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GRUNDRISS DER INDO-ARISCHEN PHILOLOGIE UND ALTERTUMSKUNDE
(ENCYCLOPEDIA OF INDO-ARYAN RESEARCH)
HERAUSGEGEBEN VON G. BÜHLER.
III. BAND, I. HEFT A.

VEDIC MYTHOLOGY

BY

A. A. MACDONELL.

STRASSBURG
VERLAG VON KARL J. TRÜBNER
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I. INTRODUCTION.

§ 1. Religion and mythology. — Religion in its widest sense includes on the one hand the conception which men entertain of the divine or supernatural powers and, on the other, that sense of the dependence of human welfare on those powers which finds its expression in various forms of worship. Mythology is connected with the former side of religion as furnishing the whole body of myths or stories which are told about gods and heroes and which describe their character and origin, their actions and surroundings. Such myths have their source in the attempt of the human mind, in a primitive and unscientific age, to explain the various forces and phenomena of nature with which man is confronted. They represent in fact the conjectural science of a primitive mental condition For statements which to the highly civilised mind would be merely metaphorical, amount in that early stage to explanations of the phenomena observed. The intellectual difficulties raised by the course of the heavenly bodies, by the incidents of the thunderstorm, by reflexions on the origin and constitution of the outer world, here receive their answers in the form of stories. The basis of these myths is the primitive attitude of mind which regards all nature as an aggregate of animated entities. A myth actually arises when the imagination interprets a natural event as the action of a personified being resembling the human agent. Thus the observation that the moon follows the sun without overtaking it, would have been transformed into a myth by describing the former as a maiden following a man by whom she is rejected. Such an original myth enters on the further stage of poetical embellishment, as soon as it becomes the property of people endowed with creative imagination. Various traits are now added according to the individual fancy of the narrator, as the story passes from mouth to mouth. The natural phenomenon begins to fade out of the picture as its place is taken by a detailed representation of human passions. When the natural basis of the tale is forgotten, new touches totally unconnected with its original significance may be added or even transferred from other myths. When met with at a late stage of its development, a myth may be so far overgrown with secondary accretions unconnected with its original form, that its analysis may be extremely difficult or even impossible. Thus it would be hard indeed to discover the primary naturalistic elements in the characters or actions of the Hellenic gods, if we knew only the highly anthropomorphic deities in the plays of Euripides.

B. DELBRÜCK, ZVP. 1865, pp. 266—99; KUHN, Über Entwicklungsstufen der Mythenbildung, Berliner Ak. der Wissenschaften 1873, pp. 123—51; MAX MÜLLER, Comparative Mythology. Oxford Essays. II; Philosophy of Mythology. Selected

Essays. I; Chips from a German Workship, IV², 155—201; Physical Religion 276—8; SCHWARTZ, Der Ursprung der Mythologie; MANNHARDT, Antike Wald- und Feldkulte, Berlin 1871, Preface; MÜLLENHOFF in preface to MANNHARDT's Mythologische Forschungen, Strassburg 1884; LANG, Mythology. Encyclopaedia Britannica; GRUPPE, Die griechischen Culte und Mythen. Introduction; BLOOMFIELD, JAOS. XV, 135—6; F. B. JEVONS, Mythology. CHAMBERS' Encyclopaedia; Introduction to the History of Religion, London 1896, pp. 23. 32. 249—69.

§ 2. Characteristics of Vedic mythology. — Vedic mythology occupies a very important position in the study of the history of religions. Its oldest source presents to us an earlier stage in the evolution of beliefs based on the personification and worship of natural phenomena, than any other literary monument of the world. To this oldest phase can be traced by uninterrupted development the germs of the religious beliefs of the great majority of the modern Indians, the only branch of the Indo-European race in which its original nature worship has not been entirely supplanted many centuries ago by a foreign monotheistic faith. The earliest stage of Vedic mythology is not so primitive as was at one time supposed[1], but it is sufficiently primitive to enable us to see clearly enough the process of personification by which natural phenomena developed into gods, a process not apparent in other literatures. The mythology, no less than the language, is still transparent enough in many cases to show the connexion both of the god and his name with a physical basis; nay, in several instances the anthropomorphism is only incipient. Thus *uṣas*, the dawn, is also a goddess wearing but a thin veil of personification; and when *agni*, fire, designates the god, the personality of the deity is thoroughly interpenetrated by the physical element.

The foundation on which Vedic mythology rests, is still the belief, surviving from a remote antiquity, that all the objects and phenomena of nature with which man is surrounded, are animate and divine. Everything that impressed the soul with awe or was regarded as capable of exercising a good or evil influence on man, might in the Vedic age still become a direct object not only of adoration but of prayer. Heaven, earth, mountains, rivers, plants might be supplicated as divine powers; the horse, the cow, the bird of omen, and other animals might be invoked; even objects fashioned by the hand of man, weapons, the war-car, the drum, the plough, as well as ritual implements, such as the pressing-stones and the sacrificial post, might be adored.

This lower form of worship, however, occupies but a small space in Vedic religion. The true gods of the Veda are glorified human beings, inspired with human motives and passions, born like men, but immortal. They are almost without exception the deified representatives of the phenomena or agencies of nature[2]. The degree of anthropomorphism to which they have attained, however, varies considerably. When the name of the god is the same as that of his natural basis, the personification has not advanced beyond the rudimentary stage. Such is the case with Dyaus, Heaven, Pṛthivī, Earth, Sūrya, Sun, Uṣas, Dawn, whose names represent the double character of natural phenomena and of the persons presiding over them. Similarly in the case of the two great ritual deities, Agni and Soma, the personifying imagination is held in check by the visible and tangible character of the element of fire and the sacrificial draught, called by the same names, of which they are the divine embodiments. When the name of the deity is different from that of the physical substrate, he tends to become dissociated from the latter, the anthropomorphism being then more developed. Thus the Maruts or Storm-gods are farther removed from their origin than Vāyu, Wind, though the Vedic poets are still conscious of the connexion. Finally, when in addition to the difference in name, the conception of a god dates from a

pre-Vedic period, the severance may have become complete. Such is the case with Varuṇa, in whom the connexion can only be inferred from mythological traits surviving from an earlier age. The process of abstraction has here proceeded so far, that Varuṇa's character resembles that of the divine ruler in a monotheistic belief of an exalted type. Personification has, however, nowhere in Vedic mythology attained to the individualized anthropomorphism characteristic of the Hellenic gods. The Vedic deities have but very few distinguishing features, while many attributes and powers are shared by all alike. This is partly due to the fact that the departments of nature which they represent have often much in common, while their anthropomorphism is comparatively undeveloped. Thus the activity of a thunder-god, of the fire-god in his lightning form, and of the storm-gods might easily be described in similar language, their main function in the eyes of the Vedic poets being the discharge of rain. Again, it cannot be doubted that various Vedic deities have started from the same source[3], but have become differentiated by an appellative denoting a particular attribute having gradually assumed an independent character. Such is the case with the solar gods. There is, moreover, often a want of clearness in the statements of the Vedic poets about the deeds of the gods; for owing to the character of the literature, myths are not related but only alluded to. Nor can thorough consistency be expected in such mythological allusions when it is remembered that they are made by a number of different poets, whose productions extend over a prolonged literary period.

[1] BRI. XIII ff.; P. v. Bradke, Dyaus Asura, Halle 1885, 2—11; ZDMG. 40, 670. — [2] ORV. 591—4. — [3] L. v. Schroeder, WZKM. 9, 125—6; cp. BRI. 25.

Works on Vedic Mythology in general: R. Roth, Die höchsten Götter der arischen Völker, ZDMG. 6, 67—77; 7, 607; Böhtlingk and Roth, Sanskritwörterbuch, 7 vols., St. Petersburg 1852—75; J. Muir, Original Sanskrit Texts on the Origin and History of the People of India, their Religion and Institutions, 5 vols., especially vols. 4[2] revised (1873) and 5[3] (1884); Grassmann, Wörterbuch zum Rig-Veda, Leipzig 1873; Rig-Veda übersetzt und mit kritischen und erläuternden Anmerkungen versehen, 2 vols., Leipzig 1876—7; W. D. Whitney, Oriental and Linguistic Studies, 2, 149 ff.; JAOS. 3, 291 ff. 331 ff.; P. Wurm, Geschichte der indischen Religion, Basel 1874, pp. 21—54; A. Bergaigne, La Religion Védique d'après les Hymnes du Rigveda, 3 vols., Paris 1878—83; A. Ludwig, Der Rigveda oder die heiligen Hymnen der Brâhmaṇa. Zum ersten Male vollständig ins Deutsche übersetzt. Mit Commentar und Einleitung. Prag, Wien, Leipzig 1876—88; F. Max Müller, Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion, London 1878; A. Kaegi, Der Rigveda, 2nd ed., Leipzig 1881; English Translation by R. Arrowsmith, Boston 1886; A. Barth, The Religions of India, London 1882; A. Kuhn, Mythologische Studien. I[2]: Die Herabkunft des Feuers und des Göttertranks, Gütersloh 1886; L. v. Schröder, Indiens Litteratur und Kultur, Leipzig 1887, pp. 45—145; P. D. Chantepie de la Saussaye, Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte, Freiburg i. B., 1887, 1, pp. 346—69; Pischel and Geldner, Vedische Studien. vol. I, Stuttgart 1889, vol. II, part I 1892; A. Hillebrandt, Vedische Mythologie, vol. I, Soma und verwandte Götter, Breslau 1891; P. Regnaud, Le Rig-Véda et les Origines de la Mythologie indo-européenne, Paris 1892 (the author follows principles of interpretation altogether opposed to those generally accepted). E. Hardy, Die Vedisch-brahmanische Periode der Religion des alten Indiens, Münster i. W. 1893; H. Oldenberg, Die Religion des Veda, Berlin 1894; P. Deussen, Allgemeine Geschichte der Philosophie mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Religionen, vol. I, part 1, Philosophie des Veda bis auf die Upanishad's, Leipzig 1894; E. W. Hopkins, The Religions of India, Boston and London 1895.

§ 3. Sources of Vedic Mythology. — By far the most important source of Vedic Mythology is the oldest literary monument of India, the Rigveda. Its mythology deals with a number of coördinate nature gods of varying importance. This polytheism under the influence of an increasing

tendency to abstraction at the end of the Rigvedic period, exhibits in its latest book the beginnings of a kind of monotheism and even signs of pantheism. The hymns of this collection having been composed with a view to the sacrificial ritual, especially that of the Soma offering, furnish a disproportionate presentment of the mythological material of the age. The great gods who occupy an important position at the Soma sacrifice and in the worship of the wealthy, stand forth prominently; but the mythology connected with spirits, with witchcraft, with life after death, is almost a blank, for these spheres of belief have nothing to do with the poetry of the Soma rite. Moreover, while the character of the gods is very completely illustrated in these hymns, which are addressed to them and extol their attributes, their deeds, with the exception of their leading exploits, are far less definitely described. It is only natural that a collection of sacrificial poetry containing very little narrative matter, should supply but a scattered and fragmentary account of this side of mythology. The defective information given by the rest of the RV. regarding spirits, lesser demons, and the future life, is only very partially supplied by its latest book. Thus hardly any reference is made even here to the fate of the wicked after death. Beside and distinguished from the adoration of the gods, the worship of dead ancestors, as well as to some extent the deification of inanimate objects, finds a place in the religion of the Rigveda.

The Sāmaveda, containing but seventy-five verses which do not occur in the RV., is of no importance in the study of Vedic mythology.

The more popular material of the Atharvaveda deals mainly with domestic and magical rites. In the latter portion it is, along with the ritual text of the Kauśika sūtra, a mine of information in regard to the spirit and demon world. On this lower side of religion the Atharvaveda deals with notions of greater antiquity than those of the Rigveda. But on the higher side of religion it represents a more advanced stage. Individual gods exhibit a later phase of development and some new abstractions are deified, while the general character of the religion is pantheistic[1]. Hymns in praise of individual gods are comparatively rare, while the simultaneous invocation of a number of deities, in which their essential nature is hardly touched upon, is characteristic. The deeds of the gods are extolled in the same stereotyped manner as in the RV.; and the AV. can hardly be said to supply any important mythological trait which is not to be found in the older collection.

The Yajurveda represents a still later stage. Its formulas being made for the ritual, are not directly addressed to the gods, who are but shadowy beings having only a very loose connexion with the sacrifice. The most salient features of the mythology of the Yajurveda are the existence of one chief god, Prajāpati, the greater importance of Viṣṇu, and the first appearance of an old god of the Rigveda under the new name of Śiva. Owing, however, to the subordinate position here occupied by the gods in comparison with the ritual, this Veda yields but little mythological material.

Between it and the Brāhmaṇas, the most important of which are the Aitareya and the Śatapatha, there is no essential difference. The sacrifice being the main object of interest, the individual traits of the gods have faded, the general character of certain deities has been modified, and the importance of others increased or reduced. Otherwise the pantheon of the Brāhmaṇas is much the same as that of the RV. and the AV., and the worship of inanimate objects is still recognized. The main difference between the mythology of the RV. and the Brāhmaṇas is the recognized position of Prajāpati or the Father-god as the chief deity in the latter. The pantheism of the

Brāhmaṇas is, moreover, explicit. Thus Prajāpati is said to be the All (ŚB. 1, 3, 5[10]) or the All and everything (ŚB. 1, 6, 4[2]; 4, 5, 7[2]).

The gods having lost their distinctive features, there is apparent a tendency to divide them into groups. Thus it is characteristic of the period that the supernatural powers form the two hostile camps of the Devas or gods on the one hand and the Asuras or demons on the other. The gods are further divided into the three classes of the terrestrial Vasus, the aerial Rudras, and the celestial Ādityas (§ 45). The most significant group is the representative triad of Fire, Wind, and Sun. The formalism of these works further shows itself in the subdivision of individual deities by the personification of their various attributes. Thus they speak of an 'Agni, lord of food', 'Agni, lord of prayer' and so forth[2].

The Brāhmaṇas relate numerous myths in illustration of their main subject-matter. Some of these are not referred to in the Saṃhitās. But where they do occur in the earlier literature, they appear in the Brāhmaṇas only as developments of their older forms, and cannot be said to shed light on their original forms, but only serve as a link between the mythological creations of the oldest Vedic and of the post-Vedic periods.

[1] HRI. 153. — [2] BRI. 42; HRI. 182.

§ 4. Method to be pursued. — Vedic mythology is the product of an age and a country, of social and climatic conditions far removed and widely differing from our own. We have, moreover, here to deal not with direct statements of fact, but with the imaginative creations of poets whose mental attitude towards nature was vastly different from that of the men of to-day. The difficulty involved in dealing with material so complex and representing so early a stage of thought, is further increased by the character of the poetry in which this thought is imbedded. There is thus perhaps no subject capable of scientific treatment, which, in addition to requiring a certain share of poetical insight, demands caution and sobriety of judgment more urgently. Yet the stringency of method which is clearly so necessary, has largely been lacking in the investigation of Vedic mythology. To this defect, no less than to the inherent obscurity of the material, are doubtless in considerable measure due the many and great divergences of opinion prevailing among Vedic scholars on a large number of important mythological questions.

In the earlier period of Vedic studies there was a tendency to begin research at the wrong end. The etymological equations of comparative mythology were then made the starting point. These identifications, though now mostly rejected, have continued to influence unduly the interpretation of the mythological creations of the Veda. But even apart from etymological considerations, theories have frequently been based on general impressions rather than on the careful sifting of evidence, isolated and secondary traits thus sometimes receiving coördinate weight with what is primary. An unmistakable bias has at the same time shown itself in favour of some one particular principle of interpretation[1]. Thus an unduly large number of mythological figures have been explained as derived from dawn, lightning, sun, or moon respectively. An *à priori* bias of this kind leads to an unconsciously partial utilization of the evidence.

Such being the case, it may pove useful to suggest some hints with a view to encourage the student in following more cautious methods. On the principle that scientific investigations should proceed from the better known to the less known, researches which aim at presenting a true picture of the character and actions of the Vedic gods, ought to begin not with the meagre

and uncertain conclusions of comparative mythology, but with the information supplied by Indian literature, which contains a practically continuous record of Indian mythology from its most ancient source in the RV. down to modern times[2]. All the material bearing on any deity or myth ought to be collected, grouped, and sifted by the comparison of parallel passages, before any conclusion is drawn[3]. In this process the primary features which form the basis of the personification should be separated from later accretions.

As soon as a person has taken the place of a natural force in the imagination, the poetical fancy begins to weave a web of secondary myth, into which may be introduced in the course of time material that has nothing to do with the original creation, but is borrowed from elsewhere. Primary and essential features, when the material is not too limited, betray themselves by constant iteration. Thus in the Indra myth his fight with Vṛtra, which is essential, is perpetually insisted on, while the isolated statement that he strikes Vṛtra's mother with his bolt (1, 32[9]) is clearly a later touch, added by an individual poet for dramatic effect. Again, the epithet 'Vṛtra-slaying', without doubt originally appropriate to Indra alone, is in the RV. several times applied to the god Soma also. But that it is transferred from the former to the latter deity, is sufficiently plain from the statement that Soma is 'the Vṛtra-slaying intoxicating plant' (6, 17[11]), the juice of which Indra regularly drinks before the fray. The transference of such attributes is particularly easy in the RV. because the poets are fond of celebrating gods in couples, when both share the characteristic exploits and qualities of each other (cp. § 44). Attributes thus acquired must of course be eliminated from the essential features. A similar remark applies to attributes and cosmic powers which are predicated, in about equal degree, of many gods. They can have no cogency as evidence in regard to a particular deity[4]. It is only when such attributes and powers are applied in a predominant manner to an individual god, that they can be adduced with any force. For in such case it is possible they might have started from the god in question and gradually extended to others. The fact must, however, be borne in mind in this connexion, that some gods are celebrated in very many more hymns than others. The frequency of an attribute applied to different deities must therefore be estimated relatively. Thus an epithet connected as often with Varuṇa as with Indra, would in all probability be more essential to the character of the former than of the latter. For Indra is invoked in about ten times as many hymns as Varuṇa. The value of any particular passage as evidence may be affected by the relative antiquity of the hymn in which it occurs. A statement occurring for the first time in a late passage may of course represent an old notion; but if it differs from what has been said on the same point in a chronologically earlier hymn, it most probably furnishes a later development. The tenth and the greater part of the first book of the RV.[5] are therefore more likely to contain later conceptions than the other books. Moreover, the exclusive connexion of the ninth book with Soma Pavamāna may give a different complexion to mythological matter contained in another book. Thus Vivasvat and Trita are here connected with the preparation of Soma in quite a special manner (cp. §§ 18, 23). As regards the Brāhmaṇas, great caution should be exercised in discovering historically primitive notions in them; for they teem with far-fetched fancies, speculations, and identifications[6].

In adducing parallel passages as evidence, due regard should be paid to the context. Their real value can often only be ascertained by a minute and complex consideration of their surroundings and the association of ideas

which connects them with what precedes and follows. After a careful estimation of the internal evidence of the Veda, aided by such corroboration as the later phases of Indian literature may afford, further light should be sought from the closely allied mythology of the Iranians. Comparison with it may confirm the results derived from the Indian material, or when the Indian evidence is inconclusive, may enable us either to decide what is old and new or to attain greater definiteness in regard to Vedic conceptions. Thus without the aid of the Avesta, it would be impossible to arrive at anything like certain conclusions about the original nature of the god Mitra.

The further step may now be taken of examining the results of comparative mythology, in order to ascertain if possible, wherein consists the Vedic heritage from the Indo-European period and what is the original significance of that heritage. Finally, the teachings of ethnology cannot be neglected, when it becomes necessary to ascertain what elements survive from a still remoter stage of human development. Recourse to all such evidence beyond the range of the Veda itself must prove a safeguard against on the one hand assuming that various mythological elements are of purely Indian origin, or on the other hand treating the Indo-European period as the very starting point of all mythological notions. The latter view would be as far from the truth as the assumption that the Indo-European language represents the very beginnings of Aryan speech[7].

[1] Oldenberg, ZDMG. 49, 173. — [2] PVS. XXVI—VIII. — [3] Bloomfield, ZDMG. 48, 542. — [4] HRI. 51. — [5] Cp. Oldenberg, Die Hymnen des Ṛigveda I, Berlin 1888; E. V. Arnold, KZ. 34, 297. 344; Hopkins, JAOS. 17, 23—92. — [6] HRI. 183. 194; v. Schröder, WZKM. 9, 120. — [7] ORV. 26—33.

Cp. also Ludwig, Über Methode bei Interpretation des Ṛgveda, Prag 1890; Hillebrandt, Vedainterpretation, Breslau 1895.

§ 5. The Avesta and Vedic Mythology. — We have seen that the evidence of the Avesta cannot be ignored by the student of Vedic mythology. The affinity of the oldest form of the Avestan language with the dialect of the Vedas is so great in syntax, vocabulary, diction, metre, and general poetic style, that by the mere application of phonetic laws, whole Avestan stanzas may be translated word for word into Vedic, so as to produce verses correct not only in form but in poetic spirit[1]. The affinity in the domain of mythology is by no means so great. For the religious reform of Zarathuštra brought about a very considerable displacement and transformation of mythological conceptions. If therefore we possessed Avestan literature as old as that of the RV., the approximation would have been much greater in this respect. Still, the agreements in detail, in mythology no less than in cult, are surprisingly numerous. Of the many identical terms connected with the ritual it is here only necessary to mention Vedic *yajña* = Avestan *yasna*, sacrifice, *hotṛ* = *zaotar*, priest, *atharvan* = *āthravan*, fire-priest, *ṛta* = *aša* order, rite, and above all *soma* = *haoma*, the intoxicating juice of the Soma plant, in both cults offered as the main libation, pressed, purified by a sieve, mixed with milk, and described as the lord of plants, as growing on the mountains, and as brought down by an eagle or eagles (cp. § 37). It is rather with the striking correspondences in mythology that we are concerned. In both religions the term *asura* = *ahura* is applied to the highest gods, who in both are conceived as mighty kings, drawn through the air in their war chariots by swift steeds, and in character benevolent, almost entirely free from guile and immoral traits. Both the Iranians and the Indians observed the cult of fire, though under the different names of *Agni* and *Ātar*. The Waters, *āpaḥ* = *āpo*, were invoked by both, though not frequently[2]. The Vedic Mitra is the Avestan Mithra, the sun god. The Āditya Bhaga corresponds to *bagha*, a god in general; Vāyu, Wind is *vayu*, a genius of

air; Apāṃ napāt, the Son of Waters = Apām napāṭ; Gandharva = Gandarewa and Kṛśānu = Kereśāni are divine beings connected with *soma* = *haoma*. To Trita Āptya correspond two mythical personages named Thrita and Āthwya, and to Indra Vṛtrahan the demon Indra and the genius of victory Verethragna. Yama, son of Vivasvat, ruler of the dead, is identical with Yima, son of Vīvaṅhvant, ruler of paradise. The parallel in character, though not in name, of the god Varuṇa is Ahura Mazda, the wise spirit. The two religions also have in common as designations of evil spirits the terms *druh* = *druj* and *yātu*[3].

[1] Barthiolomae in Geiger and Kuhn's Grundriss der iranischen Philologie, vol. 1, p. 1. — [2] Spiegel, Die Arische Periode, Leipzig 1887, p. 155. — 3 Spiegel, op. cit. 225—33; Gruppe, Die griechischen Culte und Mythen, 1, 86—97; ORV. 26—33; HRI, 167—8.

§ 6. Comparative Mythology. — In regard to the Indo-European period we are on far less certain ground. Many equations of name once made in the first enthusiasm of discovery and generally accepted, have since been rejected and very few of those that remain rest on a firm foundation. Dyaús = Ζεύς is the only one which can be said to be beyond the range of doubt. Varuṇa = Οὐρανος though presenting phonetic difficulties, seems possible. The rain-god Parjanya agrees well in meaning with the Lithuanian thunder-god Perkunas, but the phonetic objections are here still greater. The name of Bhaga is identical with the Slavonic *bogu* as well as the Persian *bagha*, but as the latter two words mean only 'god', the Indo-European word cannot have designated any individual deity. Though the name of Uṣas is radically cognate to Aurora and Ἠώς, the cult of Dawn as a goddess is a specially Indian development. It has been inferred from the identity of mythological traits in the thunder-gods of the various branches of the Indo-European family, that a thunder-god existed in the Indo-European period in spite of the absence of a common name. There are also one or two other not improbable equations based on identity of character only. That the conception of higher gods, whose nature was connected with light (√*div*, to shine) and heaven (*div*) had already been arrived at in the Indo-European period, is shown by the common name *deivos* (Skt. *deva-s*, Lith. *deva-s*, Lat. *deu-s*), god. The conception of Earth as a mother (common to Vedic and Greek mythology) and of Heaven as a father (Skt. *Dyaùṣ pítar*, Gk. Ζεῦ πάτερ, Lat. *Jūpiter*) appears to date from a still remoter antiquity. For the idea of Heaven and Earth being universal parents is familiar to the mythology of China and New Zealand and may be traced in that of Egypt[2]. The practice of magical rites and the worship of inanimate objects still surviving in the Veda, doubtless came down from an equally remote stage in the mental development of mankind, though the possibility of a certain influence exercised by the primitive aborigines of India on their Aryan conquerors cannot be altogether excluded.

[1] Gruppe op. cit. I, 97—121; ORV. 33—8; HRI. 168—9. — [2] Tylor, Primitive Culture I, 326; Lang, Mythology. Encyclopaedia Britannica, p. 150—1.

II. VEDIC CONCEPTIONS OF THE WORLD AND ITS ORIGIN.

§ 7. Cosmology. — The Universe, the stage on which the actions of the gods are enacted, is regarded by the Vedic poets as divided into the three domains[1] of earth, air or atmosphere, and heaven[2]. The sky when regarded as the whole space above the earth, forms with the latter the entire universe consisting of the upper and the nether world. The vault (*nāka*) of the sky is regarded as the limit dividing the visible upper world from the

third or invisible world of heaven, which is the abode of light and the dwelling place of the gods. Heaven, air, and earth form the favourite triad of the RV., constantly spoken of explicitly or implicitly (8, 10[6]. 90[6] &c.). The solar phenomena which appear to take place on the vault of the sky, are referred to heaven, while those of lightning, rain, and wind belong to the atmosphere. But when heaven designates the whole space above the earth both classes of phenomena are spoken of as taking place there. In a passage of the AV. (4, 14[3] = VS. 17, 67) the 'vault of the sky' comes between the triad of earth, air, heaven and the world of light, which thus forms a fourth division[3]. Each of the three worlds is also subdivided. Thus three earths, three atmospheres, three heavens are sometimes mentioned; or when the universe is looked upon as consisting of two halves, we hear of six worlds or spaces (*rajāṃsi*). This subdivision probably arose from the loose use of the word *pṛthivī* 'earth' (1, 108[9. 10]; 7, 104[11])[4] in the plural to denote the three worlds (just as the dual *pitarau*, 'two fathers' regularly denotes 'father and mother').

The earth is variously called *bhūmi*, *kṣam*, *kṣā*, *gmā*, the great (*mahī*), the broad (*pṛthivī* or *urvī*), the extended (*uttānā*), the boundless (*apārā*), or the place here (*idam*) as contrasted with the upper sphere (1, 22[17]. 154[1. 3]).

The conception of the earth being a disc surrounded by an ocean does not appear in the Saṃhitās. But it was naturally regarded as circular, being compared with a wheel (10, 89[4]) and expressly called circular (*parimaṇḍala*) in the ŚB.[6]

The four points of the compass are already mentioned in the RV. in an adverbial form (7, 72[5]; 10, 36[14]. 42[11]) and in the AV. as substantives (AV. 15, 2[1] ff.). Hence 'four quarters' (*pradiśaḥ*) are spoken of (10, 19[8]), a term also used as synonymous with the whole earth (1, 164[42]), and the earth is described as 'four-pointed' (10, 58[3]). Five points are occasionally mentioned (9, 86[29]; AV. 3, 24[3] &c.), when that in the middle (10, 42[11]), where the speaker stands, denotes the fifth. The AV. also refers to six (the zenith being added) and even seven points[5]. The same points may be meant by the seven regions (*diśaḥ*) and the seven places (*dhāma*) of the earth spoken of in the RV. (9, 114[3]; 1, 22[16]).

Heaven or *div* is also commonly termed *vyoman*, sky, or as pervaded with light, the 'luminous space', *rocana* (with or without *divaḥ*). Designations of the dividing firmament besides the 'vault' are the 'summit' (*sānu*), 'surface' (*viṣṭap*), 'ridge' (*pṛṣṭha*), as well as the compound expressions 'ridge of the vault' (1, 125[5] cp. 3, 2[12]) and 'summit of the vault' (8, 92[2])[3]. Even a 'third ridge in the luminous space of heaven' is mentioned (9, 86[27]). When three heavens are distinguished they are very often called the three luminous spaces (*trī rocanā*), a highest (*uttama*), a middle, and a lowest being specified (5, 60[6]). The highest is also termed *uttara* and *pārya* (4, 26[6]; 6, 40[5]). In this third or highest heaven (very often *parame rocane* or *vyoman*) the gods, the fathers, and Soma are conceived as abiding.

Heaven and earth are coupled as a dual conception called by the terms *rodasī*, *kṣoṇī*, *dvyāvāpṛthivī* and others (§ 44), and spoken of as the two halves (2, 27[15]). The combination with the semi-spherical sky causes the notion of the earth's shape to be modified, when the two are called 'the two great bowls (*camvā*) turned towards each other' (3, 55[20]). Once they are compared to the wheels at the two ends of an axle (10, 89[4]).

The RV. makes no reference to the supposed distance between heaven and earth, except in such vague phrases as that not even the birds can soar to the abode of Viṣṇu (1, 155[5]). But the AV. (10, 8[18]) says that 'the two wings of the yellow bird (the sun) flying to heaven are 1000 days' journey

apart'. A similar notion is found in the AB., where it is remarked (2, 17[8]) that '1000 days' journey for a horse the heavenly world is distant from here'. Another Brāhmaṇa states that the heavenly world is as far from this world as 1000 cows standing on each other (PB. 16, 8[6]; 21, 1[9]).

The air or intermediate space (*antarikṣa*) is hardly susceptible of personification. As the region of mists and cloud, it is also called *rajas* which is described as watery (1, 124[5] cp. 5, 85[2]) and is sometimes thought of as dark, when it is spoken of as 'black' (1, 35[2. 4. 9]; 8, 43[6]). The triple subdivision is referred to as the three spaces or *rajāṃsi* (4, 53[5]; 5, 69[1]). The highest is then spoken of as *uttama* (9, 22[5]), *parama* (3, 30[2]), or *tṛtīya*, the third (9, 74[6]; 10, 45[3]. 123[8]), where the waters and Soma are and the celestial Agni is produced. The two lower spaces are within the range of our perception, but the third belongs to Viṣṇu (7, 99[1] cp. 1, 155[5]). The latter seems to be the 'mysterious' space once referred to elsewhere (10, 105[7]). The twofold subdivision of the atmosphere is commoner. Then the lower (*upara*) or terrestrial (*pārthiva*) is contrasted with the heavenly (*divyam* or *divaḥ*) space (1, 62[5]; 4, 53[3]). The uppermost stratum, as being contiguous with heaven (*div*) in the twofold as well as the triple division, seems often to be loosely employed as synonymous with heaven in the strict sense. Absolute definiteness or consistency in the statements of different poets or even of the same poet could not reasonably be expected in regard to such matters.

The air being above the earth in the threefold division of the universe, its subdivisions, whether two or three, would naturally have been regarded as above it also; and one verse at least (1, 81[5] cp. 90[7]) clearly shows that the 'terrestrial space' is in this position. Three passages, however, of the ṚV. (6, 9[1]; 7, 80[1]; 5, 81[4]) have been thought to lend themselves to the view[7] that the lower atmosphere was conceived as under the earth, to account for the course of the sun during the night. The least indefinite of these three passages (5, 81[4]) is to the effect that Savitṛ, the sun, goes round night on both sides (*ubhayataḥ*). This may, however, mean nothing more than that night is enclosed between the limits of sunset and sunrise. At any rate, the view advanced in the AB. (3, 44[4]) as to the sun's course during the night is, that the luminary shines upwards at night, while it turns round so as to shine downwards in the daytime. A similar notion may account for the statement of the RV. that the light which the sun's steeds draw is sometimes bright and sometimes dark (1, 115[5]), or that the *rajas* which accompanies the sun to the east is different from the light with which he rises (10, 37[3]).

There being no direct reference to the sun passing below the earth, the balance of probabilities seems to favour the view that the luminary was supposed to return towards the east the way he came, becoming entirely darkened during the return journey. As to what becomes of the stars during the daytime, a doubt is expressed (1, 24[10]), but no conjecture is made.

The atmosphere is often called a sea (*samudra*) as the abode of the celestial waters. It is also assimilated to the earth, inasmuch as it has mountains (1, 32[2] &c.) and seven streams which flow there (1, 32[12] &c.), when the conflict with the demon of drought takes place. Owing to the obvious resemblance the term 'mountain' (*parvata*) thus very often in the RV. refers to clouds[8], the figurative sense being generally clear enough. The word 'rock' (*adri*) is further regularly used in a mythological sense for 'cloud' as enclosing the cows released by Indra and other gods[9].

