

# SOME POETICAL ASPECTS OF THE RGVEDIC REPETITIONS



Delivered by

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## FOREWORD

This publication presents together the lectures delivered by Professor T. G. Mainkar at Poona in the Bhau Vishnu Ashtekar lecture series. Under the terms of endowment of this series the University of Poona, invites once in five years, an eminent scholar in Vedic research, to deliver a series of five lectures dealing with some question concerning Vedic research. Dr. Mainkar's lectures represent the second set of such lectures, the first having been delivered by Prof. G. V. Devasthali in 1960 from 26th December to 30th December. The eminence of Dr. Mainkar in the field of Vedic scholarship is widely recognized. He chose as the theme of his lectures a specialized aspect of Vedic poetic art and has dealt with it thoroughly and in an interesting manner. I feel sure that this production of Dr. Mainkar will receive a wide welcome from his fellow scholars.

May 2, 1966  
Ganeshkhind,  
Poona 7.

}  
D. R. Gadgil,  
Vice-Chancellor.  
University of Poona

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The University of Poona invited me to deliver the Bhau Vishnu Astekar Memorial Lectures for the year 1964-1965. These lectures were delivered at the Fergusson College in March 1965 and are now appearing in print. I am grateful to the authorities of the University of Poona for this honour conferred on me.

*The condition governing the invitation required the topic of the lectures to be some Vedic theme. I chose to speak on 'Some poetical aspects of the R̥gvedic Repetitions'. In the preparation of my discourses I have freely drawn upon the work of the great and very distinguished predecessors like BLOOMFIELD and GONDA, who have done monumental work in this field. My debt to all these is very great and I gratefully acknowledge the same.*

I fully realize that originality is not easy to achieve and even a good summary of great books is indeed difficult. I have tried to record my thoughts here without any pretensions to either originality or scholarship and my only pleasure was the reading of the R̥gveda.

To Dr. R. N. DANDEKAR, my professor, I owe everything and the debt is ever-increasing. I shall only say that I rejoice in my debt to him.

My best thanks are due to the authorities of the University Press for their uniform courtesy and kindness.

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T. G. Maikar.

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delightful. In other words, the R̥gvedic songs could be subjected to normal literary criticism and there would be neither profanation nor sacrilege in doing this. It is often held that a poetical composition has a 'physical form' and a 'mental form'. The physical form has as its constituents, rhythm, rhyme, intonation and various kinds of echo and repetition. The mental form on the other hand, has for its constituents, grammatical structure, logical sequence, the pattern of associations, the use of a dominant image and the pattern of image and emotion. Among these various constituents of this double form of a poetical composition, we are going to restrict ourselves here to a consideration of what might be described, for the sake of convenience as the pattern of repetitions in words, associations and images in the R̥gvedic poetry. Here a clarification would appear necessary. Though we have spoken here of the two forms of a poetical composition, of the physical and the mental form, it is very difficult to separate the two, for the two forms are, by the poet's Muse, inseparably welded into one whole. The separation is then obviously for the sake of convenience of treatment and analysis. The physical form of a poetical composition, is mainly a pattern of sounds and has two aspects, the *rhythm and the 'phonetic form'*, this latter consisting of resemblances, repetitions or sharp differences of vowel and consonant sounds placed in relation to one another. The pattern of intonation forms the connecting link between the physical form and the mental form. This consideration gains a special significance in the examination of the R̥gvedic poetry where intonation has received so much careful attention. The R̥gvedic s̥ukta, therefore, as a rule, ought to stand before our mind's eye, in its complete form, only in its recited form. Naturally, we will have to make an effort to understand the value and importance of the R̥gvedic repetitions from the point of view of this intonation. Again, here we will not enter into a full scale and detailed discussion of the metre, the basic pattern of stressed and unstressed syllables, rhythm, the pattern of these stresses and their subtle variations, rhyme-schemes if any, yet we will have to note in passing in a very general way the contribution made by these repetitions to the physical form of the s̥uktas. In a similar manner, the various repetitions will have to be analysed from the point of view of the contribution they make to the excellence, or otherwise, of a

composition on account of the poetical embellishments like Onomatopoeia, Alliteration, that is, to the internal pattern. In the framing up of this physical form Repetition is seen to play a very significant role. It is, no doubt true, that the mental form of a poetical composition is what really matters, but it is also equally true that its excellence does depend on and is vitally related to its phonetic form, the physical form. Repetition is, though obvious also to the ear and the eye, a very subtle poetical method that lends charm and a special power to the physical form and can be used in several ways with a view to producing a variety of effects. As a matter of fact, rhythm, rhyme, alliteration and internal echoes are all repetitions of sounds. But even the whole words and phrases are often repeated and these repetitions are a vital part of the mental as well as of the physical form of a significant poetical composition. Repetition has several desirable results: it gives mastery, it produces understanding, and also conviction even in matters untrue, absorption in others and finally emotions like anger, happiness and distress are also eloquently reflected in clever repetitions. The chorus and the refrain are also repetitions and lastly the most obvious effect of a repetition is *emphasis*. Further, a *single word is repeated for the sake of emphasis and emotional climax* and so also is repeated a phrase and often, not an exact phrase but the structure of a phrase. A word is often repeated with a slightly different meaning each time. For still greater and more subtle effects repetition can be linked with the other artistic devices like the inversion of the word-order and the slight variations in the placing of the different words. A poet for the sake of effects might repeat even the whole structure of a verse with only a few words changed. Folk-songs and traditional songs that develop in communities and songs that are compositions of groups and not of individuals often have their entire structure repeated with only slight variations.

In addition to these effects, which might be described as 'intellectual effects', repetition might be used to produce, what might be described as 'magical effects'. It is common knowledge that magic largely depends on and makes very free use of repetitions, as for instance, when actions and words are repeated thrice or seven times. In religious rituals too, as in primitive magic, repetition plays a great part as can be seen in the prayers for the

primitive, in patterning in magical formulae the event which he wished to take place or the names of the powers of nature he wished to control, produced life-patterns; produced what we should now call poetry. His primary endeavour was to pattern the wished for event, to name it in detail, to have every part placed in correct relationship to every other part. The necessity of the magical pattern's being correct imposed a degree of traditional observance upon him. The formulae, once discovered or created had to be observed with complete fidelity to detail. This was natural at a period when the religious background of society was comparatively stable and when the presence of gods, and devils, was accepted by all. The Gods did not change; therefore the charms patterning those gods should not change. The facts of life and death appeared unalterable; therefore charms dealing with the bringing or taking away of life did not alter; so we get magical charms being written, after the initial 'discovery', in abstract rather than in organic form.' In this context it is to be remembered that according to HERBERT READ (p. 19) the organic form results when a work of art has its own inherent laws, originating with its very invention and fusing in one vital unity both structure and content; but when an organic form is stabilised and repeated as a pattern, and the intention of the artist is no longer related to the *inherent dynamism of an inventive act*, but seeks to adapt content to a predetermined structure, the form that results is *Abstract Form*. SKELTON concludes (p. 44-45) by observing that the history of magical writings and of early literature is largely a history of people discovering a new organic form and then imitating it again and again. This discussion should throw a good deal of light on the composition of the Rġvedic sūktas that have a double nature, a magico-religious song and a poetical composition, a new song as well as a traditional one.

Very interesting light is thrown on the functioning of the *primitive mind* by Professor and Mrs. FRANKFORT in their book '*Before Philosophy*'. According to these scholars, to the primitive man the world is primarily a 'Thou', while the world to a modern scientific man is an 'It'. The primitive man does not know an inanimate world. In his highly personal world he sees events in personal terms, in terms of the 'Thou' rather than in terms of the 'It'. The events, therefore, are described in stories about



gods in myths. These stories are not the explanations of the phenomenon of the drought or the rain, or the arrival of the Sun in the sky, but these do seek to tell us that these events have occurred, by telling us about the personalities involved in these actions and of their exploits. There was no distinction between a fact and fancy and causality was altogether unknown. Because the primitive man cannot explain a phenomenon rationally, he, therefore, has several explanations or myths for one and the same fact of nature and he believed in all of them. To him, the phenomenon consists of personalities, of personatities having all the inconsistencies as well as complexities, and he accepts conflicting mythological explanations of an event presented to him. His mind is mythopoeic. This important fact should go a long way in explaining the use of words, symbols, metaphors and the like by the Rġvedic poets. Another equally important point to be remembered in this context is pointed out by JUNG when he suggests that certain psychic patterns or events can be regarded as being common to a family tribe, or race, rather than to the whole of humanity. This is not to suggest that the tribe or race possesses certain archetypes as a kind of collective possession, but that *certain groups, because of common inherited or environmental characteristics, will tend to be moved by similar events within the psyche, and will tend to describe those events in terms appropriate to the experience of those groups.* Members of these groups may, of course, tap the spring of the Unconscious at deeper levels also; the family unconscious is not exclusive of, but is based upon the tribal, the tribal upon the national, the national upon the racial, and the racial upon the Unconscious of our primitive human ancestors. (SKELTON, p. 154). This should enable us to understand the full significance of the repetitions of all kinds in the Rġveda which after all is racial and family poetry, if only we keep our eye open for archetypes which suggest that one or the other of the different layers of the Collective Unconscious has been used.

Repetition is, one might say, a poet's recognised method of producing poetic diction, for poetic diction is nothing but words selected and arranged in a particular way with a view to arousing through them and their meaning the aesthetic imagination. It can be readily conceded that one of the important efficient causes of pleasure in poetry is sound, the rhythm, the music, and the

manner in which the rhythm and music are inseparably related to the sense. Dapdin has shown real and critical understanding of poetic diction when he shows preference for 'mālatidāma laṅghitam bhramarah' to 'lolālikalilāmālā' and in his general discussion in his very first chapter of the *Kāvya-darśa*. The reading of the Ṛgveda reveals that the Ṛgvedic poets also had their own notions in this very important aspect of poetry.

In the matter of their composition, on account of the recurring expressions, common turns of expression, certain tricks of metre, repetition and narrative, the Ṛgvedic sūktas can be compared to the Ballad poetry, which too is communal in origin and possesses all these characteristics. The Ṛgvedic sūkta, to my mind, is just like a ballad, a composition of an individual poet no doubt, but of one deeply steeped in communal thought and expression. The song, therefore, has its own individuality, but also it has its general likeness with the other products of its class. SANTAYANA has significantly remarked that 'half of our standards come from our first masters and the other half from our first loves'. It is, therefore, very natural that the junior race of the Ṛgvedic poets should have looked so often and so profusely to their senior races for guidance and inspiration and should have been influenced by them to the extent they have been. The golden age of poetry, is believed to be in the infancy of society for at that time every author is a poet, because language itself is poetry. The early language being entirely made up of words descriptive of sensible objects, it became, of necessity, extremely metaphorical. MAX MÜLLER while speaking about these metaphors, divided them into two classes, the radical metaphors and poetical metaphors, and explained them thus: 'I call it a radical metaphor when a root which means to shine is applied to form the names not only of the fire and the Sun, but also of the spring of the year, the morning light, the brightness of thought, or the joyous outburst of hymns of praise. From this we must distinguish the poetical metaphor, namely, when a noun or verb, ready-made and assigned to one definite object or action is transferred poetically to another object or action. For instance, when the rays of the Sun are called the hands or the fingers of the Sun' (p. 451). The Ṛgvedic poetry would show that the poets freely used both these types of metaphors. MACAULAY, in his

essay on Milton (p. 3) observes, 'Nations, like individuals, first perceive and then abstract. They advance from particular images to general terms. Hence the vocabulary of an enlightened society is philosophical while that of a half-civilized people is practical' thus asserting that half-civilized nations are poetic simply because they perceive without abstracting, and absolutely regardless of what they perceive. For the Aryan people, the poets of the R̥gvedic age, the myth is very intimately connected with the early history of meaning. Most of the words have a mythical content and the R̥gveda reveals the very wide scope of this historical phenomenon. BARFIELD has aptly observed (p. 80) that 'Mythology is the ghost of concrete meaning'. We find EMERSON also observing (Ch. IV. *Nature*. 'On Language') that 'because of this radical correspondence between visible things and human thoughts, savages, who have only what is necessary, converse in figures. As we go back in history, language becomes more picturesque, until its infancy, when it is all poetry; or all spiritual facts are represented by natural symbols'. Further, all literatures are, in their infancy, metrical, based on a more or less regularly recurring rhythm. It can be assumed that just as the early meanings were given by Nature, so also these early verse-rhythms were given by Nature. For Nature herself is perpetually rhythmic. The metrical form is then the traditional preservation of the rhythmic consciousness of Nature. The origin of metre is, therefore, in the man's consciousness of the beating of his own heart, the pulse of his own blood.

The R̥gvedic poetic diction, on account of its numerous repetitions of every sort, might be described as 'conservative'. But on this account we need not presume that the minor or inferior poets who imitated or did try to echo their masters were either insincere or lacked genuine poetical experience. The minor poet appreciates and so imitates and therefore, does not create. In this connection BARFIELD (p. 173) has to observe that 'he imitates, because he must have his idiom established, acknowledged, labelled in his own consciousness as 'poetic' before he can feel that he is writing poetry.' He is always trying to give himself the sensations which he has received from his originals. The anxiety of the minor poet is to clothe his thought as neatly as possible, and in the established poetic moulds if possible. The first poet wrote under the

direct influence of passion, being excited by real events and this fact is amply reflected in his language which is daring and figurative. In the age that follows there is an artificial effort to produce the same effects as the ancients, the first poets, an attempt to catch the passion that they had and hence a sort of mechanical imitation results. The first poets imitate Nature and the second poets imitate the first poets. The minor poet thus brings in addition to creation, a contemplation of the earlier methods and a consciousness in the use of the same. He, on this count, has an architectural pleasure in his compositions and therefore is likely to look with satisfaction and pride at what he has produced. In these respects he differs from the great poet who is all concerned with the creation only which he produces under a spell or being divinely inspired. We can, therefore, distinguish the second generation of the poets from the first in the Rġveda, though often the poets themselves refer to such generations. The almost irritating number of repetitions in the Rġveda, about 8,000 pādas in about 40,100 pādas, is thus due to the fact that the genius of the Rġvedic poets is essentially a bardic one and their poetry has a vital relation with community, religion and magic. In this respect, these early poets are the forerunners of the bards of the *Mahābhārata* and in its repetitive aspects the *Mahābhārata* does very much resemble the Rġveda.

I have described the Rġvedic poetry as bardic in character, for indeed, it has many close resemblances with the heroic poetry. To be brief, heroic poetry is that which deals with heroes. This kind of poetry is very natural to man, even to the primitive man, since the very idea of a hero is very natural to man and evolves out of the very life that he lives. A hero is one in whom a very remarkable assemblage of qualities is seen and who therefore is greater than other men (*viśvasmāt uttarah*). Heroic poetry comes into existence when the poets concentrate not on the supernatural qualities of the hero but rather on the human virtues as well as frailties. Pre-heroic poetry deals with the magical powers of man and the poets sing glories of the magician who controls everything, and brings about any desired result through his magical powers, craft and special knowledge. As the society advances, heroic poetry is seen becoming free from this ideal of the magician and then the hero is one who is a man of strength and courage, an immortal amongst the mortals. (*amartyah*)

martyeṣu à). Encounters in which strength and courage overcome magic become themes for the new poetry. Once the idea of a hero takes firm roots, the poets become interested in singing of his story from cradle to grave. The hero's career begins early and shows the kind of man he is to be. He has in him the gifts of body and mind, strength, swiftness, resourcefulness, force and energy, and primarily he is a man war. His temper is high and his thoughts turn to deeds of extraordinary greatness and distinction. By his mere presence even, desired things are seen to take place. The hero is, in an attempt to indicate his strength and vitality, often compared to wild animals, the commonest being lions, tigers, bears, leopards, wolves, hyenas, vultures, boars and also to images from nature like rivers in spate, flaming stars, vulture swooping on its prey, fire burning a wood or a city and an eagle dropping to seize its prey. This naturally brings to our mind the 'mṛgaḥ na bhīmaḥ, śyenaḥ, vājī, vṛṣabhaḥ, tārkṣyaḥ' etc. from the Ṛgvedic poetry. For the hero, desire for prowess is an end in itself. He is a leader of men, a king (rājā) and has a sense of obligation towards his people. Another worthy cause for the hero is religion and the next is country. A critical reading of the Ṛgveda shows that all this is applicable to the deities like Indra, Agni, Soma, Varuṇa and others and this fact would further indicate that the Ṛgvedic poets did conceive of their gods as heroes. The age of the magician is seen here receding and the age of the hero dawning. Māyā is seen giving place of pride to Śacī, which both in an age to come, are to be replaced by Vayuna. Indra, therefore, though spoken of as assuming different forms through his māyā, Indraḥ māyābhiḥ pururūpa iyate, yet soon and more commonly he is 'Śatamāti śacīpati'. His birth is unusual (IV. 18) and he thinks of wonderful cosmic feats. His chief exploit is his war with Vṛtra and his tribe and he fights for the religion of gods and sacrifices and for the inhabitants of the land of the seven rivers. How many times are the various Ṛgvedic gods spoken of as 'śūro na goṣu'! Since all these gods are more or less conceived as heroes, and the Ṛgvedic poets sing of their glories and exploits, the Ṛgvedic poetry has to come to possess many important characteristics of the heroic poetry, as can be seen from the repetitions themselves. The Henotheism in the Ṛgveda, which MAX MÜLLER asserts and BLOOMFIELD doubts, is I believe, to be understood thus in the light of the hero-concept. In the evolution and develop-

ment of these gods three phases are to be discerned, for Magic, Strength and Knowledge, in a successive manner bestow greatness and distinction on them and this process has its logical conclusion in the Upaniṣads, where these gods are represented as being ardent students of philosophy. The process, was, therefore, one of humanization. The Ṛgveda, as has been already observed, shows that the age of Magic is a past and that of the Strength and of the hero has set in and is merging into that of Knowledge. How often the aspect represented in 'viśvā vayunāni vidvān' is emphasised upon in the context of the different gods! But then it is also true that the bulk of the Ṛgveda reveals the second phase of the hero and hence it is that this poetry has many characteristics which it has inherited from the age of magic and also those which heroic poetry inevitably possesses. BOWRA has shown that the heroic poetry as a rule, abounds in repetitions and formulae and this he has illustrated by examples from the heroic poetry of the Russians, Jugoslavs, the Kara-kirghiz, the Yakuts and the Kalmucks. These repetitions are mostly of the form of repeated lines, phrases and Noun-adjective combinations. Homer also is full of these noun-adjective combinations and formulae. A poet, it can be said, has new elements of his making with which he supplements the traditional language. These repetitions of combinations and formulae have the purpose of maintaining familiarity, producing ease in comprehension and preserving the traditionalism and the innate conservatism of the primitive taste. Where a tradition is powerful in such poetry we have combinations and formulae for almost every occasion and every detail, like the sun-rise ( sūre udite ), battle, rivers in spate, death and so on. It is not being suggested here that the Ṛgvedic poetry is heroic poetry in its technical sense, but only that it has very close similarity with this kind of poetry and has the germs of the same. On these structures and tendencies as well as the myths supplied by the Ṛgvedic poetry was to stand the entire structure of the later Indian Heroic poetry, the culmination of which is to be seen in the two epics, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyana*. The very early specimens of the literature mentioned as 'itiḥāsa, purāṇa' in the early Vedic literature itself, are not before us, but it could be said that this literature must have looked back to the Ṛgveda and must

have prepared the ground for the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyana*. The later Epic literature is primarily a continuation of the religious, philosophical and literary traditions of the Ṛgveda.

There was a time when any such approach towards the Ṛgvedic poetry would have been considered as uncritical and audacious, especially at a time when OLDENBERG and HILLEBRANDT had declared the Ṛgvedic poetry to be primarily sacerdotal, both in its purpose and inspiration. OLDENBERG's view of the Ṛgveda is that it is in its inspiration, in the main, ritualistic and from the point of view of quality, almost primitive. Describing the Ṛgveda (pp. 3-7; 8-14; 591-597) as 'the oldest document of Indian literature he speaks of the 'sacrificial litanies, with which the priests of the Vedic Aryans on a templeless place of sacrifice, at the sacrificial fires strewn around with grass, invoked their gods-barbarian priests the barbarian gods, who with horses and chariots come driving through the sky and air in order to feast on the sacrificial cake, butter and meat, and to imbibe, with the intoxicating Soma juice, courage and divine strength. The singers of the Ṛgveda, in a manner inherited of old, composing for the great and pompous... Soma sacrifice, do not want to tell us of the god whom they are honouring, but they want to praise this god... so they heap upon him all glorifying epithets which are at the disposal of the grossly flattering garrulousness of an imagination which loves the bright and the garish... such poetry could have arisen only in the exclusive circles of the priestly sacrificial experts.' The poetry of this art could only have a priestly ritual technique in those times; it is the poetry of the ritual songs, clothed in ritual technique; and the poetic form is only a secondary process. The whole text breathes with ritual songs and litanies and the thought is entirely religious. The Ṛgveda speaks of the religious thought of India, which shows us the oldest poetry of the ritual in the light of its priestly thought and expression! About the Uṣas hymns, however, he has to say that 'these hymns steer clear of the mystic sophistries of the sacrifice technique; and they have a charm that is wanting in the sacrificial hymns proper'. (p. 237) In his *Die Literatur des alten Indien* (p. 20) he has to say that 'this poetry does not rank in the service of beauty, as this religion does not serve the aim of enlightening and uplifting the soul; but both rank in the service of class interest, of personal interests of the few'.

BLOOMFIELD's view regarding the origin of the songs of the Ṛgveda is slightly different. He has to say : ' On the whole and in the main, the Ṛgveda is a collection of priestly hymns addressed to the gods of the Vedic pantheon. The chanting of these hymns is regularly accompanied by libations of the intoxicating drink Soma, and of the melted butter or ghee. Enduring interest of the Ṛgveda as literature lies in these old priestly poets' vision of the beauty, the majesty, and the power of the gods, and in the myths and legends told of them, or more often, merely alluded to in connection with them. But the paramount importance of the Ṛgveda is after all, not as literature, but as philosophy. The keynote and engrossing theme of the Ṛgvedic thought is worship of the personal powers of nature. The Ṛgveda presupposes a tolerably elaborate and not uninteresting ritual, or scheme of priestly practices. In these sacrificial hymns we have the sacrifice treated poetically. In other words, these poems are incidental to the sacrifice. In the Ṛgveda there are dithyrambic hymns, often turgid and intentionally mystical and this kind of poetry too, hugs the sacrifice closely. Economic advantage and aesthetic delight are much the same thing to the soul of a Ṛgvedic seer. Never has sacrifice had such genuine poetry to serve it. But the reverse of the coin is, that never has poetic endowment strayed so far from the wholesome themes to fritter itself away upon the ancient hocus-pocus of the fire-priest and the medicine-man. Of course, what finally saves this poetry from banality is the presence in it of these same luminous gods whose brilliance is obscured but not extinguished by such childish treatment. The poetry of the Ṛgveda is in the main also really dull and mechanical, but in good part it is leavened by true beauty of conception, fineness of observation, and all the circumstances of a literary composition. If we cut out the foolish sacrifice, and pare down a pretty thick crust of conventionalism, there is left in the Vedic hymns, enough of beauty and character to secure them a place in the world's literature. Forget but the string that ties the thought of the Vedic Ṛṣis to the sacrificial post, and you shall see that the thought flit far away to great heights, where birds do not fly. (*vayasaśca na patayanti patatrīnaḥ* I. 155.5). For the time being, at least, it becomes what we call inspired, and anyhow, it breeds the germs that shall flower out to great things in future days, when the Hindu thought finally emancipate itself from sacrifice along with many other trivialities



of life. In its essence the R̥gveda is not liturgy but mythology. The essence of the R̥gveda is poetry, or rather, more precisely, poetic exaltation, or the pride and joy of poetic creativeness. The twin factors of devoted fervour and its successful utterance in hymns and stanzas create sensations of satisfaction which are easily taken for sanctification. At first the article is not genuine but it goes on being the receptacle of better thoughts until it grows into what we may consider real religious feeling.' (BLOOMFIELD. *Religion of the Veda*. 29-31; 64, 65; 66-73, 80, 81; 198 etc.)

Far greater enthusiasm and sincerity are seen in the remarks of ADOLF KAEGI who expresses himself thus in his *Der R̥gveda, die älteste Literatur der Inder* (pp. 33-36): 'the wonderful pimagery of the language shines out in transparent clearness and and exuberance of sparkling brilliancy; its forms of expression are poured forth as from an inexhaustible spring; everywhere originality, richness of diction, rapid development and buoyant life meet us. Here are to be seen fixed epithets, formulaic expressions confined to certain connections, rhetorical adornments, idioms and whole passages which repeatedly re-occur unchanged or with slight variations. The great majority of the songs are invocations and adorations of the deities respectively addressed; their keynote throughout is a simple out-pouring of the heart, a prayer to the Eternals, an invitation to receive favourably the piously dedicated gift. The hymns recognise nothing of the later theory of inspiration. To that which a god placed in his soul and caused him to feel, to the impulse of his heart, the singer wishes to give eloquent expression. Like fair and well made robes the powers composed the hymns as a skilled workman makes a chariot (5.29.15). There are unimportant, tiresome, and over-burdened compositions in the R̥gveda by the side of the splendid productions of divinely inspired poets. In the R̥gveda there is fresh beauty of vigorous poetry of nature. Were any one to take the trouble of transforming himself to the religion and moral thought and action, the poetry and the working of a people and age, in which the first spiritual development of our own race is placed before our eyes as its best, he will himself be attracted in various ways by many of these songs, here through the childlike simplicity, there through the freshness and delicacy of their imagery and feelings, and again by the boldness of

their metaphor and by the scope of their fancy. It is a document of great aesthetic value. *The poetry of the Ṛgveda belongs to the religious lyric.*

GELDNER's views about the origin and nature of the Ṛgvedic poetry are also equally interesting and important. In his *Vedische Studien* (II. pp. 150-155) he observes: "OLDENBERG draws attention upon a principle of innovation, upon the application of individual verses—with the exception of a few—which was foreign to the old ritual. It is against the spirit of old poetry to raise the attached Sūkta to a rule instead of an art form. By the time of the Brāhmanas the religious poetic art, and not poetry in general, is well nigh extinguished. The hotar has become the heir and the privileged possessor of the old poetic treasure, as he was from the olden times the proper person who uttered the riks at the ritual activities; but the spiritual production of the old poets has been at theosophy. Yājñavalkya, for example, is a poet in prose. . . In the later ritual, the accompanying recitation is a stereotyped one. . . But in the Ṛgveda the novelty of the spoken-or sung-word counts much. The poet repeatedly assures us that he has composed the poem after a famous example in the manner of the classical ancient poets. These show the regulations of the art of the old Kāvya. . . With the decline of the poetic art, novelty became the prime concern and with this disappeared the aesthetic element from the rituals; the free art was lost through the mechanical formulaic ways. . . He did not sing along as the Bard in the more worldly gāthās and nārāśamsiṣ of fame and the liberality of his patron alone; he was also the spiritual poet. Often he composed new hymns for the sacrificial fire on the wish and order of the royal Yajamāna. The character of the Ṛgvedic poetry is throughout courtly. The Maghavā and Maghavānah are, in all probability, either kings or members of the royal families. As the scholar lives on brahmodyas, so in the flowering times of poetic art, the poetic tournaments were arranged for the most part on the orders and under the personal presidentship of the royal members who could comprehend art, in the Sabhā. . . they are called Sāri. The Ṛgveda gives in its imagery a reflected image of the Indian Court life. The life of the kings is expressed there for all times in an unbridled way. In the wealthy imagery of the Ṛgveda there throng the bataera and the sportive life so strikingly

in the foreground. As RĠvedic poetry was throughout highly skilled and artistic, the poet must have learnt it from a teacher. And most probably the father taught his son'. (III. p. 109).

BRUNNHOFER expresses his thrill at the reading of the RĠveda as 'In the RĠveda Samhita we have a prince of poets towering up out of the mists of primitive times. The Veda is the lark's morning trill, of humanity awakening to the consciousness of its greatness'. (*Ueber den geist den Indischen Lyrik.* pp. 15, 41.)

