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Preface

These Proceedings include papers presented at the Thirty-Fourth Annual UCLA Indo-European Conference, held on October 27–28, 2023 in Los Angeles.

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Naturally, we are especially indebted to the scholars whose papers appear below, not only for their stimulating conference presentations, but also for their cooperation and patience throughout the editing process. We owe special thanks, among those scholars, to our featured speakers Blanca María Prósper and Andreas Willi. (As usual, not all papers presented at the conference appear here, for a variety of reasons, including publication or planned publication elsewhere.)

We are also happy to repeat our annual praise of Angelo Mercado for his consummate skill and professionalism in the preparation of the camera-ready copy. This is, finally, our fourth outing with Helmut Buske Verlag: as with the preceding volume in this series, we are deeply grateful to Managing Director Michael Hechinger for his support and guidance throughout the production process, as well as Tim Oliver Pohl and Henrike Judwitt for their counsel on technical matters.

David M. Goldstein, Stephanie W. Jamison, and Anthony D. Yates
September 2024

The Identity of *pīlu* in *Atharvaveda Paippalāda* 7.19: Vedic Arboreal Terminology and Etymology*

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In the newly edited portions of the *Atharvaveda Paippalāda*, many mysterious plants appear and await secure identification. Hymn 7.19 possesses a striking description of a fatty, demon-smiting, salubrious world tree under the obscure name *pīlu-*. Using comparative Vedic and Indo-European mythological and etymological evidence, this paper identifies *pīlu-* as a heavenly fig tree, specifically the sacred fig *aśvatthá-* (*Ficus religiosa*). In service of this claim, the words *pīlu-* 'fatty tree; *Ficus religiosa*', *medín-* 'adherent, ally', *kúla-* 'stem, family, race', and *píppala-* 'sacred fig' are provided novel etymologies.

1 Introduction

What's brown and sticky? A stick.

— Anonymous

At the risk of excising whatever humor remains in this classic (anti-)joke,[1] a careful autopsy reveals that its comic turn or *paraprosdokian* arises from the plastic semantics of *stickiness*: in English, the word *stick* and its relatives colexify meanings of penetration (*stick a fork in it*), viscosity (*a sticky substance*), abstract adhesion (*let's stick together*), and concrete branch-ness (*I found a good stick*). Etymologically, *stick*, *sticky*, and *stitch* all descend from a root *√*(s)teyg-* 'to be pointed, sharp; to stick' (cf. Gr. στίζω 'to tattoo' < **stig-yé/ó-*, Ved. *téjate* 'to be sharp' < **téyg-e/o-*, Ved. *tigmá-* 'sharp' < **tig-mó-*), showing that *stick(y)* has innovated

* I would like to thank Stephanie Jamison, Alex Roy, Tony Yates, Thomas Motter, and all the participants of the UCLA Indo-European conference for their helpful suggestions and critiques on this paper. Any errors are my own.

1 Lest one doubt the ubiquity and stodginess of the stick joke, note that it was the most frequent submission (300+ times) to the LaughLab survey to find the "world's funniest joke" (British Association for the Advancement of Science 2002:57). Despite its frequency, only 2% of respondents rated it 4+ on a humor scale of 5.

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semantically to describe viscous substances (which adhere like prickly barbs) and branches (which can be pointy).

The semantic range of terms meaning 'sticky' and 'fatty' underpins the difficulty in interpreting *Atharvaveda Paippalāda* (*AVP*) 7.19, a hymn describing a magical, realm-spanning, enemy-destroying tree. The hymn abounds in terms relating to fat, obscure references to demonic entities, and the difficult tree name *pīlu-*. This paper seeks to explain the mythological and metaphorical context of *AVP* 7.19 by providing new etymological insight into three fat-linked lexical items: *pīlu-* (a galactic tree epithet), *píppala-* 'fig (of *Ficus religiosa*)', and *medín-* 'adherent, companion'. For ease of exposition, §2 provides a complete text and translation of *AVP* 7.19 with verse-by-verse commentary. The meanings and etymologies of *medín-*, *kúla-*, *pīlu-*,[2] and *píppala-* will be explained in the course of the commentary. Then a brief conclusion is found in §3.

2 Text, translation, and commentary on *AVP* 7.19

AVP 7.19 mostly lacks parallels in *AVŚ* and appears near the end of the fourth anuvāka of the seventh kāṇḍa of the Paippalāda recension. This anuvāka (*AVP* 7.16–20) focuses on apotropaic invocations of a variety of deities: 7.16 and 7.17 are matched hymns invoking a shared litany of divine dyads from various directions for protection, 7.18 invokes Indra and Agni against enemies and their malicious ritualists, and 7.20 invokes the wind as *śatruhan-* 'enemy-slayer' under various esoteric names. Our *pīlu*-hymn may have been placed after 7.18 because they shared similar pādas *sākam indreṇa medinā* (7.19.1d, 7d) ≈ *indreṇa saha medinā* (7.18.4d) "together with Indra as adherent," though the former pāda appears elsewhere in *AV*.[3]

The text presented below matches Griffiths 2009:435–48 for the most part and deviations will be marked. Griffiths provides the most up-to-date critical edition of the hymn, and while I agree with most of his translations verse-by-verse, in my view he misses the mark on the broader interpretation of the hymn and the identification of *pīlu-*. Though based on Griffths' analysis, all translations are my own. Based primarily on an interpretation whereby *AVP* 17.9.3 depicts *pīlu-* as having poisonous pits (see below), various identifications have been proposed for the Vedic instances of the tree, including *Careya arborea* (wild guava, whose fruits are edible though the seeds are slightly poisonous), *Salvadora persica* (toothbrush

2 The accentual evidence for *pīlu-* is limited and contradictory. See Griffiths 2009:435–7 and n.92 and Clayton 2023:68–9.

3 *sākam indreṇa medinā* (*AVŚ* 6.129.1b = *AVP* 19.32.1b, 3b, *AVP* 2.25.5c).

tree, whose fruits are tiny and edible), *Salvadora oleoides* (baḍā-pīlu, whose fruits are edible but cause mild oral tingling and ulceration), and *Strychnos nux-vomica* (strychnine tree, whose seeds, leaves, and bark are all highly poisonous).[4] Yet this focus on the seed's (hypothetical) poisonous properties misses the tree's mythological and phraseological context in this hymn. I argue that the other descriptions of the *pīlu-* instead mirror language describing fig trees, especially in their roles as sacrificial substitutes and world trees.