The rainclouds as containing the waters, as dripping, moving and roaring, are peculiarly liable to theriomorphism as cows[10], whose milk is rain.

The cosmic order or law prevailing in nature is recognised under the name of *ṛta*[11] (properly the 'course' of things), which is considered to be under the guardianship of the highest gods. The same word also designates 'order' in the moral world as truth and 'right', and in the religious world as sacrifice or 'rite'.

[1] ROTH, ZDMG. 6, 68. — [2] Cp. SP.AP. 122; KRV. 34, note 118. — [3] HOPKINS, AJP. 4, 189. — [4] BOLLENSEN, ZDMG. 41, 494. — [5] BLOOMFIELD, AJP. 12, 432. — [6] Cp. WEBER, IS. 10, 358—64. — [7] AIL. 357—9. — [8] KHF. 178; DELBRÜCK, ZVP. 1865, pp. 284—5. — [9] KHF. 187; Zft. f. deutsche Mythologie, 3, 378. — [10] GW., s. v. *go*; WVB. 1894, p. 13. — [11] LUDWIG, Religiöse und philosophische Anschauungen des Veda (1875), p. 15; LRV. 3, 284—5; HARLEZ, JA. (1878), 11, 105—6; DARMESTETER, Ormazd et Ahriman, 13—4; OGR. 198. 243; KRV. 28; BRV. 3, 220; WC. 91—7. 100; SP.AP. 139; ORV. 195—201; JACKSON, Trans. of 10th Or. Congress, 2, 74.

BRUCE, Vedic conceptions of the Earth, JRAS. 1862, p. 321 ff.; BRV. I, 1—3; WALLIS, Cosmology of the Rigveda (London 1887), 111—17.

§ 8. Cosmogony. — The cosmogonic mythology of the RV. fluctuates between two theories, which are not mutually exclusive, but may be found combined in the same verse. The one regards the universe as the result of mechanical production, the work of the carpenter's and joiner's skill; the other represents it as the result of natural generation.

The poets of the RV. often employ the metaphor of building in its various details, when speaking of the formation of the world. The act of measuring is constantly referred to. Thus Indra measured the six regions, made the wide expanse of earth and the high dome of heaven (6, 47[3. 4]). Viṣṇu measured out the terrestrial spaces and made fast the abode on high (1, 154[1]). The measuring instrument, sometimes mentioned (2, 15[3]; 3, 38[3]), is the sun, with which Varuṇa performs the act (5, 85[5]). The Fathers measured the two worlds with measuring rods and made them broad (3, 38[3] cp. 1, 190[2]). The measurement naturally begins in front or the east. Thus Indra measured out as it were a house with measures from the front (2, 15[3] cp. 7, 99[2]). Connected with this idea is that of spreading out the earth, an action attributed to Agni, Indra, the Maruts, and others. As the Vedic house was built of wood, the material is once or twice spoken of as timber. Thus the poet asks: 'What was the wood, what the tree out of which they fashioned heaven and earth?' (10, 31[7] = 10, 81[4]). The answer given to this question in a Brāhmaṇa is that Brahma was the wood and the tree (TB. 2, 8, 9[6]). Heaven and earth are very often described as having been supported (*skabh* or *stabh*) with posts (*skambha* or *skambhana*), but the sky is said to be rafterless (2, 15[2]; 4, 56[3]; 10, 149[1]), and that it never falls is a source of wonder (5, 29[4]; 6, 17[7]; 8, 45[6]). The framework of a door is called *ātā;* in such a frame of heaven Indra fixed the air (1, 56[5]). The doors of the cosmic house are the portals of the east through which the morning light enters (1, 113[4]; 4, 51[2]; 5, 45[1]). Foundations are sometimes alluded to. Thus Savitṛ made fast the earth with bands (10, 149[1]), Viṣṇu fixed it with pegs (7, 99[3]), and Bṛhaspati supports its ends (4, 50[1] cp. 10, 89[1]). The agents in the construction of the world are either the gods in general or various individual gods; but where special professional skill seemed to be required in details, Tvaṣṭṛ, the divine carpenter, or the deft-handed Ṛbhus are mentioned. Little is said as to their motive; but as man builds his house to live in, so of Viṣṇu at least it is indicated that he measured or stretched out the regions as an abode for man (6, 49[13]. 69[5], cp. 1, 155[4]).

The notion of parentage as a creative agency in the universe, chiefly connected with the birth of the sun at dawn and with the production of rain

after drought, has three principle applications in the RV. The first is temporal, as involving the idea of priority. One phenomenon preceding another is spoken of as its parent. Thus the dawns generate (*jan*) the sun and the morning sacrifice (7, 78[3]), while Dawn herself is born of Night (1, 123[9]). As the point of view is changed, contradictions with regard to such relationships naturally arise (cp. p. 48). When the rising of the dawn is ascribed to the sacrifice of the Fathers, the explanation is to be found in this notion of priority. Secondly, a local application frequently occurs. The space in which a thing is contained or produced is its father or mother. Illustrations of this are furnished by purely figurative statements. Thus the quiver is called the father of the arrows (6, 75[5]) or the bright steeds of the sun are termed the daughters of his car (1, 50[9]). This idea of local parentage is especially connected with heaven and earth. Paternity is the characteristic feature in the personification of Dyaus (see § 11), and Dawn is constantly called the 'daughter of Heaven'. Similarly the Earth, who produces vegetation on her broad bosom (5, 84[3]), is a mother (1, 89[4] &c.). Heaven and earth are, however, more often found coupled as universal parents, a conception obvious enough from the fact that heaven fertilizes the earth by the descent of moisture and light, and further developed by the observation that both supply nourishment to living beings, the one in the form of rain, the other in that of herbage. They are characteristically the parents of the gods (§ 44). As the latter are often said to have created heaven and earth, we thus arrive at the paradox of the Vedic poets that the children produced their own parents; Indra, for instance, being described as having begotten his father and mother from his own body (1, 159[2]; 10, 54[3]). Again, the raincloud cow is the mother of the lightning calf, or the heavenly waters, as carrying the embryo of the aerial fire, are its mothers, for one of the forms of the fire-god is 'the son of waters' (§ 24). 'Son of the steep' also appears to be a name of lightning in the AV. (1, 13[2. 3]; cp. 26[3] and RV. 10, 142[2]). Thirdly, the notion of parentage arises from a generic point of view: he who is the chief, the most prominent member of a group, becomes their parent. Thus Vāyu, Wind, is father of the Storm-gods (1, 134[4]), Rudra, father of the Maruts or Rudras, Soma, father of plants, while Sarasvatī is mother of rivers.

There are also two minor applications of the idea of paternity in the RV. As in the Semitic languages, an abstract quality is quite frequently employed in a figurative sense (which is sometimes mythologically developed) to represent the parent of sons who possess or bestow that quality in an eminent degree. Thus the gods in general are sons (*sūnavaḥ* or *putrāḥ*) of immortality[1] as well as sons of skill, *dakṣa* (8, 25[5]; cp. § 19). Agni is the 'son of strength' or of 'force' (§ 35). Pūṣan is the 'child of setting free'[2]. Indra is the 'son of truth' (8, 58[4]), the 'child of cow-getting' (4, 32[22]), and the 'son of might' (*śavasaḥ*, 4, 24[1]; 8, 81[14], his mother twice being called *śavasī*, 8, 45[5]. 66[2]). Mitra-Varuṇa are the 'children of great might'. Another application is much less common. As a father transmits his qualities to his son, his name is also occasionally transferred, something like a modern surname. Thus *viśvarupa*, an epithet of Tvaṣṭṛ, becomes the proper name of his son. Analogously the name of Vivasvat is applied to his son Manu in the sense of the patronymic *Vaivasvata* (Vāl. 4[1]).

A mythological account of the origin of the universe, involving neither manufacture nor generation, is given in one of the latest hymns of the RV., the well-known *puruṣa-sūkta* (10, 90). Though several details in this myth point to the most recent period of the RV., the main idea is very primitive,

as it accounts for the formation of the world from the body of a giant. With him the gods performed a sacrifice, when his head became the sky, his navel the air, and his feet the earth. From his mind sprang the moon, from his eye the sun, from his mouth Indra and Agni, from his breath, wind. The four castes also arose from him. His mouth became the *brāhmaṇa*, his arms the *rājanya* or warrior, his thighs the *vaiśya*, and his feet the *śūdra*. The interpretation given in the hymn itself is pantheistic, for it is there said (v. 2) that Puruṣa is 'all this, both what has become and what shall be'. In the AV. (10, 17) and the Upaniṣads (Muṇḍ. Up. 2, 1^{10}) Puruṣa is also pantheistically interpreted as identical with the universe. He is also identified with Brahma (Chānd. Up. 1, 7^{5}). In the ŚB. (11, 1, 6^{1}) he is the same as Prajāpati, the creator.

There are in the last book of the RV. some hymns which treat the origin of the world philosophically rather than mythologically. Various passages show that in the cosmological speculation of the RV. the sun was regarded as an important agent of generation. Thus he is called the soul (*ātmā*) of all that moves and stands (1, 115^{1}). Statements such as that he is called by many names though one (1, 164^{46}; 10, 114^{5} cp. Vāl. 10^{2}) indicate that his nature was being tentatively abstracted to that of a supreme god, nearly approaching that of the later conception of Brahmā. In this sense the sun is once glorified as a great power of the universe under the name of the 'golden embryo', *hiraṇya-garbha*, in RV. 10, 121.[3] It is he who measures out space in the air and shines where the sun rises (vv. $^{5.6}$). In the last verse of this hymn, he is called Prajāpati[4], 'lord of created beings', the name which became that of the chief god of the Brāhmaṇas. It is significant that in the only older passage of the RV. in which it occurs (4, 53^{2}), *prajāpati* is an epithet of the solar deity Savitṛ, who in the same hymn (v. ^{6}) is said to rule over what moves and stands[5].

There are two other cosmogonic hymns which both explain the origin of the universe as a kind of evolution of the existent (*sat*) from the non-existent (*asat*). In 10, 72^{6} it is said that Brahmaṇaspati forged together this world like a smith. From the non-existent the existent was produced. Thence in succession arose the earth, the spaces, Aditi with Dakṣa; and after Aditi the gods were born. The gods then brought forward the sun. There were eight sons of Aditi, but the eighth, Mārtāṇḍa, she cast away; she brought him to be born and to die (i. e. to rise and set). Three stages can be distinguished in this hymn: first the world is produced, then the gods, and lastly the sun.

In RV. 10, 129, a more abstract and a very sublime hymn, it is affirmed that nothing existed in the beginning, all being void. Darkness and space enveloped the undifferentiated waters (cp. 10, 82^{6}. 121^{7}, AV. 2, 8). The one primordial substance (*ekam*) was produced by heat. Then desire (*kāma*), the first seed of mind (*manas*) arose. This is the bond between the non-existent and the existent. By this emanation the gods came into being. But here the poet, overcome by his doubts, gives up the riddle of creation as unsolvable. A short hymn of three stanzas (10, 190) forms a sequel to the more general evolution of that just described. Here it is stated that from heat (*tapas*) was produced order (*ṛta*); then night, the ocean, the year; the creator (*dhātā*) produced in succession sun and moon, heaven and earth, air and ether.

In a similar strain to RV. 10, 129 a Brāhmaṇa passage declares that 'formerly nothing existed, neither heaven nor earth nor atmosphere, which being non-existent resolved to come into being' (TB. 2, 2, 9^{1} ff.). The regular cosmogonic view of the Brāhmaṇas requires the agency of a creator, who is

not, however, always the starting point. The creator here is Prajāpati or the personal Brahmā, who is not only father of gods, men, and demons, but is the All. Prajāpati is here an anthropomorphic representation of the desire which is the first seed spoken of in RV. 10, 129. In all these accounts the starting point is either Prajāpati desiring offspring and creating, or else the primeval waters, on which floated Hiraṇyagarbha the cosmic golden egg, whence is produced the spirit that desires and creates the Universe. This fundamental contradiction as to the priority of Prajāpati or of the waters appears to be the result of combining the theory of evolution with that of creation. Besides this there are many minor conflicts of statement, as, for instance, that the gods create Prajāpati and that Prajāpati creates the gods[7]. The account given in the Chāndogya Brāhmaṇa (5, 19) is that not-being became being; the latter changed into an egg, which after a year by splitting in two became heaven and earth; whatever was produced is the sun, which is Brahma[8] (cp. Ch. Up. 3, 19[1–4]). Again, in the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad (5, 6[1]), the order of evolution is thus stated: In the beginning waters were this (universe); they produced the real (*satyam*); from this was produced Brahma, from Brahma Prajāpati, from Prajāpati the gods.

The All-god appears as a creator in the AV. under the new names of Skambha, Support, Prāṇa[9], the personified breath of life (AV. 11, 4), Rohita, as a name of the sun, Kāma, Desire, and various others[10]. The most notable cosmogonic myth of the Brāhmaṇas describes the raising of the submerged earth by a boar, which in post-Vedic mythology developed into an Avatār of Viṣṇu.[11].

[1] OST. 5, 52. — [2] OST. 5, 175, note 271; BRV. 2, 422 ff.; Darmesteter, Haurvatāt et Ameretāt, 83; ORV. 232, note 2. — [3] SPH. 27–8; HRI. 208. — [4] SPH. 29. — [5] OGR. 295; WC. 50–1. — [6] OST. 5, 48. — [7] OST. 4, 20 ff.; HRI. 208–9. — [8] Weber, IS. 1, 261. — [9] SPH. 69–72. — [10] HRI. 209. — [11] Macdonell, JRAS. 1895, pp. 178–89.

Haug, Die Kosmogonie der Inder, Allgemeine Zeitung, 1873, p. 2373 ff.; Weber, IS. 9, 74; Ludwig, Die philosophischen und religiösen Anschauungen des Veda; AIL. 217; BRI. 30–1; Scherman, Philosophische Hymnen aus der Rig- und Atharvaveda Samhitā, München 1887; Lukas, Die Grundbegriffe in den Kosmogonien der alten Völker, Leipzig 1893, pp. 65–99.

§ 9. Origin of gods and men. — As most of the statements contained in the Vedas about the origin of the gods have already been mentioned, only a brief summary need here be added. In the philosophical hymns the origin of the gods is mostly connected with the element of water[1]. In the AV. (10, 7[25]) they are said to have arisen from the non-existent. According to one cosmogonic hymn (10, 129[6]) they were born after the creation of the universe. Otherwise they are in general described as the children of Heaven and Earth. In one passage (10, 63[2]) a triple origin, apparently corresponding to the triple division of the universe, is ascribed to the gods, when they are said to have been 'born from Aditi, from the waters, from the earth' (cp. 1, 139[11]). According no doubt to a secondary conception, certain individual gods are spoken of as having begotten others. Thus the Dawn is called the mother of the gods (1, 113[19]) and Brahmaṇaspati (2, 26[3]), as well as Soma (9, 87[2]), is said to be their father. A group of seven or eight gods, the Ādityas, are regarded as the sons of Aditi. In the AV. some gods are spoken of as fathers, others as sons[2] (AV. 1, 30[2]).

The Vedic conceptions on the subject of the origin of man are rather fluctuating, but the human race appear generally to have been regarded as descended from a first man. The latter is called either Vivasvat's son Manu, who was the first sacrificer (10, 63[7]) and who is also spoken of as father

Manus (1, 80[16]); or he is Yama Vaivasvata, Vivasvat's son, who with his twin sister Yamī produced the human race. The origin of men, when thought of as going back beyond this first ancestor, seems to have been conceived as celestial. Vivasvat (§ 18) is the father of the primeval twins, while once the celestial Gandharva and the water nymph are designated as their highest kin (10, 10[4]). Men's relationship to the gods is sometimes also alluded to[3]; and men must have been thought of as included among the offspring of Heaven and Earth, the great parents of all that exists. Again, Agni is said to have begotten the offspring of men (1, 96[2.4]), and the Aṅgirases, the semi-divine ancestors of later priestly families, are described as his sons. Various other human families are spoken of as independently descended from the gods through their founders Atri, Kaṇva, and others (1, 139[9]). Vasiṣṭha (7, 33[11]) was miraculously begotten by Mitra and Varuṇa, the divine nymph Urvaśī having been his mother. To quite a different order of ideas belongs the conception of the origin of various classes of men from parts of the world giant Puruṣa[4] (§ 8, p. 13).

[1] SPH. 32. — [2] OST. 5, 13 f., 23 f., 38 f. — [3] BRV. 1, 36. — [4] ORV. 275—7. 125—8.

III. THE VEDIC GODS.

§ 10. General character and classification. — Indefiniteness of outline and lack of individuality characterize the Vedic conception of the gods. This is mainly due to the fact that they are nearer to the physical phenomena which they represent, than the gods of any other Indo-European people. Thus the ancient Vedic interpreter Yāska[1] (Nir. 7, 4) speaking of the nature of the gods, remarks that what is seen of them is not anthropomorphic at all, as in the case of the Sun, the Earth, and others. The natural bases of the Vedic gods have, to begin with, but few specific characteristics, while they share some of the attributes of other phenomena belonging to the same domain. Thus Dawn, Sun, Fire have the common features of being luminous, dispelling darkness, appearing in the morning. The absence of distinctiveness must be still greater when several deities have sprung from different aspects of one and the same phenomenon. Hence the character of each Vedic god is made up of only a few essential traits combined with a number of other features common to all the gods, such as brilliance, power, beneficence, and wisdom. Certain great cosmical functions are predicated of nearly every leading deity individually. The action of supporting or establishing heaven and earth is so generally attributed to them, that in the AV. (19, 32) it is even ascribed to a magical bunch of *darbha* grass. Nearly a dozen gods are described as having created the two worlds, and rather more are said to have produced the sun, to have placed it in the sky, or to have prepared a path for it. Four or five are also spoken of as having spread out the earth, the sky, or the two worlds. Several (Sūrya, Savitṛ, Pūṣan, Indra, Prajanya, and the Ādityas) are lords of all that moves and is stationary.

Such common features tend to obscure what is essential, because in hymns of prayer and praise they naturally assume special prominence. Again, gods belonging to different departments, but having prominent functions in common, are apt to be approximated. Thus Agni, primarily the god of terrestrial fire, dispels the demons of darkness with his light, while Indra, the aerial god of the thunderstorm, slays them with his lightning. Into the conception of the fire-god further enters his aspect as lightning in the atmosphere. The assimilation is increased by such gods often being invoked in pairs.

These combinations result in attributes peculiar to the one god attaching themselves to the other, even when the latter appears alone. Thus Agni comes to be called Soma-drinker, Vṛtra-slayer, winner of cows and waters, sun and dawns, attributes all primarily belonging to Indra.

The indefiniteness of outline caused by the possession of so many common attributes, coupled with the tendency to wipe out the few distinctive ones by assigning nearly every power to every god, renders identification of one god with another easy. Such identifications are as a matter of fact frequent in the RV.[1] Thus a poet addressing the fire-god exclaims: 'Thou at thy birth, O Agni, art Varuṇa; when kindled thou becomest Mitra, in thee, O son of strength, all gods are centred; thou art Indra to the worshipper' (5, 3[1]). Reflexions in particular on the nature of Agni, so important a god in the eyes of a priesthood devoted to a fire cult, on his many manifestations as individual fires on earth, and on his other aspects as atmospheric fire in lightning and as celestial fire in the sun, aspects which the Vedic poets are fond of alluding to in riddles, would suggest the idea that various deities are but different forms of a single divine being. This idea is found in more than one passage of the RV. 'The one being priests speak of in many ways; they call it Agni, Yama, Mātariśvan' (1, 164[46]; cp. AV. 10, 8[28]. 13, 4[15]). 'Priests and poets with words make into many the bird (= the sun) that is but one' (10, 114[5]). Thus it appears that by the end of the Rigvedic period a kind of polytheistic monotheism had been arrived at. We find there even the incipient pantheistic conception of a deity representing not only all the gods but nature as well. For the goddess Aditi is identified not only with all the gods, but with men, all that has been and shall be born, air, and heaven (1, 89[10]); and Prajāpati is not only the one god above all gods, but embraces all things (10, 121[8. 10]). This pantheistic view becomes fully developed in the AV. (10, 7[14. 25]) and is explicitly accepted in the later Vedic literature[2].

In the older parts of the RV. individual gods are often invoked as the highest, but this notion is not carried out to its logical conclusion. The fact that the Vedic poets frequently seem to be engrossed in the praise of the particular deity they happen to be invoking, that they exaggerate his attributes to the point of inconsistency, has given rise to the much discussed theory which Max Müller originated and to which he has given the name of Henotheism or Kathenotheism[3]. According to this theory, 'the belief in individual gods alternately regarded as the highest', the Vedic poets attribute to the god they happen to be addressing all the highest traits of divinity, treating him for the moment as if he were an absolutely independent and supreme deity, alone present to the mind. Against this theory it has been urged[4] that Vedic deities are not represented 'as independent of all the rest', since no religion brings its gods into more frequent and varied juxtaposition and combination, and that even the mightiest gods of the Veda are made dependent on others. Thus Varuṇa and Sūrya are subordinate to Indra (1, 101[3]), Varuṇa and the Aśvins submit to the power of Viṣṇu (1, 156[4]), and Indra, Mitra-Varuṇa, Aryaman, Rudra cannot resist the ordinances of Savitṛ (2, 38[9]). It has been further pointed out that in the frequent hymns addressed to the *viśvedevāḥ*, or All-gods, all the deities, even the lesser ones, are praised in succession, and that as the great mass of the Vedic hymns was composed for the ritual of the Soma offering, which included the worship of almost the entire pantheon, the technical priest could not but know the exact relative position of each god in that ritual. Even when a god is spoken of as unique or chief (*eka*), as is natural enough in laudations, such statements

rose their temporarily monotheistic force through the modifications or corlections supplied by the context or even by the same verse. Thus a poet says that 'Agni alone, like Varuṇa, is lord of wealth'. It should also be remembered that gods are constantly invoked in pairs, triads, and larger groups, even the exalted Varuṇa being mostly addressed in conjunction with one other god (as in 6, 67) or with several other gods (as in 2, 28). Henotheism is therefore an appearance rather than a reality, an appearance produced by the indefiniteness due to undeveloped anthropomorphism, by the lack of any Vedic god occupying the position of a Zeus as the constant head of the pantheon, by the natural tendency of the priest or singer in extolling a particular god to exaggerate his greatness and to ignore other gods, and by the growing belief in the unity of the gods (cf. the refrain of 3, 55), each of whom might be regarded as a type of the divine. Henotheism might, however, be justified as a term to express the tendency of the RV. towards a kind of monotheism.

The Vedic gods, as has been shown, had a beginning in the view of the Vedic poets, since they are described as the offspring of heaven and earth or sometimes of other gods. This in itself implies different generations of gods, but earlier (*pūrve*) gods are also expressly referred to in several passages (7, 21[7] &c.). An earlier or first age of the gods is also spoken of (10, 72[2. 3]). The AV. (11, 8[10]) speaks of ten gods as having existed before the rest. The gods, too, were originally mortal[5]. This is expressly stated in the AV. (11, 5[19]; 4, 11[6]). The Brāhmaṇas state this both of all the gods (ŚB. 10, 4, 3[3]) and of the individual gods Indra (AB. 8, 14[4]), Agni (AB. 3, 4), and Prajāpati (ŚB. 10, 1, 3[1])[6]. That they were originally not immortal is implied in the RV. For immortality was bestowed on them by Savitṛ (4, 54[2] = VS. 33, 54) or by Agni (6, 7[4]; AV. 4, 23[6]). They are also said to have obtained it by drinking Soma (9, 106[8] cp. 109[2. 3]), which is called the principle of immortality (ŚB. 9, 5, 1[8]). In another passage of the RV. (10, 53[10]), they are said to have acquired immortality, but by what means is not clear. According to a later conception Indra is stated to have conquered heaven by *tapas* or austerity (10, 167[1]). The gods are said to have attained divine rank by the same means (TB. 3, 12, 3[1]), or to have overcome death by continence and austerity (AV. 11, 5[19]) and to have acquired immortality through Rohita (AV. 13, 1[7]). Elsewhere the gods are stated to have overcome death by the performance of a certain ceremony (TS. 7, 4, 2[1]). Indra and several other gods are said to be unaging (3, 46[1] &c.), but whether the immortality of the gods was regarded by the Vedic poets as absolute, there is no evidence to show. According to the post-Vedic view their immortality was only relative, being limited to a cosmic age.

The physical appearance of the gods is anthropomorphic, though only in a shadowy manner; for it often represents only aspects of their natural bases figuratively described to illustrate their activities[7]. Thus head, face, mouth, cheeks, eyes, hair, shoulders, breast, belly, arms, hands, fingers, feet are attributed to various individual gods. Head, breast, arms, and hands are chiefly mentioned in connexion with the warlike equipment of Indra and the Maruts. The arms of the sun are simply his rays, and his eye is intended to represent his physical aspect. The tongue and limbs of Agni merely denote his flames. The fingers of Trita are referred to only in order to illustrate his character as a preparer of Soma, and the belly of Indra only to emphasize his powers of drinking Soma[8]. Two or three gods are spoken of as having or assuming all forms (*viśvarūpa*). It is easy to understand that in the case of deities whose outward shape was so vaguely conceived

and whose connexion with natural phenomena was in many instances still clear, no mention of either images (§ 66 c) or temples is found in the RV.

Some of the gods are spoken of as wearing garments. Thus Dawn is described as decked in gay attire. Some of the gods are equipped with armour in the shape of coats of mail or helmets. Indra is regularly armed with a bolt (*vajra*), while to others spears, battle-axes, bows and arrows are assigned. The gods in general are described as driving luminous cars, nearly every individual deity being also said to possess one. The car is usually drawn by steeds, but in the case of Pūṣan by goats, of the Maruts perhaps by spotted deer as well as horses, and of Uṣas, by cows as well as horses.

In their cars the gods are frequently represented as coming to seat themselves on the layer of strewn grass at the sacrifice, which, however, from another point of view, is supposed also to be conveyed to them in heaven by Agni (§ 35). The beverage of the gods is Soma. What they eat is the favourite food of men and is of course represented by what is offered to them at the sacrifice. It consists of milk in its various forms, butter, barley, and (though perhaps not in the oldest Vedic period) rice; cattle, goats, and sheep, with a preference for the animal which in some way is most closely connected with a deity's peculiar qualities. Thus the bull or the buffalo, to which Indra is so often compared, is offered to him and eaten by him, sometimes in extraordinary numbers (§ 22). Analogously, Indra's steeds are supposed to eat grain[9]. The abode of the gods is variously described as heaven, the third heaven, or the highest step of Viṣṇu, where they live a joyous life exhilerated by Soma. The gods on the whole are conceived as dwelling together in harmony and friendship[10]. The only one who ever introduces a note of discord is the warlike and overbearing Indra. He once appears to have fought against the gods in general (4, 30[3.5])[11]; he slew his own father (§ 22), and shattered the car of Dawn (§ 20). He seems also to have threatened on one occasion to slay his faithful companions the Maruts (§ 29).

The gods representing the chief powers of nature, such as fire, sun, thunderstorm, appeared to the successful and therefore optimistic Vedic Indian as almost exclusively beneficent beings, bestowers of prosperity. The only deity in whom injurious features are at all prominent is Rudra. Evils closely connected with human life, such as disease, proceed from lesser demons, while the greater evils manifested in nature, such as drought and darkness, are produced by powerful demons like Vṛtra. The conquest of these demons brings out the beneficent nature of the gods all the more prominently. The benevolence of the gods resembles that of human beings. They are preëminently the receivers of sacrifice, the hymns to them being recited while the Soma is pressed, the offering is cast in the fire, and priests attend to the intricate details of the ritual[12]. They are therefore the friends of the sacrificer, but are angry with and punish the niggard. This is especially the case with Indra, who at the same time is not altogether free from arbitrariness in the distribution of his favours[13].

The character of the Vedic gods is also moral. All the gods[14] are 'true' and 'not deceitful', being throughout the friends and guardians of honesty and righteousness. It is, however, the Ādityas, especially Varuṇa, who are the chief upholders of the moral law. The gods are angry with the evil-doer, but it is Varuṇa's wrath which is most closely connected with the conception of guilt and sin. Agni also is invoked to free from guilt, but this is only one of many prayers addressed to him, not their chief purport as in the case of Varuṇa. Indra too is a punisher of sin, but this trait is only super-

ficially connected with his character. The standard of divine morality of course reflects only an earlier stage of civilization. Thus even the alliance of Varuṇa with righteousness is not of such a nature as to prevent him from employing craft against the hostile and deceitful man. But towards the good and pious the faithfulness of Varuṇa is unswerving. Indra, however, is occasionally not above practising deceitful wiles even without the justification of a good end[15].

Moral elevation does not, however, occupy so high a position as power among the attributes of the Vedic gods. Epithets such as 'true' and 'not deceitful' are far less prominent than such as 'great' and 'mighty'. The gods can do whatever they will. On them depends the fulfilment of wishes. They have dominion over all creatures; and no one can thwart their ordinances or live beyond the time the gods appoint[16].

The RV. as well as the AV. states the gods to be 33 in number (3, 6[9] &c.; AV. 10, 7[13]), this total being several times expressed as 'thrice eleven' (8, 35[3] &c.). In one passage (1, 139[11]) eleven of the gods are addressed as being in heaven, eleven on earth, and eleven in the waters (= air). The AV. (10, 9[14]) similarly divides the gods into dwellers in heaven, air, and earth, but without specifying any number. The aggregate of 33 could not always have been regarded as exhaustive, for in a few passages (1, 34[11]. 45[2]; 8, 35[3]. 39[9]) other gods are mentioned along with the 33. In one verse (3, 9[9] = 10, 52[6] = VS. 33, 7) the number of the gods is by way of a freak stated to be 3339. They are also spoken of in a more general way as forming three troops (6, 51[2]). A threefold division is implied when the gods are connected with heaven, earth, and waters (7, 35[11]; 10, 49[2]. 65[9]). The Brāhmaṇas also give the number of the gods as 33. The ŚB. and the AB. agree in dividing them into three main groups of 8 Vasus, 11 Rudras, 12 Ādityas, but while the ŚB. adds to these either (4, 5, 7[2]) Dyaus and Pṛthivī (Prajāpati being here a 34th) or Indra and Prajāpati (11, 6, 3[5]), the AB. (2, 18[8]) adds Vaṣaṭkāra and Prajāpati, to make up the total of 33.

Following the triple classification of RV. 1, 139[11] Yāska (Nir. 7, 5) divides the different deities or forms of the same deity enumerated in the fifth chapter of the Naighaṇṭuka, into the three orders of *pṛthivīsthāna*, terrestrial (Nir. 7, 14—9. 43), *antarikṣasthāna*, *madhyamasthāna*, aerial or intermediate (10, 1—11. 50), and *dyusthāna*, celestial (12, 1—46). He further remarks that in the opinion of his predecessors who expounded the Veda (*nairuktāḥ*) there are only three deities[17], Agni on earth, Vāyu or Indra in air[18], Sūrya in heaven[19]. (This view may be based on such passages as RV. 10, 158[1]: 'May Sūrya protect us from heaven, Vāta from air, Agni from the earthly regions'.) Each of these he continues has various appellations according to differences of function, just as the same person may act in the capacity of *hotṛ*, *adhvaryu*, *brahman*, *udgātṛ*. Yāska himself does not admit that all the various gods are only forms or manifestations of the three representative deities, though he allows that those forming each of the three orders are allied in sphere and functions. The fifth chapter of the Naighaṇṭuka on which Yāska comments, contains in its enumeration of gods a number of minor deities and deified objects, so that the total far exceeds eleven in each division. It is worthy of note that in this list of gods the names of Tvaṣṭṛ and Pṛthivī appear in all the three spheres, those of Agni and Uṣas in both the terrestrial and the aerial, and those of Varuṇa, Yama, and Savitṛ in the aerial as well as the celestial.