In this manner practically every RĠvedic scholar, whatever may be his views about the poetry, has been impressed by the elements of art present in the RĠveda. For even OLDENBERG who took the RĠvedic poets to be sacrificial experts singing in the traditional manner, also had to note that the RĠveda was a collection of simple, plain moving Nature poetry, 'einfache ruhrende Naturpoesie.' (*Vedaforschung*, Stuttgart. 1905, p. 11ff) and had noticed cases of assonance and double meaning and ornaments in Vedic poetry and had talked of a gradual change. (*Indices to his RĠveda, Noten*, Berlin 1909 and 1912, s. v. 'Syntax und Stilistik', and his book 'Die Literatur des alten Indiens', Stuttgart 1903, p. 208). So was HILLEBRANDT too attracted by the poetical traits of the RĠveda, like the alliteration, a lingual expedient, the poetical technique of sound pictures, the play with initial consonants and the delight in the consonance of the syllables. BERGAIGNE went to the length of regarding the RĠveda, an independent body of literature, a mere string of rhetorical subtleties and delicacies originating in milieus of priests, a product of rhetoric, even of bizzare or eccentric rhetoric. He did notice the poetic licence to be seen in the order and grouping of words, but at the same time he was much impressed by the comparisons, metaphors, allusions to mythical concepts and correspondences between rites and the celestial phenomenon. GUERINOT in his Latin '*De Rhetorica Vedica*' dealt with and discussed the various figures of speech like personification, antithesis, amplification, paromoia that are essential elements of the traditional classical theory of art of poetry. It may be said with some justification that the French scholars wrote about the RĠveda regarding it as written under the influence of classical rhetoric.

he is abandoning the natural style and he is using what may be called *stylistic ornaments*. It is but natural that poetry, artificiality in itself, should give a greater scope for these artificialities in language rather than prose which often is natural. The Vedic poets have used a considerable number of devices on which the *alaṅkāras* of the classical period are based.

The word 'alaṅkāra' deserves to be understood in a much larger sense than is commonly understood. GONDA has well pointed out that the term originally expressed the idea of 'something which gives strength required for an undertaking or occurrence, or for meeting the requirements of a situation, hence, an object which bestows a consecrated condition upon a person as for instance, the amulet'; as amulets often were, at the same time, ornaments in our sense of the word, the word came also to express this idea. It is likely that the stylistic devices came to be termed as 'alaṅkāras' for these too on their part make the product of the author's genius fit to meet certain requirements, either religious or aesthetic. In the use of these devices, the Ṛgvedic poets might have been both indigenous as well as universal, that is, the urges behind them might have been, both of their particular race as well as of a universal nature and therefore to be seen in other ancient literatures too. GONDA regards the style of the early literature as 'Carmen Style' and seeks to establish a connection of the literary tendencies of repetition, balance, antithesis with magic and as traceable in all early literatures. In adopting a very wide comparative outlook and method GONDA has much widened the field of BLOOMFIELD who is content in restricting himself to the Ṛgveda. If BLOOMFIELD indicates that the Ṛgvedic families repeat themselves, GONDA suggests that in doing so they follow an universal urge. (*Stylistic Repetitions in the Veda*. Amsterdam. 1959) GONDA regards repetition as natural to magic, for it is supposed to give power, natural to a primitive person, for he is anxious to preserve and use what has proved to be adequate before, useful in the early stages of human development for securing easy memorising and understanding. In these early stages an expression soon hardened into a conventional formula. Posterity did not bother to create or find out a new expression, a new mould of form, when a phrase that was successful was already available. In the language of religion and magic, every

thing about an expression, its rhyme, alliteration and words are of absolute importance and any change is supposed to result in loss of power and is therefore meticulously avoided. The phenomenon of repetitions is very significant and has historical as well as a psychological background. The style of the Ṛgvedic poets and the frequency of repetitions are to be understood against this social and historical background.

The approach here in the main is literary and an attempt will be made to study some typical repetitions. Scholars have pointed out the presence of rhetorical material in the Ṛgveda. The Ṛgvedic poets themselves show and say that they are conscious poets, singers and that they are singing in the manner of old. They sing, and sing deliberately and while singing imitate. It may be true as GONDA points out, that magical elements may have been responsible for such imitation and repetition, but a study of these songs suggests that the reasons could well also be the considerations of art and aesthetic beauty. The word 'primitive' can be used in the context of the Ṛgvedic poets only in its chronological sense and not qualitative. For these poets do reveal an astonishing ideological and technical advance that the word primitive, with its full implications, could be used in their context only with much hesitation. We have seen what the Western as well as Indian scholars have to say about the poets of the Ṛgveda and their poetry. It would perhaps be more interesting and of greater value if an effort is made to study the theory of poetry of these Ṛgvedic poets before we proceed to a consideration of the various repetitions in which they have indulged. A knowledge of the Ṛgvedic views about songs and theory of poetry will enable us to understand their practice of the art of poetry.

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## 11—The R̥gvedic Concept of Muse and Theory of Poetry.

What really was the attitude of the R̥gvedic poets towards their Muse and especially towards the processes by which and the influences under which they composed their songs or prayers? What was the effect they did desire and how did they themselves regard their own compositions? A study of the R̥gvedic songs, with a view to finding out the answers to these questions, given by the poets themselves is bound to be fruitful, for this will enable us to understand the R̥gvedic songs in a manner in which the poets of these songs wanted us to understand them. In other words, it will be possible for us to be as near as possible to the 'intentions' of the poets and thus understand what they said or attempted to say. The word 'intentions' has been deliberately used here, for many times it does happen that this vital part in a poetical composition is often forgotten and the original thought is left out of consideration while the manner or the language which is but a vehicle of this thought is given the paramount importance. The first and main purpose and objective of criticism and study of Poetry, worth the name, is and rightly enough ought to be, the appreciation and understanding of these intentions of the poets, rather than the language in which the intentions are dressed. The importance of the language cannot be denied, but after all, it is only a means to an end and a very unsatisfactory means indeed. Language has been our means of communication no doubt, yet it has always been found to be falling short of the demands made on it, for it has always been found to be too weak, too poor to convey what a human being has, after a deep consideration, found to be of real significance. A poet, a lover, a devotee and an orator, all these are dissatisfied with this means which each of them has to use. Life's significant occasions find a human being often dumb, true, on account of the overwhelming emotions, but also to a very large measure, on account of the inadequacy of the language to convey what is innermost and keenly felt. Love, Gratitude and Devotion are rarely adequately expressed. It is therefore that when we are studying poetry, the intentions of the poets, what is felt inwardly

and is desired to be conveyed by them becomes of greater importance than the manner in which or the means with which it has been conveyed. This very realization that language is an inadequate means of expressing what is most keenly felt, makes the person who desires to use it, to endeavour deliberately to make the means adequate to his purpose, to make the means powerful enough to accomplish the end desired, to *alam-kṛ*. It is this inadequacy that is innate to the language that is the cause of the birth of the rhetoric and the various recognised embellishments of the language. Ordinary language is not able, has not the power, *sāmarthya*, is not *alam*, to convey what is thought to be significant, and so an effort is made to make it able, to possess the power, to be *alam*, to convey the desired meaning and thus the 'alamkṛtā Vāk' or to use the favourite phrase of the Ṛgvedic poets, 'śukravarnā dhī' (I.14 7; III. 34.5) is regarded as adequate to serve the purpose. In this respect the magician and the poet are on the same level and the Vedic times show that both of them desired to make everything 'strong, alamkṛta' to accomplish the desired end. The priest also joins these two, for he too makes the victim and the means 'alamkṛta or aramkṛta' before he puts them to use. The poets, with whom we are primarily concerned here, therefore, are seen to make a deliberate effort to decorate the language, to perform certain rites on it in order to bestow on it the capacity, the power of accomplishing the desired end. This decoration has certain vital psychological urges and needs behind it which ought to be recognised and understood, for it is these factors that throw illuminating light on the various decorations and the methods employed in them. The mere study of the decorations or of methods employed for these decorations, howsoever useful and interesting, is not likely to yield anything of much value to a real student of literature. After all, philological and rhetorical studies must in the very nature of things, in the field of literature in general and of poetry in particular, ought to remain subordinate to the study of the intentions, the significant things which the poets want to convey. As ELLIOT rightly points out, while speaking about Dante, that the images and the deliberately composed poetic diction are not a mere 'decorative verbiage' but are something that we are meant to feel. (*Dante*, p. 53). The Ṛvedic poets are to be understood and approached in the same spirit, if we are to do them justice. They wanted to utter

deep thoughts, appeal to divine powers for well-being and safety and wanted to converse with the majestic powers of the pantheon. In a way, in that very early period they strove to put the language to its noblest of purposes. Out of love and devotion they created and they devotedly loved what they created. How often and how lovingly do they speak of their songs ! They seem to take a proper pride in their accomplishments and therefore the simplicity of the Rġvedic poets and of their life, need not come in the way of our trying to treat them as we do the later poets like Dante, Milton, Shelley, Keats, Wordsworth, Kālidasā, Bhavabhūti and a host of other poets. For, all these poets form a tribe of their own and therefore have much in common. By the commonly believed 'simplicity, naivety' of the Rġvedic poets, is to be understood only this much, that what elsewhere would be regarded as grotesque is not to be here regarded as such. Theirs is a different universe in this respect and their imagery and phraseology is to be understood in the context of their life. Their simplicity does not and ought not to mean an absolute unawareness of the sublime, the beautiful, the sacred, the powerful, an unawareness of the supreme purpose of language, religion and of the position of man in the universe, his duty and attitude towards the surrounding universe in which he is placed.

The Rġvedic poets vie with one another in claiming the gods exclusively and this exclusive possession is sought on the basis of sincerity of emotion and excellence of the composition. The Rġvedic poets repeatedly assert that they are conscious artists and that their songs have been inspired by the powers divine. It is but natural therefore that they should have developed some kind of notion in respect of the processes of the composition of poetry and its presiding deity or the Muse of poetry. As conscious artists they might have, with great zest and enthusiasm and with a desire to produce calculated effects in their compositions, practised certain ways and methods intentionally, yet it is also natural, if at the same time they had felt inspired, excited by a certain power that they did not understand but regarded as divine. Whenever and wherever is poetry composed and practised, there is also developed a theory of poetry as well as the concept of the Muse of Poetry. The Rġveda does show the deification of a few abstract concepts, valuable in themselves, like *Devi Nirṛti* (VII.37.7)



Arammati, Anumati (X.59.6;167.3) and Śraddhā (X.151) and among such concepts is to be seen the concept of the Muse of Poetry also. GELDNER while trying to interpret IX.72 (*Komm.* 140) had to say something that is pertinent in this context. According to him, expressed in modern terms, the Daughter of the Sun is the Genius of Poetry and Song. 'Modern ausgedrückt ist die Tochter des Sūrya die Genie der poesie und des Gesanges' The thought of the clarifying effects of Poesie on Soma, as stated in IX.1.6. 'punāti te pariśrutam somam sūryasya duhitā/vārena śaśvatā tanā' are developed throughout the Soma Book, as in 'dhiyā pavate somaḥ (72.4) indubḥ paviṣṭa cetanaḥ priyaḥ kavīnām matī / sṛjadaśvam rathīriva ( 64.10) and places like 96.15; 2.7; 20.3; 26.1; 63.20 also can be referred to in this context. The Sun is also connected with the poetical thought and the art of the poet, since the Gandharva, the father of the Songsters is none but the Sun and the Yajurveda, the Śukla one, has been secured from the Sun. Soma and the Daughter of the Sun are also closely related and the inspiration of the poets is to be traced to them. But OLDENBERG does not appear to be inclined to agree with this suggestion of GELDNER. He is not prepared to accept Śāyana's identification of Uṣas with the Sūryasya Duhitā, for he points out that Uṣas is 'divo duhitā' and not 'Sūryasya duhitā'. HILLEBRANDT, however, accepts the identification, at least as supported by VII.69.4. Sūryā is spoken of in the context of the Aśvins, OLDENBERG points out, as being their bride and having mounted their car; so also is Uṣas spoken of in the context of the Aśvins but not in this particular relation and thus it may be that the Rġvedic poets had two independent but closely allied deities in Sūryā, the Daughter of the Sun and Uṣas, the Daughter of the Heaven as the very words 'Sūryasya' duhitā and Divo duhitā' would indicate.

The problem becomes all the more complicated, for we are given in III.53.15.16, a mystical as well as mystifying equation in that Sūryasya duhitā has been identified with Sasarpārī, traditionally regarded as Vāk, and at IX.72.3. Sūryasya duhitā has been identified with the Uṣas, at least by Śāyana. Śāyana, however, is not able to explain the precise meaning of the 'Soma drowing the dear voice of the daughter of the Sun (aramamāṇo atyeti gā abhī sūryasya priyam duhitustiro ravam IX.72.3). Even if we under-

stand the voice of the Sun's daughter, Uṣas, to be the songs sung at the dawn, even then the meaning is not clear. BHAWE is inclined to agree with OLDENBERG in thinking that the R̥gveda does not support the identification of the Sun's daughter and the Uṣas, the daughter of the Heaven. Sāyana himself is not consistent in interpreting the 'Sūryasya duhitā'. At IX.1.3. Sūryasya duhitā is Śraddhā, according to him and for this he turns to a 'Brāhmaṇa passage: 'Śraddhā vai sūryasya duhitā, Śraddhā hi enam punāti.' Yet the Śraddhā hymn, X 151, makes no suggestion whatsoever of such a relation. It is again to be noted that the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa 2.3.10.1. makes a distinction between Śraddhā and Sāvitrī, or more correctly Sītā Sāvitrī. In this account, Sāvitrī secures from Soma, her lover, the Vedas, thus once more indicating some relation between the daughter of the Sun, Sāvitrī, with the literature, poetry, the Vedas. It need not be argued that Sāvitrī and Sūryā cannot be regarded as identical for, one is the daughter of the Sūrya, while the other is the daughter the Savitṛ; for in the celebrated hymn that sings of the marriage of the daughter of the Sūrya, Sūryā, the name of the father wishing to give away the daughter is given as Savitṛ. (X.85.9). If all these facts are put together, then it appears that GELDNER's suggestion that Sūryasya duhitā is really the R̥gvedic genii of poetry has much to recommend itself for acceptance. The fact that we have another goddess Sarasvatī connected with the poetry and the thought of the R̥gvedic poets need not present us any difficulty. Sarasvatī, to the R̥gvedic mind, is primarily a river and then a protector of the songs. BHAWE would like to regard Sarasvatī as 'the guardian deity of poetry' and Sūryasya duhitā as 'poetry personified'. Sarasvatī is a river in VII.95 which is a song in her honour and then gradually came to be connected with the prayer; thus in VII.35.11 her good will along with the prayers, 'saha dhībhiḥ' is sought and then at VI.61.4 she is regarded as the protector of the songs 'dhīnām avitrī', and at I.3.10.12 she is inciter of all pleasant songs, inspirer of all gracious thought, brightener of every pious thought, 'codayitrī sūnṛtānām, cetanti sumatinām, dhiyo vivā vi rajati'. In the unstable and developing mythology of the R̥gveda Sarasvatī perhaps on account of her more prominent relation with Speech, Vāk, soon displaced Sūryasya Duhitā, in fact, completely amalgamated her personality into her own by taking for herself the exceedingly white, śukra or śukla, complexion of the Sun's

daughter. Sarasvatī is all white as the classical expression of Daṇḍin and Vijjakā 'Sarvasūklā sarasvatī' affirms. The R̥gvedic concept of the genii of poetry, therefore, might be said to have developed from the two concepts of 'Sūryasya Duhitā' and 'Sarasvatī', and finally settled on the latter. Soma as the drink of inspiration for sacred thoughts and strength, might have also been thought of by the R̥gvedic poets as having something to do with poetry, but it would be safe to assert that they thought of the Sūryasya Duhitā and of Sarasvatī as primarily connected with poetry and in this respect what the later classical tradition has preserved is nothing but a logical development of these two concepts, no doubt, arrived at by a process of amalgamation.

It would be worth our while to look into these two concepts a little more closely, for that will enable us to appreciate in a better manner the R̥gvedic notions and knowledge of the processes of poetry, which are presented to us in a symbolic manner. According to IX. 113. 3. it is the Sūryasya Duhitā who has raised the Soma and carried it to the higher regions where the Gandharvas seizing it have placed the juice in it. 'Parjanya-vṛddam mahiṣam tam sūryasya duhi'ābharat / tam gandharvāḥ pratyagr̥bhṇan tam some rasam ādadhuḥ, indrāyendo pari srava.'

Further the Aśvināu are called 'Sūryāvāsū' those whose wealth is Sūryā at VII. 68. 3, and she is said to have chosen the splendour of the Aśvināu at the early hour of the dawn in VII. 69. 4. 'Yuvoḥ śriyam pari yoṣāvṛṇita', soro duhitā paritakmyāyām'. The same Yoṣā, Sūryasya duhitā is again referred to in the same context in VIII. 8. 10. 'Ā yad vām yoṣāṇā ratham atīṣṭhat vājīnivasū'. Since Sūryā has chosen Aśvināu as her lords, they are asked to hear the songs of the poet for her in VIII. 22. 1. 'Ā Sūryāyai tasthathuḥ. This association with Sūryā is, for the R̥gvedic poets, a prominent characteristic of the Aśvināu, and is therefore, mentioned as such in VIII. 29. 8. 'Vibhiḥ dvā carata ekayā saha pra pravāseva vasataḥ'. Are we to see here a symbolic reference to the poetical fancies that roam on winged horses and are in a sense eternal travellers? This Sūryasya duhitā is undoubtedly connected with the Ūṣas, and appears to be some form of the Ūṣas, the Daughter of the Heaven, for it is said that the 'Divāḥ duhitā' is born at the time of the yoking of the wonderful

chariot of the Aśvins that the Ṛbhus had fashioned. 'Yasyā yoge duhitā jāyate dīvaḥ' X. 39. 12. and it is so to be noted that the wife, 'patnī' of the Aśvinau is mentioned in the just preceding verse 'purotharm kṛṇutha patnyā saha'. X. 39. 11. But the most important and interesting hymn in this respect is X. 85. the celebrated Marriage Hymn, where we have good deal of fine symbolism about Sūryā. Keeping in mind that Sūryā, the Daughter of Savitr, is the genii of poetry the following lines deserve a close scrutiny :

• Raibhyāsīdanudeyī nārāsamśī nyocanī /

sūryāyā bhadramidvāso gāthayaiti pariṣkṛtam. 6.

cittirā upabarhaṇam cakṣurā abhyañjanam /

dyaurbhūmiḥ kośa āsīd yadayāt sūryā patim. 7.

stomā āsān pratidhayaḥ kurīram chanda opaśaḥ /

sūryāyā aśvinā varā agnirāsīt purogavaḥ 8.

somo vadhūyuh abhavat aśvināstāmubhā varā /

sūryām yat patye śamsantīm manasā savitādādāt. 9.

mano asyā ana āsīd dyaursīduta cchadiḥ /

śukrāvanadvāhāvastām yadayāt sūryā gṛham. 10.

riksāmābhyāmabhihitau gāvau te sāmanāvitaḥ /

śrotrom te cakre āstām divi panthāscarācaraḥ. 11.

śuci te cakre yātyā vyāno akṣa āhataḥ /

ano mansmayam sūryā ārohat prayatī patim. 12.

✓ It could be suggested that the Ṛgvedic poetic imagination has created here a very lovely image of Poetry and its movement. Soma and the Aśvinau are the themes to which poetry or the goddess of Poetry often turns and in singing songs to these lovely auspicious themes, it itself is elevated: this is, in fact, the marriage of the song with its theme. How appropriate it is to say that mind was the car and thought was the pillow of her couch, and sight the ungent of her eyes. It should, indeed, not be necessary to comment at length on the appropriateness and significance of the ideas such as the earth and the heaven were the treasury, kośa, of the Spirit of Poetry, the metres were her decorations and friends weaving her very attractive and auspicious garment, the ears were the wheels of the cars and the bullocks were controlled by the Ṛk and the Sāman. Very rightly has it been said that the royal

bridal car of Sūryā was 'manasmaya'. All this gorgeous description creates before us a lovely and delicate image of the Muse of Poetry, exceedingly brilliant, inspired, embracing the whole of the universe for its themes, moving in an ideal car, decorated by the metres, herself brilliantly attired and resting on thought. Song and the Theme, Word and the Meaning are typical marriages for the Indian poetic sensitivity, on which are modelled the human marriages and the divine too, as Kālidāsa would appear to suggest in his 'vāgarthau iva saṁpṛktau' in the context of 'pārvatī-parameśvarau' in *Raghuvamśa* I. 1. This lovely and delicate image becomes complete if we add to it some of the brilliant and holy colours of the Uṣas, for as we have seen Sūryā and Uṣas are, to the Ṛgvedic mind, very closely related. The poetic inspiration becomes active at the time of the early dawn and therefore Uṣas also has a pretty close relation with poetry. Vasiṣṭha tells us in VII. 68. 9. that he sings his fair hymns as he has been awakened with glad thoughts at the break of the dawn. 'Eṣa sya kārūḥ jarate sōktaiḥ agre budhāna uṣasām sumanmā', a poetic experience preserved in later classical tradition by Kālidāsa in his exquisite 'paścimād yāminīyāmād prasādamiva cetanā'. *Raghuvamśa*, XVII. 1. The Ṛgvedic concept of the Muse of Poetry, therefore, appears to have three elements in it supplied by their concepts of Sūryā, Uṣas and Sarasvatī. In this their concept of the Muse, the Ṛgvedic poets have touched the archetypal pattern, since it offers a striking parallel to the concept of the Muse of poetry to be seen in the poets of the West, Homer, Milton, and many others. The Muse of Poetry is a feminine figure and the poets have a feeling of companionship with her. The hours spent with her are an experience to be enshrined in memory, for during those hours 'thoughts that voluntary move Harmonious numbers' are felt. This figure of a lady, is the supreme embodiment of the beauty felt in the visible world and is a power quickening man's sensibility to that beauty, and linking it in love to all nature. Mountains and rivers awaken such splendid poetical thoughts in man and it is therefore that Vatsa Kanva tells us that 'There where the mountains downward slope, there by the meeting of the streams, The Sage was manifest with song.' 'Upavhare giriṇām saṁgathe ca nadīnām/dhiyā viprah ajāyata.' VIII. 6.28.

Repetitions in this context, therefore, will have to be understood in this light. Here is something that comes from the deepest layers of the human mind.

If in their concept of the Muse of poetry the Rġvedic poets show a kinship with the rest of the poets of the world, in a similar manner they in their view of poetry offer a parallel to the thoughts to be met with elsewhere. We really need not be surprised if we find an agreement in the views regarding art, poetic art in particular, between the ancient Greeks and the Rġvedic poets. It is only to be expected that an early society like the Rġvedic society looks upon the poetic art as a craft. Amongst the Greeks, the School of Socrates and Aristotle developed the philosophy of craft and this is indeed a very significant contribution that these thinkers have made to the study of art and craft. It is significant in this context that in Plato's *Timaeus* we find a view stated, according to which God is a craftsman and the world is an artifact, a view rejected by Aristotle. Though Aristotle rejected this view in metaphysics, he appears to have accepted it in the field of art and aesthetics, for both Plato and Aristotle speak of the poet's craft. According to this view, the poet is just a skilled producer, just like a cobbler, a carpenter or a weaver, the recognised craftsmen in the society. The poet, again, like any other craftsman, learns by experience and practice and further, like them is aiming at producing certain effects, effects which are conceived in advance as being desirable states. The craftsman is deliberately working and is conscious of the excellence of his artifact. There is always a plan that the craftsman has in his mind, the one which he tries to execute with his technical skill. Another theory of art that developed side by side of this craft theory is the aesthetic theory of art and art-critics like COLLINGWOOD always speak of these two theories of art as prevalent in the field of literary criticism. These are theories that have been developed not only by the critics, but are views to which the literary artists themselves have made a great contribution; for among the literary artists themselves we find some regarding their art as a craft, while others appear to hold the aesthetic view. In a society primarily devoted to crafts, the craft theory of art is the natural one to be developed, while by a process of a subtle development, the aesthetic theory is bound to come to the foreground over-

throwing the craft theory. This is exactly what has happened in Sanskrit literary criticism as we witness its development from the Ṛgvedic times to the times of later writers like Viśvanātha and Jagannātha. The Ṛgvedic poets, therefore, must be taken as breathing in their own atmosphere when they postulate the craft theory of poetic art. It is possible for us to collate the views of the Ṛgvedic poets in order to be able to understand their position in this regard. There are some who hold the view that the Ṛgveda really does not offer much material for a construction of something like a theory of poetic art, but as a matter of fact, there is much material in the Ṛgveda, a critical study of which enables us to understand the views of the Ṛgvedic poets regarding the technique of composing the songs, their poetry, function of words and their significance in poetry and poetical processes in general. Originality or newness is an element that is highly valued by these poets and time and again they appear to speak with pride of their new song, navyam brahma. There is a spirit of competition, of rivalry between the poets and naturally there is a deliberate effort to make one's song the best, more original than that of the rival poets.

We find Gauraviti Śaktya in his song ( V. 29. 15 ) speaking of his composition in the following words addressing Indra :

Indra brahma kriyamāṇa juṣasva yā te śaviṣṭha navyā akarma/vastreva bhadrā sukṛtā vasūyū ratham na dhīraḥ svapā atakṣam'/V. 29. 15.

In very clear terms we are informed that the song has been produced much in the same manner as a carpenter produces a chariot or a weaver produces an excellent and auspicious garment. The words 'navyam, bhadrā, sukṛtā, svapā, atakṣam' are all very significant. Maitrāvaruṇi Vasiṣṭha in his song, ( VII.36.1 ) seems to suggest the sublime origin of his composition when he has to say that 'Pra brhma etu sadanāt ṛtasya vi raśmibhiḥ saṣṭe sūryo gāh', and about which he has also to say that 'Suvṛktim iṣam na kṛve asurā navīyah'. Vasiṣṭha's description of his song appears very significant, for the word 'gāh' has in the Ṛgveda different yet allied meanings like rays, light, cows and speech' and it is likely that Vasiṣṭha has all these in his mind when he says 'vi

raśmibhiḥ saṣṛje sūryo gaḥ'. The Sun has with his rays let loose the cattle, the rays and light on the universe and at the same time, the speech or poetical thoughts in the mind of the poet. The mind of the poet is holy and filled with sublime thoughts and he feels inspired to create a new song, let loose the speech, and hence observes 'let my song, holy prayer, proceed forth from the seat of the Rta.' Vasiṣṭha, again in VII.94.1. appears to suggest the spontencity as well as copiousness of his song in a very eloquent manner. He observes 'iyam vāmasya manmana indrāgnī pūrvyastutiḥ abhrādvr̥ṣṭirivājani'. The mind of the poet is just a cloud, full of material to be delivered and ready for a discharge and from such a surcharged mind, the song has emerged just like the showers from a cloud. It could be said with justification that profundity, spontencity and irresistability or the inevitable character of a song are adequately conveyed by Vasiṣṭha in his admirable simile 'abhrādvr̥ṣṭivājani'. Further, Maitravaruni Vasiṣṭha tells us in yet clearer terms about the divine origin of the songs in VII.97.3 and 5. Vasiṣṭha observes in this song addressed to Brahmanaspati and Indra 'Indram śloko mahi daivyaḥ śiṣaktu yo brahmanaḥ devakṛtasya rāja' where the words 'daivyaḥ ślokaḥ' and 'brahmanaḥ devakṛtasya' are quite transparent. It is, again the earlier Immortals, poets of the earlier generation, that have given the song to the younger generation of the poets, for pleasure immortal, as we are told in 'tamā no arkam amṛtāya juṣṭām ime dhāsuḥ amṛtāsaḥ purājāḥ' (5). We have in Devāpi, the poet of X.98. a poet whom Bṛhaspati favoured with poetical speech that reached the ears of the gods and that won the shower, as he himself describes in 'devaśrutam vr̥ṣṭivanim rarāṇo bṛhaspativācam asmā ayacchat' (X. 98.7). The poet requests Bṛhaspati to grant him speech that is lucid, vigorous, free from weakness and that is brilliant: 'Asme dhehī dyumatim vācamāsan bṛhaspate anamivām iṣirām'. It would also be interesting to note how Paruccheпа Daivodāsi speaks of the production of a poetical composition. He echoes the idea of Gauravīti Śaktya in 'ratham na dhīraḥ svapā atakṣiṣuḥ' but adds a very significant idea of his own in 'Imām te vācam vaśūyanta āyavo ratham na dhīraḥ svapā atakṣiṣuḥ sumnāya tvām atakṣiṣuḥ śumbhanto jenyam yathā vājeṣu vipra vājinam'. I.130.6. I do not think it would be proper to understand that it is the decoration of Indra that is referred to here in 'śumbhanto jenyam yathā' as GRIFFITH does; more correctly,



it must go, along with ratham na dhīraḥ etc. with 'imāṃ vācam' and therefore the decoration contemplated is of the speech and not of Indra. In a similar manner wherever the word 'suvṛkti' is used with reference to a song, we have the craft theory of poetry; for the word so often used by the Ṛgvedic poets in the sense of a good poem in all probability comes from Vṛñj to cut and has a reference to the skilful cutting of the sacred grass, barhi, or the kuśa. ROTH understands the word as 'su and rukti' to be derived from 'arc' but as GELDNER has rightly pointed out it is a past participle and the form is 'vṛkti'. So it has the sense of 'well cut' or 'excellently finished' a sense which Śāyana has correctly brought out in his 'susamāptiḥ'. From this primary sense of the word as given by Śāyana, it is easy to understand his other renderings of the word 'suvṛkti' as 'śobhanaḥ stutiḥ' referring perhaps to its fine form and holy contents and 'śobhana-varjakam stotram' referring to its beneficial effects. In the craft theory of poetry, not only is poetry regarded as skilful production, but it has also a purpose, an end to serve, and this end, for the early Ṛgvedic poets was the winning of the favour of the gods, the winning of the good things in life, in fact, of all that is good and auspicious, śobhana. The basis of the relation between the art of the poet and the arts of other craftsmen was the technical skill required of both of them. It is interesting to note how the ideas regarding poetry and its processes underwent a change and gradually gained in depth in the Ṛgveda, which indeed, can be regarded as a record of such development, and hence it is proposed in what follows to attempt a brief survey of these ideas, familywise and also stratawise, for such a method has a double advantage of being able to throw light on the concepts not only of the poets but also on those of the times.

