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Sanskrit *dhēṇā* = Avestan *daenā* = Lithuanian *daina*. —

By Dr. Samuel Grant Oliphant, Professor in Grove City College, Grove City, Penna.

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

The word *dhēṇā* 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 Nāghiṇṭuka I, 11, in the *Unadigaṇasutra* (268°) of Hemachandra4 and in Śaṭāṇa.

The *PWB.* defines *dhēṇā* 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, t Thus *RV.* I, 101, 10 = Nāigh. 6, 17; *RV.* III, 34, 3 = AV. XX, 11, 3; Vāj. S., 33, 26; *RV.* IV, 58, 6 = Vāj. S., 13, 38; 17, 94; KS., 40, 7; Tāit. S., 4, 2, 9, 6; MS., 2, 7, 17; Tāit. Ār. A., 10, 40; ČB., 7, 5, 2, 11; Āp. Č., 17, 18, 1; *RV.* V, 62, 2 = MS., 4, 14, 10; TB., 2, 8, 6, 6; *RV.* VII, 94, 4 = SV., 2, 150; *RV.* X, 43, 6 = AV., XX, 17, 6; *RV.* X, 104, 3 = AV., XX, 25, 2, 33, 2.2

2 *Dhenā bhṛgaspateḥ* in MS., 1, 9, 2; KS., 9, 10; G.B., 2, 2, 9; Tāit. Ār., 3, 9, 1; Vāit. S. 15, 3; Āp. Č., 11, 3, 14.

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

4 The reference in *PWB.* to the *Anekārthaśaṅgraha* (2. 271) of this author seems to be an error, as the edition of Zachariae (2. 267) defines *dhena* and *dheni* but has no mention of *dhena.*
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. Sāyāṇa 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 Sāyāṇa, 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 Sāyāṇa. Oldenberg in his *Veda-forschung* 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 Nāighanṭuka (l. c.) we find *dhēnā* listed as one of the fifty-seven synonyms of *vāk*. This is the one meaning most frequently given by Sāyāṇa 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—

\[
\text{virēnyāḥ krūṭur indraḥ suṣastir}
\text{utāpi dhēnā puruhūtām īte}]
\]

(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-
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Sanskrit dhénā = Avestan daēnā, &c.
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 ātte 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, matir; VII, 24, 5, arkā; 45, 4, girah; 91, 2, svōṣūtin; 93, 4, girbhir vipr̥ah; 94, 5, viprāsa, with tā girbhir in 6; VIII, 60, 16, sapta hōtāras. In no passage in the RV. is havis 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 gru 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 vācābhīr (I, 36, 1), girā (II, 6, 6; III, 27, 2; VIII, 19, 21; 31, 14), girbhir (III, 52, 5), nāmasā (V, 12, 6; X, 85, 22), nāmohbhir (V, 1, 7; 60, 1), nāmasā girbhir X, 85, 21), stōmāir (VII, 76, 6) and gāthābhīk VIII, 71, 14).

In five passages the expressed means are havisā ghrēna (I, 84, 18), havirbhir (III, 1, 15), svucā (V, 14, 3) and havyēbhīr (VII, 8, 1; VIII, 74, 6). In the remaining two the expressed means are nāmohbhir havisā (V, 28, 1) and yajnēbhīr girbhir (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 dhēnā 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 —

\[
\text{indra dhēnābhīr ihā madayasa}
\text{dhībhīr vičābhīḥ ċacyā grṇānāḥ}
\]

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

We should on \textit{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 \textit{dhēnābhīr} as the worshippers’ voices uplifted in song as to substitute the “Milchtrank” of \textit{GRV.} and the lexicographers. This harmonizes nicely with the general context of the hymn, which is replete with the idea of song and praise. \textit{Cf.} giro 1^c, ulthavāhah 2^d, dhībhīr \ldots
grṇānāḥ 3^d, grṇāntah 4^d, stotāra 5^d, brāhmāni 6^a, suvktim 7^b, giro 7^c, huṣeva 11^a, grṇvāntam 11^c. There are references, expressed or implied, to the oblation of soma in 1^sd, 2^bc, 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 \textit{mad} supports the idea of “drink”, we may add that this verb is predicated of Indra, relative to \textit{stōmebhīr}, in I, 9, 3 and, relative to \textit{girbhir}, in I, 51, 1; of the devās, relative to \textit{stōme}, in III, 54, 2; of the worshippers of Indra, relative to \textit{girbhir}, in III, 53, 10 and V, 36, 2. Hence the verb is appropriate enough with \textit{dhēnābhīr} as songs in the passage before us.

