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Postscript on Vedic jangahe

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In an earlier volume of this journal, one of the present authors (Lubotsky 1997, 562f.) argued that Vedic *jaṅgahe* is an intensive of the root *gandh-* ‘to smell, be fragrant’. This form is attested only three times: at *RV* 1.126.6, *AVŚ* 5.19.4 (= *AVP* 9.19.1), and, finally, *AVP* 19.34.7. Although the meaning could be conjectured on the basis of the first two passages, the presently available Orissa manuscripts of the Paippalāda recension of the *Atharva Veda* provide the definitive proof.

Arlo Griffiths is currently preparing an edition of the nineteenth book of this text, and we have decided to present the relevant passage to the scholarly community, as it clearly shows that *jaṅgahe* indeed means ‘smells’.

The hymns of book 19 of the *AVP* mostly consist of so-called *tṛcas*, i.e., originally separate groupings of three stanzas which at some point were placed together by redactors of the text. The word *jaṅgahe* occurs in the *tṛca AVP* 19.34.7–9, the preliminary edition of which is given below.¹

AVP 19.34.7–9 (TO A FRAGRANT PLANT)

7. Only *AVP*

tvam uttamaṃ surabhiṣāṃ ’ mādhyaṃ vahator asi /
(8-8)

tvayā ’vadhūr vi jaṅgahe ’ taṃ tvā varcasa ā dade //
(8-8)

You are the most supreme of the fragrant ones. You are the center of the bridal procession. The bride smells of you. I take you for splendor.

¹ The edition presented here gives a “positive” apparatus. A raised + marks important deviations from the available manuscript-readings. Only minor simplifications have been made to the editorial policy which will be adopted and further clarified in forthcoming publications on the *AVP*, where full descriptions of the available manuscripts will be provided as well.

We could make use of three manuscripts. On the one hand, the facsimile edition by Bloomfield and Garbe of the Kashmirian Birchbark manuscript in Śāradā script (**K**). On the other hand, two manuscripts from Orissa: one relatively old palm-leaf manuscript (**Pa**), and one modern copy (**Gu_c**) of a manuscript probably rather closely related to **Pa**. The Orissa manuscripts were kindly made available by M. Witzel and Mrs. N. Mohanty.

surabhiṣāṃ • This is a hapax of the simplex *surabhiṣ-* ‘fragrant’, otherwise only attested in *surabhiṣṭamam* (*RV* 1.186.7). Frequent is the *i*-stem *surabhī-* ‘id.’

uttamaṃ. Pa Gu_c – atvamaṃ K • Note the related error *tantur* in stanza 9: syllables involving *u/v+C* or *C+u/v* are very unstable in **K** (due to Kashmirian pronunciation).

vahator. Gu_c – rvahator Pa, havator K • Metathesis of akṣaras occurs frequently in **K**.

tvayā. Pa Gu_c – tayā K.

+vadhūr vi. vathur vi Pa Gu_c, vidur vi K • Barret (1940) reads, probably mistakenly: *vidur dhi.* *-rv-* and *-rdh-* are very similar graphemes in Śāradā. Confusion of voiced and unvoiced consonants is rather common in the Orissa manuscripts, as is confusion of short and long vowels.

taṃ tvā. Pa Gu_c – datvā K.

varcasa ā. varccasa ā Pa Gu_c, varcasā K • Double sandhi is very common in **K**. Cf. also *śīrṣatā* in stanza 8.

8. Only *AVP*

mūrdhnas te mūrdhanyebhṛyo ’ agruvaḥ ’pativatyāḥ /
(8-7)

aukṣaṃ śīrṣata ā dade //
(8)

From your top for the top-parts of the unmarried woman who has [now found] a husband; I take the *aukṣa* fragrance from [your] head.