AVP *7.19.1*

āṅgiraso janmanāsi ˈ tam u tvāhur vanaspate |
sa pīlo rakṣo bādhasva ˈ sākam indreṇa medinā ||

By birth you are Aṅgiras-descended. This they call you, Forest-lord.
Pīlu, drive off evil, together with Indra as adherent.

The hymn begins with a verse rich in meaning. The epithet *āṅgirasa-* 'Aṅgiras-descended' places the *pīlu*-tree within the realm of aggressive magic. Throughout the Atharvaṇic tradition, the Atharvan priest performed auspicious magic while the Āṅgirasa priest performed sorcery and curses (Bloomfield 1897:xix–xxiii). This hymn's focus on the *pīlu-*'s offensive function mirrors that of *AVP* 3.6 ≈ *AVŚ* 3.6, which entreats a parasitic tree, the *aśvatthá-* 'sacred fig', *Ficus religiosa*, to dominate the sacrificer's enemies as it dominates another tree, the *khadirá-* (*Senegalia catechu*). This feature of the *aśvattha-* and some of its *Ficus* relatives—parasitism over other trees—stands at the root of the tree's religious function. Indian tree parasitism (especially of the *aśvatthá-*) represents masculinity both as a dominator of other masculine entities and as the inseminator of the feminine. From the Vedic period to the modern era, an *aśvatthá-* parasitizing the feminine tree *śamī́-* (*Prosopis cineraria*), is honored as a sacred dendrogamy or tree marriage (Spanò 2023). From this mating, the *aśvatthá-* receives its epithet *śamīgarbhá-* 'whose womb is the *śamī́*-tree' (*TB*, *ŚB*, etc.), and their woods provide the traditional materials for the *aráṇi-* sticks used for the kindling of the sacrificial fire. The ritual used the common hand-drill method of starting a fire, where an upright *aśvatthá-* stick was

4 See Meulenbeld 2007–8:24–30, 35–60 and Griffiths 2009:435–9 for a survey of these hypotheses. Meulenbeld identifies the post-Vedic *pīlu*-tree as *Strychnos nux-vomica*. Yet he notes that the Vedic evidence concerning the *pīlu*-tree does not lend itself to a clear solution (pp.28, 60) and more generally that Vedic taxa often do not correspond to plant identifications in the later medical literature with the Vedic ritual substance *sóma-* as the chief example (p.6 and n.1).

rotated by hand in a hole in a flat piece of *śamī́*-wood, a highly sexualized image (Spanò 2023:8–10).

The frequent epithet *vánaspáti-* 'lord of the forest' further implicates trees of the *Ficus* genus in their capacity as sacrificial trees. In the *āprī́-* 'conciliation' hymns, the Ṛgvedic litanies for the animal sacrifice that list eleven or twelve key terms in a fixed order, *vánaspáti-* always appears in penultimate position and represents the sacrificial post and an *axis mundi* that delivers the sacrifice to the gods (van den Bosch 1985:173–5, 185). Indeed, in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, which provides ritual exegesis for the *Ṛgveda*, *vánaspáti-* often modifies *Ficus* trees used in preparation for the *aśvamedhá-*, the kingly horse sacrifice, where the fruits of *Ficus* trees act as a ritual substitute in the soma sacrifice.[5]

The *AV* provides even more striking evidence for *vánaspáti-* (or perhaps some types of *vánaspáti-*) as fig tree. In a fourfold taxonomy of plants,[6] right after *vánaspáti-* is found the vṛddhi derivative *vānaspatyá-*, presumably elliptic for *vṛkṣā vānaspatyā(ḥ)* (*AVP* 17.3.6c). I propose that the literal meaning of the vṛddhi derivative, 'possessing *vánaspáti-*', can describe trees that host ("possess") *vánaspáti-*:

AVŚ 8.8.14 (ab = 11.9.24ab = *AVP* 16.30.4ab)

> ***vánaspátīn vānaspatyā́n*** ˈ *óṣadhīr utá vīrúdhaḥ* |
> *dvipā́c cátuṣpād iṣṇāmi* ˈ *yáthā sénām amū́ṃ hánan* ||
>
> **The forest-lords**, **their hosts**, the herbs, and the creepers,
> the two-footed, the four-footed, I dispatch so they may smite that army.

Thus, the forest lordship of the epiphytic *Ficus* trees came from their parasitic ability to overgrow another tree. The meaning 'host' is further substantiated by a description of a *Ficus religiosa* parasitizing other trees:

AVŚ 3.6.6

> *yáth**āśvattha vānaspatyā́n*** ˈ *āróhan kṛṇuṣé ʼdharān* |
> *evā́ me śátror mūrdhā́naṃ* ˈ *víṣvag bhinddhi sáhasva ca* ||
>
> As you, **aśvattha**, mounting your **hosts**, make them inferior,
> so break my foe's head apart and conquer (him).

5 *AiB* 7.30–2, 8.16.1–2.

6 See the quoted passage and *AVP* 9.26.4, 16.94.9–95.2, 17.21.7, 17.24.6–7, 18.32.1, 18.52.15–8 (≈ *AVŚ* 18.8.15–6). This taxonomy remains stable into later Sanskrit, and I intend to treat its source and development elsewhere.

The term *ádhara-* 'inferior' also provides the first member of *adharāraṇí-* 'lower (fireboard) stick', the portion of the fire-making apparatus made of an *aśvatthá-* parasitized *śamī́*-tree.

Closing this opening verse, the pāda *sākam indreṇa medinā* "together with Indra as adherent" provides the ritual focus of the hymn to follow. Indra, king of the gods, bears a characteristic epithet *medín-*, whose interpretation remains difficult. The word chiefly describes Indra or *manyú-* 'battle fury' in martial contexts[7] and appears in the compound *índra-medin-* 'having Indra as ally/adherent'.[8] Strikingly, *medín-* also appears with the *aśvatthá-* tree, though in a reversed relationship with Indra:

AVŚ 3.6.2 = *AVP* 3.3.2

> *tā́n aśvattha níḥ śr̥ṇīhi ˈ śátrūn vaibādha dódhataḥ |*
> *índreṇa vr̥traghnā́ medī́ ˈ mitréṇa váruṇena ca ||*
>
> O aśvattha whose projections sunder,[9] crush out those raging foes,
> (you) adherent with Vr̥tra-slaying Indra, Mitra, and Varuṇa.

