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Sanskrit dhēnā = *Avestan daēnā* = *Lithuanian dainā*. —

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The two objects of this paper are, first, to determine the meaning of the Sanskrit *dhēnā* and then to establish the equation that gives its title.

The word *dhēnā* is found fifteen times in the *RV*. In the later Vedic and Brahmanic literature we find seven¹ of these passages repeated a total of seventeen times. The word is found also in two compounds in the *RV*. One of these occurs twice only and in the same *sūkta*. The other occurs once in *RV*. and twice in the later literature. Two other instances, not in the *RV*., are found later, one occurring in six different works² and the other in three³. Elsewhere it is found, — so far as the writer has discovered — only in Nāighaṇṭuka I, 11, in the *Unādiganasutra* (268^c) of Hemachandra⁴ and in Sāyana.

The *PWB*. defines *dhēnā* in the sg. as “milchende Kuh” and in the pl. as “Milchtrank”, in all passages of the *RV*., except three. For I, 101, 10 and V, 30, 9, it says, “viell. Stute” and for I, 2, 3, “viell. vom Gespann Vayu’s zu verstehen ist”. Grassmann’s *Wörterbuch* has the definitions “Milchkuh, Stute,

¹ Thus *RV*. I, 101, 10^b = *Nāigh.* 6, 17; *RV*. III, 34, 3^d = *AV*. XX, 11, 3^d; *Vāj. S.* 33, 26^d; *RV*. IV, 58, 6^a = *Vāj. S.* 13, 38^a; 17, 94^a; *KS.*, 40, 7^a; *Tāit. S.* 4, 2, 9, 6^a; *MS.*, 2, 7, 17^a; *Tāit. Ār. A.*, 10, 40^a; *GB.*, 7, 5, 2, 11; *Āp. Ç.* 17, 18, 1^a; *RV.*, V, 62, 2^c = *MS.*, 4, 14, 10^c; *TB.*, 2, 8, 6, 6^c; *RV*. VII, 94, 4^c = *SV.*, 2, 150^c; *RV.*, X, 43, 6^b = *AV.*, XX, 17, 6^b; *RV.*, X, 104, 3^c = *AV.*, XX, 25, 2^c, 33, 2^c.

² *Dhenā brhaspatēh* in *MS.*, 1, 9, 2; *KS.*, 9, 10; *GB.*, 2, 2, 9; *Tāit. Ār.*, 3, 9, 1; *Vāit. S.* 15, 3; *Āp. Ç.* 11, 3, 14.

³ *Dhenābhīh kalpamānāh* in *MS.* 4, 13, 4; *KS.*, 16, 21; and *Tāit. Br.*, 3, 6, 5, 1.

⁴ The reference in *PWB.* to the *Anekārthasamgraha* (2. 271) of this author seems to be an error, as the edition of Zachariae (2. 267) defines *dhēna* and *dhenī* but has no mention of *dhenā*.

Milchtrank" and in ten instances agrees with *PWB.* in their distribution, but not in the other five. Commentators and translators differ widely in their interpretations. Sāyana gives six different definitions of the word. Grassmann in his *RV.* disagrees with himself in his *WB.* in five instances, withdraws "Stute" and enters "Lippen", "Weiber" and "Gewässer". Griffith's translation agrees in general with Sāyana, but adds one definition and withdraws another. Ludwig consistently renders in all instances by "Stimme", "Lieder" or "Schall", but considers this difficult in V. 62, 2 and desiderates "Ströme". Geldner in *Ved. Stud.* II, 35 ff. has made a special study of the word and, as the result, propounds the definitions: 1. Schwester, viell. auch Geliebte, Frau. 2. Weibliches Tier, Kuh. 3. *a.* Zunge, *b.* Stimme, Rede, Lob. In all but three instances he practically agrees with Sāyana. Oldenberg in his *Vedaforschung* 93 ff., has a special excursus on the word and concludes that in all but two instances its meaning is "Milchströme", either literally or figuratively, and in those two instances it still refers to potable fluids.

The table opposite shows at a glance the various renderings proposed in each instance.

In view of this diversity of interpretation which attaches several incongruous meanings to what would seem a single word, it has seemed advisable to study the word anew to establish its fundamental signification and to trace its semantic development.

In Nāighaṅṭuka (*l. c.*) we find *dhenā* listed as one of the fifty-seven synonyms of *vāk*. This is the one meaning most frequently given by Sāyana and best supported by native tradition as will appear in the sequel. It lends itself to our equation. So we start with it in the consideration of the several passages.

Among these we find the greatest degree of unanimity in X, 104, 10—

*vīreṇyaḥ krātur indrah suçastir
utāpi dhēnā puruhūtām itte |*

(Heroic strength and goodly praise is Indra. Yea, also *dhēna* praises him, invoked of many).

It seems clear as Ludwig observes "daß es nicht Kuh oder Milch bedeuten kann". So Grassmann's sober second thought leads him here to substitute "Lippen" in his *RV.* for the "Milch-

R. V.	PWB.	GWB.	Sāyana	Ludwig	GRV.	Griffith	Geldner
I, 2, 3	Gespann Vayu's	Milchkuh	vāk	Schall	Milchkuh	Voice	Rede
I, 55, 4	Milchende Kuh	"	stutlaksanām vācam	Stimme	Milchtrank	"	Stimme, Rede
I, 101, 10	Stute	Stute	jihvopajihvike	Stimmen	Lippen	Lips	Zunge
I, 141, 4	Milchtrank	Milchkuh	vācaḥ	Lieder	Kühe	Songs	Reden
III, 1, 9	"	Milchtrank	vācaḥ	Stimmen	Tränke	Voices	Stimme, Rede
III, 34, 3	"	Milchkuh	gā	"	Kühe	Milch-kine	Schwester
IV, 58, 6	"	Milchtrank	nadyas (?)	Lieder	Tränke	Oblations	Reden
V, 30, 9	Stute	Stute	striyān	Stimmen	Weiber	Voices	Geliebte oder Frauen
V, 62, 2	Milchtrank	Milchkuh	dyutūḥ	"	Kühe	"	Kühe
VII, 21, 3	"	Stute	nadyas	Lieder	Gewässer	Rivers	Schwester oder Geliebte = Gewässer
VII, 94, 4	"	Milchtrank	vāk	Stimmen	Trank	Words	Stimme, Rede
VIII, 32, 22	"	"	stutūḥ	"	"	Voice	"
X, 43, 6	"	"	"	Lieder	Milchgetränk	Songs of praise	"
X, 104, 3	"	"	stutivācaḥ	Stimmen	Milchtrank	Voices	"
X, 104, 10,	Milchende Kuh	Milchkuh	"	Lied	Lippen	Song	"

