The Problem of 'Apadha in the Rgveda

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Interpretation of Vedic hymns in general and of individual words in particular, has been a knotty problem right from the day of Yāska and not all the ingenuities of the commentators of the Rgveda and scholarly labours of the Western and Eastern Orientalists have been able to unveil the mystery about a number of obscure Vedic words. One of them is the Vedic word 'Apadhā' in the RV. II, 12, 3. The word occurs in the second quarter of the above Rk which is as follows:—

यो गा उदार्जंदपधा वलस्यं ।

Y o' gā' Udājad apadhā valasya.

The Pada text traditionally handed down to this day runs thus:

यः गाः । उत्रुष्मार्जत् । अपुष्मा । वृत्रस्यं ।

Sāyaņa interprets this quarter in the following manner:-

यश्च वलस्य वलनामकस्यासुरस्यापधा तत्कर्तृकान्निरुद्धा गा उदाजत् निरगमयत् ।

Here in his rendering of अपूषा निरुद्धाः, he unwittingly reveals that the ultimate sense is 'imprisoned' and the word is an adjective of गाः. But while grammatically analysing, he seems to derive it from the root अप + √षा to which the termination अङ् is applied in the impersonal sense. The word thus becomes अपभ आ is added. Thus it is supposed to be the ablative singular.

Venkata Mādhava too renders the word as विलान्तरपिहिता: and takes it as an adjective of गाः, which he renders as पग्रत.

Western scholars have created more confusion in trying to identify the exact grammatical form. Thus Roth takes it to be the instrumental of अप + $\sqrt{31}$

Ludmig² suggests that this word is instrumental in sense and we must take it to mean wedge or key (quasi reserator).

Hillebrandt³ thinks that अपि is a locative from अपि. Grassman⁴ translates it

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^{1.} Sanskrit-Wor, St Pt, 1855, p. 282

^{2.} Peterson, Hymns from the Rigveda, Second Selection, Notes, p. 116

^{3.} Veda Chrestomathic, p. 70

^{4.} Worterbuch Zum Rigveda, p. 71

as 'a hiding place'. Griffith 1 translates it as 'from the cave'. Peterson remarks that this word is a Vedic locative of the same kind as 'guhā' in the next verse and translates it as 'cave':

Zimmerman³ translates it as 'from the enclosure'. He compares it with II, 14, 3; यो गा उदाज्दप् हि वृत्रं व:।

Macdonell⁴ also translates it as 'by the unclosing'. On the basis of feminine forms, he remarks that it can only be the instrumental singular of Apadhā'. He takes 'Valasya' as objective genitive i.e. by opening (the cave of) Vala. Velankar⁵ seems to follow Roth when he takes 'Apadhā' as instrumental singular of Apadhā on the analogy of एकशा प्रतिषा - प्रतिषानेन in VIII; 77, +,

Sāyaṇa⁶ took it as irregularity for the ablative, by सुपा सुल्लात पञ्चन्या आकार: ।

Durga,⁷ the commentator on Nirukta explains the form by अपधानन as meaning उदबादनेन by the enclosing.

As has been seen above, Venkata Madhava⁸ too while explaining it as बिलान्तरपिहिता: has indicated indirectly to the feminine base with 'a' ending.

It seems that अपूषा is really अपूषा: accusative plural of अपना, feminine form from apa+ dhā by applying the affix an' in accordance with the Paninian rule III, 3, 106.

An analogous case it that of the word figur occurring in the form of figur in R V, X, 73, 11:

वर्यः सुपुणा उपं सेदुरिन्दुं प्रियमें धा ऋषयो नाधंमानाः । अपं ध्वान्तम् णुंहि पूधि चक्षुं - मृंमुग्ध्य _ऽंस्मान् निधयेव बद्धान् ॥

The word निधा is found in the Naigamakanda of the fourth chapter of Nirukta.

Mukund Jha Bakshi' in his notes on Nirukta explains निधा as "आतश्चोपसर्गे" इति (पा. ३०१.१३६) क प्रत्यये अङि (पा. ३.३.१०६) वा । टापि निधेति भवति ।

This supports our thesis about the nature of the form of अपूचा. In point of accent too, the form अपूचा resembles निधा.

- 1. Hymns from the Rigveda, Vol. II, p. 273
- 2. Peterson, op. cit,
- 3. Vedic Selections, Notes, p. 124
- 4. Vedic Reader, pp. 46 ff
- 5. Ŗksūkta vaijayanti, p. 72
- 6. Sāyaṇa's commentary on II/2, 3: अपधा-अप पूर्वाद्द्यातेः 'आतश्चीपसमैं' (पा. ३.३.१०६) इति भावेऽङ्प्रत्ययः । सुपां सुलुगिति पञ्चम्या आकारः ।
- 7. Durga's commentary on Nirukta, Adhyāya, 8, 1.
- 8. Rgarthadīpikā, Vol. III, p. 75.
- 9. Mukund Jha Bakshi, (Ed.,) Nirukta, p. 160

११६ : अगरचन्द नाहटा अभिनन्दन-ग्रन्थ

Now the Padapāthakāra has noticed the form as अपूषा without the final 'Visarga'. Can it not be possible that in the Samhitā-Pātha, there was elision of of original visarga of अपूषा:, the originally intended form and anyhow the author of Padapātha missed it?

There are many instances in which the older authors of Padapāthas differed from one another in splitting Samhitā text into its component padas. This has been adduced to by Yāska himself. Thus Yāska takes note of difference of opinion of various authors of Padapātha with regard to the word आदित्य:—

शाकत्यात्रेयप्रभृतिर्नावगृहोतम्, पूर्वनिर्वचनाभिष्ठायेण । गार्ग्प्रभृतिभिरवगृहोतिमिति तदेव कारणम्, विचित्राः पदकाराणामभिष्रायाः, क्विचिदुपसर्गविषयेऽपि नावगृह् णन्ति यथा शाकत्येन ''अधीवासम्'' इति नावगृहीतम्, आत्रयेण तु ''अिवऽवासम्''—इत्यवगृहीतम् । तस्मादवग्रहोऽनवग्रहः।।¹

Similarly with regard to the word भौसुकृत् in R V I, 105, 18, Yāska takes it as an Upapada compound and hence as one word, thus: मासकृत् मासानां चार्घभासानां च कर्ता भवति चन्द्रमा: 112

But Śākalya splits the word into two padas, as मा । स कू त्।5

Thus this possibility of the presence of originally existent but morphophonemically elided Visarga sets at rest all the unnecessary efforts of the traditional commentators and modern orientalists.

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^{1.} Nirukta, II, 13.

^{2.} Nirukta, V, 21

^{3.} cf. Padapātha of RV I, 105, 18 in RV. Samhitā (Poona), Vol I, p. 649.