Because of its military contexts, *medín-* is often translated 'ally', though the connection with *médas-* 'fat' has led Jamison and Brereton (2014 passim) to favor 'sharing the fat', where 'fat' represents the spoils of battle (Jamison 2015–: ad X.38.2, posted 6 January 2024).

Similar to Jamison, Mayrhofer (1986–2001:II.377) gives the well-attested Vedic *-as*-stem *médas-* 'fat' as the base for *medín-* and assumes the development was somehow slangy. He supports the connection of *medín-* with the "fat" meaning by comparing the later feminine derivative Ved. *medinī-* (*TĀ*, *MBh*), Pā. *medinī-*, Pkt. *meini-* 'earth' to AGk. πῑ́ειρα (γῆ) 'fatty, fertile earth' < **pih$_x$-wer-ih$_2$-* F 'swelling, fatty'. To this can be added *AVP* 20.30.5–7, where a likely nonce *-a-*stem ACC.SG *medam* 'fat' appears 6× alongside *indreṇa medinā* "with Indra as

7 *R̥V* 10.38.2c, 10.84.6c; frequently in *AV* (see Kim 2020:542).

8 *AVŚ* 5.20.8c (≈ *AVP* 9.27.7c), 11.9.18d, 11.9.4e.

9 The independent term *vaibādhá-*, found only in this hymn, appears once more in *AVŚ* 3.6.7 in the compound *vaibādhápraṇutta-* 'pushed forth by *vaibādhá-*' and is a possessive derivative of *vibādhá-* 'what drives asunder'. The lexeme *ví* √*bādh-* 'drive asunder' applies to powerful entities sundering *ródasī* 'world halves' (*R̥V* 1.51.10b, 6.29.5b, 7.23.3c, 7.61.4b, *AVŚ* 8.9.6b = *AVP* 16.18.6b, 20.12.3c), *ántān diváḥ* "the ends of the sky" (*R̥V* 7.69.3cd), and *rocanā́ … jmó ántān* "luminous realms (and) the ends of the earth" (*R̥V* 10.89.1b). The vr̥ddhi derivative may mean 'one having (cosmos-)sundering (projections)' and describe its parasitic, host-sundering roots and wide, skyscraping canopy.

medín-" (5b) and *medaya* 'fatten' (7a).[10] If *medín-* arose straightforwardly from a word meaning 'fat(ty)', this would well suit the context of this hymn where fat plays a major role in verses 8–9 and the etymology of *pīlu-* discussed below.

Unfortunately, the formation of *medín-* remains unclear. In a recent survey of Vedic and Indo-Iranian *-ín*-stems, Grestenberger (2021:164–70) argues that the formation was chiefly built denominally to *-a*-stems (~ 70× in *ṚV*; e.g., *áśva-* 'horse' ⇒ *aśvín-* 'horseman') and *-i*-stems (~ 6× in *ṚV*; e.g., *jūrṇí-* 'blaze' ⇒ *jūrṇín-* 'blazing'; pp.165–7) and deverbally (~ 20× in *ṚV*; e.g., *ní √ram-* 'stand still' ⇒ *ni-rāmín-* 'staying at'). Since *meda-* is likely a nonce form in Vedic (as noted above), it is probably not the base of *medín-*. A deverbal formation from *√med-* 'to become fat' should have meaning like 'one becoming fat', which remains semantically distant from 'ally'. More marginally, there are two potential examples of *-ín*-stems derived from truncated *-as*-stems (*rétas-* 'seed' ⇒ *retín-* 'rich in seed'; *várcas-* 'splendor' ⇒ *varcín-*, a Dāsa personal name), but the majority pattern for derivation from *-as-* was *-as-(v)ín-* (Ved. *várcas-* ⇒ *brahma-varcas-ín-* 'brilliant in sacred formulation' (*AV*), *varcas-vín-* 'brilliant' (*AV*); *sáhas-* 'might' ⇒ *sahasin-* 'mighty' (*ṚV*); *námas-* 'homage' ⇒ *namas-vín-* 'reverent' (*ṚV*); Grestenberger 2021:167 and n.8). If we accept the *-as*-stem *médas-* as the base, a slangy development from 'one with fat' to 'one sharing the fat' to 'ally' is still required. For such a change, one would expect to find *médas-* in the sense 'spoils of battle', but I know no evidence in support of this. In the *ṚV médas-* is used as a ritual offering, contrasts with *pī́vas-* 'swelling fat' (10.16.7b), is harvested from the middle (*madhyatáḥ … údbhṛtam*, 3.21.5a), and can flow in drops alongside ghee (3.21.1c, 2ab, 4b). All this suggests that *médas-* was suet or kidney fat, which is hard (not swelling), found in the abdomen, and melts into drops under heat.[11] I have previously argued (Clayton 2023:59–68) that **píh$_x$-wr̥* 'swelling fat' represented

10 There are some reasons to doubt the age of this *meda-*. After this passage, an *-a*-stem *meda-* does not reemerge until the GEN.SG *medānāṃ* in *MBh* 13.23.22a. Furthermore, *AVP* 20.30.6cd roughly matches *ṚVKh* 4.8.2cd, which reports *medhām* 'wisdom' instead of *medam*. Just as *AVP* 20.30.5–7 uses *meda-* 6×, *ṚVKh* 4.8 has a parallel structure but instead uses *medhā-* 17×. The *Atharvaveda* elsewhere has repetitious usage of *medhām* (5× in *AVŚ* 6.108.2, 5 = *AVP* 19.17.8–9). The *meda-* in the isolated tṛca *AVP* 20.30.5–7 is likely a punny reinterpretation of the *ṚVKh* passage.

11 *Suśr*. 3.4.12–13 confirms that *médas-* is found in the abdomen of all creatures but adds that it is found in small bones (cartilage) in contrast to the marrow of large bones. Ancient Greek makes a similar distinction between πῖαρ 'swelling fat' < **píh$_x$-wr̥* and στέαρ 'hard fat, suet' < **stéh$_2$-wr̥*.

the richest portion in an offering or feast in the Indic and Greek traditions, so *médas-* seems ill-suited to be a martial reward if it does mean 'suet'.