kuh" of his *Wörterbuch* and Bergaigne (*La Rel. Ved.* II, 278, n. 1) says: "La vache qui 'invoque' Indra ne peut être que la prière".

The worshipper's voice uplifted in the adoration of song or prayer would seem a better subject for the verb *ṛtṣe* than the lexicographers' "cow" or Oldenberg's "oblation of milk". Moreover, this assumption is greatly strengthened by an examination of the ninety-five passages in the *RV.* that contain this verb. In sixty-three of these it may not be indubitably clear whether the praise, honor, worship, etc., expressed by the verb were manifested by thought and its expression in song, prayer, etc., or by the oblation, offering, etc. As a matter of fact, of course, both were integral parts of the sacrifice. In the great majority of these instances it would seem to the writer that the dominant idea in the verb is that of song or prayer. This may, however, be due to the more or less unconscious bias of one defending a thesis. So let us examine only the thirty-one instances — exclusive of our passage — in which there is an absolutely clear expression. In seven passages the subjects are decisive; *viz.*, I, 142, 4, *matīr*; VII, 24, 5, *arká*; 45, 4, *gīrah*; 91, 2, *sustutīr*; 93, 4, *gīrbhīr víprah*; 94, 5, *vīprāsa*, with *tá gīrbhīr* in 6; VIII, 60, 16, *saptá hótāras*. In no passage in the *RV.* is *havīs* or any word meaning "oblation, offering", etc., used as the subject of this verb. In three passages, — VIII, 43, 22, 24; 44, 6 — the immediate juxtaposition of the verb *ṛu* shows that song or prayer is meant and in X, 66, 14, the same is clearly shown by *vācam*. In thirteen passages the expressed instruments of the action are *sūktēbhīr vācobhīr* (I, 36, 1), *gīrá* (II, 6, 6; III, 27, 2; VIII, 19, 21; 31, 14), *gīrbhīr* (III, 52, 5), *nāmasā* (V, 12, 6; X, 85, 22), *nāmobhīr* (V, 1, 7; 60, 1), *nāmasā gīrbhīr* (X, 85, 21), *stómāir* (VII, 76, 6) and *gāthābhīh* (VIII, 71, 14).

In five passages the expressed means are *havīṣā ghṛtēna* (I, 84, 18), *havīrbhīr* (III, 1, 15), *srucá* (V, 14, 3) and *havīyēbhīr* (VII, 8, 1; VIII, 74, 6). In the remaining two the expressed means are *nāmobhīr havīṣā* (V, 28, 1) and *yajñēbhīr gīrbhīr* (VI, 2, 2). Excluding these last two passages as neutral because of their participation in both classes, we have a total of twenty-four passages that clearly associate thought, song, or prayer, with the verb and only five that so associate oblation, etc. If then *dhénā* could be either song or ob-

lation, the mathematical probabilities are about five to one in favor of song.

In the third stanza of this same hymn we have —

*indra dhēnābhir ihā mādayasva
dhībhir viçvābhiḥ çācyā grṇānāḥ | |*

(Rejoice thou here, O Indra, in our songs,
Hymned mightily in all our thoughts).

We should on *a priori* grounds expect the word to have the same meaning here as in 10 below and we fail to find any reason for thinking otherwise. It is certainly as reasonable to interpret *dhēnābhir* as the worshippers' voices uplifted in song as to substitute the "Milchtrank" of *GRV.* and the lexicographers. This harmonizes nicely with the general context of the hymn, which is replete with the idea of song and praise. Cf. *giro* 1^c, *ukthavāhaḥ* 2^d, *dhībhir* ... *grṇānāḥ* 3^d, *grṇāntaḥ* 4^d, *stotāra* 5^d, *brāhmāni* 6^a, *suçrītīm* 7^b, *giro* 7^c, *huvema* 11^a, *çṛṇvāntam* 11^c. There are references, expressed or implied, to the oblation of soma in 1^{ad}, 2^{be}, 3^b, 6^b and 7^b, but more than half of these are in the first two stanzas and they do not dominate the entire hymn as do the former.

As Oldenberg (p. 98 f.) feels that the verb *mad* supports the idea of "drink", we may add that this verb is predicated of Indra, relative to *stōmebhir*, in I, 9, 3 and, relative to *gīrbhir*, in I, 51, 1; of the devās, relative to *stōme*, in III, 54, 2; of the worshippers of Indra, relative to *gīrbhir*, in III, 53, 10 and V, 36, 2. Hence the verb is appropriate enough with *dhēnābhir* as songs in the passage before us.

That Indra rejoices in the songs of his worshippers is shown by many passages in the *RV.*; e. g., I, 5, 7, 10; 9, 3, 9; 10, 3, 5, 9, 12; 16, 7; 30, 4, 10, 14; 51, 1; 54, 7; etc. In fact, every *sūkta* in his honor proves it and we have his own word for it in I, 165, 4. So he naturally takes note of such songs and looks with favor upon them. Thus in X, 43, 6--

*viçam-viçam maghāvā pāry açāyata
jānānām dhēnā avacākaçad vṛṣā |*

(Maghavan came to all the tribes in turn,
And of the songs of men the Bull took note).

and in VIII, 32, 22—

ihī tisrāḥ parāvāta
ihī pāñca jānāñ āli |
dhēnā indrāvacaśat ||

(Over the three great distances,
 Beyond the peoples five, thy way pursue,
 Taking note, O Indra, of our songs).