An attempt might be made to classify the various Vedic gods according to their relative greatness. Such a division is in a general way alluded to

in the RV. where they are spoken of as great and small, young and old (1, 27[13]). It is probable that this statement represents the settled view of the Vedic poets as to gradation of rank among the gods (cp. pp. 14. 17). It is only a seeming contradiction when in one passage (8, 30[1]) it is said with reference to the gods, 'none of you is small or young; you are all great'; for a poet addressing the gods directly on this point could hardly have expressed himself differently. It is certain that two gods tower above the rest as leading deities about equal in power, Indra as the mighty warrior and Varuṇa as the supreme moral ruler. The older form of Varuṇa became, owing to the predominance of his ethical qualities, the supreme god of Zoroastrianism as Ahura Mazda, while in India Indra developed into the warrior god of the conquering Aryans. Varuṇa appears as preëminent only when the supreme laws of the physical and moral world are contemplated, and cannot be called a popular god. It has been held by various scholars that Varuṇa and the Ādityas were the highest gods of an older period, but were later displaced by Indra (p. 28). There is at any rate no evidence to show that Indra even in the oldest Rigvedic period occupied a subordinate position. It is true that Ahura Mazda is the highest god and Indra only a demon in the Avesta. But even if Indra originally possessed coördinate power with Varuṇa in the Indo-Iranian period, he was necessarily relegated to the background when the reform of the Avestan religion made Ahura Mazda supreme[20] (cp. p. 28). Next to Indra and Varuṇa come the two great ritual deities Agni and Soma. These two along with Indra are, judged by the frequency of the hymns addressed to them, the three most popular deities of the RV. For, roughly speaking, three-fifths of its hymns are dedicated to their praise. The fact that the hymns to Agni and Indra always come first in the family books, while the great majority of the hymns to Soma have a whole book, the ninth, to themselves, confirms this conclusion[21]. Following the number of the hymns dedicated to each of the remaining deities, combined with the frequency with which their names are mentioned in the RV., five classes of gods may be distinguished: 1) Indra, Agni, Soma; 2) Aśvins, Maruts, Varuṇa; 3) Uṣas, Savitṛ, Bṛhaspati, Sūrya, Pūṣan; 4) Vāyu, Dyāvāpṛthivī, Viṣṇu, Rudra; 5) Yama, Parjanya[22]. The statistical standard can of course be only a partial guide. For Varuṇa is celebrated (mostly together with Mitra) in only about thirty hymns, his name being mentioned altogether about 250 times, while the Aśvins can claim over 50 hymns and are named over 400 times. Yet they cannot be said to approach Varuṇa in greatness. Their relative prominence is doubtless owing to their closer connexion with the sacrifice as deities of morning light. Again, the importance of the Maruts is due to their association with Indra. Similar considerations would have to enter into an estimate of the relative greatness of other deities in the list. Such an estimate involves considerable difficulties and doubts. A classification according to gradations of rank would therefore not afford a satisfactory basis for an account of the Vedic gods.

Another but still less satisfactory classification, might take as its basis the relative age of the mythological conception, according as it dates from the period of separate national Indian existence, from the Indo-Iranian, or the Indo-European epoch. Thus Bṛhaspati, Rudra, Viṣṇu may be considered the creations of purely Indian mythology; at least there is no adequate evidence to show that they go back to an earlier age. It has already been indicated (§ 5) that a number of mythological figures date from the Indo-Iranian period. But as to whether any of the Vedic gods besides Dyaus may be traced back to the Indo-European period, considerable doubt is justified.

A classification according to the age of the mythological creation would therefore rest on too uncertain a foundation.

The stage of personification which the various deities represent, might furnish a possible basis of classification. But the task of drawing a clear line of demarcation would involve too many difficulties.

On the whole, the classification of the Vedic deities least open to objection, is that founded on the natural bases which they represent. For though in some cases there may be a doubt as to what the physical substrate really is, and a risk is therefore involved of describing a particular deity in the wrong place, this method offers the advantage of bringing together deities of cognate character and thus facilitating comparison. It has therefore been adopted in the following pages. The various phenomena have been grouped according to the triple division suggested by the RV. itself and adhered to by its oldest commentator.

[1] OST. 5, 219; BRI. 26; BDA. 12—14; ORV. 100. — [2] HRI. 138—40. — [3] MM., ASL. 526. 532. 546; Chips 1, 28; OGR. 266. 285. 298 f. 312 ff.; Science of Religion 52; PhR. 180 ff.; OST. 5. 6 f. 12 f. 125; OO. 3, 449; BÜHLER, OO. 1, 227; LRV. 3, XXVII f.; KRV. 33; note 113; ZIMMER, ZDA. 19(7), 175; HILLEBRANDT, Varuṇa und Mitra, 105; BRI. 26. — [4] WHITNEY, PAOS., Oct. 1881; ORV. 101; HOPKINS, Henotheism in the Rigveda, in Classical studies in honour of H. Drisler (New York 1894), 75—83; HRI. 139 &c. — [5] SVL. 134; cp. ZDMG. 32, 300. — [6] MUIR, JRAS. 20, 41—5; OST. 4, 54—8; 5, 14—17; cp. AV. 3, 22^3; 4, 14^1; ŚB. 1, 7, 3^1; AB. 6, 20^8; TS. 1, 7, 1^3; 6, 5, 3^1; HRI. 187. — [7] NIRUKTA 7, 6. 7. — [8] WC. 9. — [9] ORV. 347. 353. 355. 357—8. — [10] ORV. 93. — [11] OST. 5, 18. — [12] ORV. 238. — [13] BRV. 3, 203—4. — [14] BRV. 3, 199. — [15] ORV. 282. — [16] OST. 5, 18—20; ORV. 97—101; 281—7. 293—301. — [17] KĀTYĀYANA, Sarvānukramaṇī, Introd. § 2, 8; Sāyaṇa on RV. 1, 139^{11}. — [18] 'Indra and Vāyu are closely allied' (TS. 6, 6, 8^3). Cp. HRI. 89. — [19] Agni, Vāyu, Sūrya are sons of Prajāpati (MS. 4, 2^{12}). — [20] ORV. 94—8. — [21] HRI. 90. — [22] These classes and the statistics fournished below in the account given of the single gods, are based on data derived from LRV., GW., GRV. (2, 421—3), and AUFRECHT's RV. II^2, 668—71.

A. THE CELESTIAL GODS.

§ 11. Dyaus.—By far the most frequent use of the word *dyaus* is as a designation of the concrete 'sky', in which sense it occurs at least 500 times in the RV. It also means 'day'[1] about 50 times. When personified as the god of heaven, Dyaus is generally coupled with Earth in the dual compound *dyāvāpṛthivī*, the universal parents. No single hymn of the RV. is addressed to Dyaus alone. When he is mentioned separately the personification is limited almost entirely to the idea of paternity. The name then nearly always appears in the nominative or genitive case. The latter case, occurring about 50 times, is more frequent than all the other cases together. The genitive is regularly connected with the name of some other deity who is called the son or daughter of Dyaus. In about three-fourths of these instances Uṣas is his daughter, while in the remainder the Aśvins are his offspring (*napātā*), Agni is his son (*sūnu*) or child (*śiśu*), Parjanya, Sūrya, the Ādityas, the Maruts, and the Aṅgirases are his sons (*putra*). Out of its thirty occurrences in the nominative the name appears only eight times alone, being otherwise generally associated with Pṛthivī or mentioned with various deities mostly including Pṛthivī. In these eight passages he is three times styled a father (1, 90^7. 164^{33}; 4, 1^{10}), once the father of Indra (4, 72^3), once he is spoken of as rich in seed (*suretāḥ*) and as having generated Agni (4, 17^4); in the remaining three he is a bull (5, 36^5) or a red bull that bellows downwards (5, 58^6), and is said to have approved when Vṛtra was slain (6, 72^3). In the dative the name is found eight times. In these passages

he is mentioned only three times quite alone, once being called the 'great father' (1, 71[5]), once 'lofty' (1, 54[3]), and once the 'lofty abode' (5, 47[7]). In two of the four occurrences in the accusative Dyaus is mentioned with Pṛthivī, once alone and without any distinctive statement (1, 174[3]), and once (1, 31[4]) Agni is said to have made him roar for man. Thus it appears that Dyaus is seldom mentioned independently and in only one-sixth of over ninety passages is his paternity not expressly stated or implied by association with Pṛthivī. The only essential feature of the personification in the RV. is in fact his paternity. In a few passages Dyaus is called a bull (1, 160[3]; 5, 36[5]) that bellows (5, 58[6]). Here we have a touch of theriomorphism inasmuch as he is conceived as a roaring animal that fertilizes the earth. Dyaus is once compared with a black steed decked with pearls (10, 68[11]), an obvious allusion to the nocturnal sky. The statement that Dyaus is furnished with a bolt (*aśanimat*) looks like a touch of anthropomorphism. He is also spoken of as smiling through the clouds (2, 4[6]), the allusion being doubtless to the lightening sky[2]. Such passages are, however, quite isolated, the conception of Dyaus being practically free from theriomorphism and anthropomorphism, excepting the notion of paternity. As a father he is most usually thought of in combination with Earth as a mother[3]. This is indicated by the fact that his name forms a dual compound with that of Pṛthivī oftener than it is used alone in the singular (§ 44), that in a large proportion of its occurrences in the singular it is accompanied by the name of Pṛthivī, and that when regarded separately he is not sufficiently individualized to have a hymn dedicated to his praise, though in conjunction with Pṛthivī he is celebrated in six. Like nearly all the greater gods[4] Dyaus is sometimes called *asura*[5] (1, 122[1]. 131[1]; 8, 20[17]) and he is once (6, 51[5]) invoked in the vocative as 'Father Heaven' (*dyauṣ pitar*) along with 'Mother Earth' (*pṛthivi mātar*). In about 20 passages the word *dyaus* is feminine, sometimes even when personified[6]. Dyaus, as has been pointed out (§ 6) goes back to the Indo-European period. There is no reason to assume that the personification in that period was of a more advanced type and that the RV. has in this case relapsed to a more primitive stage. On the contrary there is every ground for supposing the reverse to be the case. Whatever higher gods may have existed in that remote age must have been of a considerably more rudimentary type and can hardly in any instance have been conceived apart from deified natural objects[7]. As the Universal Father who with Mother Earth embraced all other deified objects and phenomena, he would have been the greatest among the deities of a chaotic polytheism. But to speak of him as the supreme god of the Indo-European age is misleading, because this suggests a ruler of the type of Zeus and an incipient monotheism for an extremely remote period, though neither of these conceptions had been arrived at in the earlier Rigvedic times.

The word is derived from the root *div*, to shine, thus meaning 'the bright one' and being allied to *deva*, god[8].

[1] v. Schröder. WZKM. 8, 126—7. — [2] PVS. 1, 111; SBE. 46, 205. — [3] HRL 171. — [4] BDA. 119—23. — [5] BDA. 86. — [6] BDA. 114; cf. GW. s. v. *div*; Osthoff, IF. 5, 286, n. — [7] BDA. 111. — [8] Cp. KZ. 27, 187; BB. 15, 17; IF. 3, 301. OST. 5, 21—3; OGR. 209; LRV. 3, 312—3; BRV. 1, 4—5; Sp.AP. 160; JAOS. 16, cxlv.

§ 12. Varuṇa.—Varuṇa, as has been shown (p. 20), is by the side of Indra, the greatest of the gods of the RV. The number of hymns dedicated to his praise is not a sufficient criterion of his exalted character. Hardly a dozen hymns celebrate him exclusively. Judged by the statistical standard he would rank only as a third class deity; and even if the two dozen hymns

in which he is invoked along with his double Mitra are taken into account, he would only come fifth in order of priority, ranking considerably below the Aśvins and about on an equality with the Maruts (cp. p. 20).

The anthropomorphism of Varuṇa's personality is more fully developed on the moral than the physical side. The descriptions of his person and his equipment are scanty, more stress being laid on his activity. He has a face, an eye, arms, hands, and feet. He moves his arms, walks, drives, sits, eats and drinks. The poet regards the face (*anīkam*) of Varuṇa as that of Agni (7, 88[2] cp. 87[6]). The eye of Mitra and Varuṇa is the sun (1, 115[1]; 6, 51[1]; 7, 61[1]. 63[1]; 10, 37[1]). The fact that this is always mentioned in the first verse of a hymn, suggests that it is one of the first ideas that occur when Mitra and Varuṇa are thought of. The eye with which Varuṇa is said in a hymn to Sūrya (1, 50[6]) to observe mankind, is undoubtedly the sun. Together with Aryaman, Mitra and Varuṇa are called sun-eyed (7, 66[10]), a term applied to other gods also. Varuṇa is far-sighted (1, 25[5. 10]; 8, 90[2]) and thousand-eyed (7, 34[10]). Mitra and Varuṇa stretch out their arms (5, 64[4]; 7, 62[5]) and they drive with the rays of the sun as with arms (8, 90[2]). Like Savitṛ and Tvaṣṭr they are beautiful-handed (*supāṇi*). Mitra and Varuṇa hasten up with their feet (5, 64[7]), and Varuṇa treads down wiles with shining foot (8, 41[8]). He sits on the strewn grass at the sacrifice (1, 26[4]; 5, 72[2]), and like other gods he and Mitra drink Soma (4, 41[3] &c.). Varuṇa wears a golden mantle (*drāpi*) and puts on a shining robe (1, 25[13]). But the shining robe of ghee with which he and Mitra are clothed (5, 62[4]; 7, 64[1]) is only a figurative allusion to the sacrificial offering of melted butter. The glistening garments which they wear (1, 152[1]) probably mean the same thing. In the ŚB. (13, 3, 6[5]) Varuṇa is represented as a fair, bald, yellow-eyed old man[1]. The only part of Varuṇa's equipment which is at all prominent is his car. It is described as shining like the sun (1, 122[15]), as having thongs for a pole (ibid.), a car-seat and a whip (5, 62[7]), and as drawn by well-yoked steeds (5, 62[4]). Mitra and Varuṇa mount their car in the highest heaven (5, 63[1]). The poet prays that he may see Varuṇa's car on the earth (1, 25[18]).

Mitra and Varuṇa's abode is golden and situated in heaven (5, 67[2]; 1, 136[2]) and Varuṇa sits in his mansions (*pastyāsu*) looking on all deeds (1, 25[10. 11]). His and Mitra's seat (*sadas*) is great, very lofty, firm with a thousand columns (5, 68[5]; 2, 41[5]) and their house has a thousand doors (7, 88[5]). The all-seeing sun rising from his abode, goes to the dwellings of Mitra and Varuṇa to report the deeds of men (7, 60[1. 3]), and enters their dear dwelling (1, 152[4]). It is in the highest heaven that the Fathers behold Varuṇa (10, 14[8]). According to the ŚB. (11, 6, 1) Varuṇa, conceived as the lord of the Universe, is seated in the midst of heaven, from which he surveys the places of punishment situated all around him[1].

The spies (*spaśaḥ*) of Varuṇa are sometimes mentioned. They sit down around him (1, 24[13]). They behold the two worlds; acquainted with sacrifice they stimulate prayer (7, 87[3]). Mitra's and Varuṇa's spies whom they send separately into houses (7, 61[3]), are undeceived and wise (6, 67[5]). In the AV. (4, 16[4]) it is said that Varuṇa's messengers descending from heaven, traverse the world; thousand-eyed they look across the whole world. The natural basis of these spies is usually assumed to be the stars; but the RV. yields no evidence in support of this view. The stars are there never said to watch, nor are the spies connected with night. The conception may very well have been suggested by the spies with whom a strict ruler on earth is surrounded[2]. Nor are spies peculiar to Varuṇa and Mitra, for they are also attributed to Agni (4, 4[3]), to Soma (9, 73[4. 7]. here perhaps suggested by the

previous mention of Varuṇa), to demons combated by Indra (1, 33[8]), and to the gods in general (10, 10[8]). In one passage the Ādityas are said to look down like spies from a height (8, 47[11]). That these spies were primarily connected with Mitra and Varuṇa is to be inferred from the fact that the Iranian Mithra also has spies, who are, moreover, called by the same name (*spaś*) as in the Veda[3]. The golden-winged messenger (*dūta*) of Varuṇa once mentioned in the RV. (10, 123[6]), is doubtless the sun.

Varuṇa alone, or conjointly with Mitra, is often called a king (*rājā*), like the other leading deities and Yama (1, 24[7. 8] &c.)[4]. He is king of all, both gods and men (10, 132[4]; 2, 27[10]), of the whole world (5, 85[3]), and of all that exists (7, 87[6]). Varuṇa is also a self-dependent ruler (2, 28[1]), a term generally applied to Indra. Much more frequently Varuṇa, alone or mostly in association with Mitra, is called a universal monarch (*samrāj*). This term is also applied to Agni a few times and oftener to Indra. Counting the passages in which Varuṇa and Mitra together are so called, it is connected with Varuṇa nearly twice as often as with Indra. Considering that for every eight or ten hymns celebrating Indra only one is dedicated to Varuṇa in the RV., the epithet may be considered peculiarly appropriate to Varuṇa.

The attribute of sovereignty (*kṣatra*) is in a predominant manner appropriated to Varuṇa, generally with Mitra and twice with Aryaman also. Otherwise it is applied only once respectively to Agni, Bṛhaspati, and the Aśvins. Similarly the term 'ruler' (*kṣatriya*) in four of its five occurrences refers to Varuṇa or the Ādityas and once only to the gods in general. The epithet *asura* (§ 67) is connected with Varuṇa, alone or accompanied by Mitra, oftener than with Indra and Agni; and, taking account of the proportion of hymns, it may be said to be specially applicable to Varuṇa[5]. Mitra and Varuṇa are also called the mysterious and noble lords (*asurā aryā*) among the gods (7, 65[2]).

The divine dominion of Varuṇa and Mitra is often referred to with the word *māyā*[6]. This term signifies occult power, applicable in a good sense to gods or in a bad sense to demons. It has an almost exact parallel in the English word 'craft', which in its old signification meant 'occult power, magic', then 'skilfulness, art' on the one hand and 'deceitful skill, wile' on the other. The good sense of *māyā*, like that of *asura* (which might be rendered by 'mysterious being') is mainly connected with Varuṇa and Mitra, while its bad sense is reserved for demons. By occult power Varuṇa standing in the air measures out the earth with the sun as with a measure (5, 85[5]), Varuṇa and Mitra send the dawns (3, 61[7]), make the sun to cross the sky and obscure it with cloud and rain, while the honied drops fall (5, 63[4]); or (ibid. [3. 7]) they cause heaven to rain and they uphold the ordinances by the occult power of the Asura (here = Dyaus or Parjanya)[7]. And so the epithet *māyin*, 'crafty', is chiefly applied to Varuṇa among the gods (6, 48[14]; 7, 28[4]; 10, 99[10]. 147[5]).

In marked contrast with Indra, Varuṇa has no myths related of him, while much is said about him (and Mitra) as upholder of physical and moral order. Varuṇa is a great lord of the laws of nature. He established heaven and earth and dwells in all the worlds (8, 42[1]). The three heavens and the three earths are deposited within him (7, 87[5]). He and Mitra rule over the whole world (5, 63[7]) or encompass the two worlds (7, 61[4]). They are the guardians of the whole world (2, 27[4] &c.). By the law of Varuṇa heaven and earth are held apart (6, 70[1]; 7, 86[1]; 8, 41[10]). With Mitra he supports earth and heaven (5, 62[3]), or heaven, earth, and air (5, 69[1. 4]). He made the golden swing (the sun) to shine in heaven (7, 87[5]). He placed fire in

the waters, the sun in the sky, Soma on the rock (5, 85[2]). He has made a wide path for the sun (1, 24[8]; 7, 87[1]). Varuṇa, Mitra, and Aryaman open paths for the sun (7, 60[4]). The order (*ṛta*) of Mitra and Varuṇa is established where the steeds of the sun are loosed (5, 62[1]). The wind which resounds through the air is Varuṇa's breath (7, 87[2]).

By Varuṇa's ordinances (*vratāni*) the moon shining brightly moves at night, and the stars placed up on high are seen at night but disappear by day (1, 24[10]). In another passage (8, 41[9]) it is said that Varuṇa has embraced (*pari śasvaje*) the nights, and by his occult power has established the mornings or days (*usraḥ*). This can hardly indicate a closer connexion with night than that he regulates or divides night and day (cp. 7, 66[11]). In fact it is the sun that is usually mentioned with him, and not the moon or night. Thus in the oldest Veda Varuna is the lord of light both by day and by night, while Mitra, as far as can be judged, appears as the god of the celestial light of day only.

In the later Vedic period of the Brāhmaṇas Varuṇa comes to be specially connected with the nocturnal heaven[8]. Thus Mitra is said to have produced the day and Varuṇa the night (TS. 6, 4, 8[3]); and the day is said to belong to Mitra and the night to Varuṇa (TS. 2, 1, 7[4])[9]. This view may have arisen from a desire to contrast Mitra, who was still felt to be related to the sun, with Varuṇa whose natural basis was more obscure. The antithesis between the two is differently expressed by the ŚB. (12, 9, 2[12]), which asserts that this world is Mitra, that (the celestial) world is Varuṇa.

Varuṇa is sometimes referred to as regulating the seasons. He knows the twelve months (1, 25[8])[10]; and the kings Mitra, Varuṇa, and Aryaman are said to have disposed the autumn, the month, day and night (7, 66[11]).

Even in the RV. Varuṇa is often spoken of as a regulator of the waters. He caused the rivers to flow; they stream unceasingly according to his ordinance (2, 28[4]). By his occult power the rivers swiftly pouring into the ocean do not fill it with water (5, 85[6]). Varuṇa and Mitra are lords of rivers (7, 64[2]). Varuṇa is already found connected with the sea in the RV., but very rarely, perhaps owing to its unimportance in that collection. Varuṇa going in the oceanic waters is contrasted with the Maruts in the sky, Agni on earth, and Vāta in air (1, 161[14])[11]. The statement that the seven rivers flow into the jaws of Varuṇa as into a surging abyss (8, 58[12]), may refer to the ocean[12]. Varuṇa is said to descend into the sea (*sindhum*) like Dyaus (7, 87[b])[13]. It is rather the aerial waters that he is ordinarily connected with. Varuṇa ascends to heaven as a hidden ocean (8, 41[8]). Beholding the truth and falsehood of men, he moves in the midst of the waters which drop sweetness and are clear (7, 49[3]). Varuṇa clothes himself in the waters (9, 90[2] cp. 8, 69[11. 12]). He and Mitra are among the gods most frequently thought of and prayed to as bestowers of rain. Varuṇa makes the inverted cask (of the cloud) to pour its waters on heaven, earth, and air, and to moisten the ground, the mountains then being enveloped in cloud (5, 85[3. 4]). Mitra and Varuṇa have kine yielding refreshment and streams flowing with honey (5, 69[2]). They have rainy skies and streaming waters (5, 68[5]). They bedew the pasturage with ghee (= rain) and the spaces with honey (3, 62[16]). They send rain and refreshment from the sky (7, 64[2]). Rain abounding in heavenly water comes from them (8, 25[6]). Indeed, one entire hymn (5, 63) dwells on their powers of bestowing rain. It is probably owing to his connexion with the waters and rain, that in the fifth chapter of the Naighaṇṭuka Varuṇa is enumerated among the deities of the atmospheric as well as those of the celestial world. In the Brāhmaṇas Mitra and Varuṇa are also gods of rain[14]. In the AV. Varuṇa appears divested of his powers

as a universal ruler, retaining only the control of the department of waters. He is connected with the waters as Soma with the mountains (AV. 3, 3[3]). As a divine father he sheds rain-waters (AV. 4, 15[12]). His golden house is in the waters (AV. 7, 83[1]). He is the overlord of waters, he and Mitra are lords of rain (AV. 5, 24[4. 5]). In the YV. he is spoken of as the child (*śiśu*) of waters, making his abode within the most motherly waters (VS. 10, 7). The waters are wives of Varuṇa (TS. 5, 5, 4[1]). Mitra and Varuṇa are the leaders of waters (TS. 6, 4, 3[2]).

Varuṇa's ordinances are constantly said to be fixed, the epithet *dhṛta vrata* being preëminently applicable to him, sometimes conjointly with Mitra. The gods themselves follow Varuṇa's ordinances (8, 41[7]) or those of Varuṇa Mitra, and Savitṛ (10, 36[13]). Even the immortal gods cannot obstruct the fixed ordinances of Mitra and Varuṇa (5, 69[4] cp. 5, 63[7]). Mitra and Varuṇa are lords of order (*ṛta*) and light, who by means of order are the upholders of order (1, 23[5]). The latter epithet is mostly applied either to them and sometimes the Ādityas or to the gods in general. They are cherishers of order or right (1, 2[8]). Varuṇa or the Ādityas are sometimes called guardians of order (*ṛtasya gopā*), but this term is also applied to Agni and Soma. The epithet 'observer of order' (*ṛtāvan*), predominantly used of Agni, is also several times connected with Varuṇa and Mitra.

Varuṇa's power is so great that neither the birds as they fly nor the rivers as they flow, can reach the limit of his dominion, his might, and his wrath (1, 24[6]). Neither the skies nor the rivers have reached (the limit of) the godhead of Mitra and Varuṇa (1, 151[9]). He embraces the All and the abodes of all beings (8, 41[1. 7]). The three heavens and the three earths are deposited in him (7, 87[5]). Varuṇa is omniscient. He knows the flight of birds in the sky, the path of ships in the ocean, the course of the far-travelling wind, and beholds all the secret things that have been or shall be done (1, 25[7 9 11]). He witnesses men's truth and falsehood (7, 49[3]). No creature can even wink without him (2, 28[6]). The winkings of men's eyes are all numbered by Varuṇa, and whatever man does, thinks, or devises, Varuṇa knows (AV. 4, 16[2. 5]). He perceives all that exists within heaven and earth, and all that is beyond: a man could not escape from Varuṇa by fleeing far beyond the sky (AV. 4, 16[4. 5]). That Varuṇa's omniscience is typical is indicated by the fact that Agni is compared with him in this respect (10, 11[1]).

As a moral governor Varuṇa stands far above any other deity. His wrath is roused by sin, the infringement of his ordinances, which he severely punishes (7, 86[3. 4]). The fetters (*pāśāḥ*) with which he binds sinners, are often mentioned (1, 24[15]. 25[21]; 6, 74[4]; 10, 85[24]). They are cast sevenfold and threefold, ensnaring the man who tells lies, passing by him who speaks truth (AV. 4, 16[6]). Mitra and Varuṇa are barriers, furnished with many fetters, against falsehood (7, 65[3]). Once Varuṇa, coupled with Indra, is said to tie with bonds not formed of rope (7, 84[2]). The term *pāśa* is only once used in connexion with another god, Agni, who is implored to loosen the fetters of his worshippers (5, 2[7]). It is therefore distinctive of Varuṇa. According to Bergaigne the conception of Varuṇa's fetters is based on the tying up of the waters, according to Hillebrandt on the fetters of night[15]. But is seems to be sufficiently accounted for by the figurative application of the fetters of criminals to moral guilt. Together with Mitra, Varuṇa is said to be a dispeller, hater, and punisher of falsehood (1, 152[1]; 7, 60[5]. 66[13]). They afflict with disease[16] those who neglect their worship (1, 122[9]). On the other hand, Varuṇa is gracious to the penitent. He unties like a rope and removes sin

(2, 28[5]; 5, 85[7.8]). He releases not only from the sins which men themselves commit, but from those committed by their fathers (7, 86[5]). He spares the suppliant who daily transgresses his laws (1, 25[1]) and is gracious to those who have broken his laws by thoughtlessness (7, 89[5]). There is in fact no hymn to Varuṇa (and the Ādityas) in which the prayer for forgiveness of guilt does not occur, as in the hymns to other deities the prayer for worldly goods.

Varuṇa has a hundred, a thousand remedies, and drives away death as well as releases from sin (1, 24[9]). He can take away or prolong life (1, 24[11]. 25[12]; 7, 88[4]. 89[1]). He is a wise guardian of immortality (8, 42[2]), and the righteous hope to see in the next world Varuṇa and Yama, the two kings who reign in bliss (10, 14[7]).

Varuṇa is on a footing of friendship with his worshipper (7, 88[4–6]), who communes with him in his celestial abode and sometimes sees him with the mental eye (1, 25[18]; 7, 88[2]).

What conclusions as to the natural basis of Varuna can be drawn from the Vedic evidence which has been adduced? It is clear from this evidence, in combination with what is said below about Mitra (§ 13), that Varuṇa and Mitra are closely connected with the sun, but that the former is the much more important deity. Mitra has in fact been so closely assimilated to the greater god that he has hardly an independent trait left. Mitra must have lost his individuality through the predominant characteristics of the god with whom he is almost invariably associated. Now, chiefly on the evidence of the Avesta, Mitra has been almost unanimously acknowledged to be a solar deity (§ 13). Varuna must therefore have originally represented a different phenomenon. This according to the generally received opinion, is the encompassing sky. The vault of heaven presents a phenomenon far more vast to the eye of the observer than the sun, which occupies but an extremely small portion of that expanse during its daily course. The sky would therefore appear to the imagination as the greater deity. The sun might very naturally become associated with the sky as the space which it traverses every day and apart from which it is never seen. The conception of the sun as the eye of heaven is sufficiently obvious. It could not very appropriately be termed the eye of Mitra till the original character of the latter had become obscured and absorbed in that of Varuṇa. Yet even the eye of Sūrya is several times spoken of in the RV. (p. 30). The attribute of 'far-seeing', appropriate to the sun, is also appropriate to the sky, which might naturally be conceived as seeing not only by day but even at night by means of the moon and stars. No real difficulty is presented by the notion of Varuṇa, who has become quite separate from his physical basis[17], mounting a car in the height of heaven with Mitra. For such a conception is easily explicable from his association with a solar deity; besides every leading deity in the RV. drives in a car. On the other hand, the palace of Varuṇa in the highest heavens and his connexion with rain are particularly appropriate to a deity originally representing the vault of heaven. Finally, no natural phenomenon would be so likely to develope into a sovereign ruler, as the sky. For the personification of its vast expanse, which encompasses and rises far above the earth and on which the most striking phenomena of regular recurrence, the movements of the luminaries, are enacted, would naturally be conceived as watching by night and day all the deeds of men and as being the guardian of unswerving law. This development has indeed actually taken place in the case of the Zeus (= Dyaus) of Hellenic mythology. What was at first only an appellative of the sky has here become the supreme ruler of the gods dwelling in the serene

heights of heaven, who gathers the clouds, who wields the thunderbolt, and whose will is law.

The phenomena with which the two greatest gods of the RV. were originally connected, largely accounts for the difference in their personality. Varuṇa as concerned with the regularly recurring phenomena of celestial light, is the supreme upholder of law in the moral as well as the physical world. His character as such afforded no scope for the development of myths. Indra as the god fighting in the strife of the elements, was conceived by the militant Vedic Indian as a sovereign of the warrior type. Owing to his close connexion with the meteorological phenomena of the thunderstorm, which are so irregular in time and diversified in feature, the character of Indra on the one hand shows traits of capriciousness, while on the other he becomes the centre of more myths than any other deity of the RV. The theory of Roth as to the supersession of Varuṇa by Indra in the Rigvedic period, is dealt with below (§ 22).

With the growth of the conception of Prajāpati (§ 39) as a supreme deity, the characteristics of Varuṇa as a sovereign god naturally faded away, and the dominion of the waters, only a part of his original sphere, alone remained to him. Thus he ultimately became in post-Vedic mythology an Indian Neptune, god of the Sea.

The hypothesis recently advanced by Oldenberg[18] that Varuṇa primarily represented the moon, cannot be passed over here. Starting from the assertion that the characteristic number of the Ādityas was seven and that their identity with the Ameṣaspentas of the Avesta is an assured fact, he believes that Varuṇa and Mitra were the moon and sun, the lesser Adityas representing the five planets, and that they were not Indo-European deities, but were borrowed during the Indo-Iranian period from a Semitic people more skilled in astronomy than the Aryans. The character of Varuṇa when borrowed must further have lost much of its original significance and have already possessed a highly ethical aspect. For otherwise a distinctly lunar deity could hardly have thrown Mitra, who was clearly understood to be the sun, into the shade in the Indo-Iranian period, or have developed so highly abstract a character as to account for the supreme position, as a moral ruler, of Ahura Mazda in the Avesta and of Varuṇa in the Veda. This hypothesis does not seem to account at all well for the actual characteristics of Varuṇa in the RV. It also requires the absolute rejection of any connection between Varuṇa and οὐρανός[19].

It has already been mentioned that Varuṇa goes back to the Indo-Iranian period (§ 5), for the Ahura Mazda of the Avesta agrees with him in character[20] though not in name. The name of *Váruṇa* may even be Indo-European. At least, the long accepted identification of the word with the Greek οὐρανός, though presenting phonetic difficulties, has not been rejected by some recent authorities on comparative philology[21].

But whether the word is Indo-European or the formation of a later period[22], it is probably derived from the root *var*, to cover[23], thus meaning 'the encompasser'. Sāyaṇa (on RV. 1, 89[3]) connects it with this root in the sense of enveloping or confining the wicked with his bonds[24], or commenting on TS. 1, 8, 16[1], in that of enveloping 'like darkness' (cp. TS. 2, 1, 7[4]). If the word is Indo-European, it may have been an attribute of *dyaus*, the ordinary name of 'sky', later becoming the regular appellative of sky in Greece, but an exalted god of the sky in India[25].

1 Weber, ZDMG. 9, 242; 18, 268. — 2 ORV. 286, n. 2. — 3 Cp. Roth, ZDMG. 6, 72; Eggers, Mitra 54—7; Oldenberg, ZDMG. 50, 48. — 4 OST. 5, 60.