That Indra rejoices in the songs of his worshippers is shown by many passages in the \textit{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 \textit{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—

\[
\text{vičam-vičam maghāvā pāry acāyata}
\text{jānānāṁ dhēnā avacākuḍad viśā}
\]

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

and in VIII, 32, 22—
Oldenberg (p. 98) finds little difficulty in these passages. Their evidence is clear enough. "Wären die dhénáh Preislieder, so wäre das 'Herabblicken' zwar nicht undenkbar, aber viel näher läge es doch, ein 'Hören' erwähnt zu finden. Wo im Veda werden die dhénáh 'gehört'?" In reply to this question I trust it will appear that dhénáh are heard in every passage in which the word occurs in the RV. In controversy of his statement that "Herabblicken" is quite unthinkable in reference to songs of praise we would state that bráhmáni ḫśinām is the object of abhicaksāthe in VII, 70, 5; that stóma is the object of upadarçathā in VIII, 26, 4; that stóma is the subject of the medial passive pratyadṛksata in VIII, 5, 3; that dṛçikam is an epithet of stóma in I, 27, 10 and paricáksyañi of vácāñi in VI, 52, 14. It is then a case of the Rṣis against Oldenberg as to whether it is so "unthinkable" that songs of praise could be seen or "looked at". Our next passage is VII, 94, 4—

\[\text{indre aqná námo bṛhát} \]
\[\text{suśṛktíṁ ērayāmahe} \]
\[\text{dhīyā dhénā āvasyávah} \]

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

Dhénáh as "songs" continues the námo of a and suśṛktíṁ of b and forms part of the dominant thought of the entire hymn. This is expressed also in mánmana pūrvyāstutih of

---

1 ṣucruvāṁśa cid aḍvinā purùvy
   abhi bráhmáni caksāthe ḫśinām |
   (Having heard, O Aqvins, look upon the many prayers of the Rṣis).

2 ūpa stómaṁ tūrasya dārçathāṁ griyē
   (For his glory, look ye on your zealous worshipper's lauds).

3 yuvābhyaṁ vājinaṇaṁ prāti stómaṁ adṛksata
   (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.
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1a, ḍrnutāṁ jāratūr āvam of 2a, vāntaṁ gīrāh of 2b, pipyataṁ dhīyāh of 2c, īlata viprāsa of 5ab, gīrhhīr ... havimahe of 6ab, uktēbhīr 11a, gīrā 11b and āngusāir of 11c. 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 dhénā 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 īm īpa hvārte sādhate matir
ṛtāsya dhénā anayanta sasrūtah | |
(When'er he bends thereto, well speeds the hymn;
The songs of Ṛta bring him as they flow).

Oldenberg (p. 97) argues that sasrūtah 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 giras1 (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, 7b; V, 12, 2b; VII, 43, 4b; VIII, 6, 8c; IX, 33, 2b; 63, 4c, 14b, 21b, we have mention of the dhārās of Ṛta; in I, 79, 3a and III, 55, 13c, of the pāyas; in I, 73, 6a of the dhenuvās; in I, 84, 16a, of the gās; in IX, 77, 1c and X, 43, 9b, of her sūdāghā. On the other hand, we have in I, 68, 5a; 71, 3a; IV, 23, 8b; IX, 76, 4b; 97, 34b; 111, 2c, mention of the dhātī of Ṛta; in III, 31, 1b; IV, 2, 16c; IX, 102, 1b, 8c, of the didhīti; in IV, 23, 8c of the clōka 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 dhénā as songs in this passage.

The dhénā flow also in IV, 58, 6—
samyāk sravanti sarīto nā dhénā
antār hydā mūnasā pūyāmānāḥ |
ete arṣanty īrnāyo, ghrāsya
mṛgā īva kṣipanār iṣamānāḥ | |