Among the different Books of the Ṛgveda, in a very rough and broad manner, at least four stratas could be spoken of. The first strata would be of the Books II, III, and IV, the books of Gṛtsamada, Viśvāmitra and Vāmadeva respectively. The second strata would consist of the Books V, VI, and VII., the Books of Atri, Bharadvāja and Vasiṣṭha respectively. The third strata would be of the Books VIII and IX, the Book of the Kaṇvas and that of the Soma Pavamāna. The last and the final strata would be of the Books I and X, giving us the new urges and developed

thoughts. It is not necessary to add that this is but a rough picture, an outline of the general picture of the different stratas of the Ṛgveda; for a student of the Ṛgveda knows very well how the bewildering complications of the problem and the cross influences to be seen in the text, make any definite or final judgment almost impossible. The present inquiry about the ideas of the poets regarding poetry and its processes will, therefore, be along the line of the stratas just now indicated.

The various references to be found in the Gṛtsamada hymns (Book II), if put together, suggest that according to them, Agni is the lover of poetry 'gīrvaṇasa' (6.3); songs are natural and spontaneous just like those of the birds 'avocad brahmāni veru tat' (5.3); they also affirm that their songs are new and great, 'vidhema navayā mahā girā' (24.1); that their very earnest and swelling songs have been fashioned anew, 'udyatā vacāmsi atakṣan āyavo navyase sam'. (31.7). They believe that the song or the well thought out prayer, mantra, comes out of the heart and is well fashioned 'hṛdaḥ ā sutaṣṭam mantram vocema' (35.2); they affirm that they are the makers of the 'nourishing and strength-giving songs.' The Viśvāmitras (Book III) hold ideas very similar to these ideas of the Gṛtsamadās. According to the Viśvāmitras, the songs are nourishers, 'vardhanāni' and decorations to the divinities, 'upa bhūṣema dama ā suvṛktibhiḥ' (3.9); the singers are contemplative and holy in their minds when they produce their songs, 'kavayaḥ svādhyāḥ manasā devayantaḥ' (8.4); the songs are faultless, 'giraḥ anavadyāḥ' (31.13); the song renders an old subject new, 'tam angirasavat namasā saparyan navyam kṛnomi sanyase purājam' (31.19); the songs are old as well as modern, 'stomebhiḥ vāvṛdhe pūrvyebhiḥ yaḥ madhyamebhiḥ uta nūtanebhiḥ' (32.13); the song is decorated for the praise of the immortal 'iyarmi vacam amṛtāya bhūṣan' (34.2); the song is contemplated and fashioned out in the manner of a carpenter, 'abhi taṣṭeva didhyayā maṇiṣam' (38.1); the song flows out of the heart and then the fashioner of the song produces it, 'matih hṛda a vacyamānā acchā patim stomataṣṭā jigāti' (39.1); the paternal poetry of the Viśvāmitras is brilliant, holy, auspicious and of great antiquity, 'diva'cidā pūrvyā jāyamānā, vidathe śasyamānā, bhadrā vastuāni arjunā vaśānā, seyam asme sanajā pitryā dhīḥ' (39.2). The gods are desired to love the song as does a lover his

beloved, 'Joṣayāse giraśca naḥ vadhūyuh̥ iva yoṣaṇām' (52.3). The Vāmadevas (Book IV) appear to be, in comparison with other families, somewhat reticent to speak about or describe their poetry, yet like their brothers, they affirm that they are the makers of the songs 'akāri brahma' (6.11); the songs are fashioned out just as the Bṛḥgu carpenters carved out the chariot, 'brahmākarma bṛḥgavo na ratham' (16.20); the songs are new, 'akāri brahma navyam dhiyā' (17.21) the songs are messengers, ambassadors to gods, 'dātam iva vācam iṣye' (33.1); the songs, when united with a divinity become glorious and rich like the Soma when mixed with milk, 'śriye na gāvaḥ upa somamasthuḥ indram giro varuṇām me manīṣāḥ' (41.8)

The Atris (Book V) clearly say that the song has been fashioned out, carved out like a chariot by a skilful carpenter, 'etam te stomam tuvijāta vipraḥ ratham na dhīraḥ svapā atakṣam' (2.11); the song is the outcome of meditation, 'stomam manāmahe' (13.2); the songs strengthen and decorate the gods, 'stomaiḥ vardhayanti atrayaḥ, gīrbhiḥ śumbhanti atrayaḥ'. (22.4); the songs intoxicate and gladden, 'gīrbhiḥ madema (36.2): the song is beautiful, dear to heart, bringer of happiness and god-sent, 'stomam hṛdyam suśevam, brahma priyam devahitam' (42.2); the song is a fresh and new one, 'medhām giram bhare navyasīm jāyamānam' (42.13); the songs are, so far as the singers are concerned, saviours and purifiers in that they take them beyond sins, 'ayā dhiyā syāma devagopā ayā dhiyā tuturyāma atyamhaḥ' (45.11); the song has depth as it is dear too, 'bṛhad gabhīram brahma priyam' (85.1). The Bharadvājas (Book VI) fall in line with the rest of the poets in accepting the craft theory of poetry. The Bharadvājas inform us that the rik, the offering to the divinity is carved out by the heart, 'ā te agne r̥cā haviḥ hṛdā taṣṭam' (16.47). They too affirm that theirs are new songs, 'brahma navyam' (17.13). The inspiration is divine and this is suggested in an address to Indra as 'tvam kavim codayaḥ arkasātau' (26.3) where Sayana understands 'arka' as 'anna' food, but it should rather mean a song, since the word has that sense almost everywhere in the R̥gveda. These poets too affirm that their songs have been new and carved out with skill, 'apūrvyā purutamāni śantamāni vacāmīśi aśā takṣam' (32.1), 'navyasibhiḥ gīrbhiḥ' (49.1), 'navyasāḥ jaramānasya manma' (62.4). All these songs, powerful

in their expression, enter Indra to be united with him and in him just as the rivers pour themselves in the ocean, 'samudram na sindhavaḥ ukthaśuṣmā uruvyacasam gira ā viśanti'. (36.3). The purpose of the songs, obviously and frankly enough, is to get the wishes fulfilled from the divinities, 'brahmānam brahmavāhasam girbhiḥ sakhāyam ṛgmiyagam, gām na dohase huve' (45.7); in fact, the songs flow in a natural manner to Indra as the water does towards a slope, 'ava tve indra pravato na urmiḥ giraḥ brahmāni niyuto dhavante,' (47.14). The Bharadvājas bring Sarasvati into contact with inspiration and songs when they look upon her as purifying and lovely, one of wonderful life, the beloved of the heroes, and invoke her to inspire them, 'dhiyam dhāt paviravi kanyā citrayuḥ sarasvatī virapatnī' (49.7) and further, this goddess, the protector of inspiration is invoked for protection, 'devī sarasvatī dhīnam avitri avatu' (61.4). They claim that their songs are based on truth, 'ād vām bravāma satyāni ukthā', while about others they say that 'vi yadvācam kīstāso bharante śamsanti kecid nivido manānāḥ, (67.10), The holy song is a sure and best protection for the poet, 'brahma varma mama antaram' (75.19). A Bharadvāja poet has given us a beautiful song, VI.9. which incidently throws interesting light on the inner urge of a poet trying to fructify itself. GRASSMAN imagines the song to be giving the thoughts of a poet about to enter a poetical contest, but it is clear that the song has a deeper mystical significance. If the craft theory of the R̥gvedic poets is borne in mind and also the fact that they think of poetry as an artifact like a chariot or a piece of fine cloth, then the imagery of the threads, tantu and otu, used here should be clear to us. Śāyana with his usual ritualistic urge, understands the 'tantus' to be the metres and the 'otus' to be the sacrificial actions, but it could well be said that the 'tantus' are the metres as Śāyana understands and the 'otus' are the words. The poet speaks of the tradition as well as of the inspiration that are always behind such poetical compositions. Hence it is said that whose son shall here speak words that must be spoken without assistance from the father near him, 'kasya svit putra iha vaktvāni paro vadātyavareṇa pitrā' (9.2) and then the reference is made to the protector of the Immortal who knows everything, 'ya im ciketa amṛtasya gopā' (9.3). The light is within and all the senses along with the mind try to catch a glimpse of the same, to have a vision of the same, and the poet is almost

in a frenzy and therefore he observes 'vi me karṇā patayato vi cakṣuḥ vidam jyotirhr̥daya āhitam yat, vi me manaścarati dūra ādhīḥ' but he fumbles and comes out with 'kim svid vakṣyāmi kimu nu maṇiṣye' (9.6), what shall I say and what shall I think? Without doubt, the song has a metaphysical import but that fact does not go against the present interpretation proposed here, for the poet here, like the philosopher and the mystic, tries to catch a vision of Truth and his experience is almost identical with that of the others in this respect. It would appear from this song that this poet from the Bharadvāja family has seen something beyond the craft theory of poetry and art.

According to the Vasiṣṭhas (Book VII) the songs are pure and holy, 'matim supūtam' (4.1) and they long for the gods, 'devayantiḥ giro matayḥ' (10.3). The songs are imperishable, 'akṣarā' (15.9) and strengthen the gods 'tubhyam brahmāni vardhanā kṛṇomi' (22.7). These songs have been composed by old sages and new poets, 'ye ca purva ṛṣayo ye ca nūnā indra brahmāni janayanta viprah' (22.9), are well fashioned and cut, 'suvṛktiḥ maṇiṣā' (24.2). The Vasiṣṭhas are perhaps more particular in affirming that their songs are new, 'manmāni ṛcase navāni kṛtāni brahma jujuṣan imāni' (61.6), new songs are being produced for the delight of Indra, 'uktham janaye naviyah' (26.1) and these songs decorate Indra, 'kā te asti aramkṛtiḥ suktaiḥ' (29.3). Another point of interest is that perhaps it is these poets of the Vasiṣṭha family, who among all the R̥gvedic poets are much conscious of the excellence and quality of their songs; for they assert that their songs are beyond imitation, 'na anyena stomo vasiṣṭhā anvetave vaḥ' (33.8); their songs are best, 'upamam arkam' (39.7); these songs are unparalleled and spread in all directions like the branches of a tree, 'yeṣāṃ brahmāni asamāni viprah viśvak viyanti vanino na śākhā' (43.1); the song produces pleasure, 'stomaḥ śūṣyah' (66.1). The Vasiṣṭhas, further, appear to be inspired by the dawn, for they say that they sing, awakening with happy thoughts with the Dawn 'kāru jarate agre budhāna uṣasāṃ sumanmā' (68.9), in fact, the Vasiṣṭhas awaken the Dawn first with their songs, 'stomebhiḥ uṣasāṃ vasiṣṭhāḥ gīrbhiḥ prathamā abudhran' (80.1), the song is well thought out, 'ślokaṃ manāmahe' (82.10) and is new and pure, 'śucim nu stomam navajātam adya' (93.1). The Vasiṣṭhas appear to derive

inspiration from three sources, namely, the goddess Sarasvatī, the divinities and the ancient immortals. The Sarasvatī, to the Vasiṣṭhas is a river, no doubt, but is holy and pure, 'śuci', a goddess extremely white and pure, 'śubhra' and she is requested to awaken them, 'sā no bodhi', for the river to them is auspicious, 'bhadra'. The songs are divinely inspired, 'brahmaṇaḥ devakṛtasya rājā' (97.3). We are informed that the inspiration for the songs has been given by the ancient immortals, 'tamā no arkam amṛtaya juṣṭamime dhāsuḥ amṛtasaḥ purājāḥ' (97.5).

The collection of the Kaṇvas (Book VIII) with that of many others also has many observations which are relevant to our present investigation. These poets also believe that the songs strengthen the gods, 'girā vardhasva,' (1.18). Of course, there are songs that are produced at the orders and behests of the rich patrons, 'stuhi stuhi ite' (1.30). The songs are extremely sweet, 'madhumattamā giraḥ stomasaḥ' (3.15) and move like conquering chariots, 'vājayanto rathā iva' (3.15) and the gods are expected like lovers to hear them, 'veno na śruṇudhī havam' (3.18). Decorated songs are made out in the ancient manner of the Kaṇvas, 'aham pratna manmanā giraḥ śumbhāmi kaṇvavat' (6.11). Poetical thoughts and urge are keenly felt in the vicinity of the mountains and by the side of the confluences of the rivers and thus is a poet born, 'upavhare giripāṃ sangathe ca nadināṃ dhiyā vipro ajāyata' (6.28). The songs so suggested are worked out with efficiency in the manner of a carpenter 'uta brahmanyā vayan vipraḥ atakṣma jīvase' (6.33). The poet's song is full of new words, 'vatso vāṃ madhumadvacaḥ aśamsit kāvyaḥ kavī' (8.11) and the song moves quickly like a joyous wave of the ocean 'vāṃ urmīḥ madanniva stoma indrājirāyate' (14.10). Just as the floods long for and delight in the ocean, so do the songs in the vicinity, 'yasmin ukthāni ranyantē apāmavo na samudra' (16.2). The songs are new, 'navyasya me stomasya' (23.14) and are brilliant, 'śvetayā dhiyā' (26.19). The songs are abundant like just as the Sun does his rays and these songs flow as the waters do the waters on a slope 'sūryo raśmim yathā tje nā yantanta me giraḥ, nīnamāpo na sadhryak' (32.23); the poet, like Varuna who is a poet, kavi, must be a man of knowledge and wisdom, for he knows the hidden and mysterious nature of the

morning beams and he, like the heavens, blossoms into various forms, 'ya usranām apīcyā veda nāmāni guhyā, sa kavīḥ kāvyā puru rūpam dyauḥ iva puṣyati' (41.5); with the songs the deities are decorated, 'agnim śumbhāmi manmabhiḥ' and the resonant songs speed forth as do the rivers to the sea, 'samudrāyeva sindhavaḥ giro vāsrāsa īrate' (44.25,26). The songs are ancient and these strengthen the gods, 'astāvi manma pūrvyam brahma' (52.9) and 'brahmāpi vardhanā' (62.4). The songs are produced at the time of and in the din of the war, 'ava svarāti gargaro godhā pari saniṣvaṇat, pingā pari canīṣkadat indrāya brahma udyatam' (69.9). The songs are thought out and are unsurpassed, 'brahmā kriyante anantidbhutā yā te amanmahi' (90.3). It is interesting to note that these poets have made some observations regarding speech also, and this indicates how the phenomenon of speech also had engaged their attention, and this is to be regarded a significant development, indeed.

In the Soma Pavamāna hymns (Book IX) we meet with the ideas that the songs are active and are decorated so that the deity is adorned with them, 'giraḥ te indra ojasā marmṛjyante apasyuvaḥ yābhiḥ madāya śumbhase'. (2.7); the Soma guards the ancient song, 'ātmā yajnasya pratnam ni pāti kāvyam' (6.8); the Soma is clothed in manly songs, 'kāvyā kavīḥ nṛmṇā vasāno' (7.4); the Soma prepares and makes newer paths for the songs, 'nū navyase naviyase sūktāya sādhyā pathaḥ, pratnavat rocayā rucāḥ' (9.8) and bestow on them the ancient charm. The Soma is the mover of speech, and is clothed with songs, 'gīrbhiḥ vācam jñkḥayan punānam vāsayāmasi' (35.5); the Soma is decorated with songs, 'śumbhanti vipram dhītibhiḥ' (40.1) and he is the begetter of the speech of the poet, 'vāco jantuḥ kavīṇām' (67.13). It is here perhaps for the first time that we find Sarasvatī, songs and 'rasa', the essence, brought together and a reward promised to a student of the ancient poetry, 'pāvamānīryo adhyeti ṛṣibhiḥ sambhṛtam rasam, tasmai sarasvatī duhe kṣīram sarpiḥ madhōdakam' (67.32). Whatever views one might hold about the age and relation of the two concluding verses of this song (67) with the main song, it has to be conceded that the author by the term 'rasa' understands the very essence of the songs as the verb adhyeti and the accusative of the word 'rasa' would conclusively prove. It is but proper that Sarasvatī, being the guardian deity

of the songs and poetry should bestow the promised rewards. This can be regarded as the earliest germ of the later literary concepts regarding Sarasvatī and 'rasa' in relation to poetry. To my mind 73.9 is also very significant in this context. Pavitra Angirasa tells us that 'R̥tasya tantuḥ vitataḥ pavitra ā jivhāyā agre varuṇasya māyayā, dhīrāścit tat saminakṣanta āsatā atrā kartamaya padāti aprabhuḥ ! 73.9.

In the interpretation of this verse I find it difficult to agree with either Sāyaṇa or GRIFFITH. In the first line, I believe, it would be quite inappropriate to connect jivhāyaḥ with varuṇasya, for this latter phrase ought to go, as elsewhere it does often go, with māyayā. The 'tantu' is the word, speech or the metres. In one of the immediately preceding verses we read 'sahasradhāre vitate pavitra ā vācam punanti kavayo manīṣinaḥ' (73.7) and so it would not be altogether wrong if the 'tantu jivhāyā agre' is understood as the word, the speech that is placed on the tip of the tongue of man. It is, perhaps as the poet would like to point out, Varuṇa's supernatural gift to man that the thread of Truth, R̥ta, the word the speech, is placed on the tip of a man's tongue. The second line then would seem to say that the wise who realize this ethical significance of speech are happy and use it in the proper manner, but those who do not have the power, aprabhuḥ, being unable to use it in the proper manner and therefore, fall into a pit. The supreme greatness of speech is that it is wedded to Truth and its expression is the noblest of purposes of the speech. Further, in 86.17 it is asserted that the songs are tuneful, exhilarating and these utter the praises of the divine, 'pra vo dhiyo mandrayuvo vipanyuvaḥ panasyuvaḥ'. It is happily said that the songs kiss the deity as if she were a Child, 'śiśum rihanti matayaḥ panipnatam' (86.31). The songs are the waves of speech, just like the waves of a river and the divinity is the source of the surge, 'prāvivīpa-dvācaḥ urmim na sinduḥ, giraḥ somaḥ pavamāno manīṣinḥ' (96.7). Through mastery over speech, in fact, through the songs, one is a poet, 'kaviḥ gīrbhiḥ kāvyenā kaviḥ' (96.17). The songs, inquiring and so full of longing and affection, proceed to the divinity as the cows go to their master, 'gāvo yanti gāpatim pṛcchamānāḥ somam yanti matayo vāvaśānāḥ' (97.34) and in the Soma, the divinity, the songs and the metres unite, 'some arkāstriṣṭubhaḥ sam navante' (97.35).



may be that Śāyana understands this lady with the Maruts to be the lightning, but to me the reference to Vāk and the adjectives that are deliberately and cleverly used are more important and significant, 'sudhitā, ghṛtācī, hiranyanirṇig, guhā carantī manuṣo na yoṣā, sabhāvati vidathyeva sam vāk, ā sūryeva, and tveṣapratikā nabhaso netyā. GRIFFITH remarks 'Śāyana thinks that here I. 167.3-6, the lightning is spoken of, moving in the clouds, as if in secret like the well-attired wife who remains in the women's apartment, but sometimes showing herself, like the hymn or prayer recited at religious ceremonies. The comparisons are scarcely intelligible'. The poet is here as a matter of fact deliberately thinking of lightning and the speech as his 'vidatheṣu pajrām (6) would clearly indicate. The references to the goddess Sūryā and speech are clear enough and further there is a deliberate attempt for comparisons as can be seen from the wording 'asuryā viṣitā-stukā sūryeva'. The song to the Ṛgvedic poets is wondrous and fair, vapurvapuṣyā sacatam iyam gīh' (183.2) and is fashioned by the mind and the heart, 'eṣa stomo hṛdā taṣṭo manasā' (171.2). This is what the poets of Book I. have to say about songs, inspiration and workmanship.

The Book X. marks a similar and considerable advance in concepts about song and speech. These poets, though of the latest strata, assert that the songs are new, 'iyam te agne navyasī maṇiṣā' (4.6). Sarasvatī is deified and invoked with the Fathers in 17.7-9. Vimada boasts that his song is both original and unparalleled, 'stomam te indra vimadā ajījanan apūrvyam.' (23.6). Sarasvatī is requested to bestow life on the singer, 'sarasvatī tadgṛhate vayo dhāt' (30.12 also at 65.13). Even the poetess Kakṣivati Ghoṣā states in very clear terms the craft theory of poetry when she says that these songs have been fashioned like a car, 'etam vām stomam akarma atakṣāma bhṛgavo na ratham'; these have been decorated like a bride that meets the bridegroom, 'nyamīkṣāma yoṣaṇām na marya' and are an eternal production like a son, 'nityam na sūnum'. (39.14). To Saptagu Angirasa, the songs are envoys, auspicious thoughts, touching the heart of the listener and coming out from the very spirit of the speaker, 'vanivāno mama dātāso indram stomaścārantī sumatūḥ iyanāh, hṛdispr̥ṣo manasā vacya-mānā' (47.7). The song is a strengthener, brahma vardhanam' (49.1) and the poetic art is traditional, for the songs are composed

like those of the fathers, 'vasiṣṭhāsaḥ piṭṛvaḥ vācam akṛata, ( 66.14 ). A great hymn is seven-headed, born of Truth, discovered by the father and given expression to by the son, 'imām dhiyam saptaśiṣṇim pitā na ṛtaprajātām bṛhatīm avindat, turīyam svid janayat viśvajanyo ayāsyā uktham indrāya śamisan, ' ( 67.1 ). Divo Duhitā, the poetic Muse, is along with Night and Dawn, described to be 'suśilpe' ( 70.6 ) skilful. The gods created the hymns first and then the rest, i. e. Agni and the Havi. 'suktavākam prathamam ādidagnim .. ( 88.8 ). Reṇu Viśvāmītra thinks his song to be holy, incessant, matchless, new and his songs flow in an unceasing manner like water from the depth of the ocean 'samānam asmā anapāvṛdarca kṣmayā divo asamam brahma navyam ' and indrāya giro anīśitasargā apaḥ prerayam sagarasya budhnāt ' ( 89.3,4 ). The ancient poets are referred to in 'tvām pūrva ṛsayāḥ gīrbhiḥ āyan ' ( 98.9 ). Here is now a realization that the songs are not for the various divinities, for the divinity is only one and to be realized by a pure mind 'pākena manasā' and it is the poets who shape this One into many forms through their songs, ' tam pākena manasā apaśyam ' and 'suparṇam viprah kavayo vacobhiḥ ekam santam bahudhā kalpayanti. ' ( 114.4.5 ). It is the rik and the sāman that make the car of the sacrifice move onward, ' kavayo manīṣa ṛksāmābhyām pra ratham vartayanti. ' The songs are a thousandfold, in fact, as many and vast as the heaven and the earth and these songs are the complete manifestation of the Speech, ' sahasradhā pañcadaśāni ukthā yavad dyāvāpṛthvī tāvadit ..yāvad brahma tāvati vāk ' ( 114.7 ). The wise poet knows the application of the metre and the full and proper use of speech. ' kaḥ chandasām yogam ā veda dhīraḥ ko dhiṣṇyām prati vācam papāda ' ( 114.9 ). Under the influence of Soma and the inspiration therefrom, the poet Aindra Lava has produced the song by his heart as the carpenter fashions the seat in a car, ' aham taṣṭeva vandhuram paryacāmi hṛdā matim ' ( 119.5 ) and to him the relation between the song and a poet is that between the cow and the calf, ' upa ma matirasthita vāśrā putramiva priyam ' ( 119.4 ). The songs are invigorating, ' girāḥ śvātryā ' ( 160.2 ). The Patam̐ga in songs 177 and 189 is the human soul and the Sun as well, and the speech is brought into a special relation with these two in ' vāk patam̐gāya dhīyate ' ( 189.3 ). This Patam̐ga is decorated with the magic might of Asura and is seen by the wise with their spirit and mind. The poets, the wise desire to dive

constantly use with reference to poetry, is also used in the context of metaphysical inquiries as in 'kim svid vanam ka u sa vṛkṣa āsa yato dyāvapṛthiviḥ niṣṭatakṣuḥ' (81.4). It, therefore, should not be too difficult for us to understand how speech came to be regarded such a sacred entity with great grandeur. Here is a definite realization that language achieves its purpose in the service of the sacred divinities and that it could not be put to any better use, this being its one and most sublime purpose.

Such a position is the outcome of a long process of development of thought and practice of poetry, that is to be witnessed through the four layers of the R̥gveda, from the 'pratna' to the 'nūtna', from the ancient to the modern poets and their creations. These poets have understood the phenomenon of Speech, its supreme purpose, the processess of literary creations, have created the concept of Vāk, the personification of speech and have brought it into relation with Sarasvatī and have in Divo Duhitā and Sūryasya Duhitā created an image of their Muse. They speak of poetry born on the lap of a mountain and by the side of a confluence of the rivers; of poetry that proceeds from the chambers of Truth, ṛtasadana, and of poetry that rises along with the beating of the battle drums and lastly of poetry that proceeds from the heart and mind of man. When all this is taken into consideration, it becomes clear as to how the R̥gvedic poets are primarily poets and not priests as many would like to take them to be. According to them, a song is both inspired by a divinity and fashioned out by the poet. The 'barhaṇā gīḥ' appears to be the magic word, while by 'purūci' is to be understood as a significant speech having deeper and manysided meaning. 'Vipaḥ sacyā' perhaps refers to the dexterity of the tongue and the father of the speech is the teacher. The R̥gvedic poets, thus, are seen to bring man's speech into contact with the divinely Real and the songs or poetry form the devotional homage to or an intellectual effort at understanding this Supreme Reality. May be that the immediate purposes of material gains are present in their minds, but that does not materially detract the value of their thoughts about poetry in general. They appear to recognise three elements in art, the tradition, the inspiration and the craft. Repetition, with which we are concerned here is a part of the craft of these poets and therefore is deliberately resorted to. It could be said without any exaggeration that when

the Rgvedic poets speak of 'vivapeśas' and 'śucipeśas' 'dhi', they appear to have very nearly caught the true element of great poetry. Similarly even though they speak of craft in art of poetry comparing it to the craft of a carpenter, or of a weaver, yet when they add 'hṛdī manasī tatītam' they are speaking of poetry proper and not of verses merely. The repetition, then, that is to be found in the Rgveda is to be understood against this background of the concept of true poetry and of craft in poetry.

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deration, the historical and text-critical point of view, and this has received a very thorough treatment at the scholarly and mature hands of BLOOMFIELD; for whenever he has noted a repetition of any sort, he has made an attempt to offer his view regarding the inferior and the superior text, to find out the original and its secondary imitation, that is, to find out the chronologically earlier and the later text. As a result, BLOOMFIELD's monumental work has an immense value from the point of view of the study of the history of the text of the Ṛgveda. Here, however, the main interest is the study of the thought aspects of this Ṛgvedic poetry and its repetitions as well as the tracing of the formation of the poetic diction, imagery and methods. BLOOMFIELD and GONDA have offered some comments that are also useful for such a study and my debt to both these scholars is immense and is gratefully acknowledged. BLOOMFIELD has presented all the relevant material in a very well classified form and in what follows is also to be undertaken a discussion of some of the repetitions noted by him, as also a discussion of some aspects that have impressed me.

The classification that BLOOMFIELD has proposed in his study of the repetitions is very useful and therefore deserves notice. He has divided the Ṛgvedic repetitions into ten patterns, and these are as under :—

1. Repetition of groups of stanzas.
2. Repetition of single and unchanged stanza, as refrains at the end of hymns.
3. Repetition of a single stanza in a hymn and not as a refrain.
4. Repetition of substantially identical stanzas with slight changes.
5. Repetition of similar stanzas.
6. Repetition of unchanged distichs.
7. Repetition of changed distichs.
8. Repetition of single pādas with an added word or words.
9. Repetition of two or more unconnected pādas in the same pair of hymns or adjacent hymns.
10. Repetition in a stanza of four, three or two pādas in different places.