Oldenberg (p. 98) finds little difficulty in these passages. Their evidence is clear enough. "Wären die *dhēnāḥ* Preislieder, so wäre das 'Herabblicken' zwar nicht undenkbar, aber viel näher läge es doch, ein 'Hören' erwähnt zu finden. Wo im Veda werden die *dhēnāḥ* 'gehört'?" In reply to this question I trust it will appear that *dhēnāḥ* are heard in every passage in which the word occurs in the *RV*. In controversion of his statement that "Herabblicken" is quite unthinkable in reference to songs of praise we would state that *brāhmāṇi ṛṣinām* is the object of *abhicakṣāthe*¹ in VII, 70, 5; that *stómān* is the object of *upadarśataḥ*² in VIII 26, 4; that *stómā* is the subject of the medial passive *pratyadrśata*³ in VIII, 5, 3; that *dṛṣikam* is an epithet of *stómam* in I, 27, 10 and *paricakṣyāni* of *vácānsi* in VI, 52, 14. It is then a case of the Ṛṣis against Oldenberg as to whether it is so "un-thinkable" that songs of praise could⁴ be seen or "looked at". Our next passage is VII, 94, 4—

indre agnā nāmo brhāt
svrktīm érayāmahe |
dhiyā dhēnā avasyāvah ||

(To Indra, Agni too, we raise
 Our homage high and excellent hymn,
 Our songs with prayers, their favor seeking).

Dhēnāḥ as "songs" continues the *nāmo* of *a* and *svrktīm* of *b* and forms part of the dominant thought of the entire hymn. This is expressed also in *mánmana pūrvyástutīḥ* of

¹ *ṣuśruvānsā cid aṣvinā purūṇy*
abhī brāhmāṇi cakṣāthe ṛṣinām |
 (Having heard, O Aṣvins, look upon the many prayers of the Ṛṣis).

² *úpa stómān turāsya darśataḥ ṣriyé*
 (For his glory, look ye on your zealous worshipper's lauds).

³ *yuvābhyām vājinīvasū prāti stómā adrśata*
 (By you, lords of the swift steeds, our lauds were beheld).

⁴ The very name Veda shows that the fundamental idea is that the songs have been "seen" by their composers.

1^{ab}, *ṣṛṇutām jaritūr hāvam* of 2^a, *vānatām gīrah* of 2^b, *pip-yatam dhīyah* of 2^c, *īlata viprāsa* of 5^{ab}, *gīrbhīr . . . havā-mahe* of 6^{ab}, *ukthēbhīr* 11^a, *girā* 11^b and *āṅgūṣāir* of 11^c. Only in 6 and 10 is there any reference to the oblation. Even Oldenberg (p. 98) is forced to admit that song is implied in *dhēnā* here, not directly, he adds, but only as the libation is joined with it or in so far as it represents the libation. But in the light of the context it would seem a strange perversion to say that “song” rather than “libation” is the implicit thought.

In I, 141, 1—

yād im ūpa hvārate sādgate matir

ṛtāsya dhēnā anayanta sasrūtaḥ | |

(Whene'er he bends thereto, well speeds the hymn;

The songs of Ṛta bring him as they flow).

Oldenberg (p. 97) argues that *sasrūtaḥ* plainly shows that “etwas Fließendes gemeint ist”. This word, however, is found elsewhere in the *RV.* just twice, once as attributive to *apās* (IV, 28, 1) and once as attributive to *gīras*¹ (IX, 34, 6). The latter proves that songs may flow as well as “streams of milk” and that the passage is no more a bulwark of defence for his position than his “unthinkable” cases above.

In I, 67, 7^b; V, 12, 2^b; VII, 43, 4^b; VIII, 6, 8^c; IX, 33, 2^b; 63, 4^c, 14^b, 21^b, we have mention of the *dhārās* of Ṛta; in I, 79, 3^a and III, 55, 13^c, of the *pāyas*; in I, 73, 6^a of the *dhenāvas*; in I, 84, 16^a, of the *gās*; in IX, 77, 1^c and X, 43, 9^b, of her *sudūghā*. On the other hand, we have in I, 68, 5^a; 71, 3^a; IV, 23, 8^b; IX, 76, 4^b; 97, 34^b; 111, 2^c, mention of the *dhīti* of Ṛta; in III, 31, 1^b; IV, 2, 16^c; IX, 102, 1^b, 8^c, of the *dīdhiti*; in IV, 23, 8^c of the *glōka* of Ṛta. So the mention of the prayers, holy songs, etc., of Ṛta is almost as frequent as that of her oblations of milk. Thus Vedic usage presents no difficulty to the interpretation of *dhēnā* as songs in this passage.

The *dhēnā* flow also in IV, 58, 6—

samyāk sravanti sarīto nā dhēnā

antār hṛdā mānasā pūyāmānāḥ |

etē arṣanty ūrmāyo, ghṛtāsya

mṛgā iva kṣipañōr iṣamānāḥ | |

¹ *gīro arṣanti sasrūtaḥ* (The streaming songs flow on).

Cf. „Bathing in streams of liquid melody”. Crashaw.

(Our songs, like streams, flow on together,
 Cleansing themselves 'twixt heart and mind.
 These waves of ghee flow on apace
 E'en as wild beasts that flee before the bowman).