1 girō arṣanty 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 dhénäh sravanti; (2) “the  
entire hymn praises the streams of ghṛṭa; (3) dhárāḥ 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 dhitáyah “flow” and are compared with a  
copious gushing spring. They flow also in VIII,2 50, 4. A  
gir is described as “flowing” in I,2 181, 7, and if Aufrecht’s  
reading in IX,4 108, 7 is correct, a stóma 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  
observed that ghṛṭásya dhárāḥ is found five times, one more  
than Oldenberg claimed, in the hymn. It is in 5ś, 7ś, 8ś, 9ś, 10ś,  
and 10ś, always in the third or fourth pāda. In 6ś, in  
exact formal correspondence with these, we find ūrmáyo ghṛ-  
tásya. The streams of ghṛṭá are mentioned in every rc. of  
the sūkta from 5 to 10 inclusive, but in 6 ūrmáyo, not dhénā,  
represents the dhárāḥ of the others. To return to his second  
point, it is true that the hymn is in praise of the ghṛṭá, of

1 udrīva vajrīm avatō nā sīncatē  
ksārantaṁdra dhītāyah | |  
(As a copious spring, O thou of the thunderbolt, gushes forth, our  
songs of adoration flow to thee, O Indra).
2 anekāsanaṁ vo hāvamānam utāye  
mādhvah kṣaraṁti dhītāyah |  
(To the peerless one that calls you for aid,  
Songs of adoration, sweet as honey, are flowing).
3 āsargjī vāṁ sthāvīrā vedhāsam gīr  
bālhe açvinā tredhā kṣaraṁti |  
(Your strong laud, ye pious, was sent forth,  
flowing threefold in mighty flood, ye Åçvins).
4 á sotā pārī sīncata  
āçvāṁ nā stōmam optāram rajastūram |  
(Press, pour forth as a steed, the song of praise, strong and pierc-  
ing the air).

We may add also that in VIII, 13, 8, songs even dance like waters,  
— kṛḷanty asya sūṅṭā ápo 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\textsuperscript{abc} we read —

\begin{align*}
vāyāṁ nāma prā brāvāmā gṛtāśya
asmin yajnē dhārayāṁā nāmabhīḥ |
ūpa brahmā gṛṇavac chasyāmānam
\end{align*}

(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\textsuperscript{ab}, the mathematical center and the summit of the hymn, we have our passage, the next reference to the song of 2. In 10\textsuperscript{ab}, at the same distance from the medial summit, in the only other reference to song, the gods are asked to reward the singers, —

\begin{align*}
abhy āṛṣata susūṭutim gāvyam ājīm.
asmāsu bhadrā drāviṇāni dhatta |
\end{align*}

(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 \textit{c} it has reference to the *nāma gūhyam* of *ghṛtā*. In 2\textsuperscript{abc} the singers are going to tell it forth in song. In 2\textsuperscript{d} and 3 they describe the mystic *ghṛtā*. In 5\textsuperscript{c}, 6\textsuperscript{c}, 7\textsuperscript{c}, 8\textsuperscript{c}, 9\textsuperscript{d}, 10\textsuperscript{d} the hymn masses effectively its mention of the streams of *ghṛtā*. In 10\textsuperscript{ab} the singers ask their reward, 10\textsuperscript{ad} and 11 are a postlude, but still emphasize the *ghṛtā*. In 6\textsuperscript{ab} the song announced in 2 is described as in full flow and in 10 it is practically over. We believe then the *dhenā* of 6\textsuperscript{a} is the song promised in 2 and the *susūṭutim* 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\textsuperscript{b}, which seems so admirably to sustain our interpretation. The commentator on *Vāj. S*. 17, 94, glosses *dhenā* by *vācaḥ* and places it among the *vānnāmasu* with reference to *Naigh* (l. c.). He adds —

\textit{kidṛçyo dhenāḥ antar hrāḥ manasā pūyamānāḥ çārīrāntavṛya-
vasāthtena hrāḥ pāvanasthāniyena manasā ca pūyamānāḥ cab-
dadoṣebhya 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 hrddā 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—

\[
\text{indrāya hrddā mānasā maniṣā}\\
\text{pratnāya pātye dhiyo marjayanta | |}\\
\text{(For Indra, ancient lord, they cleanse their songs,}\\
\text{In heart and mind and spirit).}
\]

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—

\[
esā va stōmo maruto nāmasvān\\
hrddā taśtō mānasā dhāyi devāḥ |\\
\text{(To you, ye gods of storm, this laud,}\\
\text{in homage rich,}\\
\text{and fashioned in heart and mind, is brought).}
\]

Nowhere in the RV. does the phrase hrddā mānasā (VI, 28, 5; VII, 98, 2; X, 177, 1) or hrđē 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

\[
sām īt sravanti sarito nā dhēnāḥ\\
antār hrddā mānasā pāyamānāḥ |\\
1ghṛtāsya dhārā abhi cākaçīmi\\
hiranyāyo vetasō mādhya āsāṁ | |\\
\]