This is a very good classification no doubt, but it will be seen that this classification takes into consideration primarily the structure, the pāda, the distich and the stanza where the repetition occurs and therefore one would be justified in describing this classification as the 'structural classification' of the Ṛgvedic repetitions. Another way and one more suited to the present inquiry can be proposed, a classification that takes into consideration the syntax and therefore to be described as the 'syntactic classification' where instead of the pāda or the distich, the point of interest and importance is the idea, the poetic idea and the effect that is secured through the repetition. The syntactical arrangement is but a direct reflection of the idea sought to be expressed, hence its very great importance in the study or analysis of a composition, *whether a sentence or a line in poetry. The repetition of a pair of an adjective and a noun, of an entire sentence with some significant idea, or of an arrangement deliberately resorted to in the placement of words, and this imitated, are really very important from the point of view of our present inquiry. In other words, the syntax or the syntactical position of a word or of a group of words, and their aesthetic value and not merely the length of the phrase where the repetition occurs, will be our guiding principle for the classification of these repetitions. This classification will naturally cut through and across the classification proposed by BLOOMFIELD, for it is quite possible for a poet to achieve his desired effect in two words, in a line or a half of the line or in a complete stanza. An idea significantly connected with a god, an exploit significantly described, an idea important from the point of view of cosmology and philosophy stated in some characteristic manner and with distinction, all these have attracted the attention of the Ṛgvedic poets, and therefore will attract our attention here; for repetition results when a minor poet, always in search for significant phraseology goes to the superior poets for inspiration and imitation. This classification and a study along those lines, it is hoped, will enable us to understand the various devices through which the Ṛgvedic poets did achieve their effects, the precise manner in which they thought of their deities, and also their motives in their repetitions and thus perhaps will enable us to have an interesting peep into the working of their poetic mind, when in the act of creation. This will shed some light on the poetic art of the Ṛgvedic times, its practice and development.*

This discussion of the structure and the nature of the R̥gvedic repetitions, naturally leads us to the discussion of the themes of these repetitions. Here too, BLOOMFIELD offers us great help, for he has already given us a list of the themes of these repetitions in a classified form. (Ch. IV. pp. 571-633). The themes of these repetitions, according to BLOOMFIELD, cover practically the entire range of the Vedic thought and expression. Statements about the deities, broader and general cosmic activities of the gods, the relations between the pious sacrificer and the gods, the prayers and requests addressed to the gods; the solemn declarations of piety and the account of the favours shown to the poet by the gods, all these have become of the nature of set formulae. To these is to be added the set imagery that appears in the various songs and in the different figures of speech like the simile, metaphor and the like repeatedly used by the R̥gvedic poet. Invitations to the gods to the different rituals have naturally become set in their phraseology. The various themes catalogued by BLOOMFIELD could be reclassified in three broad divisions as the religious, the philosophical and the ritualistic repetitions. The concepts of gods and the ideas of the relationship between the deity and the devotee and the methods of winning the favours of the desired deity would, to my mind, come under the category of religious repetitions, for it is these facts that really constitute the R̥gvedic religion, at any rate the very basic facts of the same. Ideas repeated with reference to the gods mainly tending towards the merging of the deities into one another and those relating to the first cause of the universe would come under the second category of the philosophical repetitions. The third category of the ritualistic repetitions would consist of all the repetitions connected with the ritualistic practices like the pressing of the Soma, invitations to the drinking of the Soma and so on, frankly those which have an obvious relation to the Somapīti, Sadhamāda or the Adhvara. It will also be our endeavour to find out whether in all these repetitions, the aesthetic or the poetical considerations are present or not. The classification that is here proposed for the themes of repetitions is such that it includes all the ten patterns of repetitions noted by BLOOMFIELD, for it is quite possible that we have all these varieties of repetitions in the religious, philosophical and ritualistic repetitions. The structure and the syntax are but the reflection in language of the idea in the mind that seeks to find an adequate and suitable expres-

ssion. As such, repetition would be a part of the craft of the poet seeking to express himself.

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It has already been shown that the R̥gvedic poets had realized the importance of inspiration, reflection and tradition and also of craft in literary productions. Poetry, the song, was a carefully produced product in which the heart, mind and skill all played an important part. To them, language in poetry is 'viśvapeśas and śucipeśas'; pure and holy on account of being sifted by the mind, as if through a seive, 'saktum iva titaunā punānā manasā vācam akrata.' (X. 71.2). The words in poetry are chosen, and chosen deliberately, for here, the aim is to produce something that is to touch the heart of the listener, 'hṛdispr̥ś'. If inspiration and reflection give the content, the mental form of a song, the craft gives its physical form, and thus only a song that is 'peśas'. beautiful in mental form, has got to be fashioned out, 'takṣa', as if it were a product of a craft like a fine cloth or a beautiful car. It is this excellence that is aimed at in the physical form that gives rise to rhetoric as such; and the beauty of thought and the inherent compelling necessity of finding out an adequately beautiful or proper expression for the thought conceived and the effect aimed at, give the rhetoric its rich significance. The different figures of speech, of sense and of words, are the result of this perfect marriage of the two forms, the mental and the physical, of a poetical composition and of the harmony expected to be between them. In a critical consideration of the R̥gvedic repetitions we are therefore, primarily concerned with this aspect of the R̥gvedic craft and with the importance that these Repetitions have in that craft. Repetition in the R̥gveda is deliberate, being a part of their craft, and also natural, being a very natural aspect of language that is used by the early people in the service of religion, magic and poetry. Later classical rhetoric never paid any proper attention to this R̥gvedic device, for it held that Repetition, 'punarukti' was a fault, while similarity bordering on and appearing as repetition, 'punaruktavādabhāsa' was admissible. But a critical study of the Epics and Classical literature as well as that of the Prākṛit literature would easily show how Repetition in a larger sense is natural to poetry and therefore difficult to avoid. Dexterously used, it is a delicate device, 'sukumāram praharaṇam' of a poet and a variety of effects could be achieved through it by a clever artist. The



Ṛgvedic poet used this device in all its varieties, from the point of view of structure and also from the point of view of artistic effects. Though it is perfectly possible that neither of the views, that of BLOOMFIELD that 'repetition is a rhetorical device' or that of OLBRECHTS that it is merely of 'aesthetic or mnemonic importance' represents the whole truth by itself, it is more than likely that the truth is that a repetition is both these as well as something more. For repetition is natural to man and to a poet. Resting places, stepping stones, emphatic resumption as well as assertion, assonance, so many are the varied objects of repetition. Repetition, further, is used in an effort to link together the chain of the thoughts, as can be illustrated from the catenary repetitions in the Ṛgveda that extend not only to words, but to half stanzas and even to larger parts of a composition. A repetition due to magic is to be seen in X.162 'amivā yaste garbham durnāmā yonimāśaye (1b) and 'yaste garbham amivā durnāmā yonimāśaye' (2a) and the repetition for a refrain is seen in 'tamito nāśayāmasi' (3, 4, 5, 6, d). Emphasis is perhaps the reason for the repetition in IX. 67, 31, 32 of the identical 'yaḥ pāvamanīradhyeti ṛṣibhiḥ sambhṛtam rasam'. Emotion and emphasis appear to be the reason for the repetition in 'viduṣṭe tasya kāraṇaḥ' and 'viduṣṭe tasya medhirāḥ' in I. 11, 6, 7, as well as in 'yā jāgrvirvidathe śasyamānā' in III. 39. 1, 2; 'ā pavasva madintama, sa pavasva madintama' in IX.50. 4, 5. and these no doubt ensure a sort of continuity. A more subtle consideration of a poet would be the display of his skill and the production of a particular effect. The word is placed in a particular position or linked to another phrase in a particular manner to produce this desired effect. The Ṛgvedic poets have indulged in all sorts of games with the words, with their positions and combinations, and hence the concept of the 'Wortspiel' of the poets which GELDNER has stressed and also the view of BLOOMFIELD that this game with words is a rhetorical device for the Ṛgvedic poets. In this connection attention may be drawn to X. 80, an Agni Śakta of the poet Saucika Agni, otherwise named Saptirvājanbhara. In this hymn of seven verses and therefore of 28 pādas, all the 28 pādas begin with the word Agni, or its different case-forms like 'agneḥ, agnim and agnaye'. Was the poet Saucika called 'Agni' because of this word-play? In a similar manner one could study I. 34, an Aśvin hymn of

Hiraṇyastūpa Āngiraśa, for the effects he has tried to achieve through a deliberate use of the word 'tri' and also of the number three denoted by it. It may be that the magical importance of the figure three, like that of seven, is responsible for this word-play, but the other reasons, of a mythological and factual nature, are also equally striking motives present in the poet's mind. Thus, the two Aśvins with Sūryā, their bride, make up a team of three; the car is triple with three wheels and finally the pressings of the Soma in a day are three and the gods also are thrice-eleven. In a song of 12 verses and of 48 pādas, the word three occurs 35 times and this should explain how the poet is not simply mechanically repeating a word, but is trying to develop an idea that has particularly struck him. Attention can also be drawn to Kutsa Āngirasa, a good reflective poet as his songs to Uṣas indicate, who also indulges in this repetition as a word-play, a deliberate word-play. He has been responsible for as many as fifteen songs, I. 101-115, and it is not that in each of these songs he tries his hand at repetitions. In his Aśvin hymn (112) he has a refrain 'tābhiḥ u ṣu ūtibhiḥ aśvinā gatam' repeated in 23 out of 25 verses. In order to secure agreement with this 'tābhiḥ' in the refrain, he opens all his lines with 'yābhiḥ' and with this one stroke secures a sort of balance and emphasis, for we have 'yābhiḥ' at the beginning of the verse and its corresponding 'tābhiḥ' at the end. Secondly 'yābhiḥ' shows emphasis and in a way some eulogy also of the powers of the Aśvins having the sense, 'those celebrated powers and protections of yours with which'. This idea of the emphasis would be obvious from the fact that in verse 16 he is seen opening all the three pādas with 'yābhiḥ'. A ballad-like repetition in a narration with a good deal of emotion, regard and emphasis would be the proper description of the repetitions here. In his another song (106) he attempts to construct a song over a refrain 'ratham na durgāt vasavaḥ sudānavaḥ viśvasmāno amhaso nispiṣartana' which he repeats as the second line in each of the six verses in the hymn, the seventh and the last verse having his conventional refrain. In his song 105 he revels in the repetition of 'vittam me asya rodasi' in 18 verses out of 19, the entire song being composed in this manner. Sāyana's understanding of the refrain 'vittam me asya rodasi' as 'be aware of this my affliction' or the rendering 'mark, this my woe, ye Earth and Heaven' by GRIFFITH, brings

assertion 'aham brahmāsmi' and such an expression is perfectly natural when the ego, conscious of its supreme existence and greatness, expresses its self-realization. If self-realization would express itself in 'aham', supplication and requests for protection, divine grace and for worldly benefits would naturally expect 'asme, asmabhyam and asmākam'. So we find IV. 22.8-10; IV.31. 10-15 replete with these forms. Thus we have repetitions of the names of the deities addressed, of the names of the poets composing, of the personal pronoun 'sa' to indicate the person whose experience is being described or the person who desires the benefits or the one who prays. This discussion would bring us to a discussion of the repetitions of words and clauses at the end, the refrains. In this case also, it is but natural that convictions about the greatness of the deity praised, the earnestness behind the requests to the deities for accepting the offering made, the urgency behind the requests for the benefits to the poets themselves and to their families, the great warmth behind the request for listening to the song of the poet and the intensity behind the desire of the magician for the desired effect, all these would urge the poet to resort to repetition. Thus viewed, the refrains 'viśvasmāt indra uttaraḥ' (X. 86) 'sa janāsa indraḥ' (II.12), 'sujāte aśvasānṛte' (V. 79), 'mahat devānām asuratvam ekam' (III.55) assert with emphasis the greatness of the deities addressed; 'āyāhi agne atrivat sute raṇe' (V. 51), 'śubham yātāmanu rathā avṛtsata' (V.55), 'ni barhiṣi sadatam somapītaye' (V.72), 'ayam sa soma indra te sutaḥ piba' (VI.43), 'madhvaḥ somasya pītaye' (VIII.85), 'pibā somasya vajrivaḥ' (VIII 37) are sincere requests for accepting the drinks prepared and offered; further, the refrains, 'iṣam stotṛbhya ā bhara' (V6), 'athemasmaḥ randhaya' (VI.53. 5-7), 'duritā tarema (VI. 2.11) are prayers for prosperity; a prayer for a long life would either take the form of a request for granting the sight of the rising suns, 'paśyema nu sūryam uccarantam' (VI.52.5) or of a request for the lease of many years, 'jīvema śaradaḥ śatam' (VII. 66.16). The family refrains are nothing but prayers for glory for the larger units as in 'vayam syāma patayo rayiṇām, bṛhad vadema vidathe suvirāḥ, yūyam pāta svastibhiḥ sadā naḥ'. Cases are not wanting where a song has its own internal refrain and is finally rounded off by the family refrain or by the poet's own conventional refrain, or there is a new refrain for every three verses. Requests for lending

an ear to the song sung take the form of 'mādhvi mama śrutam havam' (V.75). The magical refrains, for effects intensely wished for, are to be seen in 'mano jagāma dūrakam, tat a vartayāmasi, iha kṣayāya jivase' (X.58), 'sastu mātā sastu pitā' (VII.55). A remarkable refrain would be 'kasmai devāya haviṣā vidhema' (X.121) reflecting the doubt that harasses the poet upsetting his devotion for a while. Such phraseology with a question-mark becomes a characteristic one of the poets who express their doubts about philosophical, metaphysical and theological matters, of the poets whose songs reflect the questions and doubts of the times and mark the beginning of real philosophical thought and inquiry. Viewed in this light, it would appear that these repetitions are not merely mechanical repetitions, but there are different human motives behind each of these varieties. It is the awakened ego, the suppliant soul, the earnest longing deep conviction, religious or devotional fervour, the magician's devout wish or the poet's sincere longing for a hearing that are responsible for this peculiar style of these ancient Ṛgvedic poets. More than often it is the sincere conviction and desire for eloquence that are responsible for this repetition of a word or of a clause in a verse. Thus a poet who is convinced of the greatness of 'Ṛta' naturally tries to state it in as emphatic a manner as is possible for him, by repeating the word at the beginning of each pāda in IV. 3.9-12 and also in IV. 23.8-10. A poet who is very earnestly seeking protection from a deity, very naturally begins all the four pādās with the word 'pāhī' in VIII. 60.9. A poet who wants to emphasize the fact of his knowledge begins all the four pādās in X.45.2. with the word 'vidmā' reflecting his pride and boasting of his achievement, just as in a verse addressed to Indra in IV.25.8. a poet would begin all the pādās with the word Indra. A similar ingenuity would be shown in the matter of the refrains and a reference could be made to VIII.35. where there is a refrain for every three verses, so also in VIII. 12.25-30. From all these facts it should be clear to us now that in the matter of these repetitions of single words and the refrains, the motives are more psychological and poetical than mere mechanical or technical as would be the case in what may be called 'conventional repetitions'. This would also explain the reason why the Ṛgveda gives the impression of constantly repeating itself even in a song itself, not to speak of the great mass of repetitions, where different poets

imitate each other, the very mass so assiduously collected by BLOOMFIELD. These repetitions therefore, are natural to these Ṛgvedic poets, as these are to the later classical poets, and these repetitions therefore deserve to be regarded as a part of their poetical technique.

Yet by another very clever device the Ṛgvedic poets secure the effects of assonance and the like through the repetitions of two words which appear to be inevitably related, one of the two so naturally suggested by the other, almost forming a binary, to use the celebrated *vaiśeṣika* phrase. Here also we do not have a mere repetition, for many are the effects achieved through such phrases. In combinations, where the same word is repeated like 'padepade, gṛhegṛhe, viśeviśe, divedive and so on, the Ṛgvedic poets have established an usage, almost in the later classical style, with a view to bringing out the meaning of, 'each and every' and of 'totality' as well. Alliteration, music, eloquence, association, poetical effect and contrast are some of the effects achieved through these repetitions. In the combinations just now referred to, of the type 'damedame' the word is repeated, glued to itself, but then a word might be repeated in a verse, a number of times, as it denotes some significant idea. For instance, the word *Vṛṣa* conveys a very significant idea with reference to Indra, and so we find poets often playing with this word in their compositions. Thus in II.16.4-6, there is a deliberate play on the words '*Vṛṣa*, *Vṛṣabha* and *Vṛṣana*' all these together occurring 17 times in 12 *pādas*; again, in VIII.33.10-12, the word '*Vṛṣa*' occurs 13 times with the forms, '*vṛṣajūti* and *Vṛṣaṇa*', also in X.66.6-7 the words '*Vṛṣa* and *Vṛṣana*' occur 11 times in 8 *pādas* and in VI.44.19-21, in 12 *pādas* the word '*vṛṣa*' occurs 16 times along with the words '*Vṛṣaṇa*, *Vṛṣaratha* and *Vṛṣaraśmi*'. This certainly is not a mere idle play or toying with the word '*Vṛṣa*', but it centres in and moves around the concept of the superior strength of the god, the very essence of the Ṛgvedic Indra as well as the lurking idea of 'wish-fulfilling' ability, as it appears later in '*Vṛṣaḥ hi bhagavan dharmah*', *Vṛṣa* being explained as '*kāmanāṃ varṣaṇāt vṛṣaḥ*'. Another instance that could be cited here is that with reference to the *Aśvins*. The *Aśvins* are vitally connected with '*madhu*'. The very epithet '*Mādhvī*' as occurring in the refrain '*mādhvī mama śrutam havam*' in V.75. would clearly indicate such a relation and

therefore the repetition of the word 'madhu' in a song addressed to the Aśvins is only to be expected and so we have in IV.45.3-5. the word 'madhu' with its kindred 'madhumanta and madhupa' used 9 times in 12 pādas. On the other hand, when the poets want to emphasize the holy nature and purity of their gods and of their own songs, it is natural for them to use words like 'śuci' or 'śuddha'. It is hence that we find in VII.5.12. the word 'śuci' used 6 times in 3 pādas where the poet emphasizes the purity of the offering, the purity of his invocation, the purity of the Maruts, the purity of the sacrifice and finally the purity of the fire. Similarly in VIII.95.7-9. the word 'śuddha' is repeated 13 times in 12 pādas in order to emphasize the purity of the Sāman, the songs, Indra, his protections, blessings and wealth. Another variety of such a repetition to emphasize an aspect is the device of repeating in a compound the word denoting this aspect while changing the other member of the compound; thus this device keeps up an appearance of a change in the words, though in essence it is a repetition. In X.81, a song addressed to Viśvakarma, it is but natural that the universal, 'viśva', aspect of the divinity should be emphasized upon and so we find the word 'viśva' repeated 12 times as 'viśva, then viśvataḥ with cakṣu, mukha, bāhu, pāt, karma; or again in an Agni song the lustre; 'varcāḥ,' is emphasized in words like 'pāvakavarcaḥ, śukravarcāḥ and anūnavarcāḥ X.140; and this is only to be expected. The same is the reason for the words, 'ṛtāvāna ṛtajātā ṛtāvṛdhāḥ' for the Ādityas in VII.66.13. A poetic metaphor also would be responsible for such a repetition as is to be seen in VI.70.4. and 5 where in the song the fertilizing rains are looked upon as 'ghṛta and madhu' as the very opening phrases 'ghṛtavatī and madhudughe' with reference to the dual deity Dyāvapṛthivī would indicate. It is therefore that in 4 where the idea of 'ghṛta' prevails, the phrases 'ghṛtaśriyā, ghṛtapṛcā and ghṛtāvṛdhā' appear, while in 5 where the idea of 'madhu' is developed, the phrases naturally are 'madhuścutā madhudughe madhuvrate'. Such repetitious phraseology arises, it is clear, on account of an inner conception and results in emphasis, alliteration, music and poetical quality. In the case of the deity Savitr, the word 'hiranya' would naturally be favoured by the poets in describing the god that showers gold on the universe. We may, therefore, with justification say that the phraseology of the R̥gvedic poets is, as we have seen in the instances cited, primarily

controlled as well as inspired by some fundamental, basic mythological concepts, psychological motives and poetical effects.

A reference was made to the 'verbal binaries' of the Rgvedic poets. In such phrases, that often include more than two words also, the words are repeated but in different cases so that they appear like the same word repeated and construed with itself in a different case. It is again seen that these phrases include all the possible varieties, that is, two nouns, a noun and an adjective, a noun and a verb, two adjectives and so on. To mention a few, for the sake of illustration, we can note the following expressions in the different books given again according to the different chronological stratas of the Rgveda as outlined earlier: thus in Book II. we have 'pitā pitṛbhyaḥ ( 5.1 ),' śucinā śuciḥ ( 5.4 ), gīrbhiḥ girvaṇasam, draṇṇasyum draṇṇodaḥ, saparyema saparyavaḥ ( 6.3 ) vardhayanti vasūyavaḥ ( 11.1 ) amānuṣamyanmānuṣo ( 11.10 ) mandantu mandinaḥ ( 11.11 ) devo devān ( 12.1 ) satyā satyasya ( 15.1 ) śucim śucayaḥ ( 35.3 ) yuvatayaḥ yuvānam ( 35.4 ); in Book III. we have ' mahān mahībhiḥ ( 1.18 ) sakhā sakhīn ( 4.1 ) jāto jāyate ( 8.5 ) sakheva sakhye pitareva sādhuḥ ( 18.1 ); in Book IV. we have devo deveṣu ( 2.1 ) pitṛtamaḥ pitṛnam ( 17.17 ) śacyā śaciṣṭhaḥ ( 20.9 ) vapuṣe vapuṃṣi ( 23.9 ) sakhyam sakhibhyaḥ ( 23.5 ) trātā trāyatam ( 44.7 ); in Book V. we get mārjālyā mṛjyate ( 1.8 ) gīrbhiḥ gīṇantaḥ ( 8.4 ) kavitamam kavīnām ( 42.3 ) maghaiḥ maghoni ( 79.4 ); in Book VI. we have tokāya tanayāya ( 1.12 ) vanā vananti ( 6.3 ) havyaḥ havante ( 21.1 ) puraḥ purohā sakhibhiḥ sakhiyan, kavibhiḥ kaviḥ ( 32.3 ) gīṇanti girvaṇasam ( 34.3 ) tokasya tanayasya ( 44.18 ); in Book VII. we get ' bhārati bhāratībhiḥ, sarasvatī sārsvatebhiḥ ( 2.8 ) rudram rudrebhiḥ ( 10.4 ) dakṣam dadhāti ( 32.12 ) pitā putrebhyaḥ ( 32.26 ) savitā suvāti ( 40.1 ) ṛbhūḥ ṛbhubhiḥ vibhvo vibhubhiḥ śavasā śavāṇsi ( 48.2 ) tanayam tokam ( 56.20 ) toke tanaye ( 67.6 ) satyā satyebhiḥ ( 75.7 ) mahatī mahadbhiḥ devī devebhiḥ yajatā yajatraih; ( 75.7 ) tokasya tanayasya ( 82.9 ) suhavaḥ havāmahe ( 82.4 ) dhīyā dhīvanto ( 83.8 ) jātojato jāyate ( 90.2 ); in Book VIII. we have gāyatram giyamānam ( 2.14 ) śacivaḥ śacibhiḥ ( 2.15 ) mahān mahībhiḥ ( 2.32 ) maghaiḥ maghonaḥ ( 24.2 ) vṛṇyā vṛṇan, śaviṣṭha śavasā ( 70.6 ) vasavānam vasūjuvam ( 99.8 ). We leave Book IX. for a discussion at a later stage but suffice it to say that it also has many such typical

formations. In Book I. we get 'devo devebhiḥ (1.5) dakṣam dadhāte (2.9) vājeṣu vājinam (4.8) ugra ugrābhiḥ (7.4) mandim mandine (9.2) gīrbhiḥ gr̥ṇanta (9.9) gāyanti gāyatriṇaḥ (10.1) rathītamam rathīnām (11.1) agninā agniḥ (12.6) somapā somapītaye (21.3) apade pādā (24.8) sakhā sakhye (26.3) devo devānām (31.1) devo deveṣu (31.9) tokasya tanaye (31.12) hūyate havīḥ (34.10, 36.6) bhāhi bhānunā (48.9) śukreṇa śociṣā (48.14) sakhā sakhibhyaḥ (53.2) rayipatī rayīnām (60.4) dāśuṣe dāśasyan (61.11) sakhā sakhibhyaḥ (75.4) kavibhiḥ kavīḥ (76.5) vidhyatā vidyutā (86.9) gūhatā guhyam (86.10) dakṣaiḥ sudakṣaḥ (91.2) vṛṣā vṛṣatvebhiḥ, dyumnebhiḥ dyumnabhavaḥ (91.2) tokam ca tanayam ca (92.13) sādhyā dhiyaḥ (94.3) devo devānām vasu vasūnām (94.13) vṛṣā vṛṣabhiḥ sakhibhiḥ sakhā ṛgmibhiḥ ṛgmī (100.4) tokasya tanayasya (100.11) trātā trāyatam (106.7) jānim ajānim (111.3) tokāya tanayāya (114.6) svādoḥ svādīyaḥ (114.6) vanuyāma vanuṣyataḥ (132.1) bhadrā bhadrasya (132.2) mandantu mandīnaḥ (134.2) devā devāya (135.1) devo deveṣu (136.4) gīrbhiḥ girvanasaḥ (139.6) marto martam (147.5) vakena vakam (164.24) dasrā damśiṣṭhāḥ rathyā rathītamā (182.2); in Book X. we have 'bhadro bhadrayā (3.3) yajñīyo yajatu yajñīyan (11.1) devī deveṣu yajatā yajatra (11.8) maghaiḥ maghavā (23.2) śacīpate śacīnām (24.2) śucāyāsa śucasya ca (26.6) śamībhiḥ suśamī (28.12) vyathiravyathīḥ (31.10) vapuṣo vapuṣṭaram (32.3) tapanā tāpayiṣṭavaḥ (34.7) ugram ugrāsaḥ (44.3) rudram rudreṣu rudriyam (64.8) dyumān dyumatsu, dīdayo devayatsu (69.7) poṣamāste pupuṣvān, gāyatram gāyatī, mātrām vimimīta (71.11) divitā divitmatā (76.6) mahato mahitvam, amartasya martyāsu (79.1) vicetāḥ sa pracetāḥ (79.4) dhātā vidhātā (82.2) vaśī vaśam (84.30) dame damūnā, vibhuh vibhāvā suśakhā sakhiyate (91.1) ṛḍilā atṛdilāsaḥ (94.1) sakhyebhiḥ sakhyāni (113.9). and so on.

This survey should reveal to us the method of the R̥gvedic poets in their repetitions. That all these phrases have been deliberately so formed should be beyond doubt. Etymology, cause and effect relation, noun and its significant adjective, excellence, noun and its homophonic verb, close and intense relation, totality and profundity are the ideas conveyed to us through these formations of which repetition is the essence. Yet another method of the R̥gvedic poets of securing these and similar effects is of forming



words and compounds with one member or part, that is of greater importance or denotes an aspect to be emphasized, constant, the other being changed as the occasion would demand. Thus for example, the word 'śociṣam' is seen used as 'citraśociṣam' (V.17.2) *dirghāyusōciṣam* (V.18.3) *pavakaśociṣam* (V.22.1) *śreṣṭhaśociṣam* (VIII.19.4) and 'ajasreṇa śociṣā' (VI.48.3). To give another instance, we get 'viśvajite dhanajite svarjite satrājite nr̥jite urvarājite and aśvajite gojite abjite' in II.21.1. where the idea obviously is to emphasize the fact of Indra being the Lord of all the things mentioned by the poet. Similar formations with the word 'tūvi' can be mentioned as 'tuvidyumna, tuvirādhas, tuvikārmī, tuvideṣṇa, tuvimagha, tuvimātra, tuvigarbha, tuviṣmān, tuvimanyu, tuvijāta and tuvinṛmṇa' (IV.21.2; VI.22.5; VIII.81.2; VII.58.1,2; VII.66.1; VI.31.5). In a similar way can be collected formations with the words 'puru, citra and madhu, vāja and Soma'. With this device the R̥gvedic poets could maintain familiarity, assonance and homophony in their poetical diction. Yet another method of securing these effects is that of alliteration based on the repetition of a syllable or on the repetition of a part of a word extending over line or running into two pādas and so on. Often such a repetition serves as a link for a transition into the next verse that follows, as could be seen in III.1, where 20 d 'janmanjanman nihito jatavedaḥ' is repeated for 21 a and thus the two succeeding verses are closely related. Another case is X.6.1 and 2 where 'bhānubhiḥ paryeti parivīto vibhāvā' and 'yo bhānu vibhāvā vibhāti, are obviously connected; or again in X.16.1 and 2 we have the link in 'yadā śrutam kṛṇavaḥ jatavedaḥ' and 'śrutam yadā karasi jatavedaḥ'. Yet another example is X.103.1,2 and 3 where the words 'saṁkrandanāḥ animiṣa' in 1 are repeated as 'saṁkrandanena animiṣeṇa' and 'iṣuhastena' and these words again in their turn are repeated in 3 as 'sa iṣuhastaiḥ'. The pronouns 'yasya, yaḥ, saḥ' also are to be regarded as the links between the various ideas, for through these words so many clauses are often linked together. In a similar manner the words which are repeated, like 'hari, madhu, vṛṣā, aham' also serve the same purpose. In this manner the repetition of a word or of words or of pronouns is used to indicate a continuous development of an idea and the transition of the same into other portions. The cases of 'concatenation' noted by BLOOMFIELD and GONDA would mostly come under this very category.

