<td>brāhman</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3.8.2</td>
<td>MS 4.13.1; KS 15.12; AB 2.2; 3.6.1.1</td>
<td>vanvānāḥ</td>
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<tr>
<td>gīra</td>
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<td>1.93.9</td>
<td>KS 4.16; MS 4.10.1; TS 2.3.14.1-2; TB 3.5.7.2;</td>
<td>vanatam</td>
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<td>dūvas</td>
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<td>6.16.18</td>
<td>KS 20.14</td>
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<tr>
<td>vípa</td>
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<td>VS 7.17; ŠB 4.2.1.12;</td>
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<tr>
<td>samidha</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.6.1ab</td>
<td>AB 1.25.7</td>
<td>vanēḥ</td>
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</table>

### e- the gods – ritual action

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Q.</th>
<th>RV occ.</th>
<th>Post- RV correspondences</th>
<th>van- / van'-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
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| Parjanya 1 5.83.1 TB 2.4.5.5 | vivāsa |
| Viṣṇu 1 6.16.26 TB 2.4.6.2 | vanvánt |
| Brahmanaspaṭi 1 2.26.3 TB 2.8.5.3 | ā vivasati |

c/e- no object

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>“use of van-”</th>
<th>Q.</th>
<th>RV occ.</th>
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<tr>
<td>divine attribute</td>
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<td>TB 2.8.5.7-8</td>
<td>vanván-ávātaḥ</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>9.96.11</td>
<td>VS 19.53; KS 21.14; MS 4.10.6; TS 2.6.12.1</td>
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<tr>
<td>e- ritual action</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10.128.3</td>
<td>KS 40.10; TS 4.7.14.1</td>
<td>vaniṣan; vaniṣanta</td>
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</table>

Non-Ṛgvedic occurrences:

a- “goods”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>object</th>
<th>Q.</th>
<th>occurrences</th>
<th>van-/van'-</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kṣatra</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>KS 15.6</td>
<td>vanvānāḥ</td>
<td>devīrāpaḥ</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>VS 10.4</td>
<td>vanvānāḥ</td>
<td>madhumatir (devīrāpaḥ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>MS 2.6.8</td>
<td>vanvānāḥ</td>
<td>devīrāpaḥ</td>
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<td>bhṛti</td>
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<td>vanute</td>
<td>(the sacrificer)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>KS 23.6</td>
<td>vanute</td>
<td>(the sacrificer)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tapas</td>
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<td>TB 2.4.3.4</td>
<td>vanatam</td>
<td>Agni and Viṣṇu</td>
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<tr>
<td>vatsatara</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>KS 10.6</td>
<td>avanvata</td>
<td>Naimiṣya</td>
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<td>vrṣṭi</td>
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<td>vanute</td>
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<td>vanute</td>
<td>(the sacrificer)</td>
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<td>sani</td>
<td>MS 2.1.2</td>
<td>ŚB 3.8.2.22</td>
<td>vanute</td>
<td>Agni (+ stoka)</td>
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<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>•(this)</td>
<td>MS 4.13.9</td>
<td>KS 10.3</td>
<td>vanute</td>
<td>• (the sacrificer)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>TB 3.5.10.5</td>
<td>ŚB 1.9.1.19</td>
<td>vanute</td>
<td>• (the sacrificer)</td>
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| •(this)    | KS 30.8  | vanire; vanate; vanutām; vanāmahe | Agni (for us): passage |

### e- no object

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<th>“use of van-”</th>
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<th>occurrences</th>
<th>van- / van-</th>
<th>subject / notes</th>
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</thead>
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<td>e- ritual</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>TS 1.6.4.2</td>
<td>vanāmabe</td>
<td>Ø</td>
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<tr>
<td>action</td>
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<td>vanāmabe</td>
<td>Ø</td>
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<th>occurrences</th>
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<th>subject / notes</th>
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<td>god van- us</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>vāvanat</td>
<td>Dhātr</td>
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Aitareya Brāhmaṇa – AB


Atharvaveda Paippalāda – AVP


    .1921.“Book eight” JAOS 41: 264-289.
    .1922.“Book nine” JAOS 42: 105-146.
    .1923.“Book ten” JAOS 43: 96-115.
    .1924.“Book eleven” JAOS 44: 258-269.
    .1928.“Book thirteen” JAOS 48: 36-65.
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**Asiatic Society.**


**Atharvaveda Śaunakya – AVŚ**


**Āśvalāyana Śrauta Sūtra – ĀŚS**


**Kapiṣṭhala Saṃhitā – KpS**


**Kāṭha Saṃhitā – KS**


**Kauthuma Saṃhitā - KauS**


**Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa – KauB**

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