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; ČB., 7, 5, 2, 11 and Ap. Č., 17, 18, 1. The commentator on Tāit. S. glosses dhēnāḥ by pānayogyāḥ dadhimadhvavayavāḥ (portions of curd and mead, fit for drinking). The commentator on Vāj. S., who on two other occasions, of which one is this same passage, gives vācas as the gloss of dhēnā, here gives instead annāni . . . hvayamānāni havini (food . . . libations that make invocation), and the ČB. gives annam, for

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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 dhenā and voice as it has hvayamānāni 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 dhenā has been misunderstood, possibly through contaminatio with the masculine 1dhenas, or dheni or the frequent dhenavas or possibly because used with such verbs as mad, srj, pīnu, avśkr. etc. and the fact that songs as well as food and drink actually "strengthen" Indra and the devās.

In I, 55, 4—

sā id váne namasyūbhir vacasvate
cāru jānesu prabrvanā indriyām
vyśā chândur bhavati haryat vyśā
kṣēma dhenām maghavā yād 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).

Sāyana glosses dhenām invati, 1st by 2stutilakṣaṇām vācam prerayate, and 2d by 3yajamāṇāḥ kṛtāṁ sutim vyāṃnoti. Either of these makes excellent sense. The former is supported by such a passage as I, 10, 4—

ēhi stōmaṁ abhi śvara
abhī grñhy ā ruva
(Come thou, laud our song of praise,
praise it, acclaim it).

also, VIII, 13, 27—

ihā tyā sadhamādyā
yujānāḥ sōmapītaye
hāri indra pratādvasū abhi śvara

1 Hemachandra Unadigansutra 268c glosses dhenah by samudraḥ and his Anekārthaśaṅgara, 2, 267 (Zach.) gives the same and adds dhenī = nadyām. Medinikosa n. 12 has both dhenī and dhenas (m.) as nadi.
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, 32c—
víśā yajñō yām invasi víśā hāvah
(Strong the worship that thou dost promote, strong the invocation).

and X, 188, 3c—
tābhīr no yajñām invatu
(With these may he promote our worship).

and I, 18, 7—
śā 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 dhēnām 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 dhēnā in VII, 21, 3—
tvām indra srāvitavā apās kah
pāriśṭhitā āhinā cūra pūrvih |
tvād vāvakre rathyō nā dhēnā
réjante viśvā kṛtrimānī bhīṣā |
(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 "<ihre> tönenden lieder". The nearest we can get to the nadyas of Sayana and his followers would be to interpret dhēnā as referring to the roar of the liberated waters. Such a parallel, however, as 1I, 80, 14, is against it. There are

1 abhiṣṭanē te adrīvo
yāt sthā jāgac ca rejate |
tvāṣṭa cit tāva manyāva
indra vevijyate bhīyā
(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 rathyō nā, we shall quote two passages which show that this comparison supports also our interpretation of dhēnā. These V, 61, 17—

etām me stōmam īrmye
dārbyāya pārā vaha |
giro devī rathīr iva |
(O Īrmyā, bear thou far away
For me this song of praise,
O goddess, songs as if on chariots borne).

and VIII,95, 1—

ā tvā giro rathīr iva
āsthuh sutēṣu girvānāḥ
(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 háribhir yē ta indra
vi śyasva cīpre vi srjasva dhēne |
ā tvā suciṃra hárayo vahantu
uczān havyāni prāti no jūsasva |
(Rejoice in these dun steeds of thine, O Indra;
Ope 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).

Śaṅyaṇa interprets the dual dhēne as pānasādhanabhute jih-vopajihviκe (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 srj is not rare in reference to songs, etc. Thus we have āsr̥gram ... girāḥ (I, 9, 4), āvasr̥jatam ... dhēyo (I, 151, 6), āsar̥jī ... gir (I, 181, 7), āpastutim ... āsr̥ksaḥ (VIII, 27, 11), sūryān iva sr̥jatām suṣṭutīr úpa (VIII, 35, 20); stotār medhā āsr̥kṣata (VIII, 52, 9); ghōṣā āsr̥kṣata (VIII, 63, 7), etc.
We have seen, in the foregoing, ample citations showing that Indra had two distinct dhéna, 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 rc from 1 to 7 inclusive, in 8 and 9, 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 dhéna here are probably that of Indra himself and that of the Maruts. This would seem supported by 11—

marūṭstotrasya vṛjānasya gopā
death the worshippers speak of themselves as the “guardians of the camp that is Marut-praised”. Hence we may consider the two dhéna as the gracious, approving song of Indra and the Marut’s song of praise.