— 5 BDA. 120—1; ORV. 163. — 6 BRV. 3, 81; v. BRADKE, ZDMG. 48, 499—501; ORV. 163. 294. — 7 Cf. BDA. 55. 60. — 8 OST. 5, 70; ROTH, PW. s. v. Varuṇa; BRV. 3, 116 ff.; v. SCHROEDER, WZKM. 9, 119. — 9 Cf. TB. 1, 7, 10[1]; Sāyaṇa on RV. 1, 893; 2, 38[8]; 7, 87[1]; TS. 1, 8, 16[1]. — 10 Cp. WVB. 1894, p. 38. — 11 BOLLENSEN, OO. 2, 467. — 12 ROTH, Nirukta, Erl. 70—1. — 13 Cp. ROTH, ZDMG. 6, 73. — 14 HILLEBRANDT, Varuṇa und Mitra 67, note. — 15 Cp. HRI. 68. — 16 Varuṇa's later connexion with dropsy is traced by HILLEBRANDT, p. 63 f. and ORV. 203 even in the RV., a view opposed by BRV. 3, 155. — 17 Cp. OLDENBERG, ZDMG. 50, 61. — 18 ORV. 285—98. — 19 Cp. v. SCHROEDER, WZKM. 9, 116—28; MACDONELL, JRAS. 27, 947—9. — 20 ROTH, ZDMG. 6, 69 ff. (cp. OST. 5, 72); WHITNEY, JAOS. 3, 327; but WINDISCHMANN (Zoroastrische Studien p. 122) held Ahura Mazda to be purely Iranian, and SPIEGEL, Av. Transl. 3, introd. iii., sees no similarity between Ahura Mazda and Varuṇa; cp. SP.AP. 181. — 21 BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, 154; PRELLWITZ, Etym. Wörterbuch d. gr. Spr. — 22 Cp. v. SCHROEDER, WZKM. 9, 127. — 23 HILLEBRANDT 9—14; v. SCHROEDER, WZKM. 9, 118, n. 1; HRI. 66, note; 70; cp. also SONNE, KZ. 12, 364—6; ZDMG. 32, 716 f.; BOLLENSEN, ZDMG. 41, 504 f.; GELDNER, BB. 11, 329; MM., Chips 4[2], xxiii f. — 24 Cp. GVS. 2, 22, note; OLDENBERG, ZDMG. 50, 60. — 25 MACDONELL, JRAS. 26, 628. ROTH, ZDMG. 6, 70—4; 7, 607; JAOS. 3, 341—2. WEBER, IS. 17, 212 f.; OST. 5, 58—75; LRV. 3, 314—6; GRV. 1, 34; HILLEBRANDT, Varuna und Mitra, Breslau 1877; BRV. 3, 110—49; MM., India 197—200; BRI. 16—9; GPVS. 1, 142. 188; WC. 98—103; KERBAKER, Varuṇa e gli Aditya, Napoli 1889; BOHNENBERGER, Der altindische Gott Varuṇa, Tübingen 1893; ORV. 189—95. 202—3. 293—8. 336, n. 1; ZDMG. 50, 43—68; HRI. 61—72; JAOS. 16, CXLVIII ff.; 17, 81, note; FOY, Die königliche Gewalt, Leipzig 1895, p. 80—6 (Die Späher Varuṇa's).

§ 13. Mitra. — The association of Mitra with Varuṇa is so predominant that only one single hymn of the RV. (3, 59) is addressed to him alone. The praise of the god is there rather indefinite, but the first verse at least contains something distinctive about him. Uttering his voice (*bruvānaḥ*) he brings men together (*yātayati*) and watches the tillers with unwinking eye (*animiṣā*, said also of Mitra-Varuṇa in 7, 60[6]).

In another passage (7, 36[2]) almost the same words are applied to Mitra who 'brings men together, uttering his voice', in contrast with Varuṇa who is here called 'a mighty, infallible guide'. This seems a tolerably clear reference to Mitra's solar character, if we compare with it another verse (5, 82[9]) where it is said that the sun-god Savitṛ 'causes all creatures to hear him and impels them'. In the fifth verse of the hymn to Mitra the god is spoken of as the great Āditya 'bringing men together'. This epithet (*yātayaj-jana*) is found in only three other passages of the RV. In one of these it is applied to Mitra-Varuṇa in the dual (5, 72[2]), in another to Mitra, Varuṇa, and Aryaman (1, 136[3]), and in the third (8, 91[12]) to Agni, who 'brings men together like Mitra'. The attribute therefore seems to have properly belonged to Mitra. The hymn to Mitra further adds that he supports heaven and earth, that the five tribes of men obey him, and that he sustains all the gods. Savitṛ is once (5, 81[4]) identified with Mitra because of his laws, and elsewhere (Vāl. 4[3]) Viṣṇu is said to take his three steps by the laws of Mitra. These two passages appear to indicate that Mitra regulates the course of the sun. Agni who goes at the head of the dawns produces Mitra for himself (10, 8[4]); Agni when kindled is Mitra (3, 5[4]); Agni when born is Varuṇa, when kindled is Mitra[1] (5, 3[1]). In the AV. (13, 3[13]) Mitra at sunrise is contrasted with Varuṇa in the evening, and (AV. 9, 3[18]) Mitra is asked to uncover in the morning what has been covered up by Varuṇa[2]. These passages point to the beginning of the view prevailing in the Brāhmaṇas, that Mitra is connected with day and Varuṇa with night. That view must have arisen from Mitra having been predominantly conceived as allied to the sun, Varuṇa by antithesis becoming god of night[3]. The same contrast between Mitra as god of day and Varuṇa as god of night is implied in the ritual literature, when it is prescribed that Mitra should

receive a white and Varuṇa a dark victim at the sacrificial post (TS. 2, 1, 7^4. 9^1; MS. 2, 5^7)[4]. The somewhat scanty evidence of the Veda showing that Mitra is a solar deity, is corroborated by the Avesta and Persian religion in general. Here Mithra is undoubtedly a sun-god or a god of light specially connected with the sun[5].

The etymology of the name is uncertain[6]. However, as the word also often means 'friend' in the RV. and the kindly nature of the god is often referred to in the Veda, Mitra even appearing as a god of peace (TS. 2, 1, 8^4)[7], while in the Avesta Mithra is on the ethical side of his character the guardian of faithfulness[8], it must have originally signified 'ally' or 'friend' and have been applied to the sun-god in his aspect of a beneficent power of nature.

1 Eggers 16—19. — 2 Hillebrandt 67. — 3 Oldenberg thinks that the special connexion of Varuṇa with night is old: ZDMG. 50, 64—5. — 4 Hillebrandt 67. 90; ORV. 192, note. — 5 Sp.AP. 183; ORV. 48. 190; Eggers 6—13. 6 Hillebrandt 113—4; Eggers 70. — 7 Eggers 42—3. — 8 Eggers 53—6.

KHF. 13; Roth, ZDMG. 6, 70 ff.; PW.; OST. 5, 69—71; Windischmann, Mithra, Leipzig 1859; GW. s. v. Mitra; Hillebrandt, Varuṇa und Mitra 111—36; BRV. 3, 110—29; Bollensen, ZDMG. 41, 503—4; Weber, IS. 17, 212; BRI. 17; ORV. 190—2; Bohnenberger 85; A. Eggers, Der arische Gott Mitra, Dorpat 1894 (Dissertation); v. Schroeder, WZKM. 9, 118; HRI. 71; Oldenberg, SBE. 46, 241. 287.

§ 14. Sūrya. — Ten entire hymns of the RV. may be said to be devoted to the celebration of Sūrya specifically. It is impossible to say how often the name of the god occurs, it being in many cases doubtful whether only the natural phenomenon is meant or its personification. Since his name designates the orb of the sun as well, Sūrya is the most concrete of the solar deities, his connexion with the luminary never being lost sight of. The adorable light of Sūrya in the sky is as the face (*anīka*) of great Agni (10, 7^3). The eye of Sūrya is mentioned several times (5, 40^8 &c.), but he is himself equally often called the eye of Mitra and Varuṇa (p. 23) or of Agni as well (1, 115^1); and once (7, 77^3) Dawn is said to bring the eye of the gods. The affinity of the eye and the sun is indicated in a passage where the eye of the dead man is conceived as going to Sūrya (10, 16^3 cp. 90^3. $158^{3.4}$). In the AV. he is called the 'lord of eyes' (AV. 5, 24^9) and is said to be the one eye of created beings and to see beyond the sky, the earth, and the waters (AV. 13, 1^{45}). He is far-seeing (7, 35^8; 10, 37^1), all-seeing (1, 50^2), is the spy (*spaś*) of the whole world (4, 13^3), beholds all beings and the good and bad deeds of mortals (1, 50^7; 6, 51^2; 7, 60^2. 61^1. $63^{1.4}$). Aroused by Sūrya men pursue their objects and perform their work (7, 63^4). Common to all men, he rises as their rouser (7, $63^{2.3}$). He is the soul or the guardian of all that moves or is stationary (1, 115^1; 7, 60^2). He has a car which is drawn by one steed, called *etaśa* (7, 63^2), or by an indefinite number of steeds (1, 115^3; 10, 37^3. 49^7) or mares (5, 29^5) or by seven horses (5, 45^9) or mares called *haritaḥ* (1, $50^{8.9}$; 7, 60^3) or by seven swift mares (4, 13^3).

Sūrya's path is prepared for him by Varuṇa (1, 24^8; 7, 87^1) or by the Ādityas Mitra, Varuṇa, Aryaman (7, 60^4). Pūṣan is his messenger (6, 58^3). The Dawn or Dawns reveal or produce Sūrya as well as Agni and the sacrifice (7, 80^2. 78^3). He shines forth from the lap of the dawns (7, 63^3). But from another point of view Dawn is Sūrya's wife (7, 75^5).

He also bears the metronymic Āditya, son of Aditi (1, 50^{12}. 191^9; 8, 90^{11}) or Āditeya (10, 88^{11}), but he is elsewhere distinguished from the Ādityas (8, 35^{13-15}). His father is Dyaus (10, 37^1). He is god-born (ibid.). The gods raised him who had been hidden in the ocean (10, 72^7). As a form of Agni

he was placed by the gods in heaven (10, 88[11]). According to another order of ideas he is said to have arisen from the eye of the world-giant Puruṣa (10, 90[3]). In the AV. (4, 10[5]) the sun (*divākara*) is even described as having sprung from Vṛtra.

Various individual gods are said to have produced the sun. Indra generated him (2, 12[4] &c.), caused him to shine or raised him to heaven (3, 44[2]; 8, 78[7]). Indra-Viṣṇu generated him (7, 99[4]). Indra-Soma brought up Sūrya with light (6, 72[2]); Indra-Varuṇa raised him to heaven (7, 82[3]). Mitra-Varuṇa raised or placed him in heaven (4, 13[2]; 5, 63[4. 7]). Soma placed light in the Sun (6, 44[23]; 9, 97[41]), generated Sūrya (9, 96[5]. 110[5]), caused him to shine (9, 63[7]), or raised him in heaven (9, 107[7]). Agni establishes the brightness of the sun on high (10, 3[2]) and caused him to ascend to heaven (10, 156[4]). Dhātṛ, the creator, fashioned the sun as well as the moon (10, 190[3]). The Aṅgirases by their rites caused him to ascend the sky (10, 62[3]). In all these passages referring to the generation of Sūrya the notion of the simple luminary doubtless predominates.

In various passages Sūrya is conceived as a bird traversing space. He is a bird (10, 177[1. 2]), or a ruddy bird (5, 47[3]), is represented as flying (1, 191[9]), is compared with a flying eagle (7, 63[5]) and seems to be directly called an eagle (5, 45[9])[1]. He is in one passage called a bull as well as a bird (5, 47[3]) and in another a mottled bull[2] (10, 189[1] cp. 5, 47[3]). He is once alluded to as a white and brilliant steed[3] brought by Uṣas (7, 77[3]). Sūrya's horses represent his rays (which are seven in number: 8, 61[16]), for the latter (*ketavaḥ*), it is said, bring (*vahanti*) him. His seven mares are called the daughters of his car (1, 50[9]).

Elsewhere Sūrya is occasionally spoken of as an inanimate object. He is a gem of the sky (7, 63[4] cp. 6, 51[1]) and is alluded to as the variegated stone placed in the midst of heaven (5, 47[3] cp. ŚB. 6, 1, 2[3]). He is a brilliant weapon (*āyudha*) which Mitra-Varuṇa conceal with cloud and rain (5, 63[4]), he is the felly (*pavi*) of Mitra-Varuṇa (5, 62[2]), or a brilliant car placed in heaven by Mitra-Varuṇa (5, 63[7]). The sun is also called a wheel (1, 175[4]; 4, 30[4]) or the 'wheel of the sun' is spoken of (4, 28[2]; 5, 29[10]).

Sūrya shines for all the world (7, 63[1]), for men and gods (1, 50[5]). He dispels the darkness with his light (10, 37[4]). He rolls up the darkness as a skin (7, 63[1]). His rays throw off the darkness as a skin into the waters (4, 13[4]). He triumphs over beings of darkness and witches (1, 191[8. 9] cp. 7, 104[24]). There are only two or three allusions to the sun's burning heat (7, 34[19]; 9, 107[20]); for in the RV. the sun is not a maleficent power[4], and for this aspect of the luminary only passages from the AV. and the literature of the Brāhmaṇas can be quoted[5].

Sūrya measures the days (1, 50[7]) and prolongs the days of life (8,48[7]). He drives away sickness, disease, and every evil dream (10, 37[4]). To live is to see the Sun rise (4,25[4]; 6,52[5]). All creatures depend on Sūrya (1,164[14]). and the sky is upheld by him (10, 85[1]). The epithet 'all-creating' (*viśvakarman*) is also applied to him (10, 170[4]; cp. § 39). By his greatness he is the divine priest (*asuryaḥ purohitaḥ*) of the gods (8, 90[12]). At his rising he is prayed to declare men sinless to Mitra-Varuṇa and other gods (7, 60[1]. 62[2]). He is said, when rising, to go to the Vṛtra-slayer Indra and is even styled a Vṛtra-slayer himself when invoked with Indra (8, 82[1. 2. 4]).

The only myth told about Sūrya is that Indra vanquished him (10, 43[5]) and stole his wheel (1, 175[4]; 4, 30[4]). This may allude to the obscuration of the sun by a thunderstorm.

In the Avesta, the sun, *hvare* (= Vedic *svar*, of which *sūrya*[6] is a de-

rivative and to which Gk. ἠέλιος[7] is allied) has swift horses, like Sūrya, and is called the eye of Ahura Mazda[8].

[1] Cp. ZDMG. 7, 475—6. — [2] Otherwise HVM. 1, 345, note 3. — [3] Cp. ZDMG. 2 223; 7, 82. — [4] BRV. 1, 6; 2, 2. — [5] Ehni, Yama 134. — [6] KZ. 12, 358; J. Schmidt, KZ. 26, 9 — [7] Brugmann, Grundriss 1, 218. — [8] Sp.AP. 1, 190—1; cp. Oldenberg, ZDMG. 50, 49.

Nirukta 12, 14—16; OST. 5, 151—61; GKR. 55—6; BRI. 20; KRV. 54—5. 145; BRV. 1, 7; HVM. 1, 45; HVBP. 29—30; ORV. 240—1; HRI. 40—6.

§ 15. Savitṛ. — Savitṛ is celebrated in eleven whole hymns of the RV. and in parts of others, his name being mentioned about 170 times. Eight or nine of these are in the family books, while all but three of those to Sūrya are in the first and tenth. Savitṛ is preëminently a golden deity; nearly all his members and his equipment being described by that epithet. He is golden-eyed (1, 35[8]), golden-handed (1, 35[9. 10]), golden-tongued (6, 71[3]), all these epithets being peculiar to him. He has golden arms (6, 71[1. 5]; 7, 45[2]), and is broad-handed (2, 38[4]) or beautiful-handed (3, 33[6]). He is also pleasant-tongued (6, 71[4]) or beautiful-tongued (3, 54[11]), and is once called iron-jawed (6, 71[4]). He is yellow-haired (10, 139[1]), an attribute of Agni and Indra also. He puts on a tawny garment (4, 53[2]). He has a golden car with a golden pole (1, 35[2. 5]), which is omniform (1, 35[3]), just as he himself assumes all forms (5, 81[2]). His car is drawn by two radiant steeds or by two or more brown, white-footed horses (1, 35[2. 5]; 7, 45[1]).

Mighty splendour (*amati*) is preëminently attributed to Savitṛ, and mighty golden splendour to him only (3, 38[8]; 7, 38[1]). This splendour he stretches out or diffuses. He illumines the air, heaven and earth, the world, the spaces of the earth, the vault of heaven (1, 35[7. 8]; 4, 14[2]. 53[4]; 5, 81[2]). He raises aloft his strong golden arms, with which he blesses and arouses all beings and which extend to the ends of the earth (2, 38[2]; 4, 53[3. 4]; 6, 71[1. 5]; 7, 45[2]). The raising of his arms is characteristic, for the action of other gods is compared with it. Agni is said to raise his arms like Savitṛ (1, 95[7]); the dawns extend light as Savitṛ his arms (7, 79[2]), and Bṛhaspati is implored to raise hymns of praise as Savitṛ his arms (1, 190[3]). He moves in his golden car, seeing all creatures, on a downward and an upward path (1, 35[2. 3]). He impels the car of the Aśvins before dawn (1, 34[10]). He shines after the path of the dawn (5, 81[2]). He has measured out the earthly spaces, he goes to the three bright realms of heaven and is united with the rays of the sun (5, 81[3. 4]). The only time the epithet *sūrya-raśmi* is used in the RV. it is applied to Savitṛ: 'Shining with the rays of the sun, yellow-haired, Savitṛ raises up his light continually from the east' (10, 139[1]). He thrice surrounds the air, the three spaces, the three bright realms of heaven (4, 53[5]: cp. Viṣṇu, § 17). His ancient paths in the air are dustless and easy to traverse, on them he is besought to protect his worshippers (1, 35[11]). He is prayed to convey the departed spirit to where the righteous dwell (10, 17[4]). He bestows immortality on the gods as well as length of life on man (4, 54[2]). He also bestowed immortality on the Ṛbhus, who by the greatness of their deeds went to his house (1, 110[2. 3]). Like Sūrya, he is implored to remove evil dreams (5, 82[4]) and to make men sinless (4, 54[3]). He drives away evil spirits and sorcerers (1, 35[10]; 7, 38[7]).

Like many other gods Savitṛ is called *asura* (4, 53[1]). He observes fixed laws (4, 53[4]; 10, 34[8]. 139[3]). The waters and the wind are subject to his ordinance (2, 38[2]). He leads the waters and by his propulsion they flow broadly (3, 33[6] cp. Nir. 2, 26). The other gods follow his lead (5, 81[3]). No being, not even Indra, Varuṇa, Mitra, Aryaman, Rudra, can resist his will and independent

dominion (2, 38[7. 9]; 5, 82[2]). His praises are celebrated by the Vasus, Aditi, Varuṇa, Mitra and Aryaman (7, 38[3. 4]). Like Pūṣan and Sūrya, he is lord of that which moves and is stationary (4, 53[6]). He is lord of all desirable things, and sends blessings from heaven, air, earth (1, 24[3]; 2, 38[11]). He is twice (1, 123[3]; 6, 71[4]) even spoken of as 'domestic' (*damūnas*), an epithet otherwise almost entirely limited to Agni. Like other gods, he is a supporter of the sky (4, 53[2]; 10, 149[4]). He supports the whole world (4, 54[4]). He fixed the earth with bonds and made firm the sky in the rafterless space (10, 149[1]).

Savitṛ is at least once (1, 22[6]) called 'child of Waters' (*apāṃ napāt*), an epithet, otherwise exclusively belonging to Agni. It is probably also applied to him in 10, 149[2 2]. Yāska (Nir. 10, 32) commenting on this verse regards Savitṛ here as belonging to the middle region (or atmosphere) because he causes rain, adding that the sun (*Āditya*, who is in heaven) is also called Savitṛ[3]. It is probably owing to this epithet and because Savitṛ's paths are once (1, 35[11]) said to be in the atmosphere, that this deity occurs among the gods of the middle region as well as among those of heaven in the Naighaṇṭuka. Savitṛ is once called the *prajāpati* of the world (4, 53[2]). In the ŚB. (12, 3, 5[1]) people are said to identify Savitṛ with Prajāpati; and in the TB. (1, 6, 4[1]) it is stated that Prajāpati becoming Savitṛ created living beings[4]. Savitṛ is alone lord of vivifying power and by his movements (*yāmabhiḥ*) becomes Pūṣan (5, 82[5]). In his vivifying power Pūṣan marches, beholding all beings as a guardian (10, 139[1]). In two consecutive verses (3, 62[9. 10]) Pūṣan and Savitṛ are thought of as connected. In the first the favour of Pūṣan who sees all beings is invoked, and in the second, Savitṛ is besought to stimultae (cp. Pūṣan, p. 36) the thoughts of worshippers who desire to think of the excellent brilliance of god Savitṛ. The latter verse is the celebrated *Sāvitrī*, with which Savitṛ was in later times invoked at the beginning of Vedic study[5]. Savitṛ is also said to become Mitra by reason of his laws (5, 81[4]). Savitṛ seems sometimes (5, 82[1. 3]; 7, 38[1. 6]) to be identified with Bhaga also, unless the latter word is here only an epithet of Savitṛ. The name of Bhaga (the good god bestowing benefits) is indeed often added to that of Savitṛ so as to form the single expression *Savitā Bhagaḥ* or *Bhagaḥ Savitā*[6]. In other texts, however, Savitṛ is distinguished from Mitra, Pūṣan, and Bhaga. In several passages Savitṛ and Sūrya appear to be spoken of indiscriminately to denote the same deity. Thus a poet says: 'God Savitṛ has raised aloft his brilliance, making light for the whole world; Sūrya shining brightly has filled heaven and earth and air with his rays' (4, 14[2]). In another hymn (7, 63) Sūrya is (in verses 1. 2. 4) spoken of in terms (e. g. *prasavitṛ*, vivifier) usually applied to Savitṛ, and in the third verse Savitṛ is apparently mentioned as the same god. In other hymns also (10, 158[1–4]; 1, 35[1–11]. 124[1]) it is hardly possible to keep the two deities apart. In passages such as the following, Savitṛ is, however, distinguished from Sūrya. 'Savitṛ moves between both heaven and earth, drives away disease, impels (*veti*) the sun' (1, 35[9]). Savitṛ declares men sinless to the sun (1, 123[3]). He combines with the rays of the sun (5, 81[4]) or shines with the rays of the sun (10, 139[1] cp. 181[3]; 1, 157[1]; 7, 35[8. 10]). With Mitra, Aryaman, Bhaga, Savitṛ is besought to vivify the worshipper when the sun has risen (7, 66[4]).

According to Yāska (Nir. 12, 12), the time of Savitṛ's appearance is when darkness has been removed. Sāyaṇa (on RV. 5, 81[4]) remarks that before his rising the sun is called Savitṛ, but from his rising to his setting, Sūrya. But Savitṛ is also sometimes spoken of as sending to sleep (4, 53[6]; 7, 45[1]), and must therefore be connected with evening as well as morning. He is, indeed,

extolled as the setting sun in one hymn (2, 38); and there are indications that most of the hymns addressed to him are meant for either a morning or an evening sacrifice[7]. He brings all two-footed and four-footed beings to rest and awakens them (6, 71[2] cp. 4, 53[3]; 7, 45[1]). He unyokes his steeds, brings the wanderer to rest; at his command night comes; the weaver rolls up her web and the skilful man lays down his unfinished work (2, 38[3. 4]). Later the west was wont to be assigned to him (ŚB. 3, 2, 3[18]), as the east to Agni and the south to Soma.

The name Savitṛ has all the appearance of being a word of purely Indian formation. This is borne out by the fact that the root *sū*, from which it is derived, is continually used along with it in a manner which is unique in the RV. Some other verb would nearly always be used to express the same action in connexion with any other god. In the case of Savitṛ not only is the root itself used, but also several derivatives (such as *prasavitṛ* and *prasava*) constituting a perpetual play on the name[8]. These frequent combinations show clearly that the root has the sense of stimulating, arousing, vivifying. A few examples may here be given in illustration of this peculiar usage. 'God Savitṛ has aroused (*prāsāvīt*) each moving thing' (1, 157[1]). 'Thou alone art the lord of stimulation' (*prasavasya*: 5, 81[5]). 'Savitṛ bestowed (*āsuvat*) that immortality on you' (1, 110[3]). 'God Savitṛ has arisen to arouse (*savāya*) us' (2, 38[1]). 'Thrice a day Savitṛ sends down (*soṣavīti*) boons from the sky' (3, 56[6]). 'Do thou, o Savitṛ, constitute (*suvatāt*) us sinless' (4, 54[3]). 'May we being sinless towards Aditi through the influence (*save*) of Savitṛ possess all boons' (5, 82[6]). 'Send away (*parā sava*) evil dream, send away all calamities, bestow (*āsuva*) what is good (ib. [4. 5]). 'May Savitṛ remove (*apa sāviṣat*) sickness' (10, 100[8]). With this verb Savitṛ is specially often besought to bestow wealth (2, 56[6] &c.). This use of *sū* is almost peculiar to Savitṛ; but it is two or three times applied to Sūrya (7, 63[2. 4]; 10, 37[4]). It also occurs with Uṣas (7, 77[1]), with Varuṇa (2, 28[9]), with the Ādityas (8, 18[1]), and with Mitra, Aryaman coupled with Savitṛ (7, 66[4]). This employment being so frequent, Yāska (Nir. 10, 31) defines Savitṛ as *sarvasya prasavitā*, 'the stimulator of everything'.

The fact that in nearly half its occurrences the name is accompanied by *deva*, god, seems to show that is has not yet lost the nature of an epithet, meaning 'the stimulator god'. At any rate, the word appears to be an epithet of Tvaṣṭṛ in two passages (3, 55[19]; 10, 10[5]), where the juxtaposition of the words *devas tvaṣṭā savitā viśvarūpa* and the collocation with *deva* indicate that Savitṛ is here identical with Tvaṣṭṛ.

We may therefore conclude that Savitṛ was originally an epithet of Indian origin applied to the sun as the great stimulator of life and motion in the world, representing the most important movement which dominates all others in the universe, but that as differentiated from Sūrya he is a more abstract deity. He is in the eyes of the Vedic poets the divine power of the sun personified, while Sūrya is the more concrete deity, in the conception of whom the outward form of the sun-body is never absent owing to the identity of his name with that of the orb (cp. 1, 35[9]. 124[1]).

Oldenberg[9], reversing the order of development generally recognized, thinks that Savitṛ represents an abstraction of the idea of stimulation and that the notion of the sun, or of the sun in a particular direction, is only secondary in his character[10].

1 HRI. 44. — 2 Cp. v. Bradke, ZDMG. 40. 355; HRI. 48. — 3 Cp. Roth, Nirukta Erl. 143; OST. 4, 96. 111. — 4 Weber, Omina und Portenta 386. 392. — 5 Whitney in Colebrooke's essays. rev. ed. 2, 111. — 6 BRV. 3, 39. — 7 HRI.

46. — [8] ROTH, op. cit. 76. — [9] ORV. 64—5. — [10] MACDONELL, JRAS. 27, 951—2; v. SCHROEDER, WZKM. 9, 125.

WHITNEY, JAOS. 3, 324; OST. 5, 162—70; ROTH, PW.; ZDMG. 24, 306—8; GRV. I, 49; GW. s. v.; KRV. 56; BRV. 3, 38—64; HVBP. 33.

§ 16. Pūṣan. — The name of Pūṣan is mentioned about 120 times in the RV. and he is celebrated in eight hymns (five of them occurring in the sixth, two in the first, and one in the tenth book). He is also lauded as a dual divinity in one hymn (6, 57) with Indra and in another with Soma (2, 40). Thus statistically he occupies a somewhat higher position than Viṣṇu (§ 17). In the later Vedic and the post-Vedic periods his name is mentioned with increasing rareness. His individuality is indistinct and his anthropomorphic traits are scanty. His foot is referred to when he is asked to trample on the brand of the wicked. His right hand is also mentioned (6, 54[10]). He has (like Rudra) braided hair (6, 55[2]) and a beard (10, 26[7]). He wields a golden spear (1, 42[6]) and carries an awl (6, 53[5. 6. 8]) or a goad (53[9]. 58[2]). The wheel, the felly, and the seat of his car (6, 54[3]) are spoken of and he is called the best charioteer (6, 56[2. 3]). His car is drawn by goats[1] (*aja-śva*) instead of horses (1, 38[4]; 6, 55[3. 4]). He eats, for his food is gruel (6, 56[1] cp. 3, 52[7]). It is probably for this reason that he is said to be toothless in the SB. (1, 7, 4[7]).

Pūṣan sees all creatures clearly and at once (3, 62[9]), these identical words being applied to Agni also (10, 187[4]). He is 'the lord of all things moving and stationary' almost the same words with which Sūrya is described (1, 115[1]; 7, 60[2]). He is the wooer of his mother (6, 55[5]) or the lover of his sister (ib. [4. 5]), similar expressions being used of Sūrya (1, 115[2]) and of Agni (10, 3[3]). The gods are said to have given him, subdued by love, to the sun-maiden Sūryā in marriage (6, 58[4]). Probably as the husband of Sūryā, Pūṣan is connected with the marriage ceremonial in the wedding hymn (10, 85), being besought to take the bride's hand and lead her away and to bless her in her conjugal relation[2] (v. 37). In another passage (9, 67[10]) he is besought to give his worshippers their share of maidens. With his golden ships which move in the aerial ocean, subdued by love he acts as the messenger[3] of Sūrya (6, 58[3]). He moves onward beholding the universe (2, 40[5]; 6, 58[2]) and makes his abode in heaven (2, 40[4]). He is a guardian, who goes at the instigation of Savitṛ, knowing and beholding all creatures. In a hymn devoted to his praise, Pūṣan is said as best of charioteers to have driven downwards the golden wheel of the sun (6, 56[3]), but the connexion is obscure (cp. Nir. 2, 6). A frequent and exclusive epithet of Pūṣan is 'glowing' (*āghṛṇi*). He is once termed *agohya*, 'not to be concealed', an attribute almost peculiar to Savitṛ.

Pūṣan is born on the far path of paths, on the far path of heaven and of earth; he goes to and returns from both the beloved abodes, knowing them (6, 17[6]). Owing to this familiarity he conducts the dead on the far path to the Fathers, as Agni and Savitṛ take them to where the righteous have gone and where they and the gods abide, and leads his worshippers thither in safety, showing them the way (10, 17[3—5]). The AV. also speaks of Pūṣan as conducting to the world of the righteous, the beautiful world of the gods (AV. 16, 9[2]; 18, 2[53]). So Pūṣan's goat conducts the sacrificial horse (1, 162[2. 3]). Perhaps to Pūṣan's familiarity with the (steep) paths is due the notion that his car is drawn by the sure-footed goat.

As knower of paths, Pūṣan is conceived as a guardian of roads. He is besought to remove dangers, the wolf, the waylayer, from the path (1, 42[1—3]). In this connexion he is called *vimuco napāt*, 'son of deliverance'[4]. The same

epithet is applied to him in another passage (6, 55[1]) and he is twice (8, 4[15. 16]) called *vimocana*, 'deliverer'. As *vimuco napāt* he is invoked to deliver from sin' (AV. 6, 112[3]). Pūṣan is prayed to disperse foes and make the paths lead to booty (6, 53[4]), to remove foes, to make the paths good, and to lead to good pasture (1, 42[7. 8]). He is invoked to protect from harm on his path (6, 54[9]) and to grant an auspicious path (10, 59[7]). He is the guardian of every path (6, 49[8]) and lord of the road (6, 53[1]). He is a guide (*prapathya*) on roads (VS. 22, 20). So in the Sūtras, whoever is starting on a journey makes an offering to Pūṣan, the road-maker, while reciting RV. 6, 53; and whoever loses his way, turns to Pūṣan (AGS. 3, 7[8. 9]; ŚŚS. 3, 4[9]). Moreover, in the morning and evening offerings to all gods and beings, Pūṣan the road-maker receives his on the threshold of the house (ŚGS. 2, 14[9]).

As knower of ways he can make hidden goods manifest and easy to find (6, 48[15]). He is in one passage (1, 23[14. 15] cp. TS. 3, 3, 9[1]) said to have found the king who was lost and hidden in secret (probably Soma), and asked to bring him like a lost beast. So in the Sūtras, Pūṣan is sacrificed to when anything lost is sought (AGS. 3, 7[9]). Similarly, it is characteristic of Pūṣan that he follows and protects cattle (6, 54[5. 6. 10]. 58[2] cp. 10, 26[3]). He preserves them from injury by falling into a pit, brings them home unhurt, and drives back the lost (6, 54[7. 10]). His goad directs cattle straight (6, 53[9]). Perhaps connected with the idea of guiding straight is the notion that he directs the furrow (4, 57[7]). Pūṣan also protects horses (6, 54[5]) and weaves and smooths the clothing of sheep (10, 26[6]). Hence beasts are said to be sacred to Pūṣan (1, 5[1. 2]), and he is called the producer of cattle (MS. 4, 3[7]; TB. 1, 7, 2[4]). In the Sūtras verses to Pūṣan are prescribed to be recited when cows are driven to pasture or stray (ŚGS. 3, 9).