• It is remarkable that the stanza consists of three pādas (*gāyatrī*) instead of the expected four. The possibility that a pāda *c* has been lost during the transmission of the text cannot be excluded.

mūrdhnas. mūrddhnas Pa, {yaś casmā} mūrddhnas Gu_c, mūrdhnyas K • The superfluous akṣaras which the scribe of **Gu_c** correctly chose to cross out have been taken over from stanza 9.

mūrdhanyebhṛyo. mūrddhanyebhṛyo Pa Gu_c, pūrdhno-bhṛyo K • For *mūrdhanya-* cf. *MS* 3.2.6 (24:11) = 3.2.9 (29:12) = 3.3.2 (33:9) *mūrdhanyò ’sāni* ‘I shall be at the top’, *KS* 20.11 (32:3–4) = *KapKS* 31.13 (162:3) *tan mūrdhanyānām mūrdhanyātvaṃ*. The entry under *AVP* 19.9.12 in Vishva Bandhu’s *Vedic Word-Concordance* is a ghost-word introduced by Barret in his edition.

agruvaḥ. K – *grīvāḥ Pa, śrīvāḥ Gu_c* • The reading of the Orissa MSS (with **Gu_c** *śrīvāḥ* a graphical error corresponding to **Pa** *grīvāḥ*) may be understood as a ‘learned correction’ based on an inferred connection with the body-part mentioned in pāda **a**. We hesitatingly adopt the metrically deficient reading offered by **K**.

***pativatyāḥ. pativityāḥ Pa Gu_c, pativityā K** • Barret reads, probably mistakenly: *patividyā*. His emendation *pativityāḥ*, based on this reading, is improbable as we need a genitive here.

aukṣaṁ. aukṣaṁ Pa Gu_c, om̐ kṣaṁ K • The name of a fragrance *aukṣā-* is further attested at AVP 2.21.6 = AVŚ 2.36.7 (*idāṁ hīranyam gūlgulv ayām aukṣo atho bhāgaḥ / eté pātibhyas tvām aduḥ pratikāmāya vêtave* “This gold, this bdelium, this *aukṣa* and Bhaga as well: they have prepared you for husbands, that you may obtain one that is agreeable” [tr. after Bloomfield 1897]), in the Apsaras’ name *aukṣāgandhi-* ‘smelling of *aukṣa*’ (AVP 12.7.3 [AVPK 13.4.3] = AVŚ 4.37.3) and at BĀU(K) 6.4.18 = BĀU(M) 6.4.17. These places have been discussed by C. Kiehnle (1979), 188ff. It seems futile to look for an etymology of this term and to combine it with the word for ‘ox’.

śīrṣata ā. Pa Gu_c – śīrṣatā K.

9. Only AVP

yaś ca +svādmā te aṅgeṣu ’yaḥ premā hṛdaye ca te /
(8-8)

taṁ tvad ā veśayāmahe ’mayi bhrājāti +did,yat //
(8-8)

The sweetness which is in your limbs, and the affection which is in your heart, we transfer it to us from you. The resplendent one will shine on me.

***svādmā. smādmā Pa [?] Gu_c, sphāmā K** • If the Orissa reading is correct (**Pa** is barely legible here), it is probably a rather recent corruption due to the similarity of the Oriya ligatures *-sv-* and *-sm-*. As for **K**, the corruption can be explained as a combination of graphical (*-sv-* ~ *-sph-*) and auditory errors (cons. + nas. → nas.: cf. Witzel [1994], 35f.).

aṅgeṣu. Pa Gu_c – aṅge*(→ ŚRA) K • Barret almost certainly misreads the marginal ‘correction’, interpreting it as *su*.

yaḥ. K – *ya{*}ḥ Pa, yaḥ Gu_c.*

taṁ tvad. Pa Gu_c – tantur K.

veśayāmahe. Pa Gu_c – veśayāme K.

bhrājāti +did,yat. bhrājāti didyata Pa, bhājāti dīDYata Gu_c, trāgādudidyat. K • Barret misreads or misprints *trāgād-*. All corruptions in **K** can be explained as graphical or as auditory mistakes (cf. Witzel 1994): the corruption *j > g*, which occurs with some frequency throughout the manuscript, is of especial interest, as it may go back to a Nāgarī predecessor of **K** (cf. Singh, plates 91ff.). On this Nāgarī predecessor (*D), cf. Witzel (1985), 256–71.

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