We have the dual again in V, 30, 9—

striyo hi dāsā āyudhāni cakrē
kim mā karann abalā asya sēnāh |
antār hy ākhyaṛ ubhē asya dhēne
āthopa praid yudhāye dāsyum indraḥ | |
(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 dhéna are the liquids that play so great a part in the Namucci myth. This fits his general interpretation of dhéna. 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 dhéna 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 dhēnā of Namucci and that of his women.

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

\[\text{vāyo tāva praprūcati} \]
\[\text{dhēnā jigāti dācīse} | \]
\[\text{urūci somāpitaye} | \]

(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 dhēnā 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 Tāit. 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,—

\[\text{pitūc cid ūdar januśa viveda} \]
\[\text{vy āṣya dhārā āṣrjad vi dhēnāḥ} | \]

(From birth he knew his father’s bosom,

Sent forth his streams, his voices uttered.).

Sāyana explains ūdar as the firmament, dhārā as streams of rain, and dhēnāḥ 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 dhēnā means “streams of milk”. He lays special emphasis upon ūdar and dhārā and the striking comparison of IV, 22, 6,—

\[\text{prā dhenāvah sistrate vṛṣṇa ūdhnah} \]
as showing the synonymity of dhārā and dhēnā in this passage. Here, however, dhārā replaces dhenāvas there and it is clearly distinguished from dhēnā.

We would quote as parallels in our favor such passages as VIII, 6, 8, in which dhitāyāḥ and dhārayā are associated; IX, 10, 4 in which girā and dhārayā are associated; IX, 44, 2,
in which *mati, dhiyā* and *dharayā* are associated; IX, 63, 21, in which *dhibhir* and *dharayā* are associated; etc. Such passages show how natural the connection of *dhenā* as "songs" with *dharā* would be in the passage before us.

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

\[\textit{vīcvasām údhaḥ sa dhiyām udāncanaḥ}\
(The udder and bucket of all holy psalms).

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

Our next passage is III, 34, 3—

\[\textit{indro vṛtram avṛnoc chārdhanitiḥ}\
\textit{prā māyinām aminād vārpanitiḥ} |\
\textit{āhan vyānāṃ uçādhag vānēṣu}\
\textit{āvīr dhenā akrṇad rāmyānām} ||\
(The leader of his host, Índra encompassed Vṛtra; Assuming shapes of those in magic skilled, he minished him. Intensely burning in the woods, he slew Vyānā and made the voices of the nights apparent).

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

\[\textit{āvīś kṛnoti vagvanūm}\
(He makes his voice heard).

and IX, 95, 2—

\[\textit{devō devānāṃ gūhyāni nāma}\
\textit{āvīś kṛnoti barhiśi pravācē} ||\
(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,

\[\textit{abhī tvā nāktir uṣāso vavāciere}\
(The Nights and Dawns bellow to thee), and by VIII, 96, 1—

\[\textit{asmā uṣāsa ātiranta yāmam}\
\textit{ināyā nāktam úrmīyāḥ svācaḥ} |\
(For him the dawns lengthened their courses; By night, the nights became sweet-voiced for Índra).

This latter passage is a good commentary on the text before us as it, too, is from a *śūlī* that deals with the conflict of Índra and the demons. Otherwise we may think of the *dhenā* here as the shouts of the demonic foes, or the thunderings of Índra in the darksome night of battle, or we may endorse the commentator on Vāj. S. 33, 26, who thinks the
dhēnā here are the stutīrūpā vācah of yāya jūkās, 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—

\[
\begin{align*}
&tāt sū vām mitrāvarūnā mahītvām \\
&irmdā tusthūśir āhabhir duduhre | \\
vivāh pīvathāḥ svāsarasya dhēnā \\
ānu vām ēkah pāvīr ā vavarta ||
\end{align*}
\]

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 svāsara;
Your single tire hath rolled along hither).