Oldenberg (p. 97) deems this passage "besonders wichtig" for his theory. His reasons are (1) the *dhēnāḥ sravanti*; (2) "the entire hymn praises the streams of *ghṛta*"; (3) *dhārāḥ* is found "four times" in the hymn. We have already shown that songs may "flow". They are here expressly compared with "streams". In VIII,¹ 49, 6 *dhūtāyaḥ* "flow" and are compared with a copious gushing spring. They flow also in VIII,² 50, 4. A *gīr* is described as "flowing" in I,³ 181, 7, and if Aufrecht's reading in IX,⁴ 108, 7 is correct, a *stōma* may be "pressed" and "poured out". These passages, with the one previously cited, amply demonstrate the fluidity of songs in the *RV.* and dispose of his first defence. To pass to his third point, we observe that *ghṛtāsyā dhārāḥ* is found five times, one more than Oldenberg claimed, in the hymn. It is in 5^c, 7^c, 8^c, 9^d, and 10^d, always in the third or fourth *pāda*. In 6^c, in exact formal correspondence with these, we find *ūrmāyo ghṛtāsyā*. The streams of *ghṛtā* are mentioned in every *ṛc.* of the *sūkta* from 5 to 10 inclusive, but in 6 *ūrmāyo*, not *dhēnā*, represents the *dhārāḥ* of the others. To return to his second point, it is true that the hymn is in praise of the *ghṛtā*, of

¹ *udrīva vajrīm avatō nā siñcatē*
kṣārantīndra dhūtāyaḥ | |

(As a copious spring, O thou of the thunderbolt, gushes forth, our songs of adoration flow to thee, O Indra).

² *anehāsam vo hāvamānam utāye*
mādhvaḥ kṣaranti dhūtāyaḥ |

(To the peerless one that calls you for aid,
 Songs of adoration, sweet as honey, are flowing).

³ *āsarjī vām sthāvīrā vedhasā gīr*
bālhē aṣvinā tredhā kṣaranti |

(Your strong laud, ye pious, was sent forth,
 flowing threefold in mighty flood, ye Aṣvins).

⁴ *ā sotā pāri siñcata*

āṣvam nā stōmam aptūram rajastūram |

(Press, pour forth as a steed, the song of praise, strong and piercing the air).

We may add also that in VIII, 13, 8, songs even dance like waters,
 — *krīṅantī asya sūnṛtā ūpo na*.

the strange, mystic and symbolically zoomorphic *ghṛtā*, as well as of the streams of *ghṛtā*. It is one of the most mooted of all the hymns of the *RV.* by the native commentators. It has several peculiar formal correspondences, arranged with almost mathematical precision. One of these has just been noted. We now have another. In 2^{abc} we read —

*vayāṁ nāma prā bravāmā gr̥tāsya
asmīn yajñē dhārayāmā nāmobhīḥ |
ūpa brahmā ṣṛṇavac chasyāmānam*
(Let us tell forth the name of *ghṛtā*;

let us at the sacrifice uphold it with our homage;
let the Brahman hear it sung).

This is immediately followed by the description of the *ghṛtā* in bizarre animal form. In 6^{ab}, the mathematical center and the summit of the hymn, we have our passage, the next reference to the song of 2. In 10^{ab}, at the same distance from the medial summit, in the only other reference to song, the gods are asked to reward the singers, —

*abhy āṛṣata suṣṭutīm gāvyaṁ ājīm.
asmāsu bhadrā drāviṇāni dhatta |*

(Send to our hymn of praise a herd of cattle;
bestow upon us goodly possessions).

Ghṛtā is dominant. Stanza 1 is a prelude but in *c* it has reference to the *nāma gūhyam* of *ghṛtā*. In 2^{abc} the singers are going to tell it forth in song. In 2^d and 3 they describe the mystic *ghṛtā*. In 5^c, 6^c, 7^c, 8^c, 9^d, 10^d the hymn masses effectively its mention of the streams of *ghṛtā*. In 10^{ab} the singers ask their reward, 10^{cd} and 11 are a postlude, but still emphasize the *ghṛtā*. In 6^{ab} the song announced in 2 is described as in full flow and in 10 it is practically over. We believe then the *dhēnā* of 6^a is the song promised in 2 and the *suṣṭutīm* for which the reward is asked in 10.

Oldenberg, for the benefit of his argument, has wisely refrained from any attempt at the exegesis of 6^b, which seems so admirably to sustain our interpretation. The commentator on *Vāj. S.* 17, 94, glosses *dhēnā* by *vācaḥ* and places it among the *vānnāmasu* with reference to Nāigh. (*l. c.*). He adds — *kīdṛṣyo dhenāḥ antar hṛdā manasā pūyamānāḥ ṣarīrāntarvyavasthītena hṛdā pāvanasthānīyena manasā ca pūyamānāḥ ṣabdadoṣebhyo vineyamānāḥ, i. e.,* they cleanse themselves, separate themselves, from the defects of speech in the mind which has a

pure place and in the heart which is situated in the interior of the body. Here we seem to have the native way of expressing the noble thought that the worshippers are striving in their adoration to clothe the thoughts prompted by the heart and conceived by the mind, both pure, in a noble form, pure from the defects of ordinary speech. However that may be, it is quite certain that the collocation of *hrdā* and *mānasā* points to thought, song, etc., rather than to libations of melted ghee. In fact, we have a close parallel in I, 61, 2 —

īndrāya hrdā mānasā manīṣā

pratnāya pātye dhīyo marjayanta | |

(For Indra, ancient lord, they cleanse their songs,

In heart and mind and spirit).

It is appropriate that the songs should be purified and cleansed in heart and mind, for it is here that they are fashioned also, as shown by I, 171, 2—

eṣā va stōmo maruto nāmasvān

hrdā taṣṭō mānasā dhāyi devāḥ |

(To you, ye gods of storm, this laud, in homage rich,
and fashioned in heart and mind, is brought).

Nowhere in the *RV.* does the phrase *hrdā mānasā* (VI, 28, 5; VII, 98, 2; X, 177, 1) or *hrdē mānase* (I, 73, 10; IV, 37, 2) suggest even the possibility of Oldenberg's theory.