Pūṣan has various attributes in common with other gods. He is called *asura* (5, 51[11]). He is strong (5, 43[9]), vigorous (8, 4[15]), nimble (6, 54[8]), powerful (1, 138[1]), resistless (6, 48[15]). He transcends mortals and is equal to the gods in glory (6, 48[19]). He is a ruler of heroes (1, 106[4]), an unconquerable protector and defender (1, 89[5]), and assists in battle (6, 48[19]). He is a protector of the world (10, 17[3] cp. 2, 40[1]). He is a seer, a protecting friend of the priest, the unshaken friend born of old, of every suppliant (10, 26[5. 8]). He is wise (1, 42[5]) and liberal[5] (2, 31[4]). His bounty is particularly often mentioned. He possesses all wealth (1, 89[6]), abounds in wealth (8, 4[15]), gives increase of wealth (1, 89[5]), is beneficent (1, 138[2]), bountiful (6, 58[4]; 8, 4[18]), and bestows all blessings (1, 42[6]). He is the strong friend of abundance, the strong lord and increaser of nourishment (10, 26[7. 8]). The term *dasra*, 'wonder-working', distinctive of the Aśvins, is a few times (1, 42[5]; 6, 56[4]) applied to him, as well as *dasma*, 'wondrous' (1, 42[10]. 138[4]) and *dasma-varcas*, 'of wondrous splendour' (6, 58[4]), usually said of Agni and Indra. He is also twice (1, 106[4]; 10, 64[3]) called Narāśaṃsa 'praised of men', an epithet otherwise exclusively limited to Agni. He is once spoken of as 'all-pervading' (2, 40[6]). He is termed 'devotion-stimulating' (9, 88[3]), is invoked to quicken devotion (2, 40[6]), and his awl is spoken of as 'prayer-instigating' (6, 53[8]; cp. Savitṛ, p. 33).

The epithets exclusively connected with Pūṣan are *āghṛṇi*, *ajāśva*, *vimocana*, *vimuco napāt*, and once each *puṣṭimbhara*, 'bringing prosperity', *anaṣṭapaśu*, 'losing no cattle', *anaṣṭavedas*, 'losing no goods', *karambhād*, 'eating gruel'. The latter attribute seems to have been a cause for despising Pūṣan by some (cp. 6, 56[1]; 1, 138[4])[6]. *Karambha*, mentioned three times in the RV., is Pūṣan's distinctive food, being contrasted with Soma as Indra's (6, 57[2]). Indra, however, shares it (3, 52[7]), and in the only two passages in which the

adjective *karambhin* 'mixed with gruel' occurs, it applies to the libation of Indra (3, 52[1]; 8, 80[2]). Pūṣan is the only god who receives the epithet *paśupā*, 'protector of cattle' (6, 58[2]) directly (and not in comparisons).

The only deities with whom Pūṣan is invoked conjointly in the dual are Soma (2, 40) and Indra (6, 57), whose brother he is once called (6, 55[5]). Next to these two, Pūṣan is most frequently addressed with Bhaga (1, 90[4]; 4, 30[24]; 5, 41[4]. 46[2]; 10, 125[2]; cp. ŚB. 11, 4, 3[3]; KŚS. 5, 13[1]) and Viṣṇu (1, 90[5]; 5, 46[3]; 6, 21[9]; 7, 44[1]; 10, 66[5]), his name in all these passages of the RV. being in juxtaposition with theirs. He is occasionally addressed with various other deities also.

The evidence adduced does not show clearly that Pūṣan represents a phenomenon of nature. But a large number of passages quoted at the beginning point to his being closely connected with the sun. Yāska, too, (Nir. 7, 9) explains Pūṣan to be 'the sun (*Āditya*), the preserver of all beings', and in post-Vedic literature Pūṣan occasionally occurs as a name of the sun. The path of the sun which leads from earth to heaven, the abode of the gods and the pious dead, might account for a solar deity being both a conductor of departed souls (like Savitṛ) and a guardian of paths in general. The latter aspect of his character would explain his special bucolic features as a guide and protector of cattle, which form a part of his general nature as a promoter of prosperity. Mithra, the solar deity of the Avesta, has the bucolic traits of increasing cattle and bringing back beasts that have strayed[7].

Etymologically the word means 'prosperer' as derived from the root *puṣ*, 'to cause to thrive'. This side of his character is conspicuous both in his epithets *viśvavedas, anaṣṭavedas, purūvasu, puṣṭimbhara*, and in the frequent invocations to him to bestow wealth and protection (6, 48[15] &c.). He is lord of great wealth, a stream of wealth, a heap of riches (6, 55[2. 3]). But the prosperitiy he confers is not, as in the case of Indra, Parjanya, and the Maruts, connected with rain, but with light, which is emphasized by his exclusive epithet 'glowing'. The welfare which he bestows results from the protection he extends to men and cattle on earth, and from his guidance of men to the abodes of bliss in the next world. Thus the conception which seems to underlie the character of Pūṣan, is the beneficent power of the sun manifested chiefly as a pastoral deity.

[1] KRV. note 120. — [2] IS. 5, 186. 190. — [3] GGA. 1889, p. 8. — [4] OST. 5, 175; GW.; LRV. 4, 444; HVBP. 34, and BRV. (who explains the original meaning differently); 'Sohn der Einkehr' (= unyoking): ROTH, PW. und ORV. 232; 'Son of the cloud': Sāyana and GRIFFITH on RV. 1, 42[1]. — [5] *Puramdhi* according to HILLEBRANDT, WZKM. 3, 192—3, means 'active, zealous'. — [6] HRI. 51. — [7] Sp.AP. 184.

WHITNEY, JAOS. 3, 325; OST. 5, 171—80; GUBERNATIS, Letture 82; BRV. 2, 420—30; KRV. 55; PVS. 1, 11; HVM. 1, 456; HVBP. 34; ORV. 230—3 (cp. WZKM. 9, 252); PERRY, Drisler Memorial 241—3; HRI. 50—3.

§ 17. Viṣṇu. — Viṣṇu, though a deity of capital importance in the mythology of the Brāhmaṇas, occupies but a subordinate position in the RV. His personality is at the same time more important there than would appear from the statistical standard alone. According to that he would be a deity only of the fourth rank, for he is celebrated in not more than five whole hymns and in part of another, while his name occurs only about 100 times altogether in the RV. The only anthropomorphic traits of Viṣṇu are the frequently mentioned strides which he takes, and his being a youth vast in body, who is no longer a child (1, 155[6]). The essential feature of his character is that he takes (generally expressed by *vi-kram*) three strides, which are referred to about a dozen times. His epithets *urugāya*, 'wide-going' and *urukrama*,

'wide-striding', which also occur about a dozen times, allude to the same action. With these three steps Viṣṇu is described as traversing the earth or the terrestrial spaces. Two of these steps or spaces are visible to men, but the third or highest step is beyond the flight of birds or mortal ken (1, 155[5]; 7, 99[2]). The same notion seems to be mystically expressed (1, 155[3]) when he is said to bear his third name in the bright realm of heaven. The highest place of Viṣṇu is regarded as identical with the highest place of Agni, for Viṣṇu guards the highest, the third place of Agni (10, 1[3]) and Agni with the loftiest station of Viṣṇu guards the mysterious cows (probably = clouds: 5, 3[3]). The highest step of Viṣṇu is seen by the liberal like an eye fixed in heaven (1, 22[20]). It is his dear abode, where pious men rejoice and where there is a well of honey (1, 154[5]), and where the gods rejoice (8, 29[7]). This highest step[1] shines down brightly and is the dwelling of Indra and Viṣṇu, where are the many-horned swiftly moving cows[2] (probably = clouds), and which the singer desires to attain (1, 154[6]). Within these three footsteps all beings dwell (1, 154[2]), and they are full of honey (1, 154[4]), probably because the third and most important is full of it[3]. Viṣṇu guards the highest abode (*pāthas*)[4], which implies his favourite dwelling-place (3, 55[10]) and is elsewhere expressly stated to be so (1, 154[5]). In another passage (7, 100[5]) Viṣṇu is less definitely said to dwell far from this space. He is once spoken of (1, 156[5]) as having three abodes, *triṣadhastha*, an epithet primarily appropriate to Agni (§ 35).

The opinion that Viṣṇu's three steps refer to the course of the sun is almost unanimous. But what did they originally represent? The purely naturalistic interpretation favoured by most European scholars[5] and by Yāska's predecessor Aurṇavābha (Nir. 12, 19) takes the three steps to mean the rising, culminating, and setting of the sun. The alternative view, which prevails throughout the younger Vedas, the Brāhmaṇas, as well as post-Vedic literature, and was supported by Yāska's predecessor Śākapūṇi and is favoured by Bergaigne and the present writer[8], interprets the three steps as the course of the solar deity through the three divisions of the universe. With the former interpretation is at variance the fact that the third step of Viṣṇu shows no trace of being connected with sunset, but on the contrary is identical with the highest step. The alternative view does not conflict with what evidence the RV. itself supplies, and is supported by the practically unvarying tradition in India beginning with the later Vedas.

That the idea of motion is characteristic of Viṣṇu is shown by other expressions besides the three steps. The epithets 'wide-going' and 'wide-striding' are almost entirely limited to Viṣṇu, as well as the verb *vi-kram*. The latter is also employed in allusion to the sun, spoken of as the variegated stone placed in the midst of heaven, which took strides (5, 47[3]). Viṣṇu is also swift *eṣa* (otherwise said only once of Bṛhaspati) or 'swift-going' *evayā*, *evayāvan* (otherwise connected only with the Maruts). Coupled with the constant idea of swift and far-extending motion is that of regularity. In taking his three strides Viṣṇu observes laws (1, 22[18]). Like other deities typical of regular recurrence (Agni, Soma, Sūrya, Uṣas), Viṣṇu is the 'ancient germ of order', and an ordainer, who (like Agni, Sūrya, Uṣas) is both ancient and recent (1, 156[2–4]). In the same words as the sun-god Savitṛ (5, 81[3]), he is said (1, 154[1]; 6, 49[13]) to have measured out the earthly spaces. With this may also be compared the statement that Varuṇa measured out the spaces with the sun (p. 11). Viṣṇu is in one passage (1, 155[6] cp. 1, 164[47. 48]) described as setting in motion like a revolving wheel his 90 steeds (= days) with their four names (= seasons). This can hardly refer to anything but

the solar year of 360 days. In the AV. (5, 26[7]) Viṣṇu is besought to best heat on the sacrifice. In the Brāhmaṇas Viṣṇu's head when cut off becom the sun. In post-Vedic literature one of Viṣṇu's weapons is a rolling whe which is represented like the sun (cp. RV. 5, 63[4]), and his vehicle is Garu chief of birds, who is of brilliant lustre like Agni, and is also called *garutm* and *suparṇa*, two terms already applied to the sun-bird in the RV. Fina the post-Vedic *kaustubha* or breast-jewel of Viṣṇu has been explained as t sun by KUHN[9]. Thus though Viṣṇu is no longer clearly connected with natural phenomenon, the evidence appears to justify the inference that was originally conceived as the sun, not in his general character, but as t personified swiftly moving luminary, which with vast strides traverses the whc universe. This explanation would be borne out by the derivation from t root *viṣ*[10], which is used tolerably often in the RV. and primarily means ' be active' (PW.). According to this, Viṣṇu would be the 'active one' as r presenting solar motion. OLDENBERG, however, thinks that every definite tra of solar character is lacking in Viṣṇu, that he was from the beginning co ceived only as a traverser of wide space, and that no concrete natural co ception corresponded to the three steps. The number of the steps he att butes simply to the fondness for triads in mythology.

Viṣṇu's highest step, as has been indicated, is conceived as his distincti abode. The sun would naturally be thought of as stationary in the meridi rather than anywhere else. So we find the name of the zenith in Yāska be *viṣṇupada*, the step or place of Viṣṇu. Probably connected with the sar range of ideas are the epithets 'mountain-dwelling' (*girikṣit*) and 'mountai abiding' (*giriṣṭhā*) applied to Viṣṇu in the same hymn (1, 154[2. 3]); for in tl next hymn (1, 155[1]) Viṣṇu and Indra are conjointly called 'the two undeceivab ones, who have stood on the summit (*sānuni*) of the mountains, as it were wi an unerring steed'. This would allude to the sun looking down from tl height of the cloud mountains[12] (cp. 5, 87[4]). It is probably owing to suc expressions in the RV. that Viṣṇu is later called 'lord of mountains' (TS. 4, 5[1]).

The reason why Viṣṇu took his three steps is a secondary trait. H thrice traversed the earthly spaces for man in distress (6, 49[13]); he traverse the earth to bestow it on man for a dwelling (7, 100[4]); he traversed tl earthly spaces for wide-stepping existence (1, 155[4]); with Indra he took va strides and stretched out the worlds for our existence (6, 69[5. 6]). To th feature in the RV. may ultimately be traced the myth of Viṣṇu's dwarf i carnation which appears in the Epic and the Purāṇas. The intermediate sta is found in the Brāhmaṇas (ŚB. 1, 2, 5[5]; TS. 2, 1, 3[1]; TB. 1, 6, 1[5]), where Viṣ already assumes the form of a dwarf, in order by artifice to recover tl earth for the gods from the Asuras by taking his three strides[13].

The most prominent secondary characteristic of Viṣṇu is his friendshi for Indra, with whom he is frequently allied in the fight with Vṛtra. This indicated by the fact that one whole hymn (6, 69) is dedicated to the tw deities conjointly, and that Indra's name is coupled with that of Viṣṇu in th dual as often as with that of Soma, though the name of the latter occu vastly oftener in the RV. The closeness of their alliance is also indicate by the fact that in hymns extolling Viṣṇu alone, Indra is the only other dei incidentally associated with him either explicitly (7, 99[5. 6]; 1, 155[2]) or in plicitly (7, 99[4]; 1, 154[6]. 155[1]; cp. 1, 61[7])[14]. Viṣṇu strode his three steps t tha energy (*ojasā*) of Indra (8, 12[27]), who in the preceding verse is describe as slaying Vṛtra, or for Indra (Vāl. 4[3]). Indra about to slay Vṛtra says, 'frier Viṣṇu, stride out vastly' (4, 18[11]). In company with Viṣṇu, Indra slew Vṛt

(6, 20[2]). Viṣṇu and Indra together triumphed over the Dāsa, destroyed Śambara's 99 castles and conquered the hosts of Varcin (7, 99[4. 5]). Viṣṇu is Indra's intimate friend (1, 22[19]). Viṣṇu accompanied by his friend opens the cows' stall (1, 156[4]). In the ŚB. (5, 5, 5[1]) Indra is described as shooting the thunderbolt at Vṛtra, while Viṣṇu follows him (cp. TS. 6, 5, 1[1]). Viṣṇu is also invoked with Indra in various single verses (4, 2[4]. 55[4]; 8, 10[2]; 10, 66[4]). When associated with Indra as a dual divinity, Viṣṇu shares Indra's powers of drinking Soma (6,69) as well as his victories (7, 99[4–6]), Indra conversely participating in Viṣṇu's power of striding (6, 69[5]; 7, 99[6]). To both conjointly is attributed the action of creating the wide air and of spreading out the spaces (6, 69[5]) and of producing Sūrya, Uṣas, and Agni (7, 99[4]). Owing to this friendship Indra drinks Soma beside Viṣṇu (8, 3[8]. 12[10]) and thereby increases his strength (8, 3[8]; 10, 113[2]). Indra drank the Soma pressed by Viṣṇu in three cups (2, 22[1] cp. 6, 17[11]), which recall Viṣṇu's three footsteps filled with honey (1, 154[4]). Viṣṇu also cooks for Indra 100 buffaloes (6, 17[11]) or 100 buffaloes and a brew of milk (8, 66[10] cp. 1, 61[7]). Along with Mitra, Varuṇa, and the Maruts, Viṣṇu celebrates Indra with songs (8, 15[9]).

Indra's constant attendants in the Vṛtra-fight, the Maruts, are also drawn into association with Viṣṇu. When Viṣṇu favoured the exhilerating Soma, the Maruts like birds sat down on their beloved altar (1, 85[7])[15]. The Maruts are invoked at the offering of the swift Viṣṇu (2, 34[11] cp. 7, 40[5]). They are the bountiful ones of the swift Viṣṇu (8, 20[3]). The Maruts supported Indra, while Pūṣan Viṣṇu cooked 100 buffaloes for him (6, 17[11]). Viṣṇu is the ordainer associated with the Maruts (*māruta*), whose will Varuṇa and the Aśvins follow (1, 156[4]). Throughout one hymn (5, 87, especially verses [4.5]) he is associated with the Maruts, with whom, when he starts, he speeds along[16].

Among stray references to Viṣṇu in the RV. may be mentioned one (7, 100[6]) in which different forms of Viṣṇu are spoken of: 'Do not conceal from us this form, since thou didst assume another form in battle'. He is further said to be a protector of embryos (7, 36[9]) and is invoked along with other deities to promote conception (10, 184[1]). In the third verse of the *Khila* after 10, 184[17], Viṣṇu is, according to one reading, called upon to place in the womb a male child with a most beautiful form, or, according to another, a male child with Viṣṇu's most beautiful form is prayed for[18].

Other traits of Viṣṇu are applicable to the gods in general. He is beneficent (1, 156[5]), is innocuous and bountiful (8, 25[12]), liberal (7, 40[5]), a guardian (3, 55[10]), who is undeceivable (1, 22[18]), and an innoxious and generous deliverer (1, 155[4]). He alone sustains the threefold (world), heaven and earth, and all beings (1, 154[4]). He fastened the world all about with pegs (7, 99[3]). He is an ordainer (1, 156[4]).

In the Brāhmaṇas Viṣṇu is conceived as taking his three steps in earth, air, and heaven (ŚB. 1, 9, 3[9]; TB. 3, 1, 2[7]). These three strides are imitated by the sacrificer, who takes three Viṣṇu strides beginning with earth and ending with heaven[19], for that is the goal, the safe refuge, which is the sun (ŚB. 1, 9, 3[10. 15]). The three steps of the Amṣaspands taken from earth to the sphere of the sun, are similarly imitated in the ritual of the Avesta[20]. A special feature of the Brāhmaṇas is the constant identification of Viṣṇu with the sacrifice.

Two myths connected with Viṣṇu, the source of which can be traced to the RV., are further developed in the Brāhmaṇas. Viṣṇu in alliance with Indra is in the RV. described as vanquishing demons. In the Brāhmaṇas the gods and demons commonly appear as two hostile hosts, the former not, as in the RV., uniformly victorious, but often worsted. They therefore have

recourse to artifice, in order to recover the supremacy. In the AB. (6, 15) it is related that Indra and Viṣṇu, engaged in conflict with the Asuras, agreed with the latter that as much as Viṣṇu could stride over in three steps should belong to the two deities. Viṣṇu accordingly strode over these worlds, the Vedas, and speech. The ŚB. (1, 2, 5) tells how the Asuras having overcome the gods began dividing the earth. The gods placing Viṣṇu, the sacrifice, at their head, came and asked for a share in the earth. The Asuras agreed to give up as much as Viṣṇu, who was a dwarf, could lie on. Then the gods by sacrificing with Viṣṇu, who was equal in size to sacrifice, gained the whole earth. The three steps are not mentioned here, but in another passage (ŚB. 1, 9, 3[9]), Viṣṇu is said to have acquired for the gods the all-pervading power which they now possess, by striding through the three worlds. It is further stated in TS. 2, 1, 3[1], that Viṣṇu, by assuming the form of a dwarf whom he had seen, conquered the three worlds (cp. TB. 1, 6, 1[5]). The introduction of the dwarf as a disguise of Viṣṇu is naturally to be accounted for as a stratagem to avert the suspicion of the Asuras[21]. This Brāhmana story forms the transition to the myth of Viṣṇu's Dwarf Incarnation in post-Vedic literature[22].

Another myth of the Brāhmaṇas has its origin in two passages of the RV. (1, 61[7]; 8, 66[10]). Their purport is that Viṣṇu having drunk Soma and being urged by Indra, carried off 100 buffaloes and a brew of milk belonging to the boar (= Vṛtra), while Indra shooting across the (cloud) mountain, slew the fierce (*emuṣam*) boar. This myth is in the TS. (6, 2, 4[2. 3]) developed as follows. A boar, the plunderer of wealth, kept the goods of the Asuras on the other side of seven hills. Indra plucking up a bunch of *kuśa* grass and piercing through these hills, slew the boar. Viṣnu, the sacrifice, carried the boar off as a sacrifice for the gods. So the gods obtained the goods of the Asuras. In the corresponding passage of the Kāṭhaka (IS. XI. p. 161) the boar is called Emūṣa. The same story with slight variations is told in the Caraka Brāhmaṇa (quoted by Sāyana on RV. 8,66[10]). This boar appears in a cosmogonic character in the ŚB. (14, 1, 2[11]) where under the name of Emūṣa he is stated to have raised up the earth from the waters. In the TS. (7, 1, 5[1]) this cosmogonic boar, which raised the earth from the primeval waters, is described as a form of Prajāpati. This modification of the myth is further expanded in the TB. (1, 1, 3[5]). In the post-Vedic mythology of the Rāmāyaṇa and the Purāṇas, the boar which raises the earth, has become one of the Avatārs of Viṣṇu.

The germs of two other Avatārs of Viṣṇu are to be found in the Brāhmaṇas, but not as yet connected with Viṣṇu. The fish which in the ŚB. (1, 8, 1[1]) delivers Manu from the flood, appears in the Mahābhārata as a form of Prajāpati, becoming in the Purāṇas an incarnation of Viṣṇu. In the ŚB. (7, 5, 1[5], cp. TA. 1, 23[3]) Prajāpati about to create offspring becomes a tortoise moving in the primeval waters. In the Purāṇas this tortoise is an Avatār of Viṣṇu, who assumes this form to recover various objects lost in the deluge[23].

The ŚB. (14, 1, 1) tells a myth of how Viṣṇu, the sacrifice, by first comprehending the issue of the sacrifice, became the most eminent among the gods, and how his head, by his bow starting asunder, was cut off and became the sun (*āditya*). To this story the TA. (5, 1, 1—7) adds the trait that the Aśvins as physicians replaced the head of the sacrifice and that the gods now able to offer it in its complete form conquered heaven (cp. PB. 7, 5[6]).

In the AB. (1, 1) Viṣṇu as the locally highest of the gods is contrasted

with Agni the lowest, all the other deities being placed between them. The same Brāhmaṇa (1, 30) in quoting RV. 1, 156[4], where 'Viṣṇu accompanied by his friend opens the stall', states that Viṣṇu is the doorkeeper of the gods.

[1] The moon according to HVBP. 33. — [2] Stars according to PW., HVBP. and others. — [3] Cp. BRV. 2, 416. — [4] Otherwise Sieg in FaW. (Leipzig 1896), 97—100. — [5] Whitney, Max Müller, Haug, Kaegi, Deussen, and others. — [6] BRV. 2, 414—5. — [7] Macdonell, JRAS. 27, 170—5. — [8] KHF. 222. — [9] Entwicklungsstufen, 116. — [10] Other derivations in ORV. 229, HRI. 580, BB. 21, 205. — [11] ORV. 228—30. — [12] Cp. ORV. 230, note 2; Macdonell, JRAS. 27, p. 174, note 2. — [13] JRAS. 27, 188—9. — [14] Ibid. 184. — [15] Bergaigne, JA. 1884, p. 472. — [16] MM., SBE. 32, p. 127. 133—7. — [17] Aufrecht, RV. II[2], 687. — [18] Winternitz, JRAS. 27, 150—1. — [19] Hillebrandt, Neu- und Vollmondsopfer, 171 f. — [20] Darmesteter, French Tr. of the Avesta 1, 401; ORV. 227. — [21] Otherwise A. Kuhn, Entwicklungsstufen der Mythenbildung, 128. — [22] JRAS. 27, 168—177. — [23] Ibid. 166—8.

Whitney, JAOS. 3, 325; OST. 4, 63—98. 121—9. 298; Weber, IStr. 2, 226 f.; Omina und Portenta 338; BRV. 2, 414—8; ORV. 227—30; Hopkins, PAOS. 1894, cxlvii f.; HRI. 56 f.

§ 18. Vivasvat.—Vivasvat is not celebrated in any single hymn of the RV., but his name occurs there about thirty times, generally as Vivásvat, five times also as Vívasvat. He is the father of the Aśvins (10, 17[4]) and of Yama (10, 14[5]. 17[1]). As in post-Vedic literature he is already also in the Vedas the father of Manu (§ 50), the ancestor of the human race, who is once (Vāl. 4[1]) called Vivasvat (= Vaivasvata, p. 12) and receives the patronymic Vaivasvata in the AV. and the ŚB. Men are also directly stated to be the progeny of Vivasvān Ādityaḥ (TS. 6, 5, 6[4]; ŚB. 3, 1, 3[4]). The gods are also once spoken of as the offspring (*janimā*) of Vivasvat (10, 63[1]). Vivasvat's wife is Saraṇyū, daughter of Tvaṣṭṛ (10, 17[1. 2]).

It was to Vivasvat as well as Mātariśvan that Agni was first manifested (1, 31). Vivasvat's messenger is once (6, 8[4]) stated to be Mātariśvan, but is otherwise Agni (1, 58[1]; 4, 7[4]; 8, 39[3]; 10, 21[5]). Agni is once said to be produced from his parents (the fire-sticks) as the sage of Vivasvat (5, 11[3]).

The seat (*sadana*) of Vivasvat is mentioned five times. The gods (10, 12[7]) and Indra delight in it (3, 51[3]) and there singers extol the greatness of Indra (1, 53[1]; 3, 34[7]) or of the waters (10, 75[1]). Perhaps the same notion is referred to when a new hymn is said (1, 139[1]) to be placed in Vivasvat as a centre (*nābhā*).

Indra is connected with Vivasvat in several passages of the RV. He rejoices in the prayer of Vivasvat (8, 6[39]) and placed his treasure beside Vivasvat (2, 13[6]). With the ten[1] (fingers) of Vivasvat Indra pours out the pail from heaven (8, 61[8], cp. 5, 53[6]). Indra being so closely associated with the abode of Vivasvat, Soma is likely to be there. And indeed Soma is in the ninth book brought into intimate relation to Vivasvat. Soma dwells with Vivasvat (9, 26[4]) and is cleansed by the daughters (= fingers) of Vivasvat (9, 14[5]). The prayers of Vivasvat urge the tawny Soma to flow (9, 99[2]). The seven sisters (= waters) urge the wise Soma on the course of Vivasvat (9, 66[8]). The streams of Soma flow through the sieve having obtained (the blessing) of Vivasvat and producing the blessing (*bhagam*) of dawn (9, 10[5]).

The Aśvins who dwell with Vivasvat are besought to come to the offering (1, 46[13]). At the yoking of the Aśvins' car the daughter of the sky is born and the two bright days (probably day and night) of Vivasvat (10, 39[12]; cp. ŚB. 10, 5, 2[4]).

Vivasvat is also mentioned along with Varuṇa and the gods as an object of worship (10, 65[6]). In one passage Vivasvat shows a hostile trait, when the worshippers of the Ādityas pray that the missile, the well-wrought arrow

of Vivasvat, may not slay them before old age[2] (8, 56[20], cp. AV. 19, 9[7]). On the other hand, Vivasvat preserves from Yama (AV. 18, 3[62]).

The word *vivasvat* occurs a few times as an adjective meaning 'brilliant' in connexion with Agni and Uṣas. Agni is said to have produced the children of men and by brilliant sheen heaven and the waters (1, 96[2]). Agni is the wise, boundless, brilliant sage who shines at the beginning of dawn (7, 9[3]). Agni is besought to bring the brilliant gift of dawn (1, 44[1]), and men desire to see the shining face of brilliant dawn (3, 30[13]). The etymological meaning 'shining forth' (*vi* + √ *vas*) is peculiarly appropriate in relation to Usas, whose name is derived from the same root and in connexion with whom the words *vius* and *viuṣṭi*, 'shining forth, dawning' are nearly always used. The derivation is given in the ŚB. where it is said that Āditya Vivasvat illumines (*vi-vaste*) night and day (ŚB. 10, 5, 2[4]).

In the YV. (VS. 8, 5; MS. 1, 6[12]) and the Brāhmaṇas Vivasvat is called Āditya and in the post-Vedic literature is a common name of the sun.

He goes back to the Indo-Iranian period, being identical with Vīvaṅhvant (the father of Yima), who is described as the first man that prepared Haoma, Āthwya being the second, and Thrita the third (Yasna, 9, 10). The first and third of these are found connected in the RV. also (Vāl. 4[1]), where Indra is said to have drunk Soma beside Manu Vivasvat and Trita.

As a mythological figure Vivasvat seems to have faded by the time of the RV. like Trita[3]. Considering the etymology, the connexion with the Aśvins, Agni, and Soma, the fact that his seat is the place of sacrifice[4], the most probable interpretation of Vivasvat seems to be that he originally represented the rising sun[5]. Most scholars[6] explain him simply as the sun. Some take him to be the god of the bright sky[7] or the heaven of the sun[8]. BERGAIGNE (1, 88) thinks that Agni alone, of whom the sun is a form, can be responsible for the character of a sacrificer which is prominent in Vivasvat. OLDENBERG[9] comparing the Avestan Vīvaṅhvant, the first mortal that prepared Haoma, believes that the reasons for considering Vivasvat a god of light, are insufficient and that he represents simply the first sacrificer, the ancestor of the human race.

[1] Cp. LRV. 4, 386. — [2] SVL. 148. — [3] ROTH, ZDMG. 4, 424. — [4] PW., BRV. 1, 87, ORV. 275; PVS. I, 242 ('chapel of V.'); FOY, KZ. 34, 228. — [5] The later view of ROTH, PW. ('Morgensonne'); cp. ZDMG. 4, 425 ('das Licht der Himmelshöhe'). — [6] A. KUHN, SP.AP. 248 ff., HVM. 1, 488, HRI. 128. 130, and others. — [7] LRV. 3, 333; 5, 392; EHNI, Yama, 19. 24. — [8] BRI. 9—10. — [9] ORV. 122, ZDMG. 49, 173, SBE. 46, 392. Cp. also ROTH, ZDMG. 4, 432; BRV. 1, 86—8; HVM. 1, 474—88; BLOOMFIELD, JAOS. 15, 176—7.

§ 19. Ādityas.—The group of gods called Ādityas is celebrated in six whole hymns and in parts of two others in the RV. It is rather indefinite both as to the names of the gods it includes and as to their number. Not more than six are anywhere enumerated and that only once: Mitra, Aryaman, Bhaga, Varuṇa, Dakṣa, Aṃśa (2, 27[1]). In the last books of the RV. the number is once (9, 114[3]) stated to be seven and once (10, 72[8]) eight, Aditi at first presenting only seven to the gods and bringing the eighth, Mārtāṇḍa[1], afterwards (ibid. 9). The names of the Ādityas are not specified in either of these passages. The AV. states that Aditi had eight sons (8, 9[21]), and the TB. (1, 1, 9[1]) mentions these eight by name as Mitra, Varuṇa, Aryaman, Aṃśa, Bhaga, Dhātṛ, Indra, Vivasvat (the first five occur in RV. 2, 27[1]), and the same list is quoted by Sāyaṇa (on RV. 2, 27[1]) as found in another passage of the Taittirīya branch of the Veda. The ŚB. in one passage speaks of the Ādityas as having become eight by the addition of Mārtāṇḍa, while in two others (6, 1, 2[8]; 11, 6, 3[8]) they are said to be twelve in number and

are identified with the twelve months. In post-Vedic literature they are regularly twelve sun-gods, evidently connected with the twelve months, Viṣṇu being one of them and the greatest[2]. In addition to the six Ādityas mentioned in RV. 2, 27[1], Sūrya is a few times termed an Āditya (p. 30), which is a common name for the sun in the Brāhmaṇas and later. Under the name of Āditya, identified with Agni, Sūrya is said to have been placed by the gods in the sky (10, 88[11]). Savitṛ is also once mentioned in an enumeration with the four Ādityas Bhaga, Varuṇa, Mitra, Aryaman (8, 18[3]). If therefore the number of the Ādityas was regarded by the poets of the RV. to have been definitely seven, the sun must have been the seventh, the eighth Mārtāṇḍa whom Aditi throws away and brings back (10, 72[8. 9]) probably being the setting sun. In the AV. (13, 2[9. 37]) the sun is called the son of Aditi, the sun and moon Ādityas (8, 2[15]), and Viṣṇu is invoked in an enumeration containing gods who in the RV. are Ādityas: Varuṇa, Mitra, Viṣṇu, Bhaga, Aṃśa besides Vivasvat (11, 6[2]). The mother of the Ādityas is here once (9, 1[4]) said to be not Aditi but the golden-hued Madhukaśā, daughter of the Vasus.