Still *medín-* should be compared to *médas-* < **mésd-es-* 'fat', *médyati* 'to become fat' < **mésd-ye-* (YAv. *azdiia-* 'fat' < **m̥sd-yó-*, OE *mæst* 'mast, forest fruit used for fodder' < **mosd-o-*; Neri 2021 with lit.), but I would suggest that the underlying root **√*mesd-* did not mean 'to be(come) fat'. Instead, this (pseudo-)root arose from a univerbation of **me-sd-* 'to sit with/on' ⇝ 'to stick to', that described sticking to a surface. The element **me* appears often occurs as a component of function words (e.g., AGk. μετά 'among', μέχρι 'as far as'; PGmc. **međa*, *međi* 'with'; L *≠met* 'with') but appears as a simplex in Phryg. με 'in the sight of' and as a preverb in Phryg. μεβερε[τ] 'brings with'. The root **√*sed-* 'to sit' has several other known preverb-verb univerbations: most famously the arboreal **ni-sd-ó-* 'nest' ⇜ 'where (the bird) sits down' (> Ved. *nīḍá-*, L *nīdus*, OArm. *nist*, etc.; Dunkel 2014:562 with n.30) but also **ne-sd-* 'to sit near' (Ved. *nédīyas-*, *nédiṣṭha-* and YAv. *nazdiiō*, Av. *nazdišta-* < **né-sd-yos-* 'nearer', **ne-sd-isth₂o-* 'nearest'; Dunkel 2014:552–3 with n.23).[12] The construction **me-sd-* has previously been proposed for another arboreal term, **me-sd-i-lo-* > PGmc. **mistilaz* 'mistle(toe)' (Balles 1999, Dunkel 2014:494, 498 n.22) because of its notorious stickiness (cf. L *viscōsus* 'viscous' ⇐ *viscum* 'mistletoe, birdlime') and its epiphytic growth on tree branches.[13] Verbs meaning 'to stick to' may produce words meaning 'fat', as in **√*sneyg^{wh}-* 'to stick; snow' > Ved. √*sneh-* 'to stick' ⇒ Skt. *snehá-* 'oiliness, fattiness, viscosity; grease, fat', and may come to mean 'to feel attached to, like' as √*sneh-* does in the Epic period. The lexicalization of **√*mesd-* 'to be sticky; become fat' would be of Nuclear Indo-European date.

As for Ved. *medín-*, I propose a viscous meaning 'adherent, one who sticks with you' that later became 'ally'. An unattested *-i-*stem adjective **mesd-í-* 'adhering' (implied by **mesd-i-lo-* > PGmc. **mistilaz*) could have been replaced with *medín-*, undergoing the same morphological development as Ved. *tuvi-kūrmí-* ⇒ *tuvi-kūrmin-* 'powerfully ranging'. Later, under the influence of other derivatives of **mesd-* meaning 'fat(ty)', the semantically isolated *medín-* 'adherent' acquired new fatty connotations. This etymology provides a more semantically plausible explanation for Ved. *medín-*, though it assumes an archaic sense of **mesd-* preserved in one lexical item in Indo-Aryan.

12 See also Hackstein 2023 on coalescence of preverbs into verbal roots.

13 The similar PGmc. **þistilaz* 'thistle' seems to come from **(s)teyg-* 'to be sharp' by analogy either to PGmc. **mistilaz* or at a PIE-stage to **me-sd-i-lo-* as **tig-sd-i-lo-* 'what sits there stuck on'. Here we again see the interconnection of penetrant and viscous stickiness.

AVP *7.19.2*

apa rakṣāṃsi bādhasva ˈ bādhasva ⁺parirāpiṇaḥ |
piśācān pīlo kravyādo ˈ bādhasva mūradevinaḥ ||

Drive away the evil ones, drive (away) the evasive chatterers,
Pīlu, drive (away) the gore-eating Piśācas, those with foolish gods.

Verse 2 further elaborates the demonic entities that the *pīlu*-tree repels. Of these, the *Piśācá-* demons reappear in vv.8, 10, and, as I will argue, indirectly in v.3 below.

AVP *7.19.3*

yayāhus ⁺tr̥ṣṭaṃ kaṭukam ˈ apagūḍhaṃ phale kulam |
tasyai hiraṇyakeśʸyai ˈ namaḥ kr̥ṇmo arātaye ||

By whom they say her harsh, bitter "stock" (brood) is hidden away in the fruit,
To that golden-haired Arāti ('Illiberality') we do homage.

Griffiths (2009:435, 440–2) argues that the *pīlu*-tree had poisonous pits because of this verse and because of the alleged mention of a venomous snake:

AVP 13.3.4 = *AVP*(*K*) 13.13.5 (Lopez 2000:157, 195)

ahijambhāś carāmasi ˈ muṣkābarho gavām iva |
⁺pīlā upa svajaṃ hanma ˈ upa stambhe pr̥dākʷvaṃ ||

We go around grinding snakes like a gelder of bulls.
We slay the constrictor on the *pīlu*, the leopard-spotted snake on the post.

He presumably follows the old etymology that *svajá-* originally meant '*born from itself' and came to mean a venomous 'viper', but this semantic development is not convincing.[14] *svajá-* instead likely meant 'constrictor, python' from √*svañj-* 'to encircle, embrace' (Mayrhofer 1986–2001:II.788; Lubotsky 2004:3), and constrictors are generally not venomous, or else they would use venom for predation. The identity of the *pŕ̥dāku-* 'leopard-spotted snake' is also unclear and may refer to a venomous snake, but the different snakes could refer to the western and northern snake offerings respectively; six different snakes represented the six cardinal

14 The oft-compared L *vīpera* 'viper' < **vīvi-parā* 'bearing live offspring' does not match 'born from itself'. Compare instead *jīvaja-* 'born alive' in *ChU* 6.3.1: *teṣāṃ khalv eṣāṃ bhūtānāṃ trīṇy eva bījāni bhavanty āṇḍajaṃ jīvajam udbhijjam iti* "Indeed, these creatures here have three origins: birth from an egg, live birth, and birth from a cutting."

directions and appear several times in *AV* (Lubotsky 2004:2). Thus, the connection with poison may not be the defining element of the *pīlu*-tree's mythology as Griffths supposes. As to *AVP* 7.19.3ab above, Griffiths argues that *tr̥ṣṭá-* 'harsh' is often used as an epithet of poisonous substances in *AV* and that *kúla-*, which normally means 'family, race', here means 'pit (of a fruit)'.