But in *Tāit. S.* IV, 2, 9, 6, we have

sām it sravanti sarīto nā dhénāḥ

antār hrdā mānasā pūyamānāḥ |

¹*ghṛtāsya dhārā abhī cākaçimi*

hiraṇyāyo vetasó mādhyā āsām | |

This is a composite of *pādas a* and *b* of our stanza and of *c* and *d* of the preceding, in this order. This same *contaminatio* is found also in *Vāj. S.* 13, 38; *KS.*, 40, 7; *MS.*, 2, 7, 17; *ÇB.*, 7, 5, 2, 11 and *Āp. Ç.*, 17, 18, 1. The commentator on *Tāit. S.* glosses *dhénāḥ* by *pānayogyāḥ dadhimadhvavayavāḥ* (portions of curd and mead, fit for drinking). The commentator on *Vāj. S.*, who on two other² occasions, of which one is this same passage, gives *vācas* as the gloss of *dhénā*, here gives instead *annāni . . . hvayamānāni havīnsi* (food . . . libations that make *invocation*), and the *ÇB.* gives *annam*, for

¹ Clearly do I behold the streams of ghee,

The golden reeds in the midst of them.

² Vid. n. 1, on first page.

“the food is indeed purified by the heart and mind within him that is righteous”.

Here only in the ancillary Vedic do we find a note out of tune with our interpretation. The *Vāj. S.* seems to have some glimpse of the connection between *dhēnā* and voice as it has *hwayamānāni* and, as we have said, on each of the later occasions in which the word is used, has *vācas*. If it is once wholly or partly against us, it is twice quite positively for us. We can easily believe that in this “contaminated” version the unusual or rare word *dhēnā* has been misunderstood, possibly through *contaminatio* with the masculine *dhenas*, or *dhenī* or the frequent *dhenavas* or possibly because used with such verbs as *mad*, *sṛj*, *pīnv*, *āviṣkr*. etc. and the fact that songs as well as food and drink actually “strengthen” Indra and the *devās*.

In I, 55, 4—

sá id váne namasyúbhir vacasyate
cāru jáneṣu prabruvāṇá indriyám |
vṛṣā chāndur bhavati haryató vṛṣā
kṣémeṇa dhēnām maghāvā yád invati ||

(He, truly, in the wood is called by worshippers;

When his fair Indrahood he shows 'mong men,

The Bull is lovely; one to be desired is he, the Bull,

Whene'er with peace the Maghavan promotes our song).

Sāyaṇa glosses *dhēnām invati*, 1st by *2stutīlakṣaṇām vācam prerayate*, and 2^d by *3yajamānāiḥ kṛtām stutim vyāpnoti*. Either of these makes excellent sense. The former is supported by such a passage as I, 10, 4—

ēhi stómāñ abhí svara

abhí grṇīhy á ruva |

(Come thou, laud our song of praise,

praise it, acclaim it).

also, VIII, 13, 27—

ihá tyá sadhamādyā

yujānāḥ sōmapitaye |

hārī indra pratāvasū abhí svara ||

¹ Hemachandra *Unadigansutra* 268^c glosses *dhenāḥ* by *samudrah* and his *Anekārthasaṅgraha*, 2, 267 (Zach.) gives the same and adds *dhenī = nadyām*. Medinīkoṣa n. 12 has both *dhenī* and *dhenas* (m.) as *nadī*.

² Sends forth his commending voice.

³ Promotes the laud made by the worshippers.

(Having yoked those feast-sharing,
wealth-increasing, dun steeds,
for drinking the soma come hither singing).

The second is supported by such parallels as VIII, 13, 32^c—

vṛṣā yajñó yám invasi vṛṣā hávaḥ

(Strong the worship that thou dost promote, strong the invocation).

and X, 188, 3^c—

tábhīr no yajñám invatu

(With these may he promote our worship).

and I, 18, 7—

sá dhīnām yógam invati

(He promotes the work of our psalms).

The latter is the better supported by such parallels as we have found, but our interpretation of *dhénām* is safe with either.

The passages I, 10, 4; VIII, 13, 27, cited above and many others give us the friendly, peaceful songs of Indra. The war-songs of his pealing thunder as it reverberates among the mountains, are called *dhénā* in VII, 21, 3—

tvám indra srávitavā apás kaḥ

párisṭhitā áhinā çūra pūrvīḥ |

tvád vāvakre rathyò ná dhénā

rējante víçvā krtrímāni bhīṣá | |

(O Indra, thou didst cause the waters flow,

The many waters, hero, that by Ahi were encompassed.

Thy war songs rolled from thee as if on chariots borne:

And all created things did quake with fear).

Of all translators and commentators, Ludwig alone is right with his “<i>ihre</i> tönenden lieder”. The nearest we can get to the *nadyas* of Sāyana and his followers would be to interpret *dhénā* as referring to the roar of the liberated waters. Such a parallel, however, as ¹I, 80, 14, is against it. There are

¹ *abhīstané te adrivo*

yát sthá jágac ca rejate |

tváṣṭā cit táva manyáva

indra vevijyáte bhīyá

(At thy deep roar, O hurler of stones,

Whate'er is fixed and what is moved doth tremble:

E'en Tvashṭar at thy mighty wrath,

O Indra, was all aquake with fear).

numerous references to Indra's roar, but they need not be cited here. As Oldenberg (p. 97), however, finds support in *rathyò ná*, we shall quote two passages which show that this comparison supports also our interpretation of *dhēnā*. These V, 61, 17—

etām me stómam ūrmye

dārbhyāya pāra vaha |

gīro devi rathīr iva ||

(O Ūrmyā, bear thou far away

For me this song of praise,

O goddess, songs as if on chariots borne).

and VIII, 95, 1—

ā tvā gīro rathīr iva

āsthuh sutēsu gīrvaṇah

(To thee, O lover of song, our lauds

Arise, as if on chariots borne,

Whene'er we press the soma).

One more reference to Indra's *dhēnā* is found in I, 101, 10—

mādāyasva hāribhir yé ta indra

vī syasva çipre vī sṛjasva dhēne |

ā tvā suçipra hārayo vahantu

uçān havyāni prāti no jusasva ||

(Rejoice in these dun steeds of thine, O Indra;

Open thou thy jaws; let loose thy voices twain.

Let thy dun steeds thee bring, O fair-cheeked god,

And graciously take thy joy in our oblations).