Indra is, however, in the RV. once coupled in the dual as an Āditya with Varuna the chief of the Ādityas (7, 85[4]), and in Vāl. 4[7] he is directly invoked as the fourth Āditya. In MS. 2, 1[12] Indra is a son of Aditi, but in the ŚB. (11, 6, 3[5]) he is distinguished from the 12 Ādityas. When one god alone is mentioned as an Āditya, it is generally Varuṇa, their chief; but in the hymn in which Mitra is celebrated alone (3, 59), that deity is called an Āditya, as well as Sūrya. When two are mentioned, they are Varuṇa and Mitra, once Varuṇa and Indra; when three, Varuṇa, Mitra, and Aryaman[3]; when five, which is only once the case, the same three together with Savitṛ and Bhaga. Dakṣa occurs only in the enumeration of six mentioned above. The Ādityas are often invoked as a group, the names of Mitra and Varuṇa being generally mentioned at the same time. They also appear frequently along with other groups (§ 45) Vasus, Rudras, Maruts, Aṅgirases, Ṛbhus, Viśvedevas. The term Ādityas seems not infrequently to be used in a wider sense, as an equivalent for the gods generally[4]. Their nature as a class in fact resembles that of the gods in general, not being specifically characterized like that of their two chiefs, Mitra and Varuṇa. In the aggregate sense they are the gods of celestial light, without representing any particular manifestation of that light, such as sun, moon, and stars, or dawn. The hypothesis of OLDENBERG that the Ādityas originally represented sun, moon, and the five planets, is based on their abstract nature and names (such as Bhaga, Aṃśa, Dakṣa) and the supposition that their characteristic number is seven[5], which is also the number of the Iranian Ameṣaspentas[6]. It is here to be noted that the two groups have not a single name in common, even Mithra not being an Ameṣaspenta; that the belief in the Ādityas being seven in number is not distinctly characteristic and old[7]; and that though the identity of the Ādityas and Ameṣaspentas has been generally accepted since ROTH's essay[8], it is rejected by some distinguished Avestan scholars[9].

In some of the hymns of the RV. in which the Ādityas are celebrated (especially in 2, 27), only the three most frequently mentioned together, Mitra, Varuṇa, and Aryaman, seem to be meant. What is distant is near to them; they support all that moves and is stationary, as gods who protect the universe (2, 27[3. 4]). They see what is good and evil in men's hearts and distinguish the honest man from the deceitful (2, 27[3]; 8, 18[15]). They are haters of falsehood and punish sin (2, 27[4]; 7, 52[2]. 60[5]. 66[13]). They are besought to forgive sin (2, 27[14]. 29[5]), to avert its consequences or to

transfer them to Trita Āptya (5, 52[2]; 8, 47[8]). They spread fetters for their enemies (2, 27[16]), but protect their worshippers as birds spread their wings over their young (8, 47[2]). Their servants are protected as with armour, so that no shaft can strike them (ib. [7. 8]). They ward off sickness and distress (8, 18[10]), and bestow various boons such as light, long life, offspring, guidance (2, 27; 8, 18[22]. 56[15. 20]).

The epithets which describe them are: bright (*śuci*), golden (*hiraṇyaya*), many-eyed (*bhūryakṣa*), unwinking (*animiṣa*), sleepless (*asvapnaj*), far-observing (*dīrghadhī*). They are kings, mighty (*kṣatriya*), vast (*uru*), deep (*gabhīra*), inviolable (*ariṣṭa*), having fixed ordinances (*dhṛtavrata*), blameless (*anavadya*), sinless (*avṛjina*), pure (*dhārapūta*), holy (*ṛtāvan*).

The name is clearly a metronymic formation from that of their mother Aditi, with whom they are naturally often invoked. This is also one of the three derivations given by Yāska (Nir. 2, 13, cp. TA. 1, 14[1]).

The greater gods belonging to the group have already been dealt with separately, but the lesser Ādityas having hardly any individuality may best be described here in succession.

Aryaman[10] though mentioned about 100 times in the RV. is so destitute of individual characteristics, that in the Naighaṇṭuka he is passed over in the list of gods. Except in two passages, he is always mentioned with other deities, in the great majority of cases with Mitra and Varuṇa. In less than a dozen passages the word has only the appellative senses of 'comrade' and 'groomsman', which are occasionally also connected with the god. Thus Agni is once addressed with the words: 'Thou art Aryaman when (the wooer) of maidens' (5, 3[2]). The derivative adjective *aryamya*, 'relating to a comrade', once occurs as a parallel to *mitrya*, 'relating to a friend' (5, 85[7]). Thus the conception of Aryaman seems to have differed but little from that of the greater Āditya Mitra, 'the Friend'. The name goes back to the Indo-Iranian period, as it occurs in the Avesta.

One hymn of the RV. (7, 41) is devoted chiefly to the praise of Bhaga[11], though some other deities are invoked in it as well; and the name of the god occurs over sixty times. The word means 'dispenser, giver' and appears to be used in this sense more than a score of times attributively, in several cases with the name of Savitṛ[12]. The god is also regularly conceived in the Vedic hymns as a distributor of wealth, comparisons with Bhaga being generally intended to express glorification of Indra's and Agni's bounty. The word *bhaga* also occurs about twenty times in the RV. with the sense of 'bounty, wealth, fortune', and the ambiguity is sometimes played upon. Thus in one passage (7, 41[2]) where Bhaga is called the distributor (*vidhartā*), it is stated that men say of the god, 'May I share in Bhaga' (*bhagam bhakṣi*). In another verse (5, 46[6]) in which he is termed the 'dispenser' (*vibhaktā*, derived from the same root *bhaj*), he is invoked to be full of bounty (*bhagavān*) to his worshippers.

Dawn is Bhaga's sister (1, 123[5]). Bhaga's eye is adorned with rays (1, 136[2]), and hymns rise up to Viṣṇu as on Bhaga's path (3, 54[14]). Yāska describes Bhaga as presiding over the forenoon (Nir. 12, 13). The Iranian form of the name is *bagha*, 'god', which occurs as an epithet of Ahura Mazda. The word is even Indo-European[13], since it occurs in Old Church Slavonic as *bogŭ* in the sense of 'god'. There is no reason to suppose that it designated any individual god in the Indo-European period, for it cannot have attained a more specialized sense than 'bountiful god', if indeed it meant more than merely 'bountiful giver'.

The word Aṃśa, which occurs less than a dozen times in the RV., is

almost synonymous with *bhaga*, expressing both the concrete sense of 'share, portion' and that of 'apportioner'. It is found but three times as the name of a god[14], only one of these passages stating anything about him besides his name. Agni is here said to be Aṃśa, a bountiful (*bhājayu*) god at the feast' (2, 1[4]).

Dakṣa[15] is mentioned hardly more than half a dozen times in the RV. as the name of a god. The word occurs more frequently as an adjective meaning 'dexterous, strong, clever, intelligent', applied to Agni (3, 14[7]) and Soma (9, 61[18] &c.), or as a substantive in the sense of 'dexterity, strength, cleverness, understanding'. The name of the personification therefore appears to mean the 'dexterous' or 'clever' god. Excepting the verse (2, 27[1]) which enumerates the six Ādityas, he is mentioned only in the first and tenth books. In one passage (1, 89[3]) he is referred to with other Ādityas, and in another (10, 64[5]) with Mitra, Varuṇa, and Aryaman, Aditi also being spoken of in connexion with his birth. In a cosmogonic hymn (10, 72[4. 5]) Dakṣa is said to have sprung from Aditi, when it is immediately added that Aditi sprang from him and is his daughter, the gods being born afterwards. In another verse (10, 5[7]) it is stated that the existent and non-existent were in the womb of Aditi, in the birthplace of Daksa. Thus the last two passages seem to regard Aditi and Dakṣa as universal parents. The paradox of children producing their own parents has been shown (p. 12) to be not unfamiliar to the poets of the RV. The manner in which it came to be applied in this particular case seems to be as follows. The Ādityas are spoken of as 'gods who have intelligence for their father' (6, 50[2]), the epithet (*dakṣapitarā*) being also applied to Mitra-Varuṇa, who in the same verse (7, 66[2]) are called 'very intelligent' (*sudakṣa*). The expression is made clearer by another passage (8, 25[5]), where Mitra-Varuṇa are termed 'sons of intelligence' (*sūnū dakṣasya*) as well as 'children of great might' (*napātā śavaso mahaḥ*). The juxtaposition of the latter epithets shows that *dakṣa* is here not a personification but the abstract word used as in Agni's epithets 'father of skill' (*dakṣasya pitṛ:* 3, 27[9]) or 'son of strength' (§§ 8, 35). This conclusion is confirmed by the fact that ordinary human sacrificers are called *dakṣápitaraḥ*, 'having skill for their father' (8, 52[10]). Such expressions probably brought about the personification of Dakṣa as the father of the Ādityas and his association with Aditi. In the TS. the gods in general are called *dakṣapitaraḥ*, and in the ŚB. (2, 4, 4[2]) Dakṣa is identified with the creator Prajāpati.

[1] Bloomfield, JAOS. 15, 176 note; SPH. 31. — [2] OST. 4, 117—21. — [3] Bollensen, ZDMG. 41, 503. — [4] Cp. GW., s. v. Āditya. — [5] Cp. v. Schroeder, WZKM. 9, 122. — [6] On the Ameṣaspentas see Darmesteter, Haurvatāt et Ameretāt (Paris 1875), 1 f.; Bartholomae, AF. 3, 26. — [7] Cp. Macdonell, JRAS. 27, 948. — [8] ZDMG. 6, 69 f. — [9] Sp.AP. 199; Harlez, JA. 1878 (11), 129 ff. — [10] Roth, ZDMG. 6, 74; Bollensen, ibid. 41, 503; HVBP. 55—6. — [11] Roth, l. c.; WC. 11—12; Baynes, The Biography of Bhaga. Transactions of the 8th Oriental Congress, II, 1, 85—9; HRI. 53—6. — [12] Cp. GW. s. v. *bhaga*. — [13] v. Schroeder, WZKM. 9, 127. — [14] Roth, ZDMG. 6, 75; BRI. 19. — [15] OST. 5, 51—2; BRV. 3, 93. 99; WC. 45. Whitney, JAOS. 3, 323—6; OST. 5, 54—7; MM., SBE. 32, 252—4; ORV. 185—9. 286—7; ZDMG. 49, 177—8; 50, 50—4; SBE. 48, 190; Hopkins, JAOS. 17, 28; IF. 6, 116.

§ 20. Uṣas.—Uṣas, goddess of Dawn, is celebrated in about 20 hymns of the RV. and mentioned more than 300 times. Owing to the identity of name, the personification is but slight, the physical phenomenon of dawn never being absent from the poet's mind, when the goddess is addressed. Uṣas is the most graceful creation of Vedic poetry and there is no more charming figure in the descriptive religious lyrics of any other literature. The brightness of her form has not been obscured by priestly speculation nor has the imagery as a rule been marred by references to the sacrifice. Arraying

herself in gay attire, like a dancer, she displays her bosom (1, 92[4], cp. 6, 64[2]). Like a maiden decked by her mother she shows her form (1, 123[11]). Clothed in light the maiden appears in the east, and unveils her charms (1, 124[3.4]). Effulgent in peerless beauty she withholds her light from neither small nor great (ib. [6]). Rising resplendent as from a bath, showing her charms she comes with light, driving away the darkness (5, 80[5.6]). She is young, being born again and again, though ancient; shining with an uniform hue, she wastes away the life of mortals (1, 92[10]). As she has shone in former days, so she shines now and will shine in future, never aging, immortal (1, 113[13.15]). The maiden coming again awakes before all the world (1, 123[2]). Ever shortening the ages of men, she shines forth, the last of the dawns that have always gone, the first of those to come[1] (1, 124[2]). Like a wheel she revolves ever anew (3, 61[3]). She awakens creatures that have feet and makes the birds to fly up: she is the breath and life of everything (1, 48[5.10] 49[3]). She awakens every living being to motion (1, 92[9]; 7, 77[1]). The Dawns waken the sleeping and urge the living, the two-footed and the four-footed, to motion (4, 51[5]). When Uṣas shines forth, the birds fly up from their nests, and men seek nourishment (1, 124[12]). She reveals the paths of men, wakening the five tribes (7, 79[1]). She manifests all beings and bestows new life (7, 80[1.2]). She drives away evil dreams to Trita Āptya (8, 47[14.16]). She removes the black robe of night (1, 113[14]). She dispels the darkness (6, 64[3]. 65[2]). She wards off evil spirits and the hated darkness (7, 75[1]). She discloses the treasures concealed by darkness and distributes them bountifully (1, 123[4.6]). She illumines the ends of the sky when she awakes (1, 92[11]). She opens the gates of heaven (1, 48[15]. 113[4]). She opens the doors of darkness as the cows their stall (1, 92[4]). Her radiant beams appear like herds of cattle (4, 52[2–4]). She is visible afar, spreading out cattle (*paśūn*) as it were (1, 92[12]). The ruddy beams fly up, the ruddy cows yoke themselves, the ruddy dawns weave their web (of light) as of old (ib. [2]). Thus Uṣas comes to be called 'mother of kine'[2] (4, 52[2.3]; 7, 77[2]).

Day by day appearing at the appointed place, she never infringes the ordinance of order and of the gods (1, 92[12]. 123[9]. 124[2]; 7, 76[5]); she goes straight along the path of order, knowing the way she never loses her direction (5, 80[4]). She renders good service to the gods by causing all worshippers to awake and the sacrificial fires to be kindled (1, 113[9]). She is besought to arouse only the devout and liberal worshipper, leaving the ungodly niggard to sleep on (1, 124[10]; 4, 51[3]). Worshippers are however sometimes spoken of as wakening her instead of being awakened by her (4, 52[4] &c.), and the Vasiṣṭhas claim to have first wakened her with their hymns (7, 80[1]). She is once asked not to delay, that the sun may not scorch her as a thief or an enemy (5, 79[9]). She is besought to bring the gods to drink Soma (1, 48[12]). Hence probably, the gods are often described as 'waking with Uṣas' (1, 14[9] &c.).

Uṣas is borne on a car which is shining (7, 78[1]), brilliant (1, 23[7]), bright (3, 61[2]), well-adorned (1, 49[2]), all-adorning (7, 75[6]), massive (1, 48[10] &c.), and spontaneously-yoked (7, 78[4]). She is also said to arrive on a hundred chariots (1, 48[7]). She is drawn by steeds which are ruddy (7, 75[6] &c.), easily guided (3, 61[2]), regularly-yoked (4, 51[5]), or is said to be resplendent with steeds (5, 79[1–10]). She is also described as being drawn by ruddy kine or bulls (*go:* 1, 92[2]. 124[11]; 5, 80[3]). Both the horses and the cows probably represent the ruddy rays of morning light[3]; but the cows are generally explained as the red morning clouds. The distance the dawns traverse in a day is 30 *yojanas* (1, 123[8]).

As is to be expected, Uṣas is closely associated with the sun. She has opened paths for Sūrya to travel (1, 113[16]). She brings the eye of the gods and leads on the beautiful white horse (7, 77[3]). She shines with the light of the sun (1, 113[9]), with the light of her lover (1, 92[11]). Savitṛ shines after the path of Uṣas (5, 81[2]). Sūrya follows her as a young man a maiden (1, 115[2]). She meets the god who desires her (1, 123[10]). She is the wife of Sūrya (7, 75[5]); the Dawns are the wives of the Sun (4, 5[13]). Thus as followed in space by the sun, she is conceived as his wife or mistress. But as preceding the sun in time she is occasionally thought of as his mother (cp. p. 35). She has generated Sūrya, sacrifice, Agni (7, 78[3]). She has been produced (*prasūtā*) for the production (*savāya*) of Savitṛ, and arrives with a bright child (1, 113[1. 2]). Uṣas is the sister of the Āditya Bhaga (1, 123[5]; cp. p. 45) and the kinswoman (*jāmi*) of Varuṇa (1, 123[5]). She is also the sister (1, 113[2. 3]; 10, 127[3]) or the elder sister (1, 124[8]) of Night; and the names of Dawn and Night are often conjoined as a dual compound (*uṣāsā-naktā* or *naktoṣāsā*). Uṣas is born in the sky (7, 75[1]); and the place of her birth suggests the relationship most frequently mentioned in the RV.: she is constantly called the daughter of heaven (1, 30[22] &c.)[4]. She is once also spoken of as the beloved (*priyā*) of heaven (1, 46[1]).

The sacrificial fire being regularly kindled at dawn, Agni is naturally often associated with Uṣas in this connexion, sometimes not without a side-glance at the sun, the manifestation of Agni which appears simultaneously with the kindling of the sacrificial fire (1, 124[1. 11] &c.)[5]. Agni appears with or before the Dawn. Uṣas causes Agni to be kindled (1, 113[9]). He is thus like the sun sometimes called her lover (1, 69[1]; 7, 10[1], cp. 10, 3[3]). He goes to meet the shining Uṣas as she comes, asking her for fair riches (3, 61[6]). Uṣas is naturally also often connected with the twin gods of the early morning, the Aśvins (1, 44[2] &c.). They accompany her (1, 183[2]) and she is their friend (4, 52[2. 3]). She is invoked to arouse them (8, 9[17]), and her hymn is said to have awakened them (3, 58[1]). When the Aśvins' car is yoked, the daughter of the sky is born (10, 39[12]). Uṣas is once associated with the moon, which being born ever anew goes before the dawns as harbinger of day (10, 85[19]).

Various gods are described as having produced or discovered the dawns. Indra who is characteristically a winner of light, is said to have generated or lighted up Uṣas (2, 12[7] &c.). But he is sometimes also hostile to her, being described as shattering her wain (§ 22). Soma made the dawns bright at their birth (6, 39[3]) and constituted them the wives of a good husband (6, 44[23]), as Agni does (7, 6[5]). Bṛhaspati discovered the Dawn, the sky (*svar*), and Agni, repelling the darkness with light (10, 68[9]). The ancient Fathers, companions of the gods, by efficacious hymns discovered the hidden light and generated Uṣas (7, 76[4]).

The goddess is often implored to dawn on the worshipper or bring to him wealth and children, to bestow protection and long life (1, 30[22]. 48[1] &c.), to confer renown and glory on all the liberal benefactors of the poet (5, 79[6], cp. 1, 48[4]). Her adorers ask from her riches and desire to be to her as sons to a mother (7, 81[4]). The soul of the dead man goes to the sun and to Uṣas (10, 58[8]), and by the ruddy ones in whose lap the Fathers are said to be seated, the Dawns are doubtless meant (10, 15[7]).

Besides the sixteen enumerated in the Naighaṇṭuka (1, 8) Uṣas has many other epithets. She is resplendent, shining, bright, white, ruddy, golden-hued, of brilliant bounty, born in law, most Indra-like, divine, immortal[6]. She is characteristically bountiful (*maghonī*: ZDMG. 50, 440).

The name of Uṣas is derived from the root *vas* to shine and is radically cognate to Aurora and Ἠώς (p. 8)[7].

[1] GVS. 1, 265—6. — [2] Cp. KUHN, Entwicklungsstufen, 131. — [3] See the passages quoted above, where the rays of dawn are compared with cattle or cows. — [4] OST. 5, 190; cp. above p. 21. — [5] Ibid. 191. — [6] Ibid. 193—4. — [7] SONNE, KZ. 10, 416. WHITNEY, JAOS. 3, 321—2; OST. 5, 181—98; MM., LSL. 2, 583—4; GKR. 35—6; °KRV. 52—4; BRV. 1, 241—50; BRANDES, Uṣas (Copenhagen 1879, pp. 123).

§ 21. Aśvins.—Next to Indra, Agni, and Soma, the twin deities named the Aśvins are the most prominent in the RV. judged by the frequency with which they are invoked. They are celebrated in more than fifty entire hymns and in parts of several others, while their name occurs more than 400 times. Though they hold a distinct position among the deities of light and their appellation is Indian, their connexion with any definite phenomenon of light is so obscure, that their original nature has been a puzzle to Vedic interpreters from the earliest times. This obscurity makes it probable that the origin of these gods is to be sought in a pre-Vedic period. They are twins (3, 39[3]; 10, 17[2]) and inseparable. The sole purpose of one hymn (2, 39) is to compare them with different twin objects such as eyes, hands, feet, wings, or with animals and birds going in pairs, such as dogs and goats or swans and eagles (cp. 5, 78[1—3]; 8, 35[7—9]; 10, 106[2—10]). There are, however, a few passages which may perhaps point to their originally having been separate. Thus they are spoken of as born separately (*nānā:* 5, 73[4]) and as born here and there (*iheha*), one being called a victorious prince, and the other the son of heaven (1, 181[4]). Yāska also quotes a passage stating that 'one is called the son of night, the other the son of dawn' (Nir. 12, 2). The RV., moreover, in another passage (4, 3[6]) mentions alone 'the encompassing Nāsatya', a frequent epithet otherwise only designating both Aśvins in the dual.

The Aśvins are young (7, 67[10]), the TS. (7, 2, 7[2]) even describing them as the youngest of the gods. They are at the same time ancient (7, 62[5]). They are bright (7, 68[1]), lords of lustre (8, 22[14]; 10, 93[6]), of golden brilliancy (8, 8[2]), and honey-hued (8, 26[6]). They possess many forms (1, 117[9]). They are beautiful (6, 62[5]. 63[1]) and wear lotus-garlands (10, 184[2]; AV. 3, 22[4]; ŚB. 4, 1, 5[16]). They are agile (6, 63[5]), fleet as thought (8, 22[16]), or as an eagle (5, 78[4]). They are strong (10, 24[4]), very mighty (6, 62[5]), and are several times called 'red'[1] (*rudrā*, 5, 75[3] &c.). They possess profound wisdom (8, 8[2]) and occult power (6, 63[5]; 10, 93[7]). The two most distinctive and frequent epithets of the Aśvins are *dasra*, 'wondrous', which is almost entirely limited to them, and *nāsatya*, which is generally explained to mean 'not untrue' (*na-asatya*), but other etymologies[2], such as 'the savers' have been proposed. The latter word occurs as the name of a demon in the Avesta[3], which, however, sheds no further light on it. These two epithets in later times became the separate proper names of the Aśvins[4]. The attribute *rudravartani* 'having a red path'[5] is peculiar to them, and they are the only gods called 'golden-pathed' (*hiraṇyavartani*), an epithet otherwise only used (twice) of rivers.[6]

Of all the gods[7] the Aśvins are most closely connected with honey (*madhu*), with which they are mentioned in many passages. They have a skin filled with honey, and the birds which draw them abound in it (4, 45[3.4]). They poured out 100 jars of honey (1, 117[6]). Their honey-goad (1, 122[3]. 157[4]) with which they bestrew the sacrifice and the worshipper[8], is peculiar to them. Only the car of the Aśvins is described as honey-hued (*madhu-varṇa*) or 'honey-bearing' (*madhu-vāhana*). They only are said to be fond

of honey (*madhūyu, mādhvī*) or drinkers of it (*madhupā*). The priest to whom they are invited to come is called honey-handed (10, 41[3]). They give honey to the bee (1, 112[21] cp. 10, 40[6]) and are compared with bees (10, 106[10]). They are, however, like other gods, fond of Soma (3, 58[7. 9] &c.) and are invited to drink it with Uṣas and Sūrya (8, 35[1]). Hillebrandt (VM. 1, 241), however, finds traces showing that the Aśvins were at first excluded from the circle of the Soma-worshipped gods.

The car of the Aśvins is sun-like (8, 8[2]) or golden (4, 44[4. 5]), and all its parts, such as wheels, axle, fellies, reins are golden (1, 180[1]; 8, 5[29. 22 5]). It has a thousand rays (1, 119[1]) or ornaments (8, 8[11. 14]). It is peculiar in construction, being threefold, having three wheels, three fellies, and some other parts triple (1, 118[1. 2] &c.). It moves lightly (8, 9[8]), is swifter than thought (1, 117[2] &c.) or than the twinkling of an eye (8, 62[2]). It was fashioned by the Ṛbhus (10, 39[12]). The Aśvins' car is the only one which is three-wheeled. One of its wheels is said to have been lost when the Aśvins came to the wedding of Sūryā (10, 85[15]; cp. § 37).

The Aśvins' name implies only the possession of horses, there being no evidence to show that they are so called because they ride on horses[10]. Their car is drawn by horses (1, 117[2] &c.), more commonly by birds (*vi*, 6, 63[6] &c. or *patatrin*, 10, 143[5]), swans (4, 45[4]), eagles (1, 118[4]), bird steeds (6, 63[7]) or eagle steeds (8, 5[7]). It is sometimes described as drawn by a buffalo (*kakuha*) or buffaloes (5, 73[7]; 1, 184[3] &c.) or by a single ass (*rāsabha*: 1, 34[9]. 116[2]; 8, 74[7]). In the AB. (4, 7—9) the Aśvins are said at the marriage of Soma and Sūryā to have won a race in a car drawn by asses[11] (cp. RV. 1, 116[7] and Sāyaṇa's comm.). Their car touches the ends of heaven and extends over the five countries (7, 63[2. 3]). It moves round heaven (1, 180[10]). It traverses heaven and earth in a single day (3, 58[8]), as the car of the sun (1, 115[3]) and that of Uṣas (4, 51[5]) are also said to do. It goes round the sun in the distance (1, 112[13]). Frequent mention is also made of their course (*vartis*), a word which with one exception is applicable to them only. The word *parijman*, 'going round' is several times connected with the Aśvins or their car, as it is also with Vāta, Agni, and Sūrya.

The locality of the Aśvins is variously described. They come from afar (8, 5[30]), from heaven (8, 8[7]), heaven and earth (1, 44[5]), from heaven and air (8, 8[4. 9 2]), from air (8, 8[3]), earth, heaven, and ocean (8, 10[1]), from the air, from far and near (5, 73[1]). They abide in the sea of heaven (8, 26[17]), in the floods of heaven, plants, houses, the mountain top (7, 70[3]). They come from behind, before, below, above (7, 72[5]). Sometimes their locality is inquired about as if unknown[12] (5, 74[2. 3]; 6, 63[1]; 8, 62[4]). They are once (8, 8[23]) said to have three places (*padāni*), possibly because invoked three times a day.

The time of their appearance is often said to be the early dawn[13], when 'darkness still stands among the ruddy cows' (10, 61[4]) and they yoke their car to descend to earth and receive the offerings of worshippers (1, 22[2] &c.). Uṣas awakes them (8, 9[17]). They follow after Uṣas in their car (8, 5[2]). At the yoking of their car Uṣas is born (10, 39[12]). Thus their relative time seems to have been between dawn and sunrise. But Savitṛ is once said to set their car in motion before the dawn (1, 34[10]). Occasionally the appearance of the Aśvins[14], the kindling of the sacrificial fire, the break of dawn, and sunrise seem to be spoken of as simultaneous (1, 157[1]; 7, 72[4]). The Aśvins are invoked to come to the offering not only at their natural time, but also in the evening (8, 22[14]) or at morning, noon, and sunset (5, 76[3]). The appearance of the Aśvins at the three daily sacrifices may have been the

starting-point of the continual play on the word 'three' in the whole of a hymn devoted to their praise (1, 34). As deities of the morning, the Aśvins dispel darkness (3, 39[3]) and are sometimes said to chase away evil spirits (7, 73[4]; 8, 35[16]). In the AB. (2, 15), the Aśvins as well as Uṣas and Agni are stated to be gods of dawn; and in the Vedic ritual they are connected with sunrise[15]. In the ŚB. (5, 5, 4[1]) the Aśvins are described as red-white in colour and therefore a red-white goat is offered to them[16].

The Aśvins are children of Heaven (1, 182[1]. 184[1]; 10, 61[4]), one of them alone being once said to be a son of Heaven (1, 184[4]). They are once (1, 46[2]) said to have the ocean as their mother (*sindhumātarā*). Otherwise they are in one passage (10, 17[2]) said to be the twin sons of Vivasvat and Tvaṣṭṛ's daughter Saraṇyū (p. 42), who appear to represent the rising sun and dawn. On the other hand the solar deity Pūṣan claims them as his fathers (10, 85[14])[17]. By their sister (1, 180[2]) Dawn seems to be meant (cp. p. 48). They are, as male deities of morning light, often associated with the sun conceived as a female called either Sūryā or more commonly the 'daughter of Sūrya'. They are Sūryā's two husbands (4, 43[6] cp. 1, 119[5]), whom she chose (7, 69[4]). Sūryā (5, 73[5]) or the maiden (8, 8[10]) ascended their car. The daughter of the sun mounts their car (1, 34[5]. 116[17]. 118[5]; 6, 63[5]) or chose it (1, 117[13]; 4, 43[2]). They possess Sūryā as their own (7, 68[3]), and the fact that Sūryā accompanies them on their car is characteristic (8, 29[8]). She must be meant by the goddess called Aśvinī and mentioned with others in 5, 46[8]. In a late hymn (10, 85[9]) it is said that when Savitṛ gave Sūryā to her husband (*patye*) Soma was wooer (*vadhūyu*) while the Aśvins were groomsmen (*varā*). In another passage (6, 58[4]) the gods are said to have given Pūṣan to Sūryā. Owing to their connexion with Sūryā the Aśvins are invoked to conduct the bride home on their chariot (10, 85[26]). They are also besought along with several other deities to bestow fertility on the bride (10, 184[2]). They give the wife of the eunuch a child and make the barren cow yield milk (1, 112[3]). They give a husband to the old maid (10, 39[3]) and bestowed a wife on one of their favourites (1, 116[1] &c.). In the AV. (2, 30[2] &c.) they are said to bring lovers together[18].

The Aśvins may originally have been conceived as finding and restoring or rescuing the vanished light of the sun[19]. In the RV. they have come to be typically succouring divinities. They are the speediest helpers and deliverers from distress in general (1, 112[2]. 118[3]). They are constantly praised for such deeds. In particular, they rescue from the ocean in a ship or ships. They are also invoked to bring treasures from the ocean or from heaven (1, 47[6]) and their car approaches from the ocean (4, 43[5]); here, however, the celestial ocean appears to be intended. Their rescue from all kinds of distress is a peaceful manifestation of divine grace, not a deliverance from foes in battle, as is generally the case with Indra (with whom, however, they are once associated in fight, even receiving the epithet of Vṛtra-slayers)[20]. They are thus also characteristically divine physicians (8, 18[8] &c.), who heal diseases with their remedies (8, 22[10] &c.), restoring sight (1, 116[16]), curing the blind, sick, and maimed (10, 39[3]). They are the physicians of the gods and guardians of immortality, who ward off death from the worshipper (AV. 7, 53[1]; TB. 3, 1, 2[11]). Apart from their character as helpers, healers, and wonder-workers, their general beneficence is often praised. They bring their worshipper to old age with seeing eye and reward him with riches and abundance of children (1, 116[25]; 8, 8[13] &c.).

Quite a number of legends illustrating the succouring power of the Aśvins are referred to in the RV. The sage Cyavāna, grown old and deserted,

they released from his decrepit body; they prolonged his life, restored him to youth, rendered him desirable to his wife and made him the husband of maidens (1, 116[10] &c.: OST. 5, 143). A detailed story of how Cyavāna was restored to youth by the Aśvins is given in the ŚB. (4, 1, 5)[21]. They also renewed the youth of the aged Kali (10, 39[8]) and befriended him when he had taken a wife (1, 112[15]). They brought on a car to the youthful Vimada wives (1, 112[10]) or a wife (1, 116[1]) named Kamadyū (10, 65[12]), who seems to have been the beautiful spouse of Purumitra (1. 117[20]; 10, 39[7]). They restored Viṣṇāpū, like a lost animal, to the sight of their worshipper Viśvaka, son of Kṛṣṇa (1, 116[23]. 117[7]; 10, 65[12]), who according to the commentator was his father. The story most often referred to is that of the rescue of Bhujyu, son of Tugra, who was abandoned in the midst of the ocean (*samudre*) or in the water-cloud (*udameghe*) and who tossed about in darkness invoked the aid of the youthful heroes. In the ocean which is without support they took him home in a hundred-oared ship. They rescued him with animated, water-tight ships, which traversed the air, with four ships, with an animated winged boat, with three flying cars having a hundred feet and six horses, with their headlong flying steeds, with their well-yoked chariot swift as thought. In one passage Bhujyu is described as clinging to a log (*vṛkṣa*) for support in the midst of the waves[22]. The sage Rebha, stabbed, bound, hidden by the malignant, overwhelmed in the waters for ten nights and nine days, abandoned as dead, was by the Aśvins revived and drawn out as Soma is raised with a ladle[23]. They delivered Vandana from calamity and restored him to the light of the sun (1, 112[5]. 116[11]. 117[5]. 118[6]), raising him up from a pit in which he lay hidden away as one dead (10, 39[8]) or restoring him from decrepitude (1, 119[6. 7])[24]. They succoured the sage Atri Saptavadhri who along with his companions was plunged in a burning pit by the wiles of a demon. They brought him a cooling and refreshing draught, protected him from the flames, and finally released him in youthful strength. They are also said to have delivered him from darkness. When Agni is spoken of as having rescued Atri from heat (10, 30[3]), the meaning probably is that Agni spared him through the intervention of the Aśvins[25]. The Aśvins even rescued from the jaws of a wolf a quail which invoked their aid[26].