The use of *kúla-* here allows another interpretation, namely 'family, race, stock'. The only other appearance of the LOC.SG *phále* 'in the fruit' in Vedic also occurs in *AVP*:[15]

AVP 12.20.9

> *sadaṃ puṣpe sadaṃ* ***phale*** ˈ *sadam indrābhirakṣite* |
> *sadā piśācā mriyantāṃ* ˈ *maiṣām uc cheṣi kaś cana* ||
>
> Always in the flower, always **in the fruit**, always in the guarded place, Indra, always let the Piśācas die. Let none of them be left over.

With the mention of Piśācas in the immediately preceding verse and their reappearance in vv.8 and 10, the demoness *Arāti* could plausibly be hiding her brood of fertility-destroying demons in the reproductive organs, whence they must be exterminated. Verse 5 below also mentions another fertility-destroying demon *Arāya*, whom I argue below to be another of *Arāti*'s offspring. Furthermore, *kúla-* seems to have already meant 'family, race' in the earliest Vedic, as confirmed by the compound *kulapá-* 'family-protector, housekeeper' (*ṚV* 10.179.2d = *AVŚ* 7.72.2d; *AVŚ* 1.14.3a = $^{+}$*AVP* 1.15.3a), which does not mean 'seed-keeper, pit-master'. In support of the meaning 'pit', Griffiths cites another *AVP* passage in a clear arboreal context:

AVP 9.11.7

> *gandharvas te mūlam āsīc* ˈ *chākhā apsarasas tava* |
> *marīcīr āsan parṇāni* ˈ *sinīvālī kulaṃ tava* ||
>
> The Gandharva was your root, the Apsarases your branches, the light particles were your leaves, Sinīvālī your *kula*.

Taking this together with *AVŚ* 9.4.14a = *AVP* 16.25.5a, where the obscure fertility goddess Sinīvālī is identified as *gúdā* 'intestines', Griffiths points out a connection with hidden/interior organs. Yet the use of singular *kulaṃ* is puzzling under this interpretation. Both [*ś*]*ākhā* 'branches' and *parṇāni* 'leaves' are plural, so one would expect that the plentiful seeds or pits of a tree would also appear as a

15 Śāstrī (1942–65:s.v. फल).

metrically identical plural *kulā*. Instead, *kulam* should be something singular, intestine-like, and around the tree's center mass. The best option would thus be the stalk or trunk.

Indo-European has a variety of words meaning 'hollow tube; stalk, stem; bone' of a similar shape to *kúla-*: L *caulis*, AGk. καυλός 'stalk, stem', PCelt. **kawlā* > OIr. *cúal* 'bundle of sticks', Lith. *káulas* 'bone', Latv. *kaũls* 'bone; stem', and more remotely Ved. *kulyā́-* 'stream, canal', Skt. *kulya-* N 'bone receptacle' (*MBh*), 'bone' (Lex.), and PGmc. **hulaz* 'hollow, hole' > OE, OHG *hol*, ON *holr*. The reconstruction of these forms poses some difficulties. Schrijver (1991:268–9) reconstructs a laryngeal **h₂* in **keh₂ul-* to account for the **a*-vocalism and appeals to Hirt's Law to explain the accent retraction in Lith. *káulos* < **keh₂uló-s* (> καυλός). If a laryngeal is reconstructed, then the Sanskrit forms in *kul-* < **kh₂ul-* would fail to undergo either laryngeal aspiration to **kʰul-* > **khul-* or laryngeal metathesis to **kuh₂l-* > **kūl-*, but some counterevidence exists for both processes (**ph₂tḗr* 'father' > Ved. *pitā́*, not **phitā́*; **sh₂i-món-* 'binding' > Hitt. *išḫiman-* 'rope', not **šiḫman-*). Hock and Wodtko (2020–4:with lit.) instead consider a root **√kawl-* (zero-grade **kul-*) and leave the differing accentuation of καυλός and *káulas* as an unsolved issue. Assuming **kúl-o-* would give Ved. *kúla-* regularly. The semantics of either reconstruction fall out easily: words for 'stalk, stem, trunk' often come to refer family lineages and races, as in English *stem* 'stalk; family, race' < PGmc. **stamniz* 'stem, trunk' or *stock* 'trunk; family' < PGmc. **stukkaz* 'stick, trunk; stump; beam' or the Biblical Tree of Jesse. Furthermore, derivatives of the root **kawl-* also come to mean 'pit, seed', as in Lith. *kaulẽlis* 'cherry pit' ⇐ *káulas*, so the later medical term *kulaka-* 'pit' and its MIA equivalents that Griffiths adduces can easily be a later development of *kúla-* 'stem; family; house'. While I do not think *kúlam* in the verse under discussion meant 'stalk, stem' literally, the botanical resonance here would have been palpable, thus my translation "stock."

AVP *7.19.4*

yā mahatī mahonmānā ˈ sarvā āśā vʲy ānaśe |
tasyai hiraṇyakeśʲyai ˈ namaḥ kr̥ṇmo arātaye ||

The great, massive one who has pervaded all heavenly quarters,
To that golden-haired Arāti ('Illiberality') we do homage.

This verse and pādas cd of the preceding provide some interpretive difficulties. The descriptions of the Vedic demoness *Árāti-* seem transferred from the tree to demoness: 'golden-haired' (if describing a leafy canopy per Griffiths) and 'the great, massive one who has pervaded all heavenly quarters' seem to apply equally well to the world-spanning size of the tree itself. Griffiths makes just such an argument for the *pīlu*-tree as an *axis mundi* (pp.438, 443) without any acknowledgement that these descriptions do not apply to the tree directly. Yet there is good evidence for this claim elsewhere, as in *AVP* 13.3.4 above where *pīlu-* appears in a parallel construction with *stambha-* 'post'. This word appears also in the meaning of *axis mundi* in the following:[17]

AVP 13.3.4 = *AVP*(*K*) 13.13.5

> *darbhéṇa devájātena ˈ* ***diví ṣṭambhéna*** *śáśvad ít* |
> *ténāháṃ śáśvato jánāṁ̐ ˈ ásanaṃ sánavāni ca* ||
>
> With the darbha-grass, god-born, constantly **the prop in heaven**,
> With that I have won and will win men constantly.