From this repetition of words we come to the repetition of syllable. The phenomenon of alliteration is a striking feature of the style of the R̥gvedic poets and this effect is secured by repeating in juxtaposition one or two syllables or words having similar sounds. We may note here a few examples just to get an idea of a feature that was to become a prominent characteristic of the style of the Epic and Classical Sanskrit and also of the Prakrit poets. Thus in II. 25.2 'virebhiḥ vīrān vanavad vanuṣyataḥ' III.4.1. 'sammitasamit sumanā bodhyasme śucaśucā sumatim'; IV.51.8. 'samanā purastāt samānataḥ samanā; IV.11.6. 'āre asmadamatimāre amha āre'; IV.25.4. 'nare naryāya nṛtamāya nṛnām'; V.1.12. 'vaco vandāru vṛṣabhāya vṛṣṇe'; V.8.7. 'sumnāyavaḥ suṣamidhā samīdhire'; V.12.5. śivāsaḥ santo aśivā abhūvan V.48.2." apo apācīraparā apejate'; VI.6 2. 'pāvakah purutamaḥ purūni pīthūni' VI.6.7. 'sa citra citram citayantamasme citrakṣatra citratamam' and again candram..candra candrābhiḥ'; VI.18.4. 'sahaḥ sahi ṣṭha, turataḥ turasya, ugram ugrasya, tavasaḥ taviyaḥ aradhrasya radhraturaḥ'; VI.24.4. 'dāmanvanto adāmānaḥ sudāman'; VI.34.2. 'puruḥto yaḥ purugūrta..purupraśastah'; VI.48.16. 'aghā aryo arātayaḥ'; VII 36.6. 'sarasvatī saptathī sindhumātā'; VII.10.3. Susamīdṛśam supratīkam svañcam'; VII.67.5. śaktam śacīpati śacībhiḥ'; VII.67.6. and 84.5. 'toke tanaye tūtujānaḥ'; VII.73.1. 'purudañsā purutamā purajā'; VIII.2.15. 'śikṣā śacivah śacībhiḥ VIII.19.12. 'Vaso vividuṣo vacah'; VIII.70.6. 'vṛṣṇā vṛṣan viśvā śaviṣṭha śavasā'; VIII.22.18. 'vāmāyāne vājiniवासु viśvā vāmāni'; VIII.48.15. 'pāhi paścāt uta vā purastāt'; VIII.81.2. 'tuvikōrmim tuvideṣnam tuvimāgham tuvimātram'; VIII.102.1. dadhāsi deva dāśuṣe'; X.11.1. 'vṛṣā vṛṣṇe duduhe dohasā divaḥ and aditeḥ adābhyah yajniyo yajatu yajñiyan'; X.14.7. 'prehi prehi pathibhiḥ pūrveyebhiḥ..pūrve pitarah pareyuh'; X.22 8. 'akarmā..amantuh anyavrataḥ amānuṣah'; X.29.1.2 'nṛnām naryo nṛtamah, nṛtau syāma nṛtamasya nṛnām'; X.42.3. śiśhi mā śiśayam tvā śṛnōmi'; X.40.1. 'vibhvam viśevīśe vastorvastorvahamānam'; X.43.3. 'vayo vardhanti vṛṣabhasya śusmīnah'; X.47.1. 'vasūyavo vasupate vasōnām'; X.45.8. agniḥ amṛto abhavat'; X.64.8. rudram rudreṣu rudriyam'; 64.9. sarasvatī sarayuh; sindhuh'; X.65.6. 'dāśuṣe devebhyḥ dāśat, X.65.8. parikṣitā pitarā pūrvajāvārī'; X.71.10. 'sabhāsāhena sakhyā sakhyah'; X.85.26. 'gṛhān gacca gṛhapatnī, vaśini tvam vidathamāvadāsi'; X.87.5. 'himśrāśāniḥ harasā hantu'

X.94.11. 'tr̥dīlā atr̥dīlāsaḥ adrayaḥ aśramaṇā aśr̥thitā amṛtyavaḥ, anāturā ajarāḥ aviṣṇavaḥ atr̥ṣitā atr̥ṣṇajaḥ'; X.120.4. 'mademadē anumadanti viprāḥ X.122.2. 'vaco viśvāni vidvān vayunāni'; X.130.7. 'sahastomāḥ sahaçchandasaḥ sahapramā; I.54.2. 'vr̥ṣā vr̥ṣatvā vr̥ṣabhaḥ'; I.56.2. 'samudram na samcarāṇe saniṣyavaḥ and so on. I have tried to collect constructions that strike even a casual reader and a critical reader is bound to come across many more such clever constructions where the effect is secured even in smaller pieces. Cases like 'ahan ahim, nindanti anindrāḥ, savitā suvāti, kayā yāti svadhayā, payasā pinvamānā' are a part and parcel of the poetical diction and phraseology of these poets. It will be seen that most of these constructions use the sounds, s, sh, r, v, p, m and n', sounds that are connected with softness, smoothness, soothing effects, light and easy movements, music and sweetness. The repetition of these patterns so deliberately and frequently, reveals that these poets used certain sound combinations to produce certain specific effects which they had correlated with these sounds. Their aim was that the song should touch the heart, hṛdispr̥s, and every device in their craft that they used was naturally calculated to contribute to the furtherance of that aim. To these many repetitions are to be added the mass of repetitions of stanzas and the lines that BLOOMFIELD has collected.

We have so far given our attention to the devices in the poetical diction of these poets, but it would be worth our while to see how they repeat their imagery also. It has already been observed that a song has two forms, the mental form and the physical form. The verbal devices based on repetitions which we have been considering so long, primarily contribute to the decoration of the physical form, though it cannot be denied that they have a contribution to make to the beauty of the mental form also. The imagery has a vital relation with the mental form. It is the holy and beautiful thought, 'śucipeśas and viśvapeśas dhī' that is skilfully expressed in a well-cut and polished language, 'suvṛkta and sutāṣṭa', purified through the sieve of the mind. The 'dhī or the manma' aspect refers to the mental form while the vṛkta or the tāṣṭa aspect refers to the physical form, both being vitally connected mutually. The imagery of the Rġvedic poets, in the first place, comes directly from their life and tends to become fixed as their verbal diction does. The repetition in

and therefore we find 'vāsrā arṣanti payasevā dhenavaḥ' (IX.77.1; X.75.4; I.32.2) used as an analogy for the sacrifices proceeding to Soma, or for the floods of water pouring into a stream. But when two rivers mingle and proceed almost vicing with each other, they are compared to two spirited mares, 'aśve iva viṣite hāsamāne' and to two white cows licking their young one, 'gāveva śubhre mātārā rihāṇe' (III.33.1). A chariot running in a race was another impressive fact and so finds a place in the description of the songs of praise rushing to and reaching Indra, 'vājayanto rathā iva' (VIII.3.15.) and in the context of the flowing Soma too. (IX.67.17).

If it is remembered that we are dealing here with poets rather than with mere ritualistic priests, then it could be easily understood that they should naturally feel tempted to describe the human feelings like those of delight, motherly love, desire that is intense and eternally springs up in human mind, success, power, protection, majestic greatness, divine loveliness. Analogies for all these would naturally come from their own life and soon tend to become standard expressions and it is therefore that we find 'raṇan gāvo na yavase (V.53.16; X.25.1) or gāvo na yavaseṣu ā (I.91.13; VIII.92.12) as expressions for delight; 'vatsam gāvo na dhenavaḥ (VI.45.28) vatsam jātam na dhenavaḥ (IX.100.7) gāvo vatsam na mātārāḥ (IX.12.2) vatsam samśisvariḥ yathā (VIII.69.1; IX.14.3) samī vatsam na mātṛbhiḥ (IX.104.2) sam vatsa iva mātṛbhiḥ (IX.106.2) sam vatsāso na mātṛbhiḥ (VIII.72.14.) vatsam na svasareṣu dhenavaḥ (II.2.2.; VIII.88.1) vatsam na mātārāḥ (VI.45.17; VIII.95.1)—all these used to express motherly love and affection. When intense desire or longing is to be expressed the expressions 'vadhnyuriva yoṣaṇām (III.52.3; IV.32.6; III.62.8) uṣasam na sūryaḥ (IX.84.2) jāveva patya uṣati suvāsāḥ (I.124.7; IV.3.3.; X.71.4; X.91.13) are used and the delicacy with which this subtler emotion of love and longing is differentiated from the other equally noble motherly love should tell us something about the quality of the Rġvedic poetry and at the same the reason why such expressions easily assume the nature of standard expressions and are repeated. Orderly array of the horses and of the sacrificial posts would be described as 'hansa iva śreṇiśo yatante in I.163.10 and III.8.9. The eagle in the nest, 'śyeno na yonim ā (IX.61.21; 65.19; 62.4) is the analogy for the

Soma in the vat. 'Ratham na dhīraḥ svapā atakṣan' (I.130.6; V.2.11; V.29.15) is an expression that describes the poet's craft. The idea of divine brilliance is conveyed by 'sākam sūryasya raśmibhiḥ' (I.47.7; I.137.2; V.79.8; VIII.101.2) and the divine loveliness is expressed in 'viśvā adhi śriyo dadhe' (II.4.5; X.27.1; X.21.3) But perhaps of greater interest would be the idea of darkness, bottomless darkness to which the evil-doers are consigned, 'anārambhāṇe tamasi praviddham' (I.182.6; VII.104.3), for on these ideas the later concept of sunless worlds, 'asuriyā nāma te lokāḥ andhena tamasāvṛtāḥ' (Isa.3) as well as of a dark hell rest. All over the world in every people and also in literature enemies are consigned to darkness and the hell, a place to which the enemies, the evil-doers and ignorant men are expected to go is a place full of dense darkness. Well might one compare the Ṛgvedic poet's 'Indrāsomā duṣkṛte vavre antaḥ anārambhāṇe tamasi pra vidhyatam' (VII.104.3) with Milton's celebrated lines 'Him the Almighty Power/Hurled headlong flaming from the ethereal sky/with hideous ruin and combustion down/To bottomless perdition' or his other line 'eternal wrath burnt after them to the bottomless pit.' The image of the abysmal depth every where is the image of the hell and so here in this image of the Ṛgvedic poets we have an archetypal pattern common to the entire human race. As a corollary of such a view about the hell, is the view about the heaven that it is full of light and therefore it is that the Ṛgvedic poets who begin their lines regarding the heaven with 'yatra jyotiḥ' etc. are seen associating the heaven with immortal and supreme light, and we have here another archetypal pattern of ideas.

The familiar 'arān na nemi pari' (I.141.2; 32.15) is an analogy for enfolding protection. This wheel, which indeed appears as a symbol for the manifold creation in the form of the spokes and for divine enfolding protection in the form of the outer periphery, assumes great importance in the later philosophical and mystical literature. The Svetāśvatara Upaniṣad enlarges this idea considerably in its concept of the wheel of the universe. The wheel symbolized to the Indian mind the universe and the divine protection which always enfolds it. The Ṛgvedic poets have in their very simple ideas given the later ages significant material to work upon. It is therefore that one can understand PAUL MUS,

poetical images of the Wind, Spirit, Sun and the Release of the rivers. The rising and the setting of the Sun, the exultant rush of growth in early summer and then the fall of the year have been intimately linked with human emotions and taken to reflect the human destiny. Thus viewed, the myth of Bhujyu represents the new birth of the Sun and with it the resurgence of life of both, the tribe and the individual. The various Aśvin myths in which youth is again bestowed on a person also belong to this very class, the class of rejuvenation myths. The later celebrated doctrine of the Pañcāgnidyā, the lore of the Five Fires, will be found on analysis, to depend for its substance on this storm, lightning, rain and Sun material, material with which the human race has connected its idea of rebirth since its infancy. In a quite different manner the images of the mountain, the mountain-peak, cavern, darkness and dense darkness have become significant in poetry for these are, as we have seen, vague representations of the Heaven and Hell. The gods and Soma do often come from and are on the peaks of the mountains, *adhi sānu*. The image of the cavern, 'guhā' has a curious development, for the cavern has a reference to its depth, therefore to unapproachability or inaccessibility and therefore to secret nature, incomprehensibility, the deeper and unfathomable recesses in man and ultimately his intellect. That is why the Rġvedic poets repeat 'guhāyām or guhā' in such contexts.

In this attempt to study the fundamental nature of the Rġvedic images and therefore their repetition, it would be worth our while to cast a glance at the Indra Vṛtra fight which the Rġvedic poets are never tired of repeatedly describing. According to the Rġvedic poets this is a fight between the God and the Ahi, a serpent and in its description they often use the image of the storm, so much so that in an attempt to interpret the Indra Vṛtra myth, scholars have taken Indra to be a god of thunderstorm and Vṛtra to be the cloud, the demon of drought. Indra has also been taken to be the Sun god and Vṛtra as the Winter giant and the rivers that are released are the rivers that are dried up in winter but refilled in summer, especially a fact, it is argued, observed in the North-West of India. WINTERNITZ in this matter is of the view that the Rġvedic poets themselves had no clear consciousness of the original meaning of Indra and Vṛtra as nature-gods. Attempts have been made also to give an historical

interpretation of the myth. As a matter of fact, the storm and its accompanying phenomena occupy a very important position in the human mind. As BELLOC puts it beautifully in his *The Storm (This and That)*. HILAIRE BELLOC 'the great master, that great friend, that great enemy, that great idol—for it has been all of these things—which, since we have tilled the earth we have watched, we have welcomed, we have combated, we have unfortunately worshipped'. In the early concepts of the storm, the outer sense impression and the inly felt process appear undifferentiated. JUNG in his 'Psychological type' (pp.25 et seq) refers to the Rġvedic prayers where the prayers, or the ritual fireboring are described as leading forth, or releasing the flowing streams of Rita and observes 'the ancient idea of Rita represented, in an undifferentiated fashion, at once the cycle of nature of which rain and fire are the off-spring, and also the ritually ordered processes of the inner life, in which pent up energy can be discharged by fitting ceremonial'. It is this fact then that can explain how the Rġvedic gods came into contact with Rta and are regarded as upholders and guardians of the same and also the reason why the Indra Vṛtra struggle also forms a part of the eternal struggle for the establishment of the Rta. Vṛtra is an interesting and important figure in this struggle. The Rġvedic poets are constantly describing Vṛtra as a serpent and one who hemns in the waters and Indra is, as a consequence, hailed as the liberator of waters. (BLOOMFIELD, p.593). Vṛtra stands as the Devil and naturally Indra as a God. The archetype or the pattern of the Devil is that his figure represents in the personal form the forces within and without us that threaten our supreme values in our orderly universe. In the various abuses and the epithets used in the context of Vṛtra, the Rġvedic poet is almost giving a personal insult to his foe. Vṛtra is not an individual but has a party as the plural Vṛtrāṇi would suggest. Vṛtra is the great power that produces discord and therefore has been named as serpent, ahi, seducer, soul, infernal, hateful etc. The serpent image stands at once for sexuality and for the horror that both the actual serpent and sexuality uncontrolled have inspired in generations of men, and the Rġvedic poet has repeatedly used this image for Vṛtra to suggest that Vṛtra is a symbol of these evil powers and forces. It is in keeping with the general practice of the poets that in their attempt to depict this struggle, the usual paraphernalia of the

images of the battering storm, fear-producing changes of light and lightning etc. is also used by the Ṛgvedic poets. One has to look to the later epics to realize how the pattern for struggles is supplied by the Ṛgvedic poets. Further, the river is often the symbol of life and the obstruction of the rivers is then the symbolic of the disorder that the Devil Vṛtra has caused in the orderly universe. It is indeed significant that Vṛtra is Ahi, a serpent, a bhujāṅga, a word that in later Sanskrit stands both for a serpent and a man of bad character.

The Ṛgvedic imagery thus is a very interesting phenomenon. Repetition as has been shown, has permeated not only the Ṛgvedic diction but has in an equal measure permeated the imagery too. This fact is really very significant, for many times the dictional or verbal repetition can be traced to either a simple imitation, or to a convention of the school or of the art, but the repetition in imagery is *something of greater importance, since the imagery leads us to the very springs of poetry, the individual, the social and the racial mind.* Repetition thus considered would appear to be a very significant phenomenon in Ṛgvedic poetry, a part and parcel of the Ṛgvedic poetical craft, and of poetical inspiration.

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#### IV—The Ṛgvedic Repetitions in Diction and Imagery. ( *Contd.* )

We have so far discussed the repetitions in the diction and imagery of the Ṛgvedic poets. It would be worth our while to pursue our study of these repetitions further as these are almost compelled by reasons other than mere poetical. The causes of these repetitions with which every student of the Ṛgveda is struck, are much deeper and are really rooted in the very thought, 'dhi' of the Ṛgvedic poets. These poets are composing songs, no doubt, but these are addressed to divinities and therefore in their praise of these divinities they have to speak of these divinities, their nature, function, seats and personality. One doubts whether one can subscribe to the view that the Ṛgvedic poets do not tell us anything about the gods they worship. It is again natural to think that once a god was conceived in a particular manner, he would appear the same to all the other poets, and so many of the salient features and aspects of this god would often be expressed in identical or very similar expressions. In this way would arise the 'nivid's', the special expressions about the gods, individual in nature and application. It is only when the theme has no rigidity about it, or is absolutely new and therefore capable of being handled in an original manner that repetitions may not be resorted to, but otherwise they might suggest themselves to the poets. It is natural if every poet would be tempted to use with reference to Agni the phrases 'śuci, pāvaka, pāvakaśociṣam, śukrena śociṣa, ajasreṇa śociṣa, śociṣā śūsucānaḥ' with the verbs 'dīdhi, dīdivaḥ' to describe the holy lustre with the occasional addition of 'vandyaḥ, īdyaḥ; then Agni would be thought of as a mediator and a messenger between gods and men and then 'devān iha vaha, havyaavāhana, devān à vītaye vaha, devān somapītaye' would be pretty common. Agni, further would be, 'dūto viśam, yāsi dūtyam devāso dātām akṛta, havyaavāhanam amartyam' and through these aspects the god would be on his way to be considered as a priest and mythologically as a god. So he would be 'hotā manurhitaḥ, hotā mandratamo viśi, hotā yajisthaḥ, hotā devo amartyaḥ' further, he would be a 'ṛtvij, a prathama purohita' and thus come into a very close relation with the sacrifice and we would get the

used for Indra at IV.18.5 and at X.45.6. Similarly, 'samrājāṃ carṣaṇīnām' for Agni at V.21.4 is for Indra at X.134.1; 'netā sindhūnām vṛṣabhaḥ stiyānām' for Agni at VII.5.2 is for Indra at VI.44.21. One may note phrases like 'tvam īśīṣe vasūnām, tuvidyurna yaśassvataḥ, kṛṇvānāso amṛtatvāya gātum, vṛṣabhāya kṣitīnām, vrajam gomantam uśijo vi vavruḥ, te sumnam īmahe, śreṣṭham vāryam dehi, asme dehi śravo bṛhat, tvām vardhantu no giraḥ' which are frequently used both for Agni and Indra. Agni, again, would be brought into relation with Soma in the Vedic ritual and so the place in heaven, the shining form, friendship with humanity, occupation of a seat in a sacrifice would be the common aspects which would result in the use of repetitions of the phrases like 'śidann ṛtasya yonim ā, ṛtasya yonim āsadam, tveṣam rūpam kṛṇuta uttaram yat, sakhā sakhībhyah īdyaḥ, yaḥ carṣaṇīḥ abhī, deveṣu patyate' in the context of both of them. The quality of lustre and of light that pervades the universe would further bring Agni in a natural relation with Savitṛ and then the spreading lustre of these two gods, pervasion of the worlds by both of them, both being stores of energy and wealth, both having a thousand horns and characteristics like these would receive emphasis and would be expressed as 'ūrdhvam bhānum saviteva āśret, and savitā devo āśret' (IV.6.2; IV.14.14.2; IV.13.2; VII.72.4), āpaprivān rodasī antarikṣam (I.73.8; X.139.2), rāyo budhnaḥ sangamano vasūnām (I.96.6.I.139.3) vi rajāṃsi amīmā (6.7.7; I.160.4) sahasraśṛṅgo vṛṣabhaḥ (5.1.8; 7.55.7). This is how natural phenomenon on the one hand and the development of ideas on the other lead to such repetitions. BLOOMFIELD points out other phrases which Agni shares with Vāyu, Maruts, Tvaṣṭar, Paśan (p.613) but it can be easily seen that they are mostly of the type 'tvam hi ratnadhā asi, imam na śṛṇavad havam, ā yāhi vit. ye etc. which belong to all gods in general. While listing the similar phrases to Agni and Soma BLOOMFIELD remarks that these do not point to any general mythic identification, but all these repetitions imply a development in the concepts of the different gods which ultimately leads to their oneness.

What has been said about the phraseology about Agni, is essentially true of the phraseology used for Indra also. All the repetitions are significant for the individual god, for these emphasize the two aspects of the god, his fight with and success over

Vṛtra in particular, and demons in general, and secondly his inordinate love for Soma. The exploit of his killing of Vṛtra, the Ahi, is linked with the release of rivers, waters and I have already said something about this imagery, how it, as a matter of fact, is an expression of felt perception of some disorder created and order restored in life. It was but natural that Indra, the chief of the gods, should have been credited with this feat of killing the Ahi, and then, as other gods began to rise in eminence, their cooperation was granted to Indra, in other words, the slaying of Vṛtra and release of waters, the restoration of order, became a common feat of gods in general. In these Vṛtra repetitions, the structures would therefore revolve round the two aspects, killing of the serpent, 'ahan ahim, or jaghāna vṛtrāni and the release of the rivers; asṛjat vi sindhūn or ariṇāt sapta sindhūn.' Poetical considerations would be present here also and we get alliterations like 'vadhīd vṛtram vajreṇa mandasānah' or 'avāsraḥ sartave sapta sindhūn' We can from this further imagine a repetition in similar words of the other feats of Indra, killing of other demons like Namuci, Śambara, the dāsas and so on; that his terrible might would be often described, that he would be called upon to come to help and listen to the prayer, for all this is natural even if Indra is supposed to have been a mortal hero who won the battles for the R̥gvedic people. But the rise in Indra's status comes when mythological or cosmic feats are ascribed to him as in 'sa dhārayat pṛthivīm paprathat ca ( 1.103.2; 2.15.2 ) eko viśvasya bhuvanasya rājā ( 3.46.2; 6.36.4 ) anu tvā rodasī ubhe; vi antarikṣam atirat ( 8.6.38; 10.153.3 ) for in these thoughts and expressions about Indra with Soma, the R̥gvedic poets come out with fine phrases that are emotional, alliterative and eloquent. 'somasya pītaye, somapātama, sutam piba, indram indo vṛṣṇa viśa and the like indeed are too many to be referred to. The entire structure of these phrases appears to have been built up round Somapa, Somapiti, sutaḥ soma, mada, piba, vṛṣṇa, ā bhara and sakhā. These phrases in their variety always reflect the loving and sincere invitation to a great saviour friend of the people. But greater interest attaches to the phrases that are shared by Indra and Soma or Indu. The R̥gvedic poets deliberately bring the two words together and play with them. This play with the expressions that are pretty similar and stand for two gods who are too closely related is undoubtedly inspired by the perception of the close

relation between the two, as well as by the realization of the greatness of each of them. Indra is on his way to the highest position in the pantheon, through his heroic deeds, one might say, through the cult of the people, by processes of history, while Soma is on his way to the same position through the religion, the cult of sacrifice. This development is aided by the close relation between the two. Naturally the Soma does not remain the mere inspirer or drink of Indra but becomes a god who shares his feats and helps him in these exploits. Cosmic acts are ascribed to both of them. Thus both are 'janitā divaḥ janitā pṛthivyāḥ (8.36.4; 9.96.5) tvam sūryam arocayaḥ (8.98.2; 9.63.7) kṛṣṇa tamānsi tvīṣyā jaghāna (10.89.2; 9.66.24) satyam ithā vṛṣed asi (8.33.10; 9.64.2) viśvā bhuvanāni majmanā adhā yo (2.17.4; 9; 110.9) and next, Indra as the foremost of gods would share Sūrya's epithets as in 'susamdr̥śam tvā vayam (1.82.2; 10.158.5) ubhe ā paprau rodasi mahitvā (3.54.15; 4.16.5; 8.25.18) na minanti svarājyam (8.93.11; 5.82.2) vibhrājan jyotiṣā svar agacho rocanam divaḥ (8.98.3; 10.170.4). I have elsewhere pointed out that the Ṛgvedic mysticism is preeminently Solar Mysticism and that when a god reaches the highest position in the pantheon he shares Sūrya's greatness. Agni, Indra, Soma all these ultimately share epithets with Sūrya and so Dīrghatama would speak of only this one single deity. Vṛṣatva, another Ṛgvedic concept, of strength and vigour would also belong to all the gods and therefore it would appear almost everywhere. Thus all these repetitions have a logic behind them, are not mere plagiarism or mere copying and imitation. The repetitions are very important for they offer us the clue regarding the development of the idea of one god among these Ṛgvedic poets.

It is generally held that the Ṛgvedic religion in its early phases was a Nature religion and as such the hymns to Varuna, Uṣas, Parjanya would belong to the early period of the Ṛgvedic poetry. MAX MÜLLER and KEITH are inclined to place the Uṣas hymns in the earliest period of the Ṛgvedic poetry. Varuna also is a deity that belongs to the early period and it is often held that the Ṛgveda is a history of the downfall of Varuna and of rise in power of Indra. It is interesting to note that the repetitions appear to suggest some such conclusion and in a way confirm the views of MAX MÜLLER, KEITH and others who follow them

in holding these songs as belonging to the early period. It is seen that in the case of those gods who rise into power and importance, repetitions increase, become varied in character as these seek to emphasize the different aspects of the developing personality of the deity. The case would naturally be otherwise in the case of those deities that decline in their importance, lose their picturesque personality and tend to remain as gods in general. This does not mean that the songs that we have are not eloquent or do not bring out the whole significance and beauty of these deities. We are speaking of repetitions, for to us repetitions imply interest, both in the deity described and in the art of description. We would be therefore right in thinking that absence of repetitions can be interpreted to indicate lack of interest and enthusiasm. Viewed in this light, the songs addressed to Varuna, Uṣas, Parjanya tell their own tale. These repetitions instead of bringing out the different aspects of a deity as they do in the cases of Indra and Agni or Soma, merely repeat the bare outline of the deity. In a song a poet might describe the beauty and majesty in words and imagery all his own, beautiful and powerful, but this does not become the common property of the poets and does not inspire repetition. Thus in the case of Varuna, the repetitions always think of him in the company of Mitra or the Ādityas and mostly speak of his relation with the Rta in 'ṛtāvānā jane jane or ṛtāvānā Samrājā pītadakṣasā, adabdhāni varuṇasya vratāni, pra ye minanti varuṇasya dhāma, sāmraḥyāya sukratuḥ, varunam ca rīśadasam.' Similarly regarding his protection, bṛhan mitrasya varuṇasya śarma (dhāma), and Varuna's mention along with Mitra, Aryamā and so. on. the phrases are rather colourless, in which Varuna is thought of. In the songs directly addressed to him, well might he appear as an imposing figure in his golden veil, a rival of Indra watching men with his spies, Lord of morals and dreaded for his punishment, but the repetitions reveal that the real grandeur of the god is on the wane and fading. These repetitions are to be contrasted with the repetitions that appear in the cases of Soma, Indra and Agni, where not only the poets think of newer and more significant aspects but also naturally think of a phrase to convey the idea adequately. On the other hand it is significant that the clause vi yaḥ tastambha rodasī cid urvī, (Varuna. 7.86.1) is applied to Soma in 9.101.15; again 'yaḥ cakre asāmy ā' is shared by him and Indra (1.125.15; 10.22.2). The sharing of

the feat and therefore of the phrase indicates the rise of the other deities.