To Rijrāśva who had been blinded by his father for killing one hundred and one sheep and giving them to a she-wolf to devour, they restored his eyesight at the prayer of the she-wolf (1, 116[16]. 117[17. 18]); and cured Parāvṛj of blindness and lameness (1, 112[8]). When Viśpalā's leg had been cut off in battle like the wing of a bird, the Aśvins gave her an iron one instead[27]. They befriended Ghoṣā when she was growing old in her father's house by giving her a husband (1, 117[7]; 10, 39[3. 6]. 40[5]). To the wife of a eunuch they gave a son called Hiraṇyahasta (1, 116[13]. 117[24]; 6, 62[7]; 10, 39[7]), who is, however, once called Śyāva (10, 65[12]). The cow of Śayu, which had left off bearing they caused to give milk (1, 116[22] &c.). They gave to Pedu a swift, strong, white, incomparable, dragon-slaying steed impelled by Indra, which won him unbounded spoils (1, 116[6] &.). To Kakṣīvat of the family of Pajra they granted blessings in abundance, causing a hundred jars of wine (*surā*) or of honey to flow from a strong horse's hoof, as from a sieve (1, 116[7]. 117[6])[28]. Another miraculous deed of theirs is connected with honey or mead. They placed a horse's head on Dadhyañc, son of Atharvan, who then told them where was the mead (*madhu*) of Tvaṣṭṛ (§ 53)[29]. Besides the persons referred to above, many others are mentioned as having been succoured or befriended by the Aśvins in RV. 1, 112 and 116—19. These may be largely the names of actual persons who were saved or cured in a

remarkable manner. Their rescue or cure would easily have been attributed to the Aśvins, who having acquired the character of divine deliverers and healers, naturally attracted to themselves all stories connected with such miraculous powers. The opinion of BERGAIGNE and others that the various miracles attributed to the Aśvins are anthropomorphized forms of solar phenomena (the healing of the blind man thus meaning the release of the sun from darkness), seems to lack probability[30]. At the same time the legend of Atri (cp. § 56) may be a reminiscence of a myth explaining the restoration of the vanished sun.

As to the physical basis of the Aśvins, the language of the Ṛṣis is so vague that they themselves do not seem to have understood what phenomenon these deities represented. The other gods of the morning, the night-dispelling Agni, the man-waking Uṣas, and the rising Sūrya are much more vividly addressed. They may be called possessors of horses, because the latter are symbolical of rays of light, especially the sun's. But what they actually represented puzzled even the oldest commentators mentioned by Yāska. That scholar remarks (Nir. 12, 1) that some regarded them as Heaven and Earth (as does also the ŚB. 4, 1, 5[16]), others, as Day and Night, others, as sun and moon, while the 'legendary writers' took them to be 'two kings, performers of holy acts'.

Yāska's own opinion is obscure. ROTH thinks he means Indra and the sun, GOLDSTÜCKER, that he means the transition from darkness to light, which represents an inseparable duality corresponding to their twin nature, and agrees with this view. This is also the opinion of MYRIANTHEUS as well as of HOPKINS, who considers it probable that the inseparable twins represent the twin-lights or twilight before dawn, half dark, half light, so that one of them could be spoken of alone as the son of Dyaus, the bright sky. Other scholars[31] favour the identification of the Aśvins with sun and moon. OLDENBERG following MANNHARDT[32] and BOLLENSEN (ZDMG. 41, 496) believes the natural basis of the Aśvins must be the morning star, that being the only morning light beside fire, dawn, and sun. The time, the luminous nature, and the course of the Aśvins round the heavens suit, but not their duality.

The morning star would indeed naturally be thought of in connexion with the evening star, but they are eternally separate, while the Aśvins are joined. The latter are, however, in one or two passages of the RV. spoken of separately; and though the morning in Vedic worship is so important, while sunset plays no part (5, 77[2]), the Aśvins are nevertheless sometimes (8, 22[14]; 10, 39[1]. 40[4]) invoked morning and evening[33]. The Aśvins, sons of Dyaus, who drive across the sky with their steeds and possess a sister, have a parallel in the two famous horsemen of Greek mythology, sons of Zeus (Διὸς κοῦροι)[34], brothers of Helena, and in the two Lettic God's sons who come riding on their steeds to woo the daughter of the sun, either for themselves or the moon. In the Lettic myth the morning star is said to have come to look at the daughter of the sun[35]. As the two Aśvins wed the one Sūryā, so the two Lettic god-sons wed the one daughter of the sun; they too are (like the Διοσκοῦροι) rescuers from the ocean, delivering the daughter of the sun or the sun himself[36]. If this theory is correct, the character of the Aśvins as rescuers may have been derived from the idea of the morning star being a harbinger of deliverance from the distress of darkness. WEBER is also of opinion that the Aśvins represent two stars, the twin constellation of the Gemini[37]. Finally GELDNER thinks that the Aśvins do not represent any natural phenomenon, but are simply succouring saints (Notheilige) of purely Indian origin[38].

The twilight and the morning star theory seem the most probable. In any case, it appears not unlikely that the Aśvins date from the Indo-European period in character though not in name.

[1] According to PVS. 1, 56—8; variously interpreted by others; cp. BRV. 3, 38 note. — [2] Brunnhofer, ('savers' from √nas in Gothic nasyan), Vom Aral bis zur Gangā, p. 99; BRV. 2, 434; HRI. 83. — [3] Sp.AP. 207; Colinet, BOR. 3, 193. — [4] KRV. note 172. — [5] PVS. 1, 55. — [6] PVS. 56—7, gives a list of the epithets of the Aśvins. — [7] HVM. 1, 237. — [8] According to Oldenberg, this refers to morning dew; cp. BRV. 2, 433. — [9] Haug, GGA. 1875, p. 93. — [10] Bollensen, ZDMG. 41, 496; HRI. 80. — [11] On the car and steeds of the Aśvins cp. Hopkins, JAOS. 15, 269—71. — [12] PVS. 2, 105. — [13] OST. 5, 238—9; HRI. 82. — [14] BRV. 2, 432. — [15] ORV. 208. — [16] HRI. 83. — [17] Cp. IS. 5, 183. 187; Ehni, ZDMG. 33, 168—70. — [18] Weber, IS. 5. 218. 227. 234. — [19] v. Schröder, WZKM. 9, 131; HRI. 83. — [20] OST. 5, 248—9. — [21] OST. 5, 250—3; SBE. XXVI, 273 ff; Benfey, OO. 3, 160; Myriantheus p. 93 (= sun which has set restored in the morning); HVBP. 112. — [22] References in OST. 5, 244—5; Sonne, KZ. 10, 335—6; Benfey, OO. 3, 159; Myriantheus 158; HVBP. 112. — [23] OST. 5, 246; Benfey, OO. 3, 162. 164; Myriantheus 174; Baunack, ZDMG. 50, 264—6. — [24] Baunack, ibid. 263—4. — [25] Ibid. 268; Sonne, KZ. 10, 331 (Atri = sun); OST, 5, 247; cp. v. Bradke, ZDMG. 45, 482—4. — [26] MM, LSL. 2, 525—6; OST. 5, 248; Myriantheus 78—81. — [27] OST. 5, 245; Myriantheus 100—12; PVS. 1, 171—3 (Viśpalā, name of a racing mare). Viśpalā is variously interpreted. — [28] Myriantheus 149 f.; KRV. note 185. — [29] Benfey, OO. 2, 245; Myriantheus 142—3; HVBP. 113. — [30] OST. 5, 248; HVBP. 112. — [31] LRV. 3, 334; HVM. 1, 535 (against Zimmer, Archiv f. slav. Philol. 2, 669 ff.); HVBP. 47—9. — [32] Zft. f. Ethnologie 7, 312 f. — [33] BRV. 2, 500. — [34] HRI. 78. 80; JRAS. 27, 953—4. — [35] ORV. 212 n. 3. — [36] v. Schröder, WZKM. 9, 130—1. — [37] Weber, IS. 5, 234; Rājasūya 100. — [38] GVS. 2, 31 cp. 1. xxvii.

Roth, ZDMG, 4, 425; Whitney, JAOS. 3, 322; Max Muller, LSL, 2, 607—9; Benfey, OO. 2, 245; OST. 5, 234—54: Goldstücker, ibid. 255—7; GRV. 1, 150; Myriantheus, Die Aśvins oder Arischen Dioskuren, München 1876; BRV. 2, 431—510; KRV. 49—52, notes 171. 179. 180; HVBP. 47—49. 111—13; ORV. 209—15; HRI. 80—6.

B. THE ATMOSPHERIC GODS.

§ 22. Indra. — Indra is the favourite national god of the Vedic Indians. His importance is indicated by the fact that about 250 hymns celebrate his greatness, more than those devoted to any other god and very nearly one-fourth of the total number of hymns in the RV. If the hymns in parts of which he is praised or in which he is associated with other gods, are taken into account, the aggregate is brought up to at least 300. As the name, which dates from the Indo-Iranian period and is of uncertain meaning, does not designate any phenomenon of nature, the figure of Indra has become very anthropomorphic and much surrounded by mythological imagery, more so indeed than that of any other god in the Veda. The significance of his character is, however, sufficiently clear. He is primarily the thunder-god, the conquest of the demons of drought or darkness and the consequent liberation of the waters or the winning of light forming his mythological essence. Secondarily Indra is the god of battle, who aids the victorious Aryan in the conquest of the aboriginal inhabitants of India.

He is the dominant deity of the middle region. He pervades the air (1, 51[2]). He occurs among the gods of the air alone in the Naighaṇṭuka (5, 4), and is the representative of the air in the triad Agni, Indra (or Vāyu), Sūrya.

Many of Indra's physical features are mentioned. He has a body, a head, arms, and hands (2, 16[2]; 8, 85[3]). His belly is often spoken of in connexion with his powers of drinking Soma (2, 16[2] &c.). It is compared

when full of Soma to a lake (3, 36[8]). His lips (the probable meaning of *śiprā*) are often referred to, the frequent attributes *suśipra* or *śiprin*, 'fair-lipped', being almost peculiar to him. He agitates his jaws after drinking Soma (8, 65[10]). His beard is violently agitated when he is exhilerated or puts himself in motion (2, 11[17]; 10, 23[1]). He is tawny-haired (10, 96[5. 8]) and tawny-bearded (10, 23[4]). His whole appearance is tawny, the changes being rung on that word (*hari*) in every verse of an entire hymn (10, 96) with reference to Indra. He is a few times described as golden (1, 7[2]; 8, 55[3]), an attribute distinctive of Savitṛ (p. 32), as golden-armed (7, 34[1]), and as iron-like (1, 56[3]; 10, 96[4. 8]). His arms as wielding the thunderbolt are mentioned particularly often. They are long, far-extended, great (6, 19[3]; 8. 32[10]. 70[1]), strong and well-shaped (SV. 2, 1219). Indra assumes the most beautiful forms and the ruddy brightness of the sun (10, 112[3]) and takes many different forms at will (3, 48[4]. 53[8]; 6, 47[18]).

The thunderbolt (*vajra*)[1] is the weapon exclusively appropriate to Indra. It is the regular mythological name of the lightning stroke (cp. p. 59). It is generally described as fashioned for him by Tvaṣṭṛ (1, 32[2] &c.), but Kāvya Uśanā is also said to have made it and given it to him (1, 121[12]; 5, 34[2]). In the AB. (4, 1) it is the gods who are said to have provided Indra with his bolt. It lies in the ocean enveloped in water (8, 89[9]). Its place is below that of the sun (10, 27[21]). It is generally described as *āyasa* or metallic (1, 52[3] &c.), but sometimes as golden (1, 57[2] &c.), tawny (3, 44[1]; 10, 96[3]) or bright (3, 44[5]). It is four-angled (4, 22[2]), hundred-angled (4, 17[10]), hundred-jointed (8, 6[6] &c.), and thousand-pointed (1, 80[12] &c.). It is sharp (7, 18[18] &c.). Indra whets it like a knife or as a bull his horns[2] (1, 130[4]. 55[1]). It is spoken of as a stone (*aśman*) or rock (*parvata*: 7, 104[19]). The bolt in Indra's hand is compared with the sun in the sky (8, 59[2]). Epithets derived from or compounded with *vajra*, some of which are very frequent, are almost entirely limited to Indra. *Vajrabhṛt*, 'bearing the bolt', *vajrivat*, 'armed with the bolt', and *vajradakṣiṇa*, 'holding the bolt in his right hand' are applied to him exclusively, while *vajrabāhu* or *-hasta*, 'holding the bolt in his arm or hand', and the commonest derivative *vajrin*, 'armed with the bolt', otherwise occur as attributes of Rudra, the Maruts, and Manyu only once each respectively.

Indra is sometimes said to be armed with a bow and arrows (8, 45[4]. 66[6. 11]; 10, 103[2. 3]). The latter are golden, hundred-pointed, and winged with a thousand feathers (8, 66[7. 11]). He also carries a hook (*aṅkuśa*) with which he bestows wealth (8, 17[10]; AV. 6, 82[3]) or which he uses as a weapon (10, 44[9]). A net with which he overwhelms all his foes is also attributed to him (AV. 8, 8[5–8]).

Indra is borne on a car which is golden (6, 29[2] &c.) and is swifter than thought (10, 112[2]). The epithet 'car-fighter' (*ratheṣṭhā*) is exclusively appropriated to Indra. His car is drawn by two tawny steeds (*harī*)[3], a term very frequently used and in the great majority of instances referring to Indra's horses. In a few passages a greater number than two, up to a hundred and even a thousand or eleven hundred are mentioned (2, 18[4–7]; 4. 46[3]; 6, 47[18]; 8, 1[9. 24]). These steeds are sun-eyed (1, 16[1. 2]). They snort and neigh (1, 30[16]). They have flowing manes (1, 10[3] &c.) or golden manes (8, 32[29]. 82[24]). Their hair is like peacocks' feathers or tails (3, 45[1]; 8, 1[25]). They swiftly traverse vast distances and Indra is transported by them as an eagle is borne by its wings (2, 16[3]; 8, 34[9]). They are yoked by prayer (2, 18[3] &c.), which doubtless means that invocations bring Indra to the sacrifice. Indra is a few times said to be drawn by the horses of Sūrya (10, 49[7]) or by those of Vāta (10, 22[4–6]), and Vāyu has Indra for his charioteer (4, 46[2]. 48[2]) or his car-com-

panion (7, 91[6]). Indra's car and his steeds were fashioned by the Ṛbhus (1, 111[1]; 5, 31[4]). Indra is once said to be provided with a golden goad (*kaśā*: 8, 33[11]).

Though the gods in general are fond of Soma (8, 2[18]. 58[11]), Indra is preëminently addicted to it (1, 104[9] &c.). He even stole it in order to drink it (3, 48[4]; 8, 4[4]). He is the one Soma-drinker among gods and men (8, 2[4]), only Vāyu, his companion, coming near him in this respect[4]. It is his favourite nutriment (8, 4[12]). The frequent epithet 'Soma-drinker' (*soma-pā, -pāvan*) is characteristic of him, being otherwise only applied a few times to Agni and Bṛhaspati when associated with Indra, and once besides to Vāyu alone.

Soma is sometimes said to stimulate Indra to perform great cosmic actions such as supporting earth and sky or spreading out the earth (2, 15[2]). But it characteristically exhilerates him to carry out his warlike deeds, the slaughter of the dragon or Vṛtra (2, 15[1]. 19[2]; 6, 47[1. 2]) or the conquest of foes (6, 27; 7, 22[2]; 8, 81[6]). So essential is Soma to Indra that his mother gave it to him or he drank it on the very day of his birth (3, 48[2. 3]. 32[9. 10]; 6, 40[2]; 7, 98[3]). For the slaughter of Vṛtra he drank three lakes[5] of Soma (5, 29[7] cp. 6, 17[11]), and he is even said to have drunk at a single draught thirty lakes of the beverage (8, 66[4]). One entire hymn (10, 119) consists of a monologue in which Indra describes his sensations after a draught of Soma. But just as too much Soma is said to produce disease in men, so Indra himself is described as suffering from excessive indulgence in it and having to be cured by the gods with the Sautrāmaṇī ceremony[6]. Indra also drinks milk mixed with honey[7] (8, 4[8]).

He at the same time eats the flesh of bulls (10, 28[3]), of one (10, 27[2]), of twenty (10, 86[14]), or of a hundred buffaloes (6, 17[11]; 8, 66[10]), or 300 buffaloes roasted by Agni (5, 29[7]). At the sacrifice he also eats an offering of cake (3, 52[7. 8]), as well as of grain (3, 35[3]. 43[4]; 1, 16[2]), and the latter his steeds are supposed to eat as well (3, 35[7]. 52[7]).

Indra is often spoken of as having been born. Two whole hymns (3, 48; 4, 18) deal with the subject of his birth. Once (4, 18[1. 2]) he is represented as wishing to be born in an unnatural way through the side of his mother[8]. This trait may possibly be derived from the notion of lightning breaking from the side of the storm-cloud. On being born he illuminates the sky (3, 44[4]). Scarcely born he set the wheel of the sun in motion (1, 130[9]). He was a warrior as soon as born (3, 51[8]; 5, 30[5]; 8, 45[4]. 66[1]; 10, 113[4]) and was irresistible from birth (1, 102[8]; 10, 133[2]). Through fear of him when he is born, the firm mountains, heaven and earth are agitated (1, 61[14]). At his birth heaven and earth trembled through fear of his wrath (4, 17[2]) and all the gods feared him (5, 30[5])[9]. His mother is often mentioned (3, 48[2. 3] &c.)[10]. She is once (4, 18[10]) spoken of as a cow (*gṛṣṭi*), he being her calf; and he is spoken (10, 111[2]) of as a bull, the offspring of a cow (*gārṣṭeya*). He is once (10, 101[12]) called the son of Niṣṭigrī, whom Sāyaṇa regards as synonymous with Aditi (cp. § 41). According to the AV. (3, 10[12. 13]) Indra's (and Agni's) mother is Ekāṣṭakā, daughter of Prajāpati. Indra has the same father as Agni (6, 59[2]), who is the son of Dyaus and Pṛthivī (§ 35). According to one interpretation of a verse in a hymn (4, 17[4]) in which his father is twice mentioned, the latter is Dyaus. A similar inference may be drawn from a verse in an Indra hymn (10, 120[1]) where it is said that 'among the worlds that was the highest from which this fierce (god) was born', and from a few other passages (cp. 6, 30[5]; 8, 36[4] with 10, 54[3], and 10, 138[6] with 1, 164[11]). His father is said to have made his thunderbolt (2, 17[6]), which is elsewhere generally described as fashioned by Tvaṣṭṛ (§ 38). Indra drank Soma in

the house of his father, where it was given to him by his mother (3, 48[2]). He drank Soma in the house of Tvaṣṭṛ (4, 18[3]), Indra having at his birth overcome Tvaṣṭṛ and having stolen the Soma, drank it in the cups (3, 48[4]). Indra seizing his father by the foot crushed him, and he is asked in the same verse who made his mother a widow (4, 18[12]). From these passages it is clearly to be inferred that Indra's father whom he slays in order to obtain the Soma, is Tvaṣṭṛ[11] (cp. 1, 80[14]). The hostility of the gods, who in one passage (4, 30[3]) are said to have fought against him, is perhaps connected with the notion of his trying to obtain Soma forcibly.[12].

A few different accounts are given of the origin of Indra. He is said to have been generated by the gods as a destroyer of fiends (3, 49[1]), but the verb *jan* is here no doubt only used in the figurative sense of 'to constitute' (cp. 2, 13[5]; 3, 51[8]). Soma is once spoken of as the generator of Indra and some other gods (9, 96[5]). In the Puruṣa hymn Indra and Agni are said to have sprung from the mouth of the world-giant (10, 90[13]). According to the ŚB. (11, 1, 6[14]) Indra, as well as Agni, Soma, and Parameṣṭhin, is said to have been created from Prajāpati. The TB. (2, 2, 10[1]) states that Prajāpati created Indra last of the gods.

Agni is Indra's twin brother (6, 59[2]) and Pūṣan is also his brother (6, 55[5]). The sons of Indra's brother are once mentioned (10, 55[1]), but who are meant by them is uncertain.

Indra's wife is several times referred to (1, 82[5. 6]; 3, 53[4. 6]; 10, 86[9. 10]). Her name is Indrāṇī in a hymn in which she is represented as conversing with Indra (10, 86[11. 12]) and occurs in a few other passages which contain enumerations of goddesses (1, 22[12]; 2, 32[8]; 5, 46[8]). The ŚB. expressly states Indrāṇī to be Indra's wife (14, 2, 1[8]). The AB. (3, 22[7]), however, mentions Prāsahā and Senā as Indra's wives[13]. These two are identified with Iṇdrāṇī (TB. 2, 4, 2[7. 8]; MS. 3, 8[4]; 4, 12[1])[14]. PISCHEL (VS. 2, 52) thinks that Sacī is the Proper name of Indra's wife in the RV. as well as in post-Vedic literature[15]. The AV. (7, 38[2]) refers to an Asura female who drew Indra down from among the gods; and the Kāṭhaka (IS. 3, 479) states that Indra enamoured of a Dānavī named Vilistengā, went to live among the Asuras, assuming the form of a female among females and of a male among males.

Indra is associated with various other gods. His chief friends and allies are the Maruts, who in innumerable passages are described as assisting him in his warlike exploits (§ 29). His connexion with these deities is so close that the epithet *marutvat*, 'accompanied by the Maruts', though sometimes applied to other gods, is characteristic of Indra, this epithet, as well as *marudgaṇa* 'attended by the Marut host', being sufficient to designate him (5, 42[6]; 9, 65[10]). With Agni Indra is more frequently coupled as a dual divinity than with any other god (§ 44)[16]. This is natural, as lightning is a form of fire. Indra is also said to have produced Agni between two stones (2, 12[3]) or to have found Agni hidden in the waters (10, 32[6]). Indra is further often coupled with Varuṇa and Vāyu, less frequently with Soma, Bṛhaspati, Pūṣan, and Viṣṇu (§ 44). The latter is a faithful friend of Indra and sometimes attends him in his conflict with the demons (§§ 17. 44)[17].

Indra is in three or four passages more or less distinctly identified with Sūrya[18]. Speaking in the first person (4, 26[1]) Indra asserts that he was once Manu and Sūrya. He is once directly called Sūrya (10, 89[2]); and Sūrya and Indra are both invoked in another verse (8, 82[4]) as if they were the same person. In one passage Indra receives the epithet Savitṛ (2, 30[1]). The ŚB. (1, 6, 4[18]), too, once identifies Indra with the sun, Vṛtra being the moon.

The gigantic size of Indra is dwelt upon in many passages. When Indra

grasped the two boundless worlds, they were but a handful to him (3, 30[5]). He surpasses in greatness heaven, earth, and air (3, 46[3]). The two worlds are but equal to the half of him (6, 30[1]; 10, 119[7]). Heaven and earth do not suffice for his girdle (1, 173[6]). If the earth were ten times as large, Indra would be equal to it (1, 52[11]). If Indra had a hundred heavens and a hundred earths, a thousand suns would not equal him nor both worlds (8, 59[5]).

His greatness and power are lauded in the most unstinted terms. He has no parallel among those born or to be born (4, 18[4]). No one, celestial or terrestrial, has been born or shall be born, like to him (7, 32[23]). No one, god or man, either surpasses or equals him (6, 30[4]). Neither former, later, nor recent beings have attained to his valour (5, 42[6]). Neither gods nor men nor waters have attained to the limit of his might (1, 100[15]). No one like him is known among the gods; no one born, past or present, can rival him (1, 165[9]). He surpasses the gods (3, 46[3]). All the gods yield to him in might and strength (8, 51[7]). Even the former gods subordinated their powers to his divine glory and kingly dignity (7, 21[7]). All the gods are unable to frustrate his deeds and counsels (2, 32[4]). Even Varuṇa and Sūrya are subject to his command (1, 101[3] cp. 2, 38[9] p. 16). He is besought to destroy the foes of Mitra, Aryaman, and Varuṇa (10, 89[8. 9]) and is said to have acquired by battle ample space for the gods (7, 98[3]). Indra alone is king of the whole world (3, 46[2]). He is the lord of all that moves and breathes (1, 101[5]). He is the king of things moving and of men (5, 30[5]); he is the eye of all that moves and sees (10, 102[12]). He is the leader of human races and divine (3, 34[2]). He is several times called a universal monarch (4, 19[2] &c.) and still oftener a self-dependent sovereign (3, 46[1] &c.; cp. p. 24). He is also said to rule alone (*eka*) by his might as an ancient seer (8, 64[11]). A few times he receives the epithet *asura* (1, 174[1]; 8, 79[6]). Indra bears several characteristic attributes expressive of power. *Śakra* 'mighty' applies to Indra about 40 times and only about five times to other gods. *Sacīvat*, 'possessed of might' describes Indra some fifteen times and other deities only twice. The epithet *śacīpati* 'lord of might', occurring eleven times in the RV. belongs to Indra with only one exception (7, 67[5]), when the Aśvins as 'lords of might' are besought to strengthen their worshippers with might (*śacībhiḥ*). In one of these passages (10, 24[2]) Indra is pleonastically invoked as 'mighty lord of might' (*śacīpate śacīnām*). This epithet survives in post-Vedic literature as a designation of Indra in the sense of 'husband of Śacī' (a sense claimed for it by Pischel even in the RV.). The very frequent attribute *śatakratu*, 'having a hundred powers', occurring some 60 times in the RV. is with two exceptions entirely limited to Indra. In the great majority of instances *satpati*, 'strong lord' is appropriated to Indra. Indra's strength and valour are also described with various other epithets. He is strong (*tavas*), nimble (*ṛtu*), victorious (*tura*), heroic (*śūra*), of unbounded force (1, 11[4]. 102[6]), of irresistible might (1, 84[2]). He is clothed in might like the elephant and bears weapons like the terrible lion (4, 16[14]). He is also young (1, 11[4] &c.) and unaging (*ajara*), as well as ancient (*pūrviya*).

Having dealt with Indra's personal traits and his character, we now come to the great myth which is the basis of his nature. Exhilerated by Soma and generally escorted by the Maruts he enters upon the fray with the chief demon of drought, most frequently called by the name of Vṛtra, the Obstructor (§ 68) and also very often styled *ahi* the 'Serpent' or 'Dragon' (§ 64). The conflict is terrible. Heaven and earth tremble with fear when Indra strikes Vṛtra with his bolt (1, 80[11]; 2, 11[9. 10]; 6, 17[9]); even Tvaṣṭṛ who forged the

bolt trembles at Indra's anger (1, 80[14]). Indra shatters Vṛtra with his bolt (1, 32[5]. 61[10]; 10, 89[7]). He strikes Vṛtra with his bolt on his back (1, 32[7]. 80[5]), strikes his face with his pointed weapon (1, 52[15]), and finds his vulnerable parts (3, 32[4]; 5, 32[5]). He smote Vṛtra who encompassed the waters (6, 20[2] &c.) or the dragon that lay around (*pariśayānam*) the waters (4, 19[2]); he overcame the dragon lying on the waters (5, 30[6]). He slew the dragon hidden in the waters and obstructing the waters and the sky (2, 11[5]), and smote Vṛtra, who enclosed the waters, like a tree with the bolt (2, 14[2]). Thus 'conquering in the waters' (*apsujit*) is his exclusive attribute. Indra being frequently described as slaying Vṛtra in the present or being invoked to do so, is regarded as constantly renewing the combat, which mythically represents the constant renewal of the natural phenomena. For many dawns and autumns Indra has let loose the streams after slaying Vṛtra (4, 19[8]) or he is invoked to do so in the future (8, 78[4]). He cleaves the mountain, making the streams flow or taking the cows (1, 57[6]; 10, 89[7]), even with the sound of his bolt (6, 27[1]). When he laid open the great mountain, he let loose the torrents and slew the Dānava, he set free the pent up springs, the udder of the mountain (5, 32[1, 2]). He slew the Dānava, shattered the great mountain, broke open the well, set free the pent up waters (1, 57[6]; 5, 33[1]). He releases the streams which are like imprisoned cows (1, 61[10]) or which, like lowing cows, flow to the ocean (1, 32[2]). He won the cows and Soma and made the seven rivers to flow (1, 32[12]; 2, 12[12]). He releases the imprisoned waters (1, 57[6]. 103[2]), released the streams pent up by the dragon (2, 11[2]), dug out channels for the streams with his bolt (2, 15[3]), let the flood of waters flow in the sea (2, 19[3]), caused the waters pent up by Vṛtra to flow (3, 26[6]; 4, 17[1]). Having slain Vṛtra, he opened the orifice of the waters which had been closed (1, 32[11]). His bolts are dispersed over ninety rivers (1, 80[8]). References to this conflict with Vṛtra and the release of the waters are extremely frequent in the RV. The changes on the myth are rung throughout the whole of one hymn (1, 80). Another deals with the details of the Vṛtra fight (1, 32). That this exploit is Indra's chief characteristic, is shown by the manner in which the poet epitomizes the myth in the two first verses of the latter hymn: 'I will proclaim the heroic deeds of Indra, which the wielder of the bolt first performed: he slew the dragon lying on the mountain, released the waters, pierced the belly of the mountains'. The physical elements are nearly always indicated by the stereotyped figurative terms 'bolt', 'mountain', 'waters or rivers', while lightning, thunder, cloud, rain (*vṛṣṭi, varṣa*, or the verb *vṛṣ*) are seldom directly named (1, 52[5. 6. 14] &c.)[19]. The rivers caused to flow are of course often terrestrial (BRV. 2, 184), but it cannot be doubted that waters and rivers are in the RV. very often conceived as aerial or celestial (1, 10[8]; 2, 20[8]. 22[4] cp. BRV. 2, 187). Apart from a desire to express the Vṛtra myth in phraseology differing from that applied to other gods, the large stores of water (cp. *arṇas*, flood) released by Indra would encourage the use of words like 'streams' rather than 'rain'. The 'cows' released by Indra may in many cases refer to the waters, for we have seen that the latter are occasionally compared with lowing cows. Thus Indra is said to have found the cows for man when he slew the dragon (5, 29[3] cp. 1, 52[8]). The context seems to shew that the waters are meant when Indra is described as having, with his bolt for an ally, extracted the cows with light from darkness (1, 33[10]). But the cows may also in other cases be conceived as connected with Indra's winning of light, for the ruddy beams of dawn issuing from the blackness of night are compared with cattle coming out of their dark stalls (p. 47). Again, though clouds play no great part in the RV.[20] under their

literal name (*abhra* &c.) it can hardly be denied that, as containing the waters, they figure mythologically to a considerable extent under the name of cow (*go*: § 61), as well as udder (*ūdhar*), spring (*utsa*), cask (*kavandha*), pail (*kośa*) and others. Thus the rain-clouds are probably meant when it is said that the cows roared at the birth of Indra (8, 59[4]).

It is however rather as mountains (*parvata, giri*: p. 10) that they appear in the Indra myth. They are the mountains (1, 32[1]) on which the demons dwell (1, 32[2]; 2, 12[11]), or from which he casts them down (1, 130[7]; 4, 30[14]; 6, 26[5]). Indra shoots forth his well-aimed arrow from these mountains (8, 66[6]). He cleft wide the mountain to release the cows (8, 45[30]). Or the cloud is a rock (*adri*) which encompasses the cows and which Indra moves from its place (6, 17[5]). He loosened the rock and made the cows easy to obtain (10, 112[8]). He released the cows which were fast within the stone (6, 43[3] cp. 5, 30[4]). The cloud rocks or mountains would seem to represent the stationary rainless clouds seen during drought, while the cloud cows would rather be the moving and roaring rain-cloud (p. 10). Oldenberg (ORV. 140 f.) thinks that to the poets of the RV. the mountains as well as the rivers in the Vṛtra-myth are terrestrial, though he admits that they were originally aerial and at a later period also were understood as such.

In the mythical imagery of the thunderstorm the clouds also very frequently become the fortresses (*puraḥ*)[21] of the aerial demons. They are spoken of as ninety, ninety-nine, or a hundred in number (2, 14[6]. 19[6]; 8, 17[14]. 87[6]). These fortresses are 'moving' (8, 1[28]), autumnal (1, 130[7]. 131[4]. 174[2]; 6, 20[10]), made of metal (2, 20[8]) or stone (4, 30[20])[22]. Indra shatters them (1, 51[5] &c.), and so the epithet 'fort-shatterer' (*pūrbhid*) is peculiar to him. In one verse (10, 111[10]) he is spoken of as a fort-shatterer and lover of waters at the same time. In another the various features of the myth are mentioned together: he slew Vṛtra, broke the castles, made a channel for the rivers, pierced the mountain, and made over the cows to his friends (10, 89[7]).