The verb √*stambh*^{i}- 'heave up, prop up' is also frequently used for propping up the skies (Sadovski 2017:271–2; García Ramón 2023:58, 64–7, 75). Furthermore, the *pīlu*-tree unambiguously has a medial cosmogonic position in the heavens:

AVŚ 18.2.48 = $^{+}$*AVP* 18.67.9

> *udanvátī dyáur avamā́ ˈ* ***pīlúmatī́****ti madhyamā́* |
> *tr̥tī́yā ha pradyáur íti ˈ yásyāṃ pitára ā́sate* ||
>
> "Full of water" is the lowest heaven. "**Full of *pīlu***" is the middle.
> The third is the "Fore-heaven", in which the fathers sit.

Note that the *aśvatthá*-tree appears frequently in the third heaven:

AVŚ 5.4.3[18]

> *aśvatthó devasádanas ˈ tr̥tī́yasyām itó diví* |
> *tátrāmŕ̥tasya cákṣaṇaṃ ˈ devā́ḥ kúṣṭham avanvata* ||
>
> The aśvattha is the gods' seat in the third heaven from here.
> There the gods won the kúṣṭha plant, the appearance of immortality.

17 Compare also the formula *divó viṣṭambháḥ* 'prop of heaven', an epithet of soma 5× in *ṚV* 9.

18 *AVŚ* 6.95.1a = *AVŚ* 19.39.9 = *AVP* 7.10.6a = *AVP* 19.11.1a = *AVP* 20.61.8a.

The appearance of the *pīlu*-tree in the medial heaven likely represents the middle section of the tree as it spans the earthly and heavenly realms. The choice of the epithet *pīlu*- 'milky' for the celestial heaven is described below.

The epithet *hiraṇyakeśʲyá*- 'golden-haired' occurs in only two other places in Vedic: in *AVŚ* 18.2.48 = $^{+}$*AVP* 18.67.9 in the context of an *axis mundi* (*sthūṇāyāṃ dhruvāyāṃ* "at the fixed column") and with the characteristic word *vánaspáti*-, and in *AVŚ* 5.4.3, which corresponds roughly to our *AVP* 7.19.4.

KāṭhGS 54.5

> *sthūṇāyāṃ dhruvāyāṃ śriyai hiraṇyakeśyai vanaspatibhyaś ceti*
>
> [He offers] at the fixed column, (saying) "to the golden-haired majesty" and "to the forest-lords."

AVŚ 5.7.9–10 ≈ *AVP* 7.19.4

> *yā́ mahatī́ mahónmānā ˈ víśvā ā́śā vʲy ānaśé* |
> *tásyai hiraṇyakeśʲyaí ˈ nírr̥tyā akaraṃ námaḥ* ||9||
> *híraṇyavarṇā subhágā ˈ híraṇyakaśipur mahī́* |
> *tásyai híraṇyadrāpayé ˈ* $^{\eth}$*rātyā akaraṃ námaḥ* ||10||
>
> The great, massive one who has pervaded all heavenly quarters,
> To that golden-haired Nirr̥ti ('Dissolution') I have done homage.
> She is golden-colored, good-fortuned, golden-cushioned, great;
> To that golden-mantled Arāti ('Illiberality') I have done homage.

In these cases, *hiraṇyakeśʲyá*- never corresponds to the tree but to the demoness(es). It is conceivable that Arāti's golden color, hair, cushion, and mantle are transferred epithets from the heaven-spanning canopy where she resides, but the introduction of a (different?) demoness Nirr̥ti and the euphemism *śrī́*- 'splendor, majesty' obscure matters considerably. Setting aside these descriptions of Arāti and Nirr̥ti, I still find usages of *pīlu*- in *AVŚ* 18.2.48 and *AVP* 13.3.4 cogent evidence for its depiction as an *axis mundi*.

As for the etymology of *pīlu*-, I have argued previously that it arose from the heteroclite **péyh$_x$-wr̥*- ~ *píh$_x$-won*- 'swelling' >> **píh$_x$-ru*- > *pīlu*- 'fatty, milky' through a sonorant-sonorant metathesis (Clayton 2023:59–73). The appropriateness of this epithet takes several forms. The milky-white, sticky sap of the *Ficus* trees can be easily analogized to (breast)milk and fat, and Vedic abounds in descendants of *√*peyh$_x$*- 'to swell' with such meanings (e.g., Ved. *pī́van*- 'fat', *páyas*- 'juice, milk, semen'). Secondly, building on the translation "fettreich" 'fatty' for *pīlúmatī*- (Hoffmann 1956:7–8 = 1976:389), I believe that the milky sap could be

conceived of as the stars of the celestial heaven (between the lower atmospheric heaven and upper ethereal heaven). The sky's perceptual milkiness is reflected in phrases like Milky Way and Galaxy. Following Hoffmann's translation 'fettreich', Mayrhofer (1986–2001:II.138–9) connected *pīlúmatī-* with *√*peyh$_x$-* 'to swell' but hesitates to connect the name of the tree. Given the fat-laden context of this hymn, that hesitation is unwarranted.

AVP *7.19.5*

yas te yoniṃ prati reḍh^{i}y ˈ āṇḍādo garbhadūṣaṇaḥ |
arāyaṃ putraṃ prāp^{i}yas ˈ taṃ pīluḥ sahatām itaḥ ||

The egg-eating, fetus-corrupting one who licks at your womb,
Let *pīlu*, to be (reverently) approached, vanquish that son Arāya hence.

In this verse, a new male demon *Arāya-*[19] appears. If, as discussed above, Arāti occupies the canopy of the *pīlu*-tree, Arāya seems to be lower down, needing access to the tree's womb. Recall also that an *aśvatthá*-tree has an explicit womb, the *śamī́*-tree that it parasitizes, whence the epithet *śamīgarbhá-* 'whose womb is the *śamī́*-tree'. Because parasitic *Ficus religiosa* and *benghalensis* trees completely cover their hosts, Arāya would likely attack the *pīlu*-tree's womb from below. This description of demonic entities inhabiting a world tree from above and below finds a striking parallel in Óðinn's description of the world tree Yggdrasill:

Grímnismál 35

Askr Yggdrasils drýgir erfiði
meira en menn um viti:
hjǫrtr bítr ofan, en á hliðu fúnar,
skerðir Níðhǫggr neðan.

Yggdrasill's ash endures hardship
more than men know:
A hart bites from above, and on its side it putrifies.
Niðhǫggr gnaws from beneath.