The same is the story of the other deities, Uṣas and Parjanya. The cult of Nature Worship and of the deities of light was gradually being superceded by the cult of sacrifice in religion in an atmosphere of war and conflict. These two factors influenced the poetry and thought of the Rġvedic poets and this is reflected in their repetitions too. BLOOMFIELD notes some 20 repetitions about Uṣas and observes that these do not call for any classification and these exhibit most of the features that make up her character. (p. 604). The first prominent aspect is the pleasant light and this is seen emphasized in *aśvā na citre aruṣi, aśveva citrāruṣi; jyotiṣ kṛpoti sūnari* (1.48.8; 4.52.2) *vyucchā duhitur dīvaḥ* (1.48.1; 5.79.2, 3, 9) *bhāsvati netri sūnṛtānām* (1.92.7; 1.113.4) *uṣaḥ śukreṇa śociṣā* (1.48.14; 4.52.7); another prominent fact about her to be noticed would be her unfailing regularity, her ever young nature and her aging effect on human beings and this is seen in *praminatī manuṣyā yugāni* (1.92.11 and 1.124.2) and *aminatī daivvyāni vratāni* (1.92.12; 1.124.2) *ṛtasya panthāmanveti sādhu* (1.124.3; 5.80.4) *iṣuṣinām upamā śaśvatīnām vibhātīnām* (1.124.2; 1.113.15) and lastly would be emphasized her fair form: *eṣā divo duhitā pratyadarṣi, prati bhadrā adṛkṣata* and so on. A poet, while describing her, may be urged to fine poetry but these are words and lines that have been repeated, which only means that the colourful deity of light had begun to fade in the pantheon and could only appeal to the poets in an individual manner. The songs to Maruts also would reveal the same story. The repetitions touch their prominent aspects as in *'svāyudhāsa iṣmipaḥ* (7.56.11; 5.87.5) *śiprah śirasu vitatā hiranyayitī* (5.54.11; 8.7.25) *te bhānubhiḥ vi tasthīre* (8.7.836) and then their effects as in *pra vepayanti parvatān* (1.39.5; 8.7.4) *pra cyāvayanti yāmabhiḥ* (1.37.11; 5.56.4) *bhayante viśvā bhuvanā marudbhyaḥ* (1.166.4; 1.85.8) and finally the invitation and prayer to the Maruts to come and accept the offerings. In the songs to Parjanya the only repetitions are *'sa retodhā vṛṣabhaḥ śaśvatīnām* (3.56.3; 7.101.6) and *sa naḥ parjanya mahi śarma yaccha* (5.83.5; 10.169.2). It is true that Uṣas, Maruts and Parjanya share lines and expressions with other deities as Indra, Agni, Sūrya and Soma, but these would naturally refer to either protection and wealth sought, or to the common aspect of light

and would not appear very significant. The inference therefore could be drawn that the poets as a community had lost their enthusiasm in these themes and that these deities were slowly receding into the background. It is rather difficult to explain, otherwise, the striking aesthetic pleasure and beauty seen in the songs of the individual poets addressed to these deities and the lack of significant repetitions in their context. It would be worthwhile to mention here before closing the discussion of Nature deities and poetry, the song X.146. of Airammada Devamuni addressed to Aranyāni, a beautiful piece of composition. As is natural, the word Aranyāni, the name of the deity, is repeated in each of the verses which go to make up the song. But the repetition has an emotional aspect and has also poetical delicacy about it. The langour and the awe-inspiring silence is reflected in the repetition and the very opening shows how the poet wants almost to whisper in low tones to the goddess as a lover to the beloved and is earnestly calling the vanishing goddess to stop and answer his questions, hence the song opens 'aranyāni aranyāni.'. The alliterations 'vṛṣaravāya vadate, sāyam śakaṭiriva sarjati', the very skillful use of 'gandha' and 'saurabha' in 'añjanagandhim surabhim and the vibhāvanā in bahvannām akṣivalām' all these add to the artistic excellence of this great poem. It is in the fitness of the things that X.146 stands by itself and has no relation for phrase or idea with any other song. Devamuni is a poet of the later times of the Mandala X. but he is following in the lines of the great individual nature-poets who describe Uṣas and Parjanya in a real poetical manner.

In the R̥gveda we find the polytheistic thought receding into background and monotheism and monism coming to the forefront. This would imply the merging of the several distinct gods into one colossus or into an abstract principle. This is what has precisely happened and is reflected in the repetitions too. Magical powers (asurasya Māyā) Hero's powers (Saciṣpati) and Universal knowledge (Viśvā vayunāni vidvān) appear to be the expressions that reflect this progress of ideas. The repetitions in this field supply much of the material in language and thought to the Upaniṣads and so these repetitions could be called 'philosophical' in character. Thus the Agni phrases like 'antar mahānścarati (10.4.2; 3.55.2) gopā ṛtasya (10.118.7; 3.10.2;

1.1.8) viśvāni devo vayunāni vidvān (3.5.6; 1.189.1) marṭeṣu amṛto (7.4.4; 10.45.7); Indra phrases like eko viśvasya bhuvanasya rājā (3.46.2; 6.36.4) or Varuna's 'apade pādā pratidhātave (1.21.8), the mystic 'paticāre cakre pari vartamāne tasmin ā tasthuḥ bhuvanani viśvā' (I. 164.13) dvā suparnā sayujā sakhāyā (I. 164.20) viśvasya bhuvanasya gopāḥ (I. 164.21) ya it tad vidusta ime samāsate (I. 164.39) ekam sad viprā bahudhā vadanti (1.164.46) guhā hitam guhyam gulham (2.11.5) tā viśvā paribh'rasī tmanā (3.3.10) yādṛgeva dadṛṣe tadṛgucyate (5.44.6) na sa jīyate maruto na hanyate na sredhati na vyathate na riṣyati (5.54.7) ṛtena ṛtam apihitam dhruvam vām s'ṛyasya yatra vimuñcanti aśvān (5.62.1) satyadharmāpā parame vyomani; māyā vām divi śrītā (5.63.1,4) idam jyotiḥ amṛtam marṭyeṣu; dhruvam jyotiḥ nihitam dṛśaye kam mano javistham patati, vi me karna parāyato vi cakṣu (6.2.4,5,6) upa tvā sātaye naro viprāso yanti dhītibhiḥ (7.15.9) na te viṣṇo jāyamāno na jāto deva mahimnaḥ paramantamāpa (7.99.2) ātmā yajñasya (9.6.8) viśvasya nābhim carataḥ dhruvasya (X.5.3) Īse yo viśvasya (X.63.3) savitā paścātāt savitā purastāt savitā uttarāttāt savitā adharāttāt (X.36.14) yena devāso amṛtavamānaśuḥ (X.35.10) na mardita vidyate anya ebhyaḥ (X.64.2) sa pratyang viśvā bhuvanāni tasthā (X.88.16) Puruṣa evedam sarvam (X.90.1) sa idam viśvam bhuvanam vi caṣṭe; suparnam viprāḥ kavayaḥ vacobhiḥ ekam santam bahudhā kalpayanti (X.114.5) moghamannam vindate apracetāḥ; kevalāgho bhavati kevalādi (X.117.6) yasya viśvā upāsate praśiṣam yasya devāḥ; yasya chāyāmṛtam yasya mṛtyuḥ; ya īse asya dvipadaścatuṣpadaḥ (X.121.2,3) yatrānu-kāmām caraṇam, lokā yatra jyotiṣmantah, yatra kāmā nikāmāśca, svadhā ca yatra tṛptiśca, yatrānandaśca modāśca mudāḥ pramuda āsate, kāmasya yatrāptāḥ kāmāḥ tatra mām amṛtam kṛdhi (IX.113.9-11) and expressions like 'ko addhā veda ka iha pravocatu sa vṛkṣaḥ (10.37.7; 81.4) for expressing wonder, spirit of philosophical inquiry and the unknowable nature of the ultimate, or expressions like 'as'ṛye tamasi, yasmin vṛkṣe madhvadaḥ suparnāḥ (1.164.22) yatrādhi sūra udīto vibhāti (10.121.6) Hamsaḥ śuciśad (IV.40.5) aśvatthe vo niśadanam (10.97.5) Agnim saptarśmim (1.146.1) yaḥ prānato nimiṣato mahitvai (10.121.3) paryapaśyan matsyam na udake (10.68.8) jyogjivantaḥ prajayā sacemahi (1.136.6) and so on, supply not only the ideas



but also expressions to the Upaniṣads. In this manner it, will be seen, that the R̥gvedic poets created phrases as well as style that were used by the later devotional poets who accepted one great god and followed the cult of bhakti. In a similar manner they created phrases and style that were to be followed by the later thinkers who developed the philosophy of Brahman and the cult of knowledge. Magic, theology and aesthetics are the three reasons why these poets repeat and magical repetitions indicate the intensity of desire and the inevitable nature of the end while theological repetitions bring in dignity and weight, and the aesthetical or rhetorical repetitions contribute to the poetical excellence of these songs. The R̥gvedic poets are therefore artists with a deliberate plan and a purpose, to whom repetition is a subtle and significant device to be used for a variety of telling effects.

A study of the repetitions in the philosophical hymns of the R̥gveda should prove rather interesting, for on the one hand it should reveal to us the transition from the mythological and theological terminology to the metaphysical or cosmological terminology and then to the philosophical one and on the other hand it should throw some light on the phraseology of the Upaniṣads. The Upaniṣads no doubt come after the Brāhmapas, yet these philosophical treatises often look back to the R̥gveda for both their thoughts and the expressions. It is not only that literary compositions and style have conventions, even the reflective and philosophical compositions seem to have and evolve their own technique in these matters.

It is true that it would be difficult to be very precise about the philosophical hymns in the R̥gveda, though we can refer to a few celebrated hymns accepted on all hands as philosophical hymns. As a matter of fact we will have to consult many other hymns as well. For it is on the R̥gvedic poetical and philosophical ideas and phraseology that the later poetry so largely depends. Developed philosophical thoughts and subtle or appropriate expressions are not accidents and are a result of long gradual growth. It is agreed on all hands that for a proper understanding of the ideas and philosophy of the Upaniṣads, the importance of the philosophical material of the R̥gveda and the Atharvaveda can never be overestimated. Yet in the R̥gveda itself the poets have

achieved miracles in the matter of thought and expression. One can only refer in this context to the inspired appreciation of the famous Nāsadiya Sūkta by a critical scholar like Max Müller. About 'Ānidavātam svadhayā tadekam' he was moved to remark that the language blushes at its triumph. Even granting the exaggeration due to rapture on the part of the celebrated Indologist, one has to admit that the performance is creditable. Thus even in this field the Rġvedic poets have much to their credit and they have laid under obligation the poets of the succeeding generations.

The philosophical hymns in the Rġveda form by themselves a very interesting and important group. This group, to put it broadly, consists of the hymns X.90, the Puruṣa Sūkta; X.81, 82 Viśvakarman Hymns; X.121 the Hiraṇyagarbha Sūkta; X.129 the Nāsadiya Sūkta along with Hymns like II.12, VIII.100, I.164, and the like.

The author of the Puruṣasūkta X.90 glorifies the Sacrifice as the cause and source of the creation and it is therefore natural that he is seen repeating 'tasmāt yajñāt sarvahutāt' (X.90.8,9.) but he repeats the entire verse Yajñena yajñamayajanta devāḥ etc. (16) which is really identical with I.164.50, a composition of Dīrghatamas Aucathya. Similarly we are not surprised if the authors of the hymns X.81 and X.31 express their metaphysical curiosity in identical words as in 'Kim svid vanam ka u sa vṛkṣa āsa yato dyāvapṛthivi nistatakṣuḥ' and then the two poets, Kavaṣa Ailuṣa and Viśvakarmā Bhauvana, go on to develop their thoughts each in his own way. With his absolutistic tendency Kavaṣa remarks 'naitavad enā paro anyadasti' while Bhauvana with his theistic tendency reaches the concept of Viśvakarman. The words 'enā paro' find their counterpart not only in X.27.21. 'śrava ida enā paro anyadasti' but also in the songs of Bhauvana in 'paro divā para enā pṛthivyā'. In fact Bhauvana appears to start with the line from Kavaṣa as would appear from 'paro divā para enā pṛthivyā paro devebhiḥ asuraiḥ yad asti' and he actually refers to the viśve devāḥ 'gods whom Kavaṣa addresses his song, in his words' kam svid garbham prathamam dadhra āpo yatra devāḥ samapaśyanta viśve (10.82.5). The words paro enā, become a set phrase for transcendence and, therefore, we see Vak Āmbhṛṇ

again using in her *Ātmastuti* 'para divā para eṇā pṛthivya' etc. Similarly the phrases which Bahuvana uses 'yasmīn viśvā bhuvanāni tasthuḥ' and 'ad id dyāvapṛthivi aprathetām' have their counterparts in VII.101.4 and X.149.2, these expressions again going to the class of the Rġvedic familiar *viśvāni bhuvanā-bhucaste, viśvāni aryo bhuvanā jājana* etc. (I.108.1; VII.61.1; II. 35.2; 40.5).

In a similar manner the *Hiranyagarbha Sūkta* X.121, as has been already pointed out by BLOOMFIELD and OLDENBERG (Prol p.315), takes II.12 for its pattern (R.R.p.19). That the hymn X.121 is a deliberate composition made on the earlier patterns is clear enough on account of the internal refrain 'kasmai devāya haviṣā vidhemā', and the list refrain 'vayam syāma patayo rayīnām', a popular Rġvedic refrain seen in IX.50.6; V. 55.10; VIII.40.12; VIII.48.13. The author of the X.121 has tried to reach a concept, perhaps far beyond the ken and capacity of the author of II.12.. *Gṛtsamada* has a very prominent theistic strain and it cannot be asserted with certainty that the cosmic acts of Indra are metaphysically thought of, for to him Indra is the destroyer of the *Dasyus*, a leader in the war, an Aryan hero. But the inquiry of the author of X.121 is purely metaphysical and perhaps he is right on the threshold of the *Upaniṣadic* concepts and times, as the lines *yāḥ Ātmadā baladā .yasya chāyāmṛtam yasya mṛtyuḥ. yatrādhi s'ra* and so on show. Even the concept of universe as conceived by him is much larger than that of his predecessor. How much the poet of X.121 is deeply rooted in the Vedic soil and with what ramifications will be clear from the following analysis of the opening vers: of the Hymn by a reference to the *Vedic Concordance*:

(a) *Hiranyagarbhaḥ samavaratata agre*: AV.4.2.7; VS 13.4; 23.1; 25.10; VSK 29,33; TS 4.1.8.3; 2.8.2; 5.5 1.2; MS 2.7.15; 96.13; 2.13 23; 168.5; 3.12.16; 165.1; KS.16.15; 20.5; 40.1; KSA.5.11;

(b) *Bhṛtasya jātaḥ patireka asīt*: AV.4.2.7; VS.13.4; 23.1; 25. 10; VSK.29.33; TS.4.1.8.8; 2.8.2; MS.2.7.15; 96.13; 2.13.23; 168. 5; 3.12.16; 165.1; KS.16.15; 40.1; KSA.5.11.

(c) Sa dādhāra pṛthivīm dyāmutemām: all these places.

(d) Kasmai devāya haviṣā vidhema: all these and many more.

Even the lines like 'mā no hinsīt janitā yaḥ pṛthivyāḥ ( 10.121.9 ) (TS.4.2.7.1; MS.2,7,14; 95.1; KS.16.14) have their impact and contact with lines elsewhere, a fact which indicates that even these concepts had their own settled phraseology and such songs were composed by a deliberate effort. To note another instance 'yasya chāyāmṛtam yasya mṛtyuḥ' also is seen in many places.

The same fact is evidenced by the contents of X.129, the celebrated Nāsadiya Sūkta. Its echoes can be found in the MS and the TB and the famous conclusion 'sato bandhum asati nir-avindan' is to be found in TB. 2.4; 1.10.8.9.5; AT. 1.23.2. Yet the fact that many of the lines except one 'ko addhā veda ka iha pra vocat' ( II.54.5 ) have no contact with the other portions of the Rġveda would indicate that the poet of this song was far ahead of his times and was almost unique and original in his expression. Such a conclusion would almost be forced on us by the evidence of the repetitions and also by the absence of them in the songs of the Rġveda, and is as a matter of fact, more than justified and no exaggeration in any way. The achievements of this poet would be properly appreciated if they are studied in comparison and in contrast with those of the author of the Puruṣa Sūkta who depends so much on the earlier concepts and phraseology. W. NORMAN BROWN ( JAOS.51, 1931 ) has discussed the sources and nature of the Puruṣa in the Puruṣasūkta and observed that 'the hymn contains a number of lexical and mythological integers drawn from the sphere of the related deities, Agni, Sūrya, Viṣṇu. Puruṣa is a blend of these derivative elements treated with a rudimentary personification faintly echoing an old folk-notion.'

The Song of Dirghatamas Āucathya I.164, a longish hymn of 52 verses, is a very important philosophical hymn and has deservedly received a full and learned volume from V. S. AGRAWALA. It contains the vision of the poet and is interesting from many points of view. The author of this poem, who has

evidently before him a very long tradition, has dealt with so many obtruse points. He is evidently interested in deep philosophical and mystical unsolvable problems and therefore has approached the wise for instruction. We will first note his contacts with the rest of the Rġveda and then will proceed to make observations regarding his contribution. Thus his 'sapta svasāro abhi sam navante' is related to X.71.3. tām sapta rebhā abhi sam navante'; again his 'ino viśvasya bhuvanasya gopāḥ' is a repetition of 2.27.4. Devā viśvasya bhuvanasya gopāḥ; his 'atho vayam bhagavantāḥ syāma' is to be seen at 7.41,5 tena vayam bhagavantāḥ syāma; further he has internal repetitions too, that is, he repeats himself in 'amartyo martyena sayoniḥ' and 'tāni dharmāni prathamāni āsan' both rather significant observations and deserving emphasis through repetition, a familiar phenomenon. But there are other repetitions of greater importance: thus the verse 'Yajñena yajñam ayajanta' etc. is repeated verbatim in the X.90, the Puruṣa-sūkta and BLOOMFIELD is of the view that the verse in the Puruṣasūkta is 'evidently appended'. That Dīrghatamas is likely to be the original poet is more probable, for this very verse contains the internal repetition 'tāni dharmāni prathamāni āsan' a wording that was to become common to the TS, VA etc. along with the verse itself. But of greater significance to me are the other two verses: 'apaśyam gopām anipadyamānam' etc. a verse that is verbatim repeated in X.177.3. a composition of Patanga Prajāpatya. BLOOMFIELD regards the verse as a cosmic brahmodya, addressed to the Sun and that in both the hymns, the verse is loosely connected. He however thinks that the chances of it being earlier are in favour of Dīrghatamas and the author of X.177 is the imitator. Apaśyam gopām is further repeated in AV 9.10.11; VS.37.17; MS.4.9.6; 126.3; AB. CB. AA. TA. JUB. AS. N.P. Apc. Śāyana is very clear in stating that the reference is to the Sun, the protector who sets and rises again and illumines the entire universe. RANADE, however, is of the view that the ṛk in question refers to the migrating soul and a look at the context in the verse preceding jīvo mṛtasya carati svadhābhīḥ and the verse that follows ya ḥm cakāra na so asya veda as well as the words amartyo martyenā sayoniḥ' would clearly indicate that some such idea as contemplated by RANADE is present in this verse. The Sun, no doubt is also meant here but the ultimate idea resulting from all the three verses is that the Protector and illuminator of the universe is the

same as the self of a being and thus is perceived the relation of the Immortal and the Mortal. The realization is a unique experience and is conveyed in *apaśyam* and it is but natural that another mystic of the age, Patamga, also echoes it and Ātmānanda points out rightly perhaps that the *Gopā* here is used to mean both *Jīva* and *Paramātmā*. It is true that a reference to the later literature like the SB.14.1.4.9; AB.1.28; 6.10; GB.2.2.20; JUB 3.37.2. shows that the word *Gopā* has been used in the context of the deities like *Sūrya*, *Agni*, *Indra* and *Prāna*. Later on, *Bhuvanasya Gopa* becomes almost a conventional phrase in the sense of the Highest Reality, the Immortal, that protects the universe. The poet in the *sūkta*, his song, takes recourse to a number of images that are to be found used commonly to explain the mystery of the creation and its unknowability. Thus his 'ya īm cakāra na so asya veda' is linked with the *Nāsadiya sūkta* 10.129.6 'Ko addhā veda ka iha pra vocat' and *yo asya adhyakṣaḥ parame vyomni so anga veda yadi vā na veda*. Again in the manner of a mystic metaphysical poet of the *Ṛgvedic* times he uses the familiar symbols of the Ocean, Sky, Earth, Clouds, Rain, Bull, Cow and so on. This imagery has a special meaning for the *Ṛgvedic* poets, all this being symbolic in character. The celebrated Chariot also is described as also are used the familiar mystical numbers three and seven. Thus the *sūkta* uses and is based on the repetition of the *Ṛgvedic* mystical material.

The *Ṛgvedic* poets take delight in a subtle use of balanced, alliterative as well as etymological phraseology to describe the gods or their associations with their exploits now and then. Thus at II.13.7. *Indra* is called *Ururūrvān* where the connection is sought to be conveyed between the wide and broad God and the vast oceans which he spread. Again we get at II.17.5. 'Sa *prācinān parvatān dṛm̄hatojasā adharācinam akṣṛot apām apaḥ*' where *prācinān parvatān* refers to the antiquity of the action while *apām apaḥ* would refer to the rapidity and activity of the flowing waters. At IV.55.5. we get 'pāt *patirjanyaḍam̄haso no mitro mitriyāduta na uruṣyēt*' where a balance is secured by opening the lines with phrases *pāt patiḥ* and *mitro mitriyāt* and in 'patiḥ' assuredly the poet wanted to convey the significance of Lordship. *Kakṣivati Ghoṣā* sings of the *Aśvins* in very melodious voice, for she, in an effort to describe the ever

moving succouring chariot of the gods, bursts into an alliterative repetition *prātaryāvānam vibhvam viṣe viṣe vastorvastorvahamānam dhiyā śamim* X.40. Further for the sake of emphasis on their exploits she opens as many as nine lines with *Yuvām* and has three more internally opening with the same. The emotional as well as rhetorical effect is only obvious. The effect thus created is again heightened by alliterating binaries in *jarethe jaraṇeva, vastorvastō, mṛgeva mṛganyavo, vidhattam vidhavām, sanibhyaḥ stanayantam, makṣā, madhvāsā*. The close analysis of the structure of the lines in the hymn would reveal in an unmistakable manner the hunt after assonant, alliterative words that create a sense of repetition and through these that of familiarity. At V.43.12 *Bhauma Atri* is describing and praising *Bṛhaspati* in a hymn that is addressed to the *Viśvedevāḥ* 'Ā vedhasam nīlapṛṣṭham bṛhantam bṛhaspatim sadane sādadhvam sādadyonim dama dīdivāmsam hiraṇyavarnam aruṣam sapema' The deliberate choice of assonant and alliterative words is so obvious as to need no comments. But *bṛhantam bṛhaspatim* here and 'bṛhad brahma at V.85.1 gain significance in view of the importance of all these concepts in later philosophy and one wonders whether in these phrases we are slowly yet surely moving towards the concept of the Upaniṣadic Brahman. In the case of God *Viṣṇu* is to be seen a similar phenomenon and the tendency of the Vedic poets to indulge in what GELDNER described as 'Wortspiel'. *Viṣṇu* has been explained as coming from *vi* and *snu* and has been connected with pervasiveness, power, protection, beneficence, showering of heavenly blessings on the earth and so on. While describing anything connected with *Viṣṇu* the Rġvedic poets reveal a remarkable tendency to use compounds and verbs that have *vi* as the prefix. Thus *vikram* and its derivative *vikramana* refer to his three strides. At IV.1, we get 'sakhe viṣno vitaram vi kramasva' which is repeated at VIII.100.12. Later literature, *Vāyu Purāna* V.36. introduces a new root in *viṣṇuḥ sarvapraveśant* yet its origin can be traced in the *Yajurveda* VS.23.49. *yeṣu viṣṇuḥ triṣu padeṣu eṣtas teṣu viśvam bhuvanam āviveśa*. In the case of *Puṣan* too, the tendency is to use the root *puṣ*, to thrive, flourish, prosper. At VI.48.14 we get the idea that *Puṣan* brings nourishment and in all likelihood *Yaska's* explanation 'yad raśmipoṣam puṣyati tat piṣā bhavati' is based on Rġveda IV.3.7. where of *Puṣan* is said 'kathā mahe puṣṭimbharāya pōṣe'. The alliteration is

the picture of the diction in these Agni songs and an explanation of the fact that everytime we open an Agni hymn, we have a feeling of familiarity. Occasionally we get a contrast in the spirit and phraseology of the poet, for Vasiṣṭha Maitravaruṇī would describe the appearance of Agni in simple 'Ud asya śocirasthād (7.16.3; 1.23.4) but Vāmadeva Gautama would go to a Savitr-pāda ' Ūrdhvam bhānum savitā devo aśred (4.13.2; 4.14.2; 7.72.4) and describe the rise of Agni as ' ūrdhvam bhānum saviteva aśren (4.6.2). Through these phrases we get to know all about Agni and all that the R̥gvedic poets had to say about this deity. The gods do not change and hence the phraseology about them also does not much change.

Whatever I have observed about the R̥gvedic repetitions in general is also true and perhaps to a greater degree true of the repetitions to be found in the Book IX addressed to Soma Pavamāna. These repetitions are about 200 and mostly occur in this very book and this in a way is to be expected. The deity of this Book is Soma Pavamāna and therefore the poets naturally speak of it, not only in the same strain but also in the same set phrases. The Soma poetry in all likelihood must have been both old as well as popular. That the R̥gvedic poetry is school poetry is proved here more than anywhere else. Poets belonging to various and different stocks and in all probability to different generations speak in the same tones, phrases and ideas. The Soma is a transparent deity and therefore howsoever may the R̥gvedic imagination soar and roam, the fact remains ever clear to the poets that it is a plant, a drink, prepared in a particular manner and having a particular ritual woven round it. This ritual also is clear to them and just as the plant or the drink rises in status as a divinity so the ritual becomes symbolic. The Soma is a favourite drink of Indra and therefore its close relation with that god is never forgotten and this explains the circumstance that many passages really belonging to Soma are transferred to Indra. These Soma repetitions are very important for the light they throw on the Soma, its ritual and its development and rise in the Vedic pantheon.