Owing to the importance of the Vṛtra-myth the chief and specific epithet of Indra is *Vṛtrahan*, 'Vṛtra-slayer'[23]. It is applied about 70 times to him in the RV. The only other deity who receives it with any frequency is Agni; but this is due to Agni's frequent association with Indra as a dual divinity. The few applications of the epithet to Soma are also clearly secondary (§ 37)[24]. Though Indra is sometimes expressly stated to have slain Vṛtra by his own might alone (1, 165[8]; 7, 21[6]; 10, 138[6]) other deities are very often associated with him in the conflict. The gods in general are said to have placed him in the van for action or battle (1, 55[3]; 6, 17[8]) or the slaughter of Vṛtra (8, 12[22]). They are also said to have increased his vigour for the fray with Vṛtra (10, 113[8]), or to have infused might or valour into him (1, 80[15]; 6, 20[2]; 10, 48[3]. 120[3]), or to have placed the bolt in his hands (2, 20[8]). But most frequently he is urged on and fortified by the Maruts (3, 32[4]; 10, 73[1. 2] &c. § 29). Even when the other gods terrified by Vṛtra fled away (8, 85[7] cp. 4, 18[11]; AB. 3, 20), they stood by him; but the Maruts themselves are in one passage said to have deserted him (8, 7[31]). Agni, Soma, and Viṣṇu are often also allied with Indra in the fight with Vṛtra. Even priests on earth sometimes associate themselves with Indra in his combats (5, 30[8]; 8, 51[11]; 10, 44[9]). The worshipper (*jaritā*) is said to have placed the bolt in Indra's hands (1, 63[2]), and the sacrifice is spoken of as having assisted the bolt at the slaughter of the dragon (3, 32[12]). Hymns, prayers, and worship, as well as Soma, are also often described as increasing (√*vṛdh*) the vigour of Indra[25].

Besides Vṛtra, Indra engages in conflict with many minor demons also

(§ 69). One of these, Uraṇa, mentioned only once (2, 14[4]) is described as having 99 arms, while another, Viśvarūpa, is three-headed and six-eyed (10, 99[6]). He does not always slay them with his bolt. Thus one of them, Arbuda, he crushes with his foot or pierces with ice (1, 51[6]; 8, 32[26]). Sometimes Indra is described as destroying demons in general. Thus he is said to sweep away the Asuras with his wheel (8, 85[9]), to consume the Rakṣases with his bolt as fire a dry forest (6, 18[10]) and to overcome the *druhaḥ* or malignant spirits (4, 23[7]. 28[2]).

With the liberation of the waters is connected the winning of light, sun, and dawn. Indra won light and the divine waters (3, 34[8]). The god is invoked to slay Vṛtra and win the light (8, 78[4]). When Indra had slain the dragon Vṛtra with his metallic bolt, releasing the waters for man, he placed the sun visibly in the heavens (1, 51[4]. 52[8]). Indra, the dragon-slayer, set in motion the flood of waters to the sea, generated the sun, and found the cows (2, 19[3]). He gained the sun and the waters after slaying the demons (3, 34[8. 9]). When Indra slew the chief of the dragons and released the waters from the mountain, he generated the sun, the sky and the dawn (1, 32[4]; 6, 30[5]). The sun shone forth when Indra blew the dragon from the air (8, 3[20]). Though the sun is usually the prize of the conflict, it also appears as Indra's weapon, for he burns the demon with the rays of the sun (8, 12[9]). Without any reference to the Vṛtra fight, Indra is said to find the light (3, 34[4]; 8, 15[5]; 10, 43[4]) in the darkness (1, 108[8]; 4, 16[4]). Indra is the generator of the sun (3, 49[4]). He placed the sun, the brilliant light, in the sky (8, 12[30]). He made the sun to shine (8, 3[6]. 87[2]), and made it mount in the sky (1, 7[3]). He gained the sun (1, 100[6. 18]; 3, 34[9]) or found it in the darkness in which it abode (3, 39[5]) and made a path for it (10, 111[3]).

Indra produces the dawn as well as the sun (2, 12[7]. 21[4]; 3, 31[15]; 32[8]. 49[4]). He has made the dawns and the sun to shine (3, 44[2]). He has opened the darkness with the dawn and the sun (1, 62[5]). He steals the dawn with the sun (2, 20[5]). The cows which are mentioned along with sun and dawn (1, 62[5]; 2, 12[7]; 6, 17[5]) or with the sun alone (1, 7[3]; 2, 19[3]; 3, 34[9]; 6, 17[3]. 32[2]; 10, 138[2]) as found, delivered, or won by Indra, probably do not so much represent the waters[26] or rainclouds, as the morning beams (§ 61) or, according to BERGAIGNE (BRV. 1, 245) and others, the red clouds of dawn. The waters are probably meant by the ruddy watery (*apyā*) cows (9, 108[6]), but the morning beams or clouds in the following passages. The dawns on seeing Indra went to meet him, when he became the lord of the cows (3, 31[4]). When he overcame Vṛtra he made visible the cows (*dhenāḥ*) of the nights (3, 34[3] cp. BRV. 2, 200). Dawn is in some passages spoken of in expressions reminding of the winning of the cows. Thus 'Dawn opens the darkness as cows their stall' (1, 92[4]). Dawn opens the doors of the firm rock (7, 79[4]). The cows low towards the dawns (7, 75[7]). The Aṅgirases burst open the cowstalls of Uṣas on the heights (6, 65[5]). The dawn is sometimes said to have been produced along with the sun in the same passages in which the conquest of the waters is celebrated (1, 32[1. 2. 4]; 6, 30[5]; 10, 138[1. 2]). Thus there appears to be a confusion between the notion of the restoration of the sun after the darkness of the thunderstorm and the recovery of the sun from the darkness of night at dawn. The latter trait is in the Indra myth most probably only an extension of the former.

Indra's activity in the thunderstorm is sometimes more directly expressed. Thus he is said to have created the lightnings of heaven (2, 13[7]) and to have directed the action of the waters downwards (2, 17[5]).

With the Vṛtra fight, with the winning of the cows and of the sun, is

also connected that of Soma. When Indra drove the dragon from the air, fires, the sun, and Soma, Indra's juice, shone forth (8, 3[20]). After his victory over the demon, he chose Soma for his drink (3, 36[8]). After he conquered the demons, Soma became his own property (7, 98[5]); he became the king of the Soma mead (6, 20[3]). Indra disclosed the juice pressed with stones and drove out the cows (3, 44[5]). He won Soma at the same time as the cows (1, 32[12]). He found in heaven the hidden nectar (6, 44[23]). He found the honey accumulated in the ruddy cow (*usriyāyām*: 3, 39[6]). The raw cow goes with ripe milk, in the ruddy cow is accumulated all sweetness, which Indra placed there for enjoyment (3, 30[14]). Indra places ripe milk in the cows (8, 32[15]), which are raw (8, 78[7]) black or red (1, 62[9]), and for which he opens the gates (6, 17[6]). These passages seem to have primarily at least a mythological reference to rainclouds, as the context in most cases describes the great cosmical actions of Indra.

Indra is said to have settled the quaking mountains and plains (2, 12[2]; 10, 44[8]). In a later text Indra is said to have cut off the wings of the mountains, which originally alighted wherever they pleased and thus made the earth unsteady. The wings became the thunder clouds (MS. 1, 10[13]). This is a favourite myth in post-Vedic literature. Pischel (VS. 1, 174) traces its origin to a verse of the RV. (4, 54[5]). Indra also fixed the bright realms of the sky (8, 14[9]). He supported the earth and propped the sky (2, 17[5] &c.). He holds asunder heaven and earth as two wheels are kept apart by the axle (10, 89[4]). He stretches out heaven and earth (8, 3[6]) like a hide (8, 6[5]). He is the generator of heaven and earth (8, 36[4] cp. 6, 47[4]). He generated that which is and shall be by his great secret name (10, 55[2]) and made the non-existent into the existent in a moment (6, 24[5]). The separation and supporting of heaven and earth are sometimes described as the result of Indra's victory over a demon (5, 29[4]), who held them together (8, 6[17]). When he was born for the Vṛtra fight, Indra spread out the earth and fixed the sky (8, 78[5]). The dragon-slayer made earth visible to heaven, when he opened a path for the streams (2, 13[5]). Similarly he is said to have found heaven and earth which were hidden (8, 85[16]) or to have won them along with light and waters (3, 34[8]). Possibly the effect of light extending the range of vision and seeming to separate heaven and earth apparently pressed together by darkness, may have been the starting point of such conceptions.

Indra, the wielder of the thunderbolt, who destroys the aerial demons in battle, is constantly invoked by warriors (4, 24[3] &c.). As the great god of battle he is more frequently called upon than any other deity as the helper of the Aryans in their conflicts with earthly enemies. He protects the Aryan colour and subjects the black skin (3, 34[9]; 1, 130[8]). He dispersed 50 000 of the black race and rent their citadels (4, 16[13]). He subjected the Dasyus to the Aryan (6, 18[3]) and gave land to the Aryan (4, 26[2]). He turns away from the Ārya the weapon of the Dasyu in the land of the seven rivers (8, 24[27]). Other deities are only occasionally referred to as protectors of the Āryas, as the Aśvins (1, 117[21]), Agni (8, 92[1]), or the gods in general (6, 21[11]).

More generally Indra is spoken of as the one compassionate helper (1, 84[19]; 8, 55[13]. 69[1]), as the deliverer and advocate of his worshippers (8, 85[20]), as their strength (7, 31[5]), and as a wall of defence (8, 69[7]). His friend is never slain or conquered (10, 152[1]). Indra is very often called the friend of his worshippers[27], sometimes even a brother (3, 53[5]), a father (4, 17[17]; 10, 48[1]) or a father and mother in one (8, 87[11]). He was also the friend of the fathers in the olden time (6, 21[8] cp. 7, 33[4]), and the epithet Kauśika which

he once receives (1, 10[11]), implies that he particularly favoured the family of the Kuśikas[28]. Indra does not desire the friendship of him who offers no libations (10, 42[4]). But he bestows goods and wealth on the pious man (2, 19[4]. 22[3]; 7, 27[3]), and is implored not to be diverted by other worshippers (2, 18[3] &c.)[29]. All men share his benefits (8, 54[7]). Both his hands are full of riches (7, 37[3]). He is a treasury filled with wealth (10, 42[2]). He can shower satisfying wealth on his worshippers as a man with a hook shakes down ripe fruit from a tree (3, 45[4]). Gods and mortals can no more stop him wishing to give than a terrific bull (8, 70[3]). He is an ocean of riches (1, 51[1]), and all the paths of wealth lead to him as the rivers to the sea (6, 19[5]). One entire hymn in particular (10, 47) dwells on the manifold wealth which Indra bestows. Cows and horses are the goods which Indra, like other gods, is most often asked to bestow (1, 16[3]. 101[4] &c.), and it is chiefly to him that the epithet *gopati*, 'lord of cows' is applied. His combats are frequently called *gaviṣṭi*, literally 'desire of cows' (8, 24[5] &c.) and his gifts are considered the result of victories (4, 17[10. 11] &c.: cp. BRV. 2, 178). Indra also bestows wives (4, 17[16]) and male children (1, 53[5] &c.). His liberality is so characteristic that the very frequent attribute *maghavan*, 'bountiful' is almost entirely monopolized by him in the RV. (cp. p. 48) and in post-Vedic literature remains his exclusive epithet. The epithet *vasupati*, 'lord of wealth', is also predominantly applicable to Indra.

Though the main myth concerning Indra is his combat with Vṛtra, various other stories attached themselves to him as the performer of heroic deeds. Some passages describe Indra as coming into conflict with Uṣas. He struck down the wain (*anas*) of Dawn (10, 73[6]). He shattered the wain of Uṣas with his bolt and rent her slow (steeds) with his swift (mares: 2, 15[6]). Terrified at the bolt of Indra, Uṣas abandoned her wain (10, 138[5]). Indra performed the heroic manly exploit of striking and crushing the female meditating evil, Uṣas, the daughter of the sky; her wain lay shattered in the river Vipāś and Uṣas fled away in terror (4, 30[8–11]). The obscuration of the dawn by a thunderstorm is usually regarded as the basis of this myth. Against such an interpretation BERGAIGNE urges that it is not Indra who obscures the sky but a demon, and that the application of the bolt, Indra's characteristic weapon, need not be restricted to the Vṛtra-fight. He concludes that the sunrise overcoming the delaying dawn (cp. 2, 15[6]; 5, 79[9]) is here conceived as a victory of Indra bringing the sun[30].

Indra comes in conflict with the sun in the obscure myth about a race run between the swift steed Etaśa, who draws a car, and the sun drawn by his yellow steeds. The sun being ahead is hindered by Indra. His car loses a wheel, a loss which in some way seems to have been caused by Indra (§ 60D). With this myth is probably connected the statement that Indra stopped the tawny steeds of the sun (10, 92[8]). Indra is also associated with the myth of the rape of Soma. For it is to him that the eagle brings the draught of immortality (§ 37). Another myth which is not often mentioned and the details of which chiefly occur in a single hymn (10, 108) is that of the capture by Indra of the cows of the Paṇis (§ 67). These demons, who here seem to be the mythical representatives of the niggards who withhold cows from the pious sacrificer, possess herds of cows which they keep hidden in a cave far away beyond the Rasā, a mythical river. Saramā, Indra's messenger, tracks the cows and asks for them in Indra's name, but is mocked by the Paṇis. In another passage (6, 39[2]) Indra desiring the cows around the rock is said to have pierced Vala's unbroken ridge and to have overcome the Paṇis. Elsewhere the cows are spoken of as confined by the demon

Vala without reference to the Paṇis, and driven out by Indra (2, 12[3]; 3, 30[10]). In various passages the Aṅgirases are associated with Indra in piercing Vala, shattering his strongholds, and releasing the cows (§ 54).

Fragmentary references, often in enumerations, are frequently made to the victory of Indra over Dāsas or Dasyus. These are primarily human foes whose skin is black (1, 130[8] cp. 2, 20[7]), who are noseless (5, 29[10]), are godless and do not sacrifice. Though mythological elements are no doubt largely mingled in the account of his victory over individual Dāsas, the foundation of these myths seems to be terrestrial and human. For while Vṛtra is slain for the good of man in general, individual human beings are mentioned for whom or with whom Indra overcame the Dāsa or Dāsas. These *protégés* of Indra are not as a rule ancestors of priests but are princes or warriors who seem to have been historical. Thus Divoḍāsa Atithigva[31] is the father of the famous king Sudās, his Dāsa foe being Śambara, the son of Kulitara (§ 69 B). But when the term *dāsa* is applied to the dragon (*ahi*), from whom Indra wrests the waters (2, 11[2]) or to the three-headed six-eyed monster whom Trita combats (10, 99[6]) or to Vyaṃsa who struck off Indra's jaws (4, 18[9]), it unmistakably designates regular demons. An account of Namuci and other Dāsas vanquished by Indra will be found in the chapter on demons.

A myth which seems to have no general significance but to be simply the invention of a later poet of the RV., is that of Indra and Vṛṣākapi, the details of which are given somewhat obscurely in RV. 10, 86. This hymn describes a dispute between Indra and his wife Indrāṇī about the monkey Vṛṣākapi, who is the favourite of the former and has damaged the property of the latter. Vṛṣākapi is soundly threshed and escapes, but afterwards returns, when a reconciliation takes place. v. Bradke considers the story a satire, in which under the names of Indra and Indrāṇī a certain prince and his wife are intended[32].

Among stories preserving historical traits is that of Indra having safely brought Turvaśa and Yadu across the rivers (1, 174[9] &c.). They are the eponymous heroes of two closely connected Aryan tribes, which are, however, sometimes mentioned by the poets in a hostile sense. This varying attitude is a tolerably sure indication of historical matter. Here the national warrior god appears as the patron of Aryan migrations. In another passage Indra is said with Suśravas to have crushed twenty chiefs and their 60099 warriors with fatal chariot wheel. The accounts of the conflicts of king Sudās have all the appearence of a historical character. Thus Indra is said to have helped him in the battle of the ten kings (7, 33[3]), to have aided him in answer to the prayers of his priests the Ṛtsus (among whom Vasiṣṭha is prominent), and to have drowned his foes in the river Paruṣṇī (7, 18[9. 13]).

Finally, a hymn of the RV. (8, 80) relates how a maiden named Apālā having found Soma beside a river and having pressed it with her teeth, dedicates it to Indra who approaches and from whom she receives as a reward the fulfilment of certain desires[33].

Regarded as a whole the attributes of Indra are chiefly those of physical superiority and of dominion over the physical world. Energetic action is characteristic of him, while passive sway is distinctive of Varuṇa. Indra is a universal monarch, not as the applier of the eternal laws of the universe nor as a moral ruler, but as an irresistible warrior whose mighty arm wins victory, whose inexhaustible liberality bestows the highest goods on mankind, and who delighting in the exhileration of magnificent Soma sacrifices, confers rich rewards on the hosts of priests officiating in his worship. The numerous hymns which celebrate him dwell on these features in more or less stereo-

typed terms and are seldom free from references to the Soma offering. He is not usually described as possessing the moral elevation and grandeur of Varuṇa. There are, however, several passages which ascribe to Indra actions characteristic of Varuṇa[34]. There are also a few, mostly in the later books, in which an ethical character is attributed to him and faith in him is confessed or enjoined (1, 55[5] &c.), faith in the reality of his existence being sometimes expressed as against the disbelief of sceptics (2, 12[5] &.)[35]. Once he is said in a late passage of the RV. to have attained heaven by austere fervour (10, 167[1] cp .159[4]).

To the more intense anthropomorphism of Indra's nature are doubtless due certain sensual and immoral traits which are at variance with the moral perfection elsewhere attributed to him and essential to the character of the Vedic gods. This incongruity cannot be accounted for by different passages representing chronologically different stages in the development of his character, for it is apparent in the words of the same poet, sometimes even in the same verse. It is chiefly connected with his excessive fondness for Soma. In one passage (8, 67[5. 6]) he is said to hear and see everything, viewing the zeal of mortals, and in the next verse his belly is described as full of the vigorous draught. One entire hymn (10, 119) consists of a monologue in which Indra is intoxicated with Soma, boasting of his greatness and capricious power. It is even indicated that he once suffered from the effects of excessive drinking (§ 69). His love of Soma is even represented as having driven him to parricide (4, 18[12]). In judging morally of Indra's immoderate indulgence in Soma, it must be borne in mind that the exhilaration of Soma partook of a religious character in the eyes of the Vedic poets and that the intoxicating influence of Soma itself led to its being regarded as the drink of immortality. It is probably from the latter point of view that Indra is conceived as having performed his grandest cosmical feats, such as fixing heaven and earth, under the influence of Soma (2, 15[2]). And the evident sympathy of the poets with the effect of Soma on the god but reflects the moral standard to the age. Amorous adventures, on the other hand, are entirely absent from the exploits of Indra in the RV. and there is hardly a trace of such even in the Brāhmaṇas, except that he is spoken of as the paramour of Ahalyā the wife of Gautama[36]. It is only natural that the poetry of the Soma offering should have dwelt on the thirsty aspect of his nature.

It has been maintained by ROTH[37] followed by WHITNEY (JAOS. 3, 327) that the preeminence of Varuṇa as belonging to an older order of gods was in the course of the Rigvedic period transferred to Indra. This view is based partly on the fact that not a single entire hymn in the tenth book is addressed to Varuṇa, while Indra is celebrated in forty-five. There are, however, two hymns (126, 185) of book X, in which Varuṇa is lauded with two other Ādityas, and in many single verses of that book Varuṇa is invoked or referred to along with other deities. The argument from the number of hymns is not very cogent, as in all the earlier books of the RV. far more hymns are addressed to Indra than to Varuṇa. In book III no hymn is devoted to Varuṇa but 22 to Indra, and in book II there is only one to Varuṇa and 23 to Indra. Moreover, these two books added together are considerably shorter than the tenth alone. It is, however, true that Varuṇa is much less frequently mentioned in the last book than in the earlier books of the RV. Beyond this fact there seems to be no direct and decisive proof of the supersession of Varuṇa by Indra during the composition of the RV. One hymn (4, 42) of the earlier part, describing in the form of a dialogue the rivalry

between Indra and Varuṇa has, however, been regarded (GKR. 27) as characteristically indicating a transition from an older period in the relative importance of the two gods. The conclusion is perhaps hardly justified by the statements of another (cp. GRV. 2, 401) of the last book (10, 124)[38]. At the same time it must be remembered that on the one hand Varuṇa seems to have occupied a more important position than Indra in the Indo-Iranian period, while on the other, Indra in the Brāhmaṇas (AB. 8, 12) and in the epics has become chief of the Indian heaven and even maintains this position under the Purānic triad Brahmā-Viṣṇu-Śiva, though of course subordinate to them[39]. Varuṇa meanwhile had become divested of his supreme powers by the time of the AV. (p. 26). Thus there must have been at least a gradually increasing popularity of Indra even in the Rigvedic age. By Benfey (OO. 1, 48) and Bréal (Hercule et Cacus 101) Indra in the Vedas is considered rather to have superseded the ancient Dyaus. This may perhaps with greater probability be maintained with regard to the Indo-Iranian Trita Āptya. For Trita though rarely mentioned in the RV. is there described as performing the same exploits as Indra, occasionally appearing even as the more important personage in the myth (§ 23).

The name of Indra occurs only twice in the Avesta[40]. Beyond the fact of his being no god, but only a demon, his character there is uncertain[41]. Indra's distinctive Vedic epithet *vṛtrahan* also occurs in the Avesta in the form of *verethraghna*, which is, however, unconnected with Indra or the thunderstorm myth, designating merely the God of Victory[42]. Thus it is probable that the Indo-Iranian period possessed a god approaching to the Vedic form of the Vṛtra-slaying Indra. It is even possible that beside the thundering god of heaven, the Indo-European period may have known as a distinct conception a thundergod gigantic in size, a mighty eater and drinker, who slays the dragon with his lightning bolt[43]. The etymology[44] of Indra is doubtful, but that the root is connected with that in *indu*, drop, seems likely.

[1] ZDMG. 32, 296—7; WZKM. 9, 232. — [2] HVM. 1, 44, note. — [3] ZDMG. 1, 67. — [4] HVM. 1, 119. — [5] Roth on Nir. 5, 11; KHF. 138—9. — [6] SB. 5, 5, 49; 12, 7, 1[11]; TS. 2, 3, 2, cp. HVM. 1, 266; Zimmer, Ail. 275. — [7] HVM. 238. — [8] PVS. 2, 242—53; Lang, Myth, Ritual and Religion 1, 183; 2, 113 f. 244. — [9] PVS. 2, 249. — [10] Ibid. 2, 51—4; Macdonell, JRAS. 27, 183. — [11] BRV. 3, 58—62; PVS. 1, 44. — [12] Ibid. 1, 211. — [13] Cp. ibid. 2, 38, note 1. — [14] Bloomfield, ZDMG. 48, 549—51. — [15] Ibid. 548. — [16] Macdonell, JRAS. 25, 470—1; 27, 175. — [17] Ibid. 27, 175. — [18] HRI. 92. — [19] Other passages 1, 80[4. 14]; 2, 134; 4, 26[2]; 8, 3[19. 20]. 61; 10, 92[8]. 1249; AV. 13, 4[41]. — [20] HVM. 1, 313. — [21] Zimmer, Ail 42. — [22] Also Kāṭhaka IS. 12, 161; JRAS. 27, 181. — [23] ZDMG. 8, 460. — [24] Macdonell, JRAS. 25, 472. — [25] OST. 5, 91—2. — [26] Aufrecht, ZDMG. 13, 497; BRV. 1, 259; KRV. 42 (raincloud). — [27] OST. 5, 104—5. — [28] OST. 5, 348—9. [29] OST. 5, 106—7. — [30] BRV. 2, 193; cp. Sonne, KZ. 10, 416—7; MM. Chips 2, 91 f.; ORV. 169; HRI. 77, note. — [31] BRV. 2, 209; HVM. 1, 96. 107. — [32] ZDMG. 46, 465 cp. ORV. 172—4. — [33] Aufrecht, IS. 4, 1—8; Oldenberg, ZDMG. 39, 76—7. — [34] BRV. 3, 143. — [35] OST. 5, 103—4. — [36] Weber, Sitzungsberichte der Berliner Akad. 1887, p. 903. — [37] ZDMG. 6, 73; PW.; cp. BRI. 27. — [38] ORV. 95—7; OST. 5, 121—6. — [39] ZDMG. 6, 77; 25, 31. — [40] Spiegel, Av. Tr. III, lxxxi; Sp.AP. 195; OST. 5. 121, note 212. — [41] Darmesteter, SBE. IV[2], lxxii; Hillebrandt, ZDMG. 48, 422. — [42] Sp.AP. 195. — [43] ORV. 34, note 1; 134; v. Schröder, WZKM. 9, 230. — [44] YN. 10, 8; Sāyaṇa on RV. 1, 34; Benfey, OO. 1, 49; Roth, PW.; MM., LSL. (1891) 2, 543, note; OGR. 218; AR. 396; OST. 5, 119, note. 208; GW.; BB. 1, 342; BRV. 2, 166; Bollensen, ZDMG. 41, 505—7; Jacobi, KZ. 31, 316; IF. 3, 235.

KHF. 8; Roth, ZDMG. 1, 72; Whitney, JAOS. 3, 319—21; Delbrück, ZVP. 1865, 277—9; OST. 5, 77—139; 4, 99—108; LRV. 3, 317; KRV. 40—7; BRI. 12—3; BRV. 2, 159—96; Perry, Indra in the Rigveda, JAOS. 11, 117—208; Hillebrandt, Literaturblatt f. Or. Philol. 1884—5, p. 108; Die Sonnwendfeste in Altindien (1889), 16; Sp. AP. 194—7; HVBP. 60—80; ORV. 134—75; ZDMG. 49, 174—5; HRI. 91—6; v. Schröder, WZKM. 9, 230—4.

§ 23. Trita Āptya. — Trita Āptya is not celebrated in any entire hymn of the RV. but is only incidentally mentioned there in forty passages occurring in twenty-nine hymns. The epithet Āptya accompanies or alternates with Trita seven times in four hymns of the RV. (1, 109; 5, 41; 8, 47; 10, 8). He is oftenest mentioned or associated with Indra; he is seven times connected or identified with Agni, is several times spoken of with the Maruts, and ten times with Soma either as the beverage or the deity. Trita is mentioned alone as having rent Vṛtra by the power of the Soma draught (1, 187[1]).

The Maruts aided Trita and Indra in the victory over Vṛtra (8, 7[24]). Such action must have been regarded as characteristic of Trita, for it is mentioned as an illustration. When Indra in the Vṛtra fight strove against the withholder of rain, he cleft him as Trita cleaves the fences of Vala (1, 52[4.5]). So again the man who is aided by Indra-Agni, pierces rich strongholds like Trita (5, 86[1]). Trita Āptya knowing his paternal weapons and urged by Indra fought against and slew the three-headed son of Tvaṣṭṛ and released the cows (10, 8[8]). In the following stanza Indra performs exactly the same feat; for he strikes off the three heads of Viśvarūpa the son of Tvaṣṭṛ and takes possession of the cows. Indra (or perhaps Agni) subdued the loudly roaring three-headed six-eyed demon and Trita strengthened by his might slew the boar (i. e. the demon, cp. 1, 121[11]) with iron-pointed bolt (10,99[6]). Here the feat performed by the two gods is again identical. Indra produced cows for Trita from the dragon (10, 48[2]). Indra delivered over Viśvarūpa the son of Tvaṣṭṛ to Trita (2, 11[19]). Indra strengthened by the Soma-pressing Trita, cast down Arbuda and with the Aṅgirases rent Vala (2, 11[20]). When the mighty Maruts go forth and the lightnings flash, Trita thunders and the waters roar (5, 54[2]). In two obscure passages of a Marut hymn (2, 34) the bright path of the Maruts is said to shine forth when Trita appears (v. 10) and Trita seems to be conceived as bringing the Maruts on his car (v. 14). In an Agni hymn the winds are said to have found Trita, instructing him to help them (10, 115[4]). The flames of Agni rise when Trita in the sky blows upon him like a smelter and sharpens him as in a smelting furnace (5,9[5]). Trita eagerly seeking him (Agni) found him on the head of the cow; he when born in houses becomes as a youth the centre of brightness, establishing himself in dwellings. Trita enveloped (in flames) seated himself within his place (10,46[3.6]). Trita is spoken of as in heaven (5,9[5]). His abode is secret (9, 102[2]). It is remote; for the Ādityas and Uṣas are prayed to remove ill deeds and evil dreams to Trita Āptya (8, 47[13–7]). It seems to be in the region of the sun. For the poet says: 'Where those seven rays are, there my origin is extended; Trita Āptya knows that; he speaks for kinship': which seems to mean that he claims kinship with it (1, 105[9]). In the same hymn (v. 17) Trita is described as buried in a well (*kūpe*) and praying to the gods for help; Bṛhaspati heard him and released him from his distress. In another passage (10, 8[7]) Trita within a pit (*vavre*) prays to his father and goes forth claiming his paternal weapons; and in the next stanza (10, 8[8]) he fights with Viśvarūpa. Indra is said to drink Soma beside Viṣṇu, Trita Āptya, or the Maruts (8, 12[16]) and to delight in a hymn of praise beside Trita (Vāl. 4[1]). In the ninth book, doubtless owing to its peculiar character, Trita appears in the special capacity of a preparer of Soma, a feature alluded to only once in the rest of the RV. (2, 11[20]). Soma is purified by Trita (9, 34[4]). Trita's maidens (the fingers) urge the tawny drop with stones for Indra to drink (9, 32[2]. 38[2]). Soma occupies the secret place near the two pressing stones of Trita (9, 102[2]) and is besought

to bring wealth in a stream on the ridges (*pṛṣṭheṣu*) of Trita (9, 102[3]). Soma caused the sun along with the sisters to shine on the summit (*sānu*) of Trita (9, 37[4]). They press out the stalk, the bull that dwells on the mountains, who, like a buffalo, is purified on the summit; hymns accompany him as he roars; Trita cherishes (him who is like) Varuṇa in the ocean (9, 95[4]). When Soma pours the mead, he calls up the name of Trita (9, 86[20]).

There are several passages from which little or nothing can be gathered as to Trita's original nature. Thus his name occurs in some enumerations which furnish no information (2, 31[6]; 5, 41[4]; 10, 64[3]). In two other verses (5, 41[9. 10]) the interpretation is uncertain, as the text seems to be corrupt. In one passage in the middle of a Varuṇa hymn Trita is described as one in whom all wisdom is centred, as the nave in the wheel (8, 41[6]). In another passage Trita is said to have harnessed a celestial steed fashioned from the sun and given by Yama, this steed being in the following stanza said to be identical with Yama, the Sun, and with Trita 'by secret operation' (1, 163[2. 3]). The half dozen passages of the AV.[1] which mention Trita, add no definite information about him. They suggest only the idea of a remote god, to whom guilt or dream is transferred (1, 113[1. 3]; 19, 56[4]). The TS. (1, 8, 10[2]) describes Trita as a bestower of long life. This is no doubt a secondary trait[2] accruing to Trita as the preparer of Soma, the draught of immortality. The Brāhmaṇas speak of Trita as one of three deities, the other two being Ekata and Dvita, sons of Agni and born from the waters (ŚB. 1, 2, 3[1. 2]; TB. 3, 2, 8[10. 11]). Sāyaṇa on RV. 1, 105 quotes a story of the Śāṭyāyanins, in which the same three brothers are Ṛṣis, Trita being cast into a well by the other two. It is clear that here the three names have a numerical sense. Dvita already occurs in the RV., once along with Trita (8, 47[16]) and once alone in an Agni hymn (5, 18[2]) and apparently identified with Agni. The name of Trita is not mentioned in the list of deities in the Naighaṇṭuka. Yāska (Nir. 4, 6) explains the word to mean 'very proficient in wisdom' (deriving it from √*tṛ*), or as a numeral referring to the three brothers Ekata, Dvita, Trita. In another passage (Nir. 9, 25) he explains Trita as 'Indra in three abodes' (i. e. heaven, earth, air).

In examining the evidence of the RV. we find that Indra and Trita in three or four passages perform the same feat, that of slaying a demon. Trita in one is impelled by Indra, while in another Indra is inspired by Trita; and twice Indra is said to have acted for Trita. Further, Trita is associated with the Maruts in the thunderstorm. Moreover, he finds Agni, kindles Agni in heaven, and takes up his abode in human dwellings, clearly as a form of Agni. His abode is remote and hidden, and Soma is there. In the ninth book Trita as the preparer of Soma diverges more from Indra, who is only a drinker of Soma. Corresponding to Trita in the Avesta we find Thrita, who is a man (as Trita becomes in the Indian Epic). He is once (Yasna 9, 10) described as the third man who prepared Haoma (= Soma) for the corporeal world (Āthwya = Āptya being the second) and once (Vend. 20, 2) as the first healer who received from Ahura Mazda ten thousand healing plants which grow round the white Haoma, the tree of immortality. Thrita is also called the son of Sāyuzhdri in two passages (Yasht 5, 72; 13, 113) in one of which he is said to have dwelt in Apām napāṭ (as a locality on earth)[3]. This shows that Trita was connected with Soma as early as the Indo-Iranian period. The other side of Trita's activity, the slaughter of the three-headed six-eyed demon or dragon we find in the Avesta transferred to a cognate personage, Thraetaona, who slays the fiendish serpent (*Azi dahāka*), the three-mouthed, three-headed, six-eyed demon. It is noteworthy that Thraetaona in

his expedition against Dahāka is accompanied by two brothers who seek to slay him on the way[4]. The word *tritá* phonetically corresponds to the Greek τρίτος[5], the third. That it was felt to have the meaning of 'the third', is shown by the occurrence beside it of Dvita in the RV. and by the invention of Ekata beside these two in the Brāhmaṇas. The