Arāya demons (either alone or in groups) are elsewhere associated with infertility in women (*AVP* 2.67, 8.6) and eating flesh and fat (*AVŚ* 2.25.3 = *AVP* 4.13.6).[20]

I diverge from Griffiths' reading of *$^{+}$prāpī yas* in pāda c. He translates the verse "The egg-eating, fetus-spoiling Arāya that licks at your womb, that reaches [your]

19 On the difficulties of *Arāy(ʸ)a-*'s scansion, meaning, and accentuation see Griffths 2009:104.
20 See Lubotsky 2002:170–1 generally on menstrual-blood-eating demons.

son, let the Pīlu defeat it from here" and emends to an *-ín*-stem *prāpín-* 'approaching'. While it makes good sense for Arāya to approach one's unborn son nefariously, the syntax of the verse is very strained. To get his reading, one must translate the two accusatives in *arāyaṃ* [RC *putraṃ* $^{+}$*prāpī yas*] as part of separate clauses, with *arāyaṃ* in the correlate clause spanning pādas cd and *putraṃ* as the direct object of $^{+}$*prāpī* in an embedded relative clause whose relative pronoun closes the clause and the pāda. It seems far better to read the two accusatives together and read *prāpʲyas* as a gerundive, which often have distracted readings in Vedic. Despite appearing frequently in the *AV*, the construction *prá* √*āp-* 'to approach (reverently)' does not appear in the *ṚV*. The verb *úpa* √*sthā-* 'to stand near, approach (reverently)' seems to serve a similar function and applies to an *aśvatthá*-tree in *ṚV* in an otherwise obscure passage describing the passage of Vāyu and Indra:

ṚV 1.135.8a–c (tr. after Jamison & Brereton 2014)

> *átrā́ha tád vahethe mádhva ā́hutiṃ ˈ*
> *yám* ***aśvatthám upatíṣṭhanta*** *jāyávo ˈ*
> *asmé té santu jāyávaḥ |*
>
> Just now you two travel to the poured offering of honey.
> The victorious ones that **approach the fig tree**—
> let these be victorious for us.

If we accept the theme of approaching the world tree as old, we can compare a second passage of *Grímnismál* that describes Þórr's approach of Yggdrasill:

Grímnismál 29

> *Kǫrmt ok Ormt ok Kerlaugar tvær,*
> *þær skal Þórr vaða dag hvern,*
> *er hann dæma ferr at aski Yggdrasils,*
> *því at ásbrú brenn all loga,*
> *heilog vǫtn hlóa.*
>
> Kǫrmt and Ormt and the two Kerlaugs,
> these must Þórr wade each day,
> when he goes to judge at Yggdrasill's ash,
> for the Æsir bridge burns all in flame,
> and the holy waters roar.

Given this theme of reverently approaching world-trees, *prāpʲyas* seems an appropriate descriptor of the *pīlu*-tree.

Whose son Arāya could be, however, remains unexplained—perhaps that of Arāti, who appears in the two previous verses and likely begat other demons in v.3.

AVP *7.19.6*

yadā pīlav āṅgirasa ˈ pakvo ◌ˀtiṣṭho vanaspate |
athāhur indram jajñānaṃ ˈ śakraṃ ⁺barjahⁱye prati ||

Aṅgiras-descended *pīlu*, when you stood there ripe, Forest-lord,
then they say mighty Indra, (just) born, (was) at (your) teat.

Griffiths suggests that the teat in question might look like some protuberance on the tree. Once again, Indian fig trees provide a potential candidate: the *udumbára*-tree (cluster fig, *Ficus racemosa*) grows figs in cauliflorous bunches directly on the stem, which could give the impression of an udder or set of teats. The mythological *pīlu*-tree could possess a composite of *Ficus*-related features. Alternatively, Indra could be suckling the *aśvatthá*-tree's milky sap.

AVP *7.19.7*

yathā sedim abādhathāḥ ˈ pacyamāno vanaspate |
evā pīlo rakṣo bādhasva ˈ sākam indreṇa medinā ||

Pīlu, just as you drove off weariness[?], becoming ripe, Forest-lord,
Pīlu, thus drive off evil, together with adherent Indra.

See Griffiths 2009:445–6 on the difficulties of translating *sedí-* 'weariness[?]'. A simple derivation from **se-sd-í-*, a reduplicated form of √*sed-* 'to sit', looks strikingly close to the etymology advanced above for *medín-* < **me-sd-ín-*, but this may be coincidental or later poetic juxtaposition.

AVP *7.19.8*

yat piśācaiḥ puruṣasya ˈ jagdhaṃ bhavatⁱy ātmanaḥ |
ā pīlo pyāyate punas ˈ tava cāśnāti pippalam ||

Whatever of a man's self is eaten by Piśācas
swells up again if he eats of your fig, *pīlu*.

This verse begins a climactic series of *figurae etymologicae* involving the verb √*payⁱ-* < *√*peyhₓ-* 'to swell': the finite verb *pyāyate* 'it swells' (8c), *pīvam* 'fat' (9a), and *pīlu-* (throughout) and perhaps *pippalam* 'sacred fig' (8d). Because he subscribes to what I consider an incorrect identification of the Vedic *pīlu*-tree,

Griffiths (2009:447) argues these collocations are folk-etymological and further claims that *píppala-* refers to a fruit other than the sacred fig of the *aśvatthá-* (*F. religiosa*). Yet Thieme (1949:63–72) trenchantly argues that *píppala-* exclusively meant *F. religiosa* fruit in the earliest Vedic material and that the *aśvatthá*-tree acted as the chief *axis mundi*. Verses 8–9 highlight the ritual function of this epithet *pīlu-* of the *F. religiosa*: dispelling demons and regrowing fat through sacrifice. The recuperative function of *pīlu*-fruit appears elsewhere (with a nontoxic injury):

AVŚ 20.135.12

> *t*ʰ*vám indra kapótāya* ˈ ⁺*chinnápakṣāya váñcate* |
> ⁺*śyāmā́kaṃ pakváṃ* ⁺*pī́lu ca* ˈ *vā́r asmā* ⁺*akr̥ṇor* ⁺*bahú* ||
>
> You, Indra, to the trembling dove with rent wings,
> To him you gave ripe millet, *pīlu*-fruit, and much water.[21]

The fertility and healing properties of the *pīlu*-tree match the Avestan world-tree:

Yašt 12.17

> *yaŧciŧ. ahi. raŝnuuō. aŝāum.*
> *upa. auuąm. vanąm. yąm. saēnahe.*
> *yā. hištaite. maiδīm. zraiiaŋhō. vourukaŝahe.*
> *yā.* ***hubiš****.* ***ərəδβō.biš****.*
> *yā. vaoce.* ***vīspō.biš****. nąma.*
> *yąm. upairi. uruuaranąm.*
> *vīspanąm. taoxma. niδaiiaŧ.*
>
> Righteous Rašnu, wherever you are, at that tree of Saēna,
> which stands in the midst of the Vouru.kaŝa sea,
> which is **well-healing**, **straight-healing**,
> which is called "**all-healing**" by name.
> on which all plants' seed is put down.