The Soma repetitions have been regarded interesting by BLOOMFIELD, BERGAIGNE and HILLEBRANDT. BLOOM-



FIELD has to observe about these repetitions that these 'are the most conspicuous and at the same time most monotonous mass of repetitions for here is a repetition ad nauseam of practically every important statement about the preparation of the drink and cult of the god, a circumstance to be explained by the fact that the Book IX is a collective Soma-book of all the Vedic ṛ̥ṣis. We are expressly told in IX.67.31-32. 'Pāvamāniḥ...ṛ̥ṣibhiḥ sambhṛ̥tam rasam'. BERGAIGNE (*La Religion Védique*, i.165.ff) has argued that the Vedic poets had in their minds a mythic identity in heaven of Agni and Soma but at the same time they were conscious of the material and ritualistic identity of the two gods. A study of the repetitions of Soma and Agni reveals that the concept of the identity in heaven was, in all probability, absent and never developed. The same is the fate of the view of HILLEBRANDT that in the ritual the Soma and the Moon are identical. We shall not be wrong if we see an order, at least expect a natural order in the R̥gvedic expressions about the gods: first we get what we might describe as the 'Leitmotifs', the salient and the standard expressions of the distinct character and activity of a particular god; then expressions of associations, where words and expressions are used with reference to the other gods with whom the god has relation or association; thirdly a complete transference of expression on account of such a relation, a fact which would result in a conception of identity between the two. In the Soma repetitions we see nothing of the kind and therefore these theories are, at best, conjectures. I shall just consider but one interesting illustration which has some importance for BERGAIGNE as well as for BLOOMFIELD. The correspondence between I.95.8, the description of Agni by Kutsa Angirasa and IX.71.8, the description of Soma by Ṛ̥ṣabha Viśvāmitra is one that can be easily noticed, at least so far as the opening words of these verses are considered. As BLOOMFIELD has noted we have the correspondence running in (i) tveṣam r̥pam kṛ̥ṇuta uttaram yat (Agni) and tveṣam r̥pam kṛ̥ṇute varno asya (Soma), (ii) gobhiḥ (Agni) and goagrāya (Soma). (iii) dhīḥ (Agni) and suṣṭuṭi (Soma). BLOOMFIELD remarks 'Notwithstanding the bizarre mysticism of both the stanzas we can see that they are related beyond the verbal similarity of their opening pādas' and further 'we may never find out what is the exact value of these mystic utterances of the Ṛ̥ṣhis, but in any case, these two stanzas which assimilate Agni and Soma,

must be considered in their mutual relation, before explanation of either is possible'. (p 110 R.R.) It may be, however, suggested here that what we have in these verses is a perfectly natural Vedic phenomenon and, as usual, a rather clumsy one. In the first place we have the repetition of a set phraseology for 'assuming a resplendant form'—*tveṣam rūpam kṛnute*—for both the gods in these songs are spoken of as assuming splendid forms. Secondly, in both these songs we have a reference to the ritual connected with the two gods, in fact the Agni hymn expressly starts to speak of the two forms of the God I.95.1, and in any case we have there a reference to the Sun. Similarly the Soma hymn, IX 71, speaks of the Soma preparation but ultimately makes him a divine Falcon and observes that 'he has assumed the brilliancy of the Sun.' Thirdly, in both these songs we have a reference to the myth that connects the ten sisters (I.95.2 and IX 71.5) with the production of the two gods on account of the fact that the two hands play a prominent part in the ritual. The thoughts of the two poets proceed thus towards the identification of the two gods with the Sun, obviously on account of the concept of a richly resplendent form of each and to this is the clue that we get in the poetical repetition '*tveṣam rūpam kṛnute*'. In a similar manner the ritualistic repetition '*marmjyante*' also tells the tale, for it is a very favourite figure with reference to the Soma and the Agni, on account of the ornamentation and the decoration that each receives. Thus we have IX.38.3. with reference to the Soma '*etam tyam harito daśa marmjyante apasyuvaḥ/yābhirmadāya śumbhate*' just as we have here the use of '*marmjyante*' with reference to the Agni, the expression being a metaphor and derived from the act of currying a horse. Thus what we have here a very natural and logical development of the ideas with reference to the two gods but expressed with two repetitions, the poetical and the ritual, hence the apparent similarity of Soma with Agni, but as a matter of fact each is being regarded as the Sun. What is said here is true of the most of the repetitions that we get in connection with these two gods, the Soma and the Agni. They occur mostly in the context of the ritual: thus '*śidann ṛtasya yonim ; ṛtasya yonim sa dam ; imam yajñam idam vāco jujuṣāna upgahi ; harim hino ta vjinam ;* then some because of their divine nature: *jahi rakṣamsi sukrato ; dadhat ratnāni daśuse ; sakhā sakhībhayḥ īdyah ;* and so on

(BLOOMFIELD R. R. 612). I doubt if these imply any real relationship between the two gods, for to me it is a case of the use of set phraseology. More primitive and chronologically earlier is the connection or the association of Soma and Indra and hence it is perfectly understandable that we get a far larger number of repetitions in the context of these two gods, as can be seen from the repetitions listed by BLOOMFIELD on pp. 600, 615 and 616.595. The point to be noted is that in this group too the number of repetitions that reveal Soma to be Indra's drink of inspiration and strength is considerably larger than the group wherein expressions are interchanged with reference to the two gods and are indicative of equal status as divinities. These to my mind, should belong to a later period when Soma has been raised to the full divinity status and cosmic seats and the like are attributed to it, as in 'janit divo janit p̥rthivyāḥ (8.36.4; 9.56.5) tvam sūryam arocayāḥ (8.93.2; 9.63.7) vayam te...viśvaha priyāsaḥ (2.12.15; 8.48.14) and so on. Naturally with greater frequency is remembered the fact that the Soma is a drink of intoxication and strength, specially pressed for Indra. Further it is also easily understood that the poets charmed with words and alliterative jingle should think of Indu and Indra and hence the greater number of repetitions where a play on these two associative words is resorted to. Thus we have Indavindrasya sakhyam juṣāṇaḥ (8.48.2; 9.97.11) Indum indrāya; Indrāya indo; Indram indo; Indava indrāya; induḥ indram and so on.

The repetitions are significant since through them it is possible to have a very clear picture of the deity and the ritual connected with it. Thus in the Soma preparation the washing and cleaning has a important place. The priest naturally thinks that this cleansing beautifies the Soma extremely. The favourite roots used in this context are M̥rj and Śubha and so we have a number of repetitions centering round these two verbs and their derivatives: thus m̥rjanti, marm̥jyante, m̥rjyamānaḥ, marm̥jāna, m̥rjanta and śumbhamāna, śumbhate, śumbhase and this tender caressing act is then responsible for the poetical 'śiṣum jajānam haryatam m̥rjanti (9.96.17; 9.109.12 and 9.70.4.5.). It is these repetitions of the same basic words and their derivatives that give the language of the R̥gveda its peculiar characteristic of a repetitive.

From mere 'mrjanti' it is but a next step through alliteration to 'mrjanti marjyam'.

The act of straining the Soma is the next important item in the Soma preparation and hence we have the set phraseology, almost a technical one, woven round the Pavitra and so we have a number of repetitions reflecting this aspect: Pavitra ā; pavitre arṣati, pavitre pari sicyate, pavitram gaccha'i, tirah pavitram, atyeti pavitram; and from this it is but a very natural conceit to think of the Pavitra as a chariot and of the Soma as the King mounted on it, 'rājā pavitraratho vājam aruhat' (9,86,40;83.5) alternatively, when the whole is lifted to the heavenly sphere, the pavitra is connected with a mountain top and so we get pavitre adhi sāno avyaye (9.86.3). This is how a ritualistic repetition gives rise to poetical conceits and repetitions. From the concept of the plant Soma we come to the concept of the King Soma, so popular in the later Brahmanical literature and then we get also the concept of god Soma connected with the sky and the mountain.

Similarly the pressing of the Soma and its flowing character also receive their proper share of importance in these repetitions. In this context the roots 'Su' with its derivatives, 'sunota, sunvire, suṣvāti, sofa, sotave, sotoḥ, sunvat, sutaḥ play a very important part. The other words of very frequent recurrence are suvānā, punānā, pātaḥ, pavamāna, hinvanti hinvānaḥ, and various forms of pavamāna like pavamānaḥ, pavamānam, pavamānasa, pavamānāya with the verbal forms pavasva, pavate. It is again as is to be expected that the poets remember the beauty, the sweet taste, the intoxication that the Soma produces and its mixture with honey and so we have the sonorous liquid adjectives strewn in between this phraseology with the result that we get a sonorous set diction like-madhumattamam, madintama, madhuścuta, madhumattamaḥ, madyam madam, viśvadarśataḥ, vipaścita and viśvamejaya, dhārābhiḥ ojasā, śukra dhārayā. With the usual alliterative fancy we get 'harim hinvanti adriḥ' repeated seven times, devo devebhya sutaḥ, pavate haryato hariḥ and so on. The Soma mixed with milk and curds, Somaḥ gavaśiraḥ, dadhyaśiraḥ, is placed or flows towards the vessels and this fact is also conveyed in a simile that has come to stay. The Soma is thought of flowing towards, settling in the Kalāśa, droṇa, koṣa, and camū, a fact

indicated with verbs *sīdati*, *asadat*, *aṛṣati*, *dhāvati*, with *abhi* and *acchā*. The simile is 'Śyena na vansu, vikṣu'. 9.57,3; 38,4. This idea of the Śyena is no doubt important for through it the soma is connected with the Sun.

When the Soma is thought of in relation with Indra, it has already been observed that we get *Indraya indu* and in addition to that we get the words *pavate sutaḥ*, *pari srava*, *matsarintamaḥ*, *vṛṣe viśa*, *indrāya pītaye*. Soon Soma is thought of as a divinity and not as a mere plant and so we get the epithets, *sahasrabhṛṣṭiḥ* *sahasrapājasaḥ*, *sahasradhāraḥ* and the usual supplications for wealth 'gomad hiraṇyavad, rayim piṣangam, bahulam, dyuman-tam śuśmam uttamam, viśva śriyah, viśvāni vāryā, viśvāni kāvyā. From this it is but a natural next step that the Soma is placed in the heaven as a luminary 'svar vājī siṣasati', connection with Rta is established, Rājā deva ṛtam bṛhat 'ṛtasya yonim āsadam, sīdata, agman', metaphysical feats are spoken of 'nābhā pṛthivya dharuṇo maho divaḥ' *dyām pṛthivīm cāti jabhriṣe*, *divo nāke madhujivhā*, *vṛtrahā devavitamaḥ*'. We also get 'devo na sōryaḥ' and hence we get the very tender Rgvedic expression 'śiśum rihanti matayaḥ panipnatam, and somam manisā abhi' for again it is the Soma that inspires, 'punāno vācam janayanna upāvasuḥ' and so on. Thus through these repetitions it is possible for us to understand not only the particular Rgvedic diction of the Soma poetry, but the entire development of the Soma deity can be traced through them. As the Soma rises in importance and appears as a deity so do the repetitions change and begin to occur in that particular context.

I have elsewhere (*Mysticism in the Rgveda*. pp.29-33) discussed the Soma 'songs and the Soma mysticism. A certain regular development is to be seen in these Soma songs and the song IX.113 comes as a fitting close to the book as a whole. The repetitions also tell the same story unfolded by the songs themselves. The Soma is, in reality, a plant whose juice mixed with milk and honey is an exhilarating drink, its preparation being an elaborate procedure. It came to be connected with Indra, the god of strength and the drink of men became the drink of the gods in general and of Indra in particular. While this happens, the plant is becoming a Deity, a King and a symbolic ritual

develops with it, so fully preserved as well as developed in the Brāhmaṇas. But as soon as the Soma becomes a Deity, its mythology also develops and the Soma is viewed ritualistically, aesthetically, and with a religious consciousness and piety. The Holy, the Beautiful and the Reality come together perceived in it and as such the Soma is addressed as the Highest in Song 113. Roughly speaking, songs 1-40 give us the bare impressions of the Soma, which is the drink in the vats, flowing through the fleece, the drink of Indra and a granter of renown, kine, heroes, sons etc. A reference to BLOOMFIELD (pp. 598-602) will show that a majority of the repetitions on themes hail from these songs. The next stage is given to us in songs after 40 where Soma is described as a Seer, Sage, Twin of Indra, Beautiful and it is in these songs that some of these repetitions are to be traced. We can then understand the thoughts that appear in songs like 96 and 113. From mere descriptive vein we get a somewhat different, contemplative and mystic mood. A culmination of such a tendency is to be finally seen in 113 where we meet with almost Upaniṣadic poetry, expression and thought.

I shall bring this discussion of the Soma repetitions to a close by a discussion of the workmanship and methods in a few significant repetitions which just represent the Ṛgvedic tricks of the trade. Thus we have mere inversion in 'barhiṣṭ prācinam ojaṣā and prācinam barhirojaṣā'; a slight variation but of significance in 'pra vācam induḥ iṣyati and pra vājam induḥ iṣyati' the first having a familiar and quite a popular concept of the Ṛgvedic times (see R.R.410); substitution of a pronoun by a significant word as in 'etam mṛjanti marjyam and kavim mṛjanti marjyam'; addition to make a line fit in a new metre as in 'avyo vāram vidhāvati and avyo vāram vi pavamāna dhāvati'; a variation in metre and an adjective and verb as in 'śuchiḥ pāvaka ucyate; śuchiḥ pāvaka ucyate so adbhutaḥ and finally śuchiḥ pāvaka adbhutaḥ'; a poetical and thoughtful substitution for a frankly bare ritualistic phrase as in 'abhi droṇāni babhravaḥ śukra ṛtasya dhārayā, vājam gomantam akṣaran and dhāmāni āryā etc. where dhāmāni āryā for the simple droṇāni babhravaḥ is definitely superior, (9.32.2; 63,14), a mere change from singular to plural suggesting a ritualistic Ūha as in 'śumbhamāna ṛtāyubhiḥ mṛjyamāno pavate and śumbhamāna ṛtāyubhiḥ

mr̥jyamānā pavante ' (9.36.4; 9.64.5); change in a better adjective as in 'pavamāna vidā rayim asmabhyam soma suśriyam and asma-  
 bhyam soma dustaram' (0.43.4; 9.63.1.11) or again for the sake  
 of alliteration as in 'soma r̥asva suvīryam; sano r̥asva suvīryam  
 and then rayim r̥asva suvīryam (9.43.6; 5.13.5; 8.98.12; 8.23.12);  
 a mere change in order as in 'pra te dhārā asaścato divo na yanti  
 vṛṣṭayaḥ and pra te divo na vṛṣṭayaḥ dhārā yanti asaścataḥ (9.57.1;  
 9.62.28); addition for a figure of speech as in 'indrasya h̥r̥dyā-  
 viśan and indrasya h̥r̥dyāviśan manīṣibhiḥ' where the effect is a  
 tender saḥokti (9.60.3 and 9.86.19); substitution of a popular  
 expression by a heiratic one as in 'sakhitvam ā rabhāmahe and  
 sakhitvam ā vṛṇīmahe, īḷe sakhitvam and sakhitvam uśmasi (10.133.6;  
 9.61.4; 3.1.15; 9.31.6 and 66.14); poetical and eloquent subtle  
 changes as in 'indrāya pavate madaḥ and indrāya pavate sutaḥ  
 (9.62.14; 9.6.7) harim hinota vājinam and aśvam hinota vājinam.  
 In these cases the changes have introduced the atiśayokti and  
 anuprāsa in the lines. One can think that change from 'anśum rihanti  
 matayaḥ, to śiśum rihanti, matayaḥ, is natural enough suggested by  
 the two words themselves. Again in 'vatsam jātam na dhenavaḥ'  
 is avoided the tautology seen in 'vatsam gāvo na dhenavaḥ'  
 (9.100.7 6.45.8), and is achieved a greater realistic effect and  
 emotional tenderness.

To these deliberate poetical changes are to be added the  
 effects achieved through the refrains or refrain like lines, 'pavasva  
 soma dharaya; indrāya pavate sutaḥ; abhi vājam uta śravah; imam  
 no yajñam ā gaman; śuro na goṣu tisthati; avyo vāram vī dhāratī;  
 dadhat stotre suvīryam; ā pavasva sahasriṇam; puntra indav ā  
 bhara; gr̥ṇāno jamadagninā; somo viśvasya bhuvanīya rājā with  
 its variations eko..., tena .., asya...etc. indram jaitraya harīyan  
 and so on. These words and collections of words produce not  
 only the familiar music but create an impression of familiarity over  
 the whole of the R̥gveda. The repetitions of such patterns establish  
 both deliberate imitation as well as evolution of conventions. The  
 Soma hymns therefore have internal repetitions as well as external  
 repetitions, repetitions that reveal the set Soma phraseology and  
 establish the connections of the Soma poetry with the R̥gvedic  
 poetry in general. The Soma poets are after all R̥gvedic poets  
 and no wonder if they went to their brothers for some of the  
 settled phrases.

## V—R̥gvedic Diction and Poetry-Imitative.

It has already been shown at several places in the foregoing discussions that the R̥gvedic poets are working with a pretty well set and fixed phraseology. Their refrains, their prayers, their descriptions of the gods, their philosophical riddles all are written in a manner well-established, along patterns accepted almost by all. The poets themselves, have very candidly and honestly declared that they have been singing along the lines of accepted masters and sages of old, like Atri, Jamadagni, Vasiṣṭha, Kaṇva, Vyāśva and Nābhāka. Unfortunately, we do not have the songs of these very old poets of the earlier generations and therefore we are not in a position to judge how far the new poets are really indebted to their older models and hence their acknowledgements are, to us merely assertions of gratitude and reverence, and nothing more. Yet the very large number of phrases, refrains, formulaic expressions would go to prove in an unmistakable manner, the existence of a poetic tradition of great antiquity. It is clear to a critical reader of the R̥gveda, that this Veda has repetitions of all types and varieties and the Maṇḍalas have internal as well as external repetitions. This fact should indicate that a R̥gvedic poet when felt like composing a new song always looked to his family models, as well as to the compositions of those who did not belong to his family. He went to all possible sources and thus composed a song. All this can be illustrated by a reference to some of the Suktas and I take up X.45 for an analysis. This is a hymn addressed to Agnī and a composition of Vatsapri Bhālandana. Of this hymn of twelve riks, as many as seven, have been taken from other sources or are common to other hymns also, that is, are well on their way to become general set expressions. Thus we have 'Apām upasthe mahiṣa avardhan (3d) connected with 'apām upasthe mahiṣo vavardha' (X.8.1d). Again 'a rodasi apṛṇat jāyamānaḥ (6b)' is, in fact, very common, being seen at IV. 18.5d; III.6.2a; VII.13.2b. Next 'marṣeṣu agniramiṣto ni dhāyi (7b) is Vasiṣṭha's expression at VII.4.4 b. Further 'pra tam naya pṛntaram vasyo acchā' (9c) is related to VI.47 7b; VIII. 71.7c with suitable changes, for Vatsapri has substituted 'tam' in place of 'no' of the Bhāradvāja



poet and has added 'prataram' following him in contrast with the expression of Suditi in the VIII. 71.6c.

Again 'priyaḥ sūrye priyo agnā bhavāti (10c) is related to Bhauma Atri's identical line at V.37.5c. It is again natural that Vatsapri wanting to refer to the celebrated 'Uśij' motif should come out with 'vrajaṃ gomantam uśijo vi vavruḥ (11d) which is a Vāmadeva line at IV.1.15d and at 16.6d. Lastly, Vatsapri concludes his composition with 'adveṣe dyāvāpṛthivī huvema devā datta rayim asme suvīram' the words with which he closes his own Soma hymn which is IX.68. and this is perfectly natural. Vatsapri's other composition just now referred to, the Soma hymn, also has to tell the same story. In this hymn, his vājamā darṣi sātayé' (7d) is identical with Bhauma Atri's 'ā vājam darṣi sātayé' at V.39.3d. Further his 'Somam maṇiṣā abhyanāṣata stubhaḥ' (8d) is identical with a line by Nivāvari Sikatā at IX.86.17.c Similarly his 'somaḥ punānaḥ kalāṣeṣu sīdati' (9b) is identical with Maṣa Rṣi's line at 16.9d. and of Pratardana Divodāsi at IX.96. 23d, both these Soma hymns. His 'evā naḥ soma pariṣicyamānaḥ (10ā) is the same as Parāśara Śaktya's line at IX.97.36a. It is significant that Vatsapri's Agni hymn reveals relations with other Agni hymns, while his Soma hymn looks to other Soma songs; and this would show some deliberation on the part of the poet. OLDENBERG has discussed the relation of these two songs of Vatsapri Bhalandana ( Pro 1.253 ) and BLOOMFIELD is of the view that the Soma hymn is later than the Agni hymn. I think that here the considerations of earlier and later are not so important and relevant, for here is a poet composing his song to two deities and trying to model his songs on the lines indicated to him by other poets. The conclusion of the two songs is his own and this is as it should be. It need not be thought that Vatsapri is a plagiarist, for he too, like the rest of his tribe, is well versed in the poetic phrasology and diction as his poems reveal. His words are reminiscent of the peculiar Rgvedic phraseology. In his Agni hymn he has the alliterative pairs in the Rgvedic manner 'Bhānuna bhāti, tredhā trayāṇi, sadyo jadyāṇāno, śukreṇa, śociṣā, sumnam devabhaktam, viśvā vasu'. His balanced construction can be seen in 'śrīṇām udāro dharuno rayīṇām maṇiṣāpām prāpaṇaḥ somago-pāḥ; vasuḥ sūnuḥ sahaso apsu rājā; viśvasya keturbhuvanasya garbhaḥ'. Again he has the familiar Rgvedic 'marṭeṣu amṛtaḥ;

vrajam gomantam; rayim asme suvīram and finally he knows the R̥gvedic clever art of repetition, repetition for the sake of emotion and emphasis as in 'Vidmā te Agne tredhā trayāni, vidmā te dhāma vibhṛtā purutrā/vidmā te nāma paramam guhā yat, vidmā tam utsam yata ājagantha' (2.45). Even in the Soma hymn we get a fine composition in 'mandrasya rōpam vividurmanīṣiṇab śyenaḥ yaḍandho abharat parāvataḥ/tam marjayanta suvṛdham nadiṣvān uśantam amsum pariyantam ṛgmīyam' (IX.68.6). His other Agni hymn X.46 also reveals the same characteristics for it has internal repetitions in 'apām upasthe, apām sadhasthe; mandram hotāram; dadhire yajistham, dadhire havyaavāham' as well as external ones, for this song has relations with II.4.2. 'imam vidhanto apām sadhasthe', with VIII.10.5.: mandram hotāram uśijo yaviṣṭham' and with VII.11.4 and X.52.3. in 'yam tvā devā dadhire havyaavāham'. Vatsapri has given us three characteristic R̥gvedic similies in 'paśum na naṣtam (X.46.2) Vanarṣado vāyavo na somāḥ (X.46.7) Gāvo nā dhenavaḥ (IX.68.1). Incidentally we may ponder a little over his 'vanarṣado vāyavo na somāḥ' which is a simile for the flames of Agni as is clear from the remaining words of the Rik which is 'asya ajarāso damāmaritrā arcaddhāmāso agnayaḥ pāvakāḥ/śvīticayaḥ śvātrāso bhuranyavo' and then we have 'vanarṣado vāyavo na somāḥ. GRIFFITH understands as 'like winds are Somas' a procedure in which he follows LUDWIG. WILSON follows Śāyana in understanding the flames to be like the fast-flowing juices of Soma. The passage should not be difficult, for it may be that here we have a compressed double simile. 'Vāyavo na' and 'na Somāḥ' with the rest of the adjectives going with all the three, the Agni, the Wind and the Soma. All three as the R̥gvedic mythology would have us believe, are 'vanarṣada'. Similarly ajarāso, pāvakāḥ, śvātrāso, bhuranyavaḥ' can go with all these objects. The idea conveyed, therefore, is that the flames of the Agni are flowing and purifying like the flowing Somas and are overpowering like the flowing winds. It can be easily seen that a sudden and uncalled for reference to the Soma, should be out of question. It is, further, through such similies, that the R̥gvedic poets connect two or more gods. From this it will be clear how Vatsapri tried to compose his songs, he being himself both, a gifted poet and a poet well conversant with the R̥gvedic idiom and phraseology. I would describe Vatsapri as a poet with a ritualistic bias, since

Aindra. Further, in his song to Indra, X.32' three lines of a ṛik 'pra me devānām vratapā uvāca/ indro vidvān anu hi tvā cacakṣa tenāhamagne anuśiṣṭa agām (32.6) are identical with those of Kumāra Ātreya at V.2.8. In his song to Viśvedevas and having a historical bias, he in 'sam mā tapantyabhitaḥ sapatnīḥ iva parśavaḥ' (33.2) is similar in expression to Kutsa Angirasa's at I.105.8. and in 'maṣo no śiśnā vyadantī mādhyaḥ stotāram te śatakrato' he apparently follows the other half of the ṛik of Kutsa Angirasa. Kavaṣa may have spun his two ṛiks around what was one ṛik by Kutsa Angirasa and we have here an expansion. His 'rājānam trasadasyavam' is linked to 'samrājām trāsadasyavam' of Saubhari Kaṇva at VIII.19.32. In his Akṣa Sūkta he is at his best and therefore, original too, having no contacts with the other poets and though in 'deva iva savitā satyadharmā' he uses words that are identical with those of Viśvāvasu Devagandharva at X.139.3. yet it cannot be said that he is under any debt. Both the poets are using a well nigh settled phraseology, an alliterative phrase enshrining a simile. The use of the idea familiar in the context of the group of the dice and the comparison of their ways with those of Savitṛ has a humorous and satirical vein of the best order. This is no place to digress on the purely literary merits of this really unique song but this song is enough eloquent testimony to the poetical calibre and order of Kavaṣa Ailūṣa. The absence of links with other songs in the Ṛgveda is easily understandable for here was he dealing with a new theme and therefore in a new manner. And yet true to the Ṛgvedic poetic vein, he does give us balanced structures, alliterative lines and simple lyricism. So long as he was dealing with traditional themes, he had relations with the tradition but when he broke off, he gave us a new song altogether, a song somewhat out of the tradition so far as the theme is concerned, yet done with all the care and art, traditional with the Ṛgvedic poets. We do get fine characteristic Vedic style in 'hastāso hastavantam sahante' balanced structures like 'tasmai kṛṇomi na dhanā ṛnadhmi' na nāthito vindate marditāram' and phrases like 'kṛṣimit kṛṣava, tapanāstāpayiṣnavah' and so on. An attempt to depict the life of Kavaṣa Ailūṣa has been made elsewhere and here the story of the development of his art is attempted and this only confirms what we have said elsewhere. If Vatsapri was a poet with a ritualistic bias, in Kavaṣa we have a poet with varied life and a poet who rose to eminence on account

of his vision and art. Vision to him was granted, but his art he practised.

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We can take yet another example of a poet whose instincts are purely aesthetic and ethical, the author of X.10, the celebrated Yama-Yamī Saṁvāda Śukta. Here too, the poet was handling a new theme yet it is very interesting to see his roots in the Rgvedic poetical soil. He has taken many phrases from earlier sources. Thus, his 'mahasputrāso asurasya virāḥ' is patterned after the line of Viśvāmitra (3.53.7) and of Ayāsyā Angirasa (10.67.2). Again, his 'devaḥ tvaṣṭā savitā viśvarūpaḥ' is identical with Viśvāmitra line at 3.55.19. His 'nakirasya pra minanti vratāni' is only a slight change over Parāśara Śaktya's line 'nakiṣṭa etā vratā minanti' at 1.69.7. When he becomes more philosophical and metaphysical too, he expresses himself in 'ka im dadarśa ka iha pravocat' which has the influence of Viśvāmitra's line 'Ko addhā veda ka iha pra vocat,' a line that recurs at X.129.6. Similarly his 'bṛhan mitrasya varuṇasya dhāma' is got by an insertion of 'dhāma' for 'śarma' in Gṛtsamada's line at 2.27.7. 'bṛhan mitrasya varuṇasya śarma'. It is but natural that he repeats his own fine simile from nature 'pari śvajāte libujeva vṛkṣam' an idea that was to become classical later on as in 'latā-pādapavyatikara' in Kālidāsa. The poem is sublime and though woven around a new and ethical subject, the poet has naturally gone to older material for his phraseology. Similarly his idea 'upa barbṛhi vṛṣabhāya bāhum' is the same that appears more gracefully in Bhavabhūti's rāma-bāhu eṣa upadhāna te etc. The poet himself is capable of very fine phrases and ideas as can be seen in his alliterative 'ni te mano manasi', simple yet clear 'tasya vā tvam mana icchā sa vā tava', balanced expression like 'amṛtā vadanto anṣtam rapema, na tiṣṭhanti na ni miṣanti etc, pramudaḥ kalpayasva, a clever use of the word 'nigacchāt' in 'kimu svasā yanniṣṭir-nigacchāt' and in 'pāpamāhuryaḥ svasāram nigacchāt' by two different speakers, giving emphasis. This is how capable and clever poets produced their compositions, many times imitating the models already existing, and at the same time creating something of their own.

We can have another example of a great poet who handles a new theme and naturally has no links with other poets and

33-38) Gopavana (73,74) and Apālā Ātreyi (21). If the R̥vedic poetry were pre-eminently family poetry, then these songs should have looked to, one can expect and quite reasonably I suppose, to Book V, the Book of the Atris. Curiously enough, these songs have between themselves only three or four insignificant pādas linking them with that Book, but these songs otherwise look to other Books for links. They, therefore, use the general R̥vedic phraseology rather than that of the narrower family unit. This very fact is corroborated by the fact that the Soma Pavamāna Song of Syāvaśva in IX.38 also has connections with the Soma poetry in general rather than with the poetry of the family.

In the foregoing discussion I have spoken of the R̥vedic diction and phraseology, the traditional technique of the times. Could we try to note the peculiarities of the R̥vedic diction and form a general idea of the same? In fact most of these peculiarities have been noticed when an attempt was made to study their technique and here we are only concerned, as a matter of fact, only with such peculiarities that had an impact on the style or expression of the later Sanskrit literature. For such peculiarities if observed, can be fittingly, said to have been developed into conventions by the poets and hence these have been observed by them in one form or another and with greater or lesser polish.