Sāyana interprets the dual *dhēne* as *pānasādhanabhute jihvopajihvike* (tongue and epiglottis becoming effective for drinking). He would have been more consistent had he said "effective for speech". Oldenberg (p. 94) ridicules Geldner's "Zunge" as not accounting for the dual, but when he comes to the interpretation of the passage (p. 99) he finds the dual difficult and dismisses it with the question, — "Sind die *dhēne* also vielleicht Soma und Wasser?"

We note that *sṛj* is not rare in reference to songs, etc. Thus we have *ásrgram . . . gīrah* (I, 9, 4), *avasṛjatam . . . dhīyo* (I, 151, 6), *ásarjī . . . gīr* (I, 181, 7), *ūpastutim . . . ásṛksy* (VIII, 27, 11), *sārgāñ iva sṛjatam suṣtūtīr ūpa* (VIII, 35, 20); *stotūr medhā asṛksata* (VIII, 52, 9); *ghōṣā asṛksata* (VIII, 63, 7), etc.

We have seen, in the foregoing, ample citations showing that Indra had two distinct *dhénā*, that of gracious commendation of his worshipper's praises and that terrifying, thundering battle shout. This gives one interpretation of our dual. An examination of the hymn suggests also another. In *pāda d* of each *ṛc* from 1 to 7 inclusive, in 8^a and 9^c, Indra is invoked to come with his Marut band. Now the Maruts are great singers as shown by I, 19, 4; 24, 8; 37, 10, 13; 85, 2; 87, 3, 5; 165, 1; 166, 7, 11; V, 30, 6; etc., etc. Hence, as Ludwig has suggested, the *dhéne* here are probably that of Indra himself and that of the Maruts. This would seem supported by 11^a—

marútstotrasya vrjānasya gopā

in which the worshippers speak of themselves as the "guardians of the camp that is Marut-praised". Hence we may consider the two *dhénā* as the gracious, approving song of Indra and the Marut's song of praise.

We have the dual again in V, 30, 9—

*striyo hí dāsá áyudhāni cakré
kím mā karann abalá asya sēnāh |
antár hy ákhyad ubhé asya dhéne
áthópa praíd yudháye dásyum índrah ||*

(The Dāsa made his women his weapons.

What do his feeble armies do to me?

Indra distinguished both his voices

And then went forth to fight the Dāsa).

Oldenberg thinks the *dhéne* are the liquids that play so great a part in the Namucci myth. This fits his general interpretation of *dhénā*. Ludwig and Griffith think that Indra distinguished between the voice of Namucci and that of his women and knew from the latter that he had to contend with no army of demon warriors. This fits our general interpretation of the word and is parallel in usage with the word in the latter interpretation of the passage immediately preceding (*i. e.* I, 101, 10). An interpretation parallel to the former of the preceding would be to consider the *dhéne* as the war songs or yells of Namucci and his words cheering on his women. Either makes good sense and harmonizes with our interpretation of the word. As we had some preference for the latter interpretation in the preceding we have the same

for the corresponding interpretation here, the *dhénā* of Na-mucci and that of his women.

We have a reference to the song of Vāyu in I, 2, 3—

vāyo tāva prapṛñcati

dhénā jigāti dācūṣe |

urūcī sōmapītaye | |

(Vāyu, thy penetrating voice

goes unto the worshipper,

wide spreading unto the soma drink).

In 1 Vāyu is summoned to hearken unto the *ṛṣi's* invocation (*hāvam*); in 2 the singers call him with their hymns of praise (*ukthēbhīr*). Here in 3, according to Sāyana, his approving voice is heard in reply, "O worshipper, I will drink the soma given by thee". This harmonizes well with the context and we have already cited or quoted several passages that establish such commending voices of the gods. Vāyu is summoned and his *dhénā* comes. This then must be an essential characteristic that may be used as a metonym of the god. This could be no libation, but in the list of "wives" of the deities given in *Tūit. Ār.* 3, 9, 1, *vāk* is the wife of Vāyu and hence such a peculiar adjunct as would best represent him here.

In III, 1, 9, the reference is to the celestial Agni, —

pitūṣ cid ūdhar janūṣā viveda

vy āsya dhārā asṛjad vi dhénāḥ |

(From birth he knew his father's bosom,

Sent forth his streams, his voices uttered.).

Sāyana explains *ūdhar* as the firmament, *dhārā* as streams of rain, and *dhénāḥ* as the voices of thunder (*mādhyamikā vācas*). This seems more probable than other interpretations, though this is one of Oldenberg's star passages to prove that *dhénā* means "streams of milk". He lays special emphasis upon *ūdhar* and *dhārā* and the striking comparison of IV, 22, 6,—

prā dhenāvah sisrate vīṣṇa ūdhnah

as showing the synonymy of *dhārā* and *dhénā* in this passage. Here, however, *dhārā* replaces *dhenāvas* there and it is clearly distinguished from *dhénā*.

We would quote as parallels in our favor such passages as VIII, 6, 8, in which *dhītāyah* and *dhārayā* are associated; IX, 10, 4 in which *girā* and *dhārayā* are associated; IX, 44, 2,

in which *matī*, *dhiyā* and *dhārayā* are associated; IX, 63, 21, in which *dhībhir* and *dhārayā* are associated; etc. Such passages show how natural the connection of *dhénā* as "songs" with *dhārā* would be in the passage before us.

As for the *ūdhar* end of the argument, we may quote V, 44, 13—

vīcvasām ūdhaḥ sa dhiyām udāncanaḥ

(The udder and bucket of all holy psalms).

The *ūdhar* of the firmament is not a rare figure. Cf. *e. g.* VII, 101, 1; IX, 107, 5; X, 100, 11; etc.

Our next passage is III, 34, 3—

*īndro vṛtrām avṛṇoc chārdhanīḥ
prā māyīnām aminād vārpanīḥ |
āhan vyānsam uṣādhaḡ vāneṣu
āvīr dhénā akrṇod rāmyānām ||*

(The leader of his host, Indra encompassed Vṛtra; Assuming shapes of those in magic skilled, he minished him. Intensely burning in the woods, he slew Vyaṅsa And made the voices of the nights apparent).