As to the etymology of *píppala-*, Griffiths (p.447) proposes a connection to *piplu-* 'mole, freckle' from the goat-descriptor *piplukárṇa-* 'having a mark on the ear[?]' (*KS* 12.13:176.6), but surface blemishes are rather unlike a plump dangling fruit or berry. Furthermore, this fails to explain the sequence *-pp-*, which rarely occurs elsewhere in Sanskrit. Mayrhofer (1986–2001:II.133) cites several alternative spellings in *pipphala-* and *piṣpalá-*, but speakers encountering the uncommon cluster *-pp-* likely created these forms analogically based on *phála-* 'fruit' and

21 Note that the *pīlu*-fruit is neuter (*pīlu*), while the tree is masculine (*pīluḥ*; vv.5, 9, and 10).

púṣpa- 'flower' respectively.[22] Outside of a few compounds like *ap-pati-* 'water lord', one of the few forms with *-pp-* shows up in *Suśr.*, where *cipya-* 'a fingernail ailment, whitlow?' has the alternate form *cippa-*. On this basis, I propose that this form represents an early Middle Indicism borrowed from the agricultural register into the hieratic one. A reduplicated *$*pih_x$-pih_x-e-ló-* would undergo the following sound changes: *$*pih_x$-pih_x-e-ló-* > *$*pih_x$pyeló-* (intervocalic laryngeal loss following unaccented sonorants) > **pipyeló-* (*Wetter*-Regel) > PIA **pipyalá-*. In Middle Indic, the **-py-* cluster would assimilate to **-pp-*, and only barytonesis would need to be assumed. While this chain of derivation might seem ornate, Neri (2024) argues for morphologically and agriculturally similar derivations of reduplicated *$*puh_2$-puh_x-ó-$ > *$*puh_2$pwó-$ > **pupwó-* > **pupó-* > Alb. *pupë* 'bud' and *$*b^hwah_2$-b^huh_2-ó-$ > *$*b^hwah_2b^hwó-$ > *$*b^hwab^hwó-$ > *$*b^hab^hó-$ > L *faba* 'bean'. Under this analysis, *píppala-* would also play a role in the *figura etymologica*.

AVP *7.19.9*

> *pīluṃ tvāhuḥ pīvaṃ tvāhur ˈ atho tvāhur vanaspatim* |
> *sarvā te bhadrā nāmāni ˈ tebhir naḥ pāhʲy aṃhasaḥ* ||
>
> They call you "*pīlu*," they call you "fat," and they call you "Forest-lord."
> All your names are auspicious. With these, protect us from trouble.

The esoteric names/functions of the *pīlu*-tree are summarized with a reappearance of *vánaspáti-* 'forest-lord; sacrificial post; *Ficus* tree'. The secret message is emphasized by a climactic triple repetition of *áhur* 'they say', which has already appeared 3× before (1b, 3a, 6c).

AVP *7.19.10*

> *rakṣohaṇaṃ vr̥trahaṇaṃ ˈ pīluṃ piśācajambhanam* |
> *jajñānam agre vr̥kṣāṇāṃ ˈ taṃ te badhnāmʲy āyuṣe* ||
>
> The evil-smiting, Vr̥tra-smiting, Piśāca-grinding *pīlu*,
> born on top of the trees—that I bind for your lifespan.

The Piśācas, foes of the fertile *pīlu*-tree, appear a final time alongside Indra's chief antagonist Vr̥tra, implying their prominent role as the hymn's apotropaic target. The *pīlu*-tree's parasitism is again described by *jajñānam agre vr̥kṣāṇāṃ* "born on

22 See Kuiper 1991:61 on further examples of *-ṣp-* for *-pp-*. Mayrhofer (1956:285–6) rightly disapproves of a derivation by Walde and Pokorny from *$\sqrt{}$*pah_xp-* 'to swell' (L *papilla*, Lith. *papas* 'nipple'), due to the unlikely semantics of 'nipple' ⇝ 'fig'.

top of the trees" (compare *ṚV* 1.164.22c, where *ágre* is used to describe the top of an *aśvatthá*-tree).

3 Conclusions

The preceding discussion has endeavored to demonstrate that the elusive Vedic *pīlu*-tree was an epithet for the *aśvatthá*-tree based on several factors: its descriptor *vánaspáti*-, which identifies *Ficus* trees, its fruit *píppala*- 'fig', its status as a world tree, its fatty terminology stemming from the *Ficus*'s milky sap, and its ability to destroy opponents through parasitic growth. In service of this goal, I have provided new etymologies for the terms *pīlu*-, *medín*-, *kúla*-, and *píppala*- based on mythological, botanical, and philological analyses of these terms in context. Previous analyses that focused only on the poisonous properties of the tree missed the forest for the trees, so to speak. More work remains, however. The function of the sacred fig tree deserves further investigation, especially given the recension's name *Paippalāda*- 'of the fig eater'. The roots and offshoots of the fig tree's mythology extend far beyond the Vedic tradition, and particularly the conception of epiphytes within Indic taxonomies and throughout Indo-European mythology requires further study.

Abbreviations

AiB = Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa
AV = Atharvaveda
AVP = Atharvaveda-Paippalāda
AVP(K) = Atharvaveda-Paippalāda (Kashmiri mss.)
AVŚ = Atharvaveda-Śaunakīya
ChU = Chāndogya-Upaniṣad
KāthGS = Kāṭhaka-Gṛhyasūtra
KS = Kāṭhaka-Saṃhitā
Lex. = Lexicographers
MBh = Mahābhārata
Suśr. = Suśruta-Saṃhitā
ŚB = Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa
TĀ = Taittirīya-Āraṇyaka
TB = Taittirīya-Brāhmaṇa
ṚV = Ṛgveda-Saṃhitā
ṚVKh = Ṛgveda-Khilāni

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