At first sight pīvathāḥ and svāsarasya may seem to favor the synonymity of dhēnā with dheṇū but we find the verb pīnv is used also with dheyyah, the synonym of dhēnāh according to the interpretation we have given throughout. Thus we have in IX, 94, 2—

\[
\begin{align*}
dheyyah pīvānāḥ svāsare nā gāva.
\end{align*}
\]

Also in I, 151, 6—

\[
\begin{align*}
āva tmānā sṛjātam pīvatām dhiyo
\end{align*}
\]

and VII, 82, 3—

\[
\begin{align*}
&pīvatām apītāḥ pīvatām dhiyyah
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
codāyatām sunītāḥ pīvatām dhiya.
\end{align*}
\]

Hence the argument from the verb fails, as it will support either interpretation. These dheyyah in IX, 94, 2, even “bellow forth” (abhi vāvaça) “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 svāsara difficult and desiderates “Ströme”. Only in this passage does Geldner render dhēnā by “Kühe” and that because of svāsara. 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
sāṅgavā 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 gīrḥhir; in VIII, 99, 1, Indra is invoked to hear the stōmatavāhasām; the dhiyāḥ pinvānāḥ of IX, 94, 2 are cited above. In III, 60, 6, the svāsaras bring to Indra the vratā devānām mānuṣaṣ 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 milchkine 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 deuteromtheme of a compound. These are not at all inconsistent with our meaning of the simple word. Thus in VII, 24, 2

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{visrṣṭadheṇā bharate svarādh,} \\
iyām īndraṁ jōhuvaṁ manīṣā ||
\end{align*}
\]
(This hymn of out-poured song is brought, Invoking Indra with its prayer).

We find this word also in KS, 35, 9a—

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{visrṣṭadheṇāḥ salitā ghrtaçcutāḥ}
\end{align*}
\]
(Streams of song outpoured, distilling ghee).

and again in Ap. ṇ. S. 14, 28, 4a with saritā for salitā. That ghrtaçcut is applied to songs also, is shown by VIII, 51, 10—

\[
\begin{align*}
turanyāvo mādhumantar ghrtaçcutāṁ \\
viprāso arkām āṁrcuh
\end{align*}
\]
(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—

\[
\text{āhann áhim pariçayānam árnaḥ}
\]

\[
\text{prā varjanr arado viçvādhenāḥ}
\]

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

and 6

\[
\text{tvām mahim avānim viçvādhenām}
\]

\[
\text{turvitaye vayyāya kṣarāntim}
\]

(For Vayya and Turviti 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 RV.

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

\[
\text{senendrasya | dhēnā brhaspateh | pathyā}
\]

\[
\text{pūṣṇah | vāg vāyōh | dīkṣā somasya | prthivy-agneh | vasūnāṁ gāyatri | rudrānāṁ triṣṭuk |}
\]

\[
\text{ādityānāṁ jagatī | viṣṇor anāṣṭuk ||} \]

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 Ṭāīt. Br. 3, 6, 5, 1; MS. 4, 13, 4 and KS. 16, 21, we have dhēnābhiḥ kalpamānah, „aided by songs”, or „furnished with songs”.
S. G. Oliphant, [1912.

Nāigh, 6, 17, quotes R.V. I, 101, 10 and adds — ɗhenā dadhāteḥ, — “ɗhenā is derived from the verb dadhāti”. As he has already defined ɗhenā 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 Unadiganasutra 268 6 has the gloss —

ɗhenā sarasvati mātā ca | ɗhenaḥ samudraḥ

Of this the only consistent 1 interpretation is that sarasvati is the goddess of eloquence, the daughter of Vāk (?).

We consider dhēnā a gunated form from the root dhī, “think”, and a synonym of dhēti 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 phonetic 2 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 lógos. Cf. Bartholomae, W.B. 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 ɗhenā is masc. dual; then sarasvati is the river and the reference has no connection with our subject. Cf. n. p. 403.
2 Cf. Sk. tejas, Av. tāţa, Lith. staigâ, "mejas, "maēsia, "maizas,
    "reṣa, "raēsia, "raiszas,
    "vedas, "vaēđa, "vaidas,
    "heṭas, "zaēsia, "būzda, 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, Perkūnas, the god of thunder, etc., beliefs which transport us back to the primal days of our race. Like the Sanskrit dhēnā, the Lithuanian daina is a voiced λογος, but unlike the former it frequently descends from the divine heights and becomes of the earth, earthly. Thus dhēnā, 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 dhēnā 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 Naighanṭuka, 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 dhēnā as a synonym of dhi, vācas, gīr, stoma, ārka, etc.