That *āvīr akrṇod* may be predicated of song is proved by IX, 3, 5—

āvīṣ kṛṇoti vagvanām

(He makes his voice heard).

and IX, 95, 2—

devó devānām gúhyāni nāma

āvīṣ kṛṇoti barhīṣi pravāce ||

(As god, he makes heard the secret names of the gods, to be told forth on the sacred grass).

That the "nights" have a voice is sufficiently shown by II, 2, 2, *abhī tvā náktīr uṣāso vavāçire*

(The Nights and Dawns bellow to thee), and by VIII, 96, 1—

asmá uṣāsa átiranta yāmam

īndrāya náktam ūrmyāḥ suvācaḥ |

(For him the dawns lengthened their courses;

By night, the nights became sweet-voiced for Indra).

This latter passage is a good commentary on the text before us as it, too, is from a *sūkta* that deals with the conflict of Indra and the demons. Otherwise we may think of the *dhénā* here as the shouts of the demonic foes, or the thunderrings of Indra in the darksome night of battle, or we may endorse the commentator on *Vāj. S.* 33, 26, who thinks the

dhēnā here are the *stutirūpā vācaḥ* of *yāyajñikās*, or those who worship frequently, even singing their adoration in the seasons of the nights.

Oldenberg (p. 95 f.) considers our next passage so strongly corroborative of his interpretation of *dhēnā* that he has made it the foundation upon which he has reared much of his superstructure. This is V, 62, 2—

*tāt sū vām mitrāvaruṇā mahitvām
irmā tasthūṣīr āhabhir duduhre |
viçvāḥ pinvathāḥ svásarasya dhēnā
ānu vām ékaḥ pavir á vavarta ||*

O Mitra, Varuṇa, this is your greatness;

(Each day they have milked the kine that stand here.

You have caused to swell all songs of the *svasara*;

Your single tire hath rolled along hither).

At first sight *pinvathāḥ* and *svásarasya* may seem to favor the synonymity of *dhēnā* with *dhenū* but we find the verb *pinv* is used also with *dhīyaḥ*, the synonym of *dhēnāḥ* according to the interpretation we have given throughout. Thus we have in IX, 94, 2—

dhīyaḥ pinvānāḥ svásare nā gāva.

Also in I, 151, 6—

āva tmānā sṛjātam pinvatam dhīyo

and VII, 82, 3—

'pinvatam apitāḥ pinvatam dhīyaḥ

we have the act predicated of Mitra Varuṇa as in our passage. The Aṅvins are the subject in X, 39, 2—

codāyatam sūnṛtāḥ pinvatam dhīya.

Hence the argument from the verb fails, as it will support either interpretation. These *dhīyaḥ* in IX, 94, 2, even “bellow forth” (*abhī vāvaçra*) “a greeting to soma”. This shows how completely the same words may be predicated of both “cows” and “songs”.

It is here that Ludwig while still consistently rendering *dhēnā* by “Stimmen” thinks the association with *svásara* difficult and desiderates “Ströme”. Only in this passage does Geldner render *dhēnā* by “Kühe” and that because of *svásara*. These have taken the word in the sense of “cow-pen, stall”, etc. But Geldner (*op. cit.* III, 113 ff.) has more recently argued that this word signifies a time of day, identical with the

saṃgavā or morning milking-time, which according to *Tāit. Br.* I, 5, 3, 1, belongs to Mitra. We believe this is correct for it brings unity instead of diversity. The older translators required three meanings for the word, as in *GWB.* This, however, gives one meaning that makes very good sense in each of the thirteen passages in which the word occurs in the *RV.* In only five of these are kine in any way mentioned in connection with the *svāsara*. In three of these five and in six others the gods are associated with the *svāsara*. In four passages, exclusive of the one under discussion, there are references to songs, etc., to the gods. Thus in II, 2, 2, Night and Morning bellow greeting to Agni; in VIII, 88, 1, Indra is addressed with *gīrbhīr*; in VIII, 99, 1, Indra is invoked to hear the *stōmavāhasām*; the *dhīyah pinvānāḥ* of IX, 94, 2 are cited above. In III, 60, 6, the *svāsarāṇi* bring to Indra the *vratā devānām mānuṣaḥ ca*. We see as analogous to these a reference in our passage to the adoration of the worshippers at the early morning sacrifice. Mitra and Varuṇa make the cows swell with milk in the next stanza. The same idea is not needed here. Whether, however, *dhēnā* in this mooted passage are, as we believe, the songs of adoration at the morning sacrifice, or the bawling of the cows at the pen for their calves, or, as Griffith thinks, "the voices of the thunder and the roar of the rushing rain from the vast aerial stall that holds the milchkin of the firmament, the word is in general accord with the interpretation we have given it throughout.

Three other passages in the *RV.* contain *dhēnā* as the deuterostheme of a compound. These are not at all inconsistent with our meaning of the simple word. Thus in VII, 24, 2

visr̥ṣṭadhenā bharate suvr̥ktīr,
iyām indram jōhuvati mān̥ṣā ||

(This hymn of out-poured song is brought,
Invoking Indra with its prayer).

We find this word also in *KS*, 35, 9^a—

visr̥ṣṭadhenāḥ salilā ghr̥taçcutaḥ

(Streams of song outpoured, distilling ghee).

and again in *Āp. Ç. S.* 14, 28, 4^a with *saritā* for *salilā*. That *ghr̥taçcut* is applied to songs also, is shown by VIII, 51, 10—

turanyāvo mādhumantam ghr̥taçcutam

vīprāso arkām ānrcuḥ |

(The zealous singers sang a song, distilling ghee and richly sweet). Cf. also II, 11, 7.