Homophony has always exercised great influence over human thought and expression. This tendency could be seen right from the formation or bestowing of names on persons or things and on characters in literature. When the R̥vedic poets named the deities Yama and Yamī, Dhātār and Vidhātār, Sūrya and Sūryā the daughter, Indra and Upendra (Vishṇu), Diti and Aditi, Vaśa and Vṛtra, both enemies of Indra, they were following the universal primitive tendency of finding out names that rhyme or alliterate. Etymology also played its part in such names as for instance in Yama, the 'restrainer, Dhātār, the establisher and Vidhātār the disposer and so on. But this is a tendency to be observed in the poets of the Epic and the classical period for we get names like Kumbha and Nikumbha, Sunda and Upsunda, Viśvāci and Ghṛtācī, Ambā, Ambikā, and Ambālikā, Damana, Damayanatī, Dānta and so on. Indrasena and Indrasenā, Rukmin and Rukmini, Kāmamañjari and Rāgamañjari in Dandin,

Madanikā and Raḍanikā in Shuḍraka. Another tendency is the art of enumeration or of coordinating several elements in a rhyming or alliterating or an assonant structure. The R̥gvedic poets whenever they want to enumerate everything on earth, the wealth and so on appear to follow a definite order as ṛchaḥ, sāmani, yajūmṣi, gāṃ, aśvam, aḡam, āvim vṛihim, yavam, brāhmapam rājanyam vaiśyam sūdrām, in all probability suggested by the Puruṣa Sūkta X.90.8-12. and when this was to be summarised we get again the alliterative phrases viśvā vāmani, viśvāni vāryā, viśvam vāryam, rayim vasumantam śatagvinam etc. Similarly when the gods are to be enumerated or to be put together, the R̥gvedic poets appear to choose a particular order, Indra and Agni; Ādityas and Rudras, Aryamā, Pūṣā, and Bṛhaspati, Indra, Mitra and Varuṇa. Obviously a certain rhyme and assonance are the chief considerations in such coordinations and enumerations. But it is from such lists and passages that the later stotra literature derives its style and the same is brilliantly parodied by Śūdraka in his 'Vasantasenā-daśanāmakam Mṛch. 1.23. A third and important tendency is to offer etymologies of names of person or things and to suggest their inherent propriety. This tendency is again universal and to be found elsewhere also. Though these efforts of the early poets need not be considered as any scientific linguistic speculations, they also need not be summarily dismissed as puns. This inquiry into the meaning of the word has become a regular feature of the Sanskrit poetic style and can be considered as one of its graces, though a somewhat artificial one. Etymology explains the very essence of the words, the very ideas and objects symbolised by them. The R̥gvedic poets do not resort to this device pretty frequently, yet it is obvious that they know it. Thus for instance in I.48.8 'apa dveṣo maghoni duhita diva/uṣā ucchadapa sridhaḥ; the root apa-vas (ucchati) to drive off by excessive light has been deliberately used, being in harmony with the name Uṣas. In a similar manner in I.113.13 the verbs in the lines 'śasvat puroṣā vyuvāsa devī/atho adyedam vyāvo maghoni/atho vyucchād uttarān anu dyān/are undoubtedly deliberately used. In a similar manner is to be explained the extremely delicate name Anumatī for the personification of the favour with which the Gods regard the sacrifices and prayers of the pious. So one can understand the pleasant propriety of the address to this deity 'jyok paśyema s'ryam uccarantam anumate mṛṣayā naḥ svasti

(X.59.6). Equally significant is the name *Asunīti*, 'whom I would like to understand as the carrier of the souls, rather than deity presiding over funerals or guide to life or way to life. The name gets significance and the prayer to her is appropriate in X.59.5-6. *Asunīte mano asmāsu dhārāya /jivātave su pra tirā na ayuḥ/* and *asunīte punarasmāsu cakṣuḥ punaḥ prānamiha no dṛehi bhogam*. Etymology might be lurking in IV.55.5. *Pat patih janyadamhaso- nāḥ* and a similar connection might exist in V.43.12 *Brhantam bṛhaspatim*. At IV.3.7. *Pūṣan* is described as '*puṣṭimbhara*'. It is again probable that VI.6.3. *tuvimrakṣaso divyā navagvā vanā vananti* is responsible for the etymology of *vana* as given by *Yāska* (Nir 8.3.) *vanam vanoteḥ*. Etymological considerations as well as those of alliteration and assonance must have been responsible for the frequent use of the root '*mad*' in connection with *madhu* (*mandāno madhvaḥ*. 2.19.2; *madiram madhu*.8.38.3), of the root *vṛ* in the context of *Vṛtra* and roots with *vi* in the context of deity *Viṣṇu*. This tendency of '*wortspiel*' is to be seen in later poets too as when *Kalidasa* explains the words *Daśaratha*, *Umā*, *Rājā* and *Śrīharṣa* explaining *Damayanatī* as '*damayanti kamanīyatāmadam*' or when in *Śādraka* we get *Madanikā* as '*madanamapi viśeṣayanti*' and *Radanikā* as *samīyatamukhī* or *Vasanteseneva vasantashobhā* and finally the name *Chārudatta* itself. Many such instances can be shown of this convention, a legacy from the *Rgvedic* poets.

Another classical practice that could be traced to the *Rgvedic* art is the repetition of conjunctions towards the end of a sentence. *Bhavabhūti* especially and *Bhartṛhari* too revel in such a use of '*ca*' giving a quick movement to the line and conveying a sense of addition. One may refer to a construction like '*hr̥dīsthaḥ śokaḥ n dahati samtāpayati ca*. The *Rgvedic* poets use this very device as in *deva ā martyeṣu a* (8.11.1) and expressions with '*ca ca*' are many.

The later poets have been often, and with some justification too, condemned for indulging in word-plays. *Māgha* and *Bhāravi* have devoted cantos to such wordplay and *Kalidasa* in the *Raghuvamśa* too has done the same. The *Rgvedic* ancestors of these poets have already laid down the norm. Thus for instance one can refer to II.18.4.5.6. where the poet deliberately uses the

words Vṛṣan and Vṛṣabha. In a similar manner the R̥gvedic poets practising the art of poetry and finding complimentary phrases to serve a number of purposes have given a cue to later poets. The wording in I.114.7. 'mā no mahantam uta mā no arbhakam/mā no ukṣantam ma no ukṣitam' is indeed the forerunner of the classical 'ābālavṛddha' and in a similar manner are to be understood the Vedic 'divāśca gmaśca, dyausca pṛthivī ca, ahaśca rātri ca, bhūtam ca bhavyam ca, divā naktam ca, jānim ajānim' bhaktam abhaktam, dūre ca anti ca, fixed phrases used for effects of totality, continuity, and wholeness. The classical poets when they use phrases like cetanācetanēsu, sthāvāra-jangamam, ahaśca rātriśca ubhe ca saṁdhyc, kṛtākṛta etc. are following the models furnished by their R̥gvedic ancestors.

Another mode of expression, that of parallel constructions with yathā appears also in the R̥gveda, a mode popular with later writers. The R̥gvedic poet is terse in 8.47.17. 'yathā kālām yathā shafam yathā ṣṣam samnayāmasi/evā duṣvapnyam etc. but in Kālidāsa we get the graceful 'Umāvṛṣamkāvau śarajannīnā yathā...yathā jayantena śacīpurandarau. (Raghuvamśa III. 23.)

The R̥gvedic poets, as we have already seen, are in the habit of repeating words to indicate frequency and reiteration, especially words like 'pade, gr̥he, dame, vane, ahar, gātre, jane, raṇe, punaḥ' a practise that recurs in the classical writers as in the celebrated 'pade pade santi raṇodbhatā bhatāḥ' in the Naiṣadhīya of Śriharṣa, or in the famous subhāsita śaile śaile na māṇikyam etc. In the R̥gveda we get the repetitions of an adjective in 'panyam-panyam' in 8.2.25 and 8.74.10. and this can remind one of 'Khinnāḥ khinnāḥ' of Kālidāsa in the Meghadūta. Delicate emotional repetition of the noun as in 'aranyāni, aranyāni' 10. 146.1. is clearly the same as the one we have in 'bāle, bāle' vasantasene, vasantasene 'hā rāma, rāmabhadra etc. that is to be very commonly met with in classical poets. In a similar manner repetition for the sake of emphasis, emotional effect, alliteration that contributes music to the composition are also to be seen utilised in the R̥gveda and in doing this these poets have served later Sanskrit poetry by furnishing good models. Latterly many studies have been undertaken to study the different figures of



speech to be seen in the R̥gveda and these studies amply reveal how the R̥gvedic poets have indeed not only paved the way for the later poets but also have provided ample material which serves as the foundations of the later rhetoric. They seem to be aware of all the subtle methods of poetry, of the different devices of a poet and of the inherent capacity of the language to express any thought.

The composition of these mantras must have gone on for a long time and must have stretched over many generations. It is therefore perfectly understandable that the earlier poets must have been the models of the later poets and the R̥gvedic poets frankly admit this fact, by reminding us that they are composing their songs in the manner of the older poets, Jamadagni, Atri and others. Imitation therefore is a part of the technique of these poets and wholesale repetitions or even those of parts with variation amply reveal this imitative aspect of the R̥gvedic poetry. In their effort to find out alliterative assonant phrases, phrases of eloquence, emotion, and weight they are, so to say, fixing the poetic diction and this is precisely the reason why so many fixed phrases are to be met with throughout the R̥gveda. True, many of these, like the god and his adjectives, might have been forced by the theme yet many are to be put down as due to the artistic and the poetic instinct. They are capable of realistic description of the war or of the dawn, the stillness of night and the havoc of the torrential rain, the Parjanya. They write spirited dialogues as in the Saramā Paṭi hymn and touching conversations as in the case of the Purūravas Urvaśī hymn. They can be sublime as in the Yama Yami hymn and melodious as in most of the Soma hymns. This fineness can be a result of a long process of development and practice of the poetic art. Therefore, even if the names of Jamadagni and Atri and others, whom the R̥gvedic poets mention as the ancient models, remain mere names to us, yet it could be understood that these names and their very early contemporaries belonged to the period of the first bloom of the R̥gvedic poetry, the period of experiment. In a very broad manner we can say that the period which the R̥gvedic poets themselves describe as the early period, p̥arva- and the poets of this period as p̥arvyebhīḥ- is this period of experiment. The period of the new poets- the n̥otanās- is the period of imitation. In the experimental period, the very language and the manner were practically fixed or these were moving towards crystallization into

conventions. In the period of imitation, the period of the new poets we find these conventions being abundantly observed and further crystallised. As we have already seen, these conventions have crept in even in the late classical period. We have traced the very concept of Sarasvatī to this early period. The Agni hymns, the Soma hymns, the Indra hymns all these reveal an almost specialised phraseology and therefore the poets, to whatever family they belong, appear to follow the general technique. What MAX MULLER describes as the 'Cchandas period' can be made to refer this very early period, the period of the ancients, the pūrvas, and the 'Mantra period' would be the period of the new poets, the nūtanas. Three generations of poets, the ancients, the middle ones and the moderns have been very clearly referred to in III.32.13. 'yaḥ stomebhiḥ vāvṛdhe pūrveyebhiḥ yo madhyamebhiḥ uta nūtanebhiḥ'. Maitrāvaruṇī Vasiṣṭha in an identical manner with that of Gāthīn Viśvāmitra refers to these two generations in his 'ye ca pūrva ṛṣayo ye ca nūtnā indra brahmāṇi janayanta viprā'. (VII.22.9). According to MAX MULLER hymns in which occur references to the phases of the Moon, appeals to unseen powers and simple and natural ritual can be taken as belonging to the early period and the hymns in which the complicated ritual and the various priests, the implements etc. are referred to, have sure indications of lateness. The names Potri, Āgnidṛha, Praśāstri Neshtri, Hotri, Adhvaryu would indicate lateness implying a development of the ritual. The Dānastutis, the so-called secular hymns, hymns like the Frog hymn would also belong to the Mantra period. It would be natural to expect in the first period a play of original free unconscious inspiration while in the second period imitation, reflection and criticism, in one word, studied production. The language also should give us some indication in this direction. Greater portion of the Ṛgvedic poetry belongs to this secondary age for here is language almost fixed. The Ṛgveda, therefore, it is clear, represents the most ancient chapter in the history of human intellect but certainly not the first. MAX MULLER would place the Uṣas hymns in the early period. WINTERNITZ regards Books II to VII and the IX as being very old, some of these going back to Indo-Iranian period and the Books VIII, I and X being the latest material. ARNOLD by critically studying the Vedic metres tries to discover the different layers in the Ṛgveda. He tries to formulate what might be called the 'homogeneous

collections' in the Ṛgveda, using three criteria: use of a family name in the separate hymns; secondly, the use of a special refrain; and thirdly the use of a particular metre or rhythm peculiar to the collection. The entire Ṛgvedic composition according to him stretches over four periods, the Bardic, the Normal, the Cretic and the Popular. He divides the Bardic period into two periods, the Archaic and the Strophic and thus the whole history of the development of the Vedic metres and through them, that of the Ṛgvedic composition, is presented to us. In the Bardic period, the period of rivalry and originality, the families used particular metres, the Atyaṣṭi, Dimeter Uṣṇīh, Kakubh-satobṛhatī Pragāthās, Uṣṇīh, Mixed lyric metres, Anuṣṭubh with extra verse and varied Decasyllabic triṣṭubh and Iambic Triṣṭubh. Irregularities in these metres and in composition would indicate the Archaic period while smoothness and regularity would point out to the Strophic period. The distinctive metres of the Normal period are the regular Triṣṭubh and Gāyatri. In this period refrain verses and the names of authors become rare. This is a period of perfection rather than of originality of form. Of the Cretic period that follows, the Triṣṭubh and the Jagatī with the cretic rhythm are the distinctive metres. In this period the names of the authors and the refrains become rare and the linguistic forms with the Atharvaveda flavour begin to appear with greater frequency. This may be regarded as a period of transition, for this directly leads to the next period, the Popular Ṛgveda period. In this Popular Ṛgveda period, the Epic Anuṣṭubha and the contaminated Triṣṭubha become current. The Funeral Hymns (X.14-19), Hymns appearing at the end of a Maṇḍala, Hymns appearing at the end of a deity group, especially of Agni and Indra, verses appearing at the end of a hymn, not quite homogeneous with the rest and a large part of the Maṇḍala X belong to this period. ARNOLD has thought of a very happy name, 'the Popular Ṛgveda' for it very appropriately fits in with the contents, the myths, the dramatic colloquies and charms which are essentially popular and also with the modern form of the language that must have been popular by this time and the diction of this period is to be contrasted with the 'hieratic' diction of the remaining hymns. To the Bardic period, ARNOLD would assign the Maṇḍalas of Vasiṣṭha and Bhāradvāja (VII, VI) and composition of Kapva (I.36-50, VIII.1-11, 32-34, 49-59; of Māna

(I.58-64; of Gotama (I.74-93) of Sobhari (VIII.19-22; of Vyāsa (VIII.23-260; of Śyāvāśva (VIII.35-38); of Vimada (X.20-26). Further, Maṇḍalas III. and IV. of Viśvāmitra and Vamadeva; Hymns I.1-23 and 24-30 and IX.1-91. belong to the Normal period on account of the normality of the metres to be seen here. Maṇḍalas II and V. of Gṛtsamada and Atri, have portions that go to the Bardic period as well as those that belong to the Normal period. In the Cretic period are to be placed Hymns I 31-35; 94-115 and X.33-84 because of their distinct rhythm and also on account of their affinity with the Atharvaveda. According to ARNOLD, the linguistic development of the Ṛgveda runs parallel with that of the metre. He does admit the other recognised tests like those of the subject matter and language but to him the metrical test appears to be decisive. From the point of view of the subject-matter he traces in the Ṛgveda four stages as 1. the primitive ceremonies of fire and drink-making; 2. the Indo-European Nature Worship-3. the Chaldean deities of heaven and 4. the warrior-god of the invasion of India. His attempt to construct a metrical history of the Ṛgveda is very clever no doubt but not very convincing. In the first place it is hypothetical and secondly, it leads to conclusions that are not corroborated by other evidence that is more reliable. It will be easily seen that the layers as arrived at by ARNOLD cut across the accepted position regarding the chronology of the Ṛgvedic hymns. MAX MULLER and KEITH both regard the Dawn Hymns to belong to the earliest period, but according to ARNOLD these hymns belong to the second period. ARNOLD's conclusion or suggestion regarding the popular Ṛgveda deserves acceptance and the line of inquiry that he has suggested is also of great importance but one wonders whether everything that he has said can be accepted. It can be easily granted that as poetic art advances, metre tends to be, in general, more smooth and its use more artistic and deliberate.

If ARNOLD used the metre as the criteria for reconstructing the history of the text of the Ṛgveda BLOOMFIELD uses the test of Repetition for the same purpose. Repetitions are always and as we have all the while in our preceding discussion seen, more or less conscious imitations and often times these imitations, inferior in structure and style, furnish a good criteria for the relative age of the passage. The Anukramanī, Sarvānukramanī of Kātyāyana

and the Vedārthadīpikā of Śaḍguruśiṣya are not reliable guides for often these ascribe one and the same verse to two or more authors or divinities. It is true that author names occurring in the riks themselves throw some light on the age. According to BLOOMFIELD, subject-matter, style, grammar, metre, tautology, sentence and words lacking grammatical sequence, disturbed antithesis, longer versions of short passages and finally ellipsis reveal the imitation as inferior. To these may be added alliteration, diction and ritual consideration as well as jingle. Imitative verses, though inferior, are not interpolations but form a part and parcel of the hymn and therefore the entire hymn is to be taken as later than the hymn which supplies the pattern. For larger parts of the Rgveda, repetition becomes an important criterion, as for instance in VIII.5-8, a song of Vatsa Kanva, we have in 19 verses 34 pādas out of 76 repeated. The VIII book is 'markedly repetitious' and the IX. repeats itself endlessly internally. LUDWIG, HIRTH, and LANMAN regarded the VIII Book as of 'extreme antiquity' but this is not borne out by a study of the repetitions. HOPKINS has, through a study of its vocabulary, established its late character. BLOOMFIELD thinks it very difficult to determine as to which is the oldest portion of the hymns, 'the brahma purānam, pratnam manma'. BLOOMFIELD's conclusion appears to be that the Maṇḍala VIII has old portions as well. Further hymns I.1-50 share the nature of the Book VIII. The Book IX has repetitions of the nature of ritualistic formulae and might be having roots in antiquity but has later on become common property. It is possible to extend the argument from large passages to the Maṇḍalas themselves. Two Maṇḍalas can be compared in their repetitions and that one which shows inferiority can be taken as later. Such a study, to BLOOMFIELD reveals that the VIII is a late Book and I.1-50 also belong to its period. Of the 30 repetitions which the IX has with other Books 10 are with the VIII and there the IX appears to be the earlier. Books II to VII reveal their early character with reference to the other books but between themselves contain both superior and inferior imitations and thus present a 'perfect tangle'. Of these again the VI. may be taken as later than the others. The Rgveda Maṇḍalas cannot be precisely dated yet it is clear that these depend on a long antecedent activity, and these represent the mixed final precipitate of a later time, and to some extent, the eclectic choice of a

comparatively late redaction, but the family Books are on the whole earlier than the non-family books. ROTH and GELDNER believe in the reported hostility between the Vasiṣṭhas and the Viśvāmitras ( 3.53.21-23 ), Viśvāmitra's curse against Vasiṣṭhas, but the hymns really do not support it. Repetitions of I.51-191 and X show their late character, in fact, very late character, later than the rest of the Saṁhitā as OLDENBERG has shown. Some portions of the X Mandala may be early but the uniformly inferior repetitions show that these hymns were both gathered and composed at a later time.

These conclusions of BLOOMFIELD fit in well with the generally accepted chronology of the Mandalas of the Rġveda. It is indeed a very fascinating study to try to determine the chronology of the different portions of the Rġveda, a game in which BLOOMFIELD, HOPKINS, HIRTH, LUDWIG, GELDNER and others have tried their trained and masterly hands. This is not the place to enter into a discussion regarding the chronology but I shall restrict myself to a discussion regarding the sources of inspiration of the generations of the Rġvedic poets as revealed by these repetitions, and regarding the way they imitated the earlier poets and practised their art. I am speaking in a broad manner, for well do I understand, that one has to enter into a very critical discussion just as BLOOMFIELD does, if one desires to determine the superior and the inferior or the earlier and the later in the Rġveda. I shall, therefore, start with accepting the conclusions generally accepted and established with satisfactory evidence in the matter of the chronology of the different portions. Roughly speaking we speak of the four layers: first, the Mandalas II to VII; second: Maṇḍala VIII. third: Maṇḍala IX Soma Pavamāna and the fourth; Maṇḍalas I and X. BLOOMFIELD has shown that in the matter of repetitions, the family books as a whole show superiority over the extra-family Books. Similarly the Maṇḍala IX, as a matter of fact, stands by itself, though later than the Family Books, and lastly, the Mandalas I and X. represent the last and final phase. If these different layers are kept in mind and if we look at the points of contacts between the different Maṇḍalas interesting facts are observed.

The following table will make clear the relations of the different Mandālas between themselves, considered from the point of view of the repetitions.

Mandala No.	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X
I	394	28	38	54	64	56	76	185	57	92
II	22	78	8	4	3	14	14	19	4	22
III	42	8	127	14	16	19	29	39	8	46
IV	56	4	13	84	14	24	31	48	9	38
V	64	2	20	13	138	36	25	112	18	34
VI	79	14	21	30	36	90	47	73	11	38
VII	82	15	25	35	27	43	172	49	21	72
VIII	220	22	42	45	91	55	42	273	105	96
IX	78	6	12	6	27	20	19	94	1031	26
X	99	24	54	37	29	50	49	66	26	216

I am purposely using the words 'points of contacts' for I am not here speaking of the superior and the inferior passages. As a rule, it appears that each Book has a larger number of internal repetitions, when compared with the external repetitions, thus indicating its somewhat homogeneous character, and this may be due to the sameness of the circumstance and environment of production, the sameness of the family, or the sameness of the theme. Further, the tendency to repeat, becomes marked and of greater frequency when we come to the later extra-family Books. Hence the period of the Mandālas VIII., IX, I and X can be regarded as a secondary period of imitations. The repetitions of the Book IX are technical no doubt, but it has a larger number of contacts with the Mandālas VIII. I and X, rather than with the rest, undoubtedly the earlier Mandālas. This is not to deny the possibility of the Soma songs going to antiquity along with the Soma cult but the Mandāla as a whole will have to be placed in the secondary period, since it imitates the earlier Soma technique and also falls in line with the later imitated portions. Of the earlier Family Books, the Mandālas VI and VII can be taken as representing the transitional stage from the earlier period of Books II, III, and IV. to the later secondary period of the Books VIII, IX, I, and X. The later Books look to these Books in a much greater measure than to the earlier Books. Of these, again, the Books VIII looks to Book V, while Books I and X look to VII.

Of the very early period, the period close to production, of the books II, III, and IV. it is the Book IV that has influenced the later Books from V to X in an uniformly and consistently greater measure than the Books III. and II. Of these two Books, again the Viśvāmitras of the III Book, reveal greater influence on the other Books than the Gṛtsamadas of the II Book. As a matter of fact, though the Gṛtsamadas reveal very little contact with the rest of the R̥gveda, it does repeat itself and thus in a way reveals its composition in somewhat isolation. Considering all this, it could be said the Vasiṣṭhas really have influenced the later R̥gveda and their greater contact with the rest of the Veda reveals their versatility as well as greater social contact in the Aryan fold of the R̥gvedic poets. The earlier Books II, III, and IV. in all probability come in that early period which really was the end of the creative period, the Cchandas period of MAX MULLER yet a period which was witnessing a rise of poetical style. Hence perhaps it is that these Books have the internal repetitions indicating their clannish character and reveal lesser contact with the rest. The R̥gveda reveals a rise and growth of the cult of sacrifice and with it grows the production of poetry and all this reveals an era of established conventions which, as is very natural, degenerates into a period of imitation and repetitions. The varied nature of the repetitions reveals the scale of the poetic activity of this secondary period. Among the families, the Gṛtsamadas appear to be a family with little influence and the Viśvāmitras appear to be a family who have lost their importance, to judge from their fame and boast that their song protects the country. This appears to be the era in which the Vasiṣṭhas have risen to power. It is the Vasiṣṭhas who are the source of the inspiration of the R̥gvedic times. By the side of the Gṛtsamadas, Viśvāmitras and the Vāmadevas they appear to be immeasurably great and hence it is perhaps that the R̥gveda acknowledges or rather the Vasiṣṭhas themselves affirm in their song 33.8.

\* Sūryasyeva vakṣatho jyotireṣām samudrāsyeva mahimā gabhīrah /  
vātasyeva prajavo nānyena stomo vasiṣṭhā anvetave vah //

May be their political power and alliance with Sudās Pijavana has been responsible for their rise but it appears that the Vasiṣṭhas are the cultural leaders of the times and no wonder if they are the



source of inspiration to the rest. It is indeed quite plain that the poets Angirasa, Atri, Jamadagni, Kaṇva, Nābhāka, Māndhātṛ and Kāvya Uśanas whom the R̥gvedic poets mention as their models, belong to hoary antiquity and possibly composed in the first part of the very early Cchandas period. Viewed mythologically, the R̥gveda is the history of the downfall of Varuna and of the rise in power of Indra, similarly viewed sociologically and ethnically, it is the history of the downfall of the Viśvāmitras and of the rise in power of the Vasiṣṭhas. If there be any truth in the tradition that the Ḡṛtsamadas too were Kṣatriyas, as the Viśvāmitras are reported to have been, then it could be said that the early period of the Maṇḍalas II and III marked the literary compositions by the Kṣatriyas but the later period is dominated by the Brāhmaṇa poets. The middle period is, culturally and from the point of view of religion, dominated by the cult of Sacrifice and of Soma, hence it is full of poetical productions markedly repetitious, but the late period of the Maṇḍalas I and X saw new urges and therefore these Books present an interesting spectacle, of being repetitious in traditional themes or in themes dealt with in a traditional manner, but at the same time being original in their new compositions. BLOOMFIELD has used the repetitions as a criterion for determining the superior and the inferior in the R̥gvedic Composition in a very industrious and critical manner, but with all the same, it is not possible to agree with him every time. Without entering into details I shall refer to one case as an instance where I failed to be convinced. The interesting Yama Saṁhitā X.14-18, it is true as BLOOMFIELD points out, can neither be regarded as early or late, simply on the ground of its inclusion in the Maṇḍala X or because of its dealing with a theme that is foreign to the other Books. I think that perhaps OLDENBERG is right in regarding the funeral also as a ritual. We witness a development and consequent complications in the ritual in the R̥gvedic times. The composition of the funeral hymns is very likely to have been done under this very strain and the reference to Yajña, Barhis, Agni etc. would only confirm such a view. What is more interesting is that the repetitions that are to be seen here, coming from the undoubtedly earlier portions, that is books III and VII and even VI, reveal that lines that were used in the context of Agni, Indra, Varuṇa, Viśve Devas, Mītra and those that occur in the Āpri Hymns of the Viśvāmitras and the Vasiṣṭhas, are used

here in the context of Yama and the funeral. The inspiration and execution of these composition appears to be therefore priestly and ritualistic and hence I would feel inclined to accept OLDENBERG's view without its exaggerations. 'The Yama Samhitā', therefore, is a late production patterned on the earlier portions and under the ritualistic impulse and influence. The poet is deliberately using the conventional formulae available to him.

What light do the Ṛgvedic repetitions and the Ṛgveda as a literary composition throw on the Vedic poetical genius? OLDENBERG and HILLEBRANDT have regarded it as a priestly genius while BRUNHOFFER regards it as an essentially lyrical. So does Dr. P. S. SASTRI. GELDNER regards it as courtly. A poetical genius working under the strain of religion and magic would also be a suitable description. Description and repetition appear to be the outstanding characteristics of this poetry. The poet capable of very fine and delicate images and phrases is no doubt there. In this context one cannot make an all-embracing statement for the very bewildering variety of the Ṛgveda would preclude any such possibility. Yet with all the limitations with which such a conclusion is to be reached, one would like to say that the Ṛgvedic genius is a 'ballad genius'. The Ṛgvedic style has given much to the Epic style that is to be met with in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*. It is because of this peculiarity of the Indian poetical genius that India boasts of two out-standing Epics, the final culmination of ballad poetry. An Epic is always regarded as a miracle, and a miracle never happens twice. Yet it did happen so in India. The reasons why India could produce two great poets who moulded the nation, in Vyāsa and Wālmiki, are deeply rooted in the Ṛgvedic times. Just as the poetry of Vyāsa and Wālmiki explains the whole of the later classical poetry and writers, the Ṛgveda explains the whole of the Indian poetry that developed on the Indian soil. The debt of the later generations in the matter of religion, philosophy and poetry to the Ṛgveda, is immense and immeasurable. Round and in the Ṛgveda centres the entire Indian Life, Civilisation and Culture. It may be the earliest human document and there may be doubts about its home yet it is India only where it has held a continued and well nigh complete sway over the whole life of the people.

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## ERRATA

<i>Page</i>	<i>Line</i>	<i>Incorrect</i>	<i>Correct</i>
3	22	emotional	emotional
4	24	artistic	artistic
11	7	man war	man of war
13	20	Soms	Soma
42	9	thehymn	the hymn
76	4	sapects	aspects
80	24	tyfe	style
80	36	Upansads	Upaniṣads
90	30	here a	here is a
91	29	a	an
103	9	carroborated	corroborated
107	18	pracisely	precisely

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