The other compound, *viçvādhenā*, is found only in IV, 19, 2—

*āhann āhim pariçayānam ārṇaḥ
prā vartanīr arado viçvādhenāḥ* ||

(Thou slewest Ahi who beleaguered the waters,
And thou didst open their courses all aroar in song),

and 6

*tvām mahīm avānim viçvādhenām
turvītaye vayyāya kṣarāntīm* |

(For Vayya and Turvīti thou didst stay

The mighty stream, on flowing, aroar with song).

We take it that the rivers were roaring forth their songs of joy and praise at their liberation. This idea suits the entire context quite admirably. It has been shown that waters sing and dance in the *R V.*

In the ancillary Vedic literature we find in *Tāit. Ār.*, 3, 9, 1—

*senendrasya | dhenā brhaspateḥ | pathyā
pūṣṇaḥ | vāg vāyoḥ | dīkṣā somasya | prthivy-
agneḥ | vasūnām gāyatrī | rudrānām tristuk |
ādityānām jagatī | viṣṇor anaṣṭuk || 1 ||*

We have already listed the other five works in which this is given in whole or part. Some of these, as the *GB*, 2, 2, 9 give *senendrasya patnī*, etc., and thus, by supplying the missing word, make it clear that we have here a list of the “wives” of the several deities. An examination of this “Catalogue of Wives” reveals how truly each is the necessary complement of her lord and his practically constant companion. Indra, warrior god, and his army; Vāyu, the god of wind, and his voice, etc.

This passage in itself may be said to clinch the whole question, for our interpretation of *dhēnā* makes it a vastly better complement or wife of Brhaspati than the “libation of milk”. The word is actually the equivalent of the *brhas* in *brhaspati*, as Professor Bloomfield once remarked.

In *Tāit. Br.* 3, 6, 5, 1; *MS.* 4, 13, 4 and *KS.* 16, 21, we have *dhēnābhiḥ kalpamānaḥ*, „aided by songs”, or “furnished with songs”.

Nāigh. 6, 17, quotes *RV.* I, 101, 10 and adds — *dhenā dadhāteḥ*, — “*dhenā* is derived from the verb *dadhāti*”. As he has already defined *dhenā* by listing it as a synonym of *vāk*, it would appear that he uses *dadhāti* here in its sense of “fix in thought, as a prayer, etc.”

Lastly Hemachandra’s *Unāḍiganasutra* 268^c has the gloss —
dhenā sarasvatī mātā ca | dhenah samudrah

Of this the only consistent¹ interpretation is that *sarasvatī* is the goddess of eloquence, the daughter of *Vāk* (?).

We consider *dhēnā* a gunated form from the root *dhī*, “think”, and a synonym of *dhūtī* and *dhī*, with which words we have found it associated. As these words may pass in meaning from pure thought to its expression by the voice in prayer and psalm, so *dhēnā* regularly in the Veda is the outward form in which the inward thought is expressed by the voice. In the case of human beings, it is a song of joyous praise or holy invocation to the gods. In the case of gods, it is their gracious words, commending the worshipper and expressing their appreciation of the strength imparted to them by the songs, or their war-cries and battle-shouts as they engage in combat with their foes. The streams, too, sing their joy at their release and roar in praise of the great deity that effected it.

Dhēnā is the exact phonetic² equivalent to the Avestan *daēnā* and the Lithuanian *dainā*. The *daēnā* of the Avesta is (1) religion, especially the Ahuran religion, also (2) a theological-philosophical concept of the totality of the psychic and religious properties of man. It is the spiritual ego, the immortal part of man, the mental λόγος. Cf. Bartholomae, *WB. s. v.*

The Lithuanian *dainā* is a folk song, but these folk songs contain the best and highest expressions of the native heart and mind. They are frequently the media of expressing their religious sentiments and their philosophical reflections. Their whole philosophy of life is enshrined in these songs which

¹ Unless *dhenā* is masc. dual; then *sarasvatī* is the river and the reference has no connection with our subject. Cf. n. p. 403.

² Cf. Sk. *tejas*, Av. *taēza*, Lith. *staiḡū*,
 “ *meṣās*, “ *maēša*, “ *maiszas*,
 “ *reṣa*, “ *raēša*, “ *raiszas*,
 “ *vedas*, “ *vaēdā*, “ *vaidas*,
 “ *hedas*, “ *zaēša*, “ *žuzdā*, etc.

constitute their poetic literature. Here is expressed their thought about the great anonymous Dēvas, the moon god and the sun maiden, the morning and the evening star, Perkúnas, the god of thunder, etc., beliefs which transport us back to the primal days of our race. Like the Sanskrit *dhénā*, the Lithuanian *dainā* is a voiced *lógos*, but unlike the former it frequently descends from the divine heights and becomes of the earth, earthy. Thus *dhénā*, *daēnā* and *dainā* are all thought, but thought in its higher and spiritual reaches. Both phonetics and semantics proclaim them own sisters in the old Indo-European family circle.

By way of summary we may say that in every passage in which *dhénā* occurs in the *RV*. it may consistently be interpreted as voice, song, etc. In several instances the context decidedly favors this against Oldenberg's rendering. Every adjective that modifies it and every verb of which it is subject or object is used in other *RV*. passages in reference to words that indubitably signify songs, prayers, etc., but not all are so used with *havis* or its synonyms. It is so completely identified with *Vāyu* that it is metonymic of him. Our interpretation is supported by *Nāighaṇṭuka*, *Sāyaṇa* and *Vāj. S.* It has the irrefragable support of the "Catalogue of Wives". Only in the commentators on a "contaminated" version of one Vedic passage, plus five passages in *Sāyaṇa*, does it fail in support of the ancillary Vedic literature. It is not difficult to posit reasons for this. It furnishes the Sanskrit member, otherwise missing, of an equation with the *Avestan* and the *Lithuanian*. Passages which Oldenberg finds difficult become easy. Every argument he uses against it, is amply refuted by the passages quoted from the *RV*. The cumulative effect is overwhelming for *dhenā* as a synonym of *dhī*, *vācas*, *gīr*, *stoma*, *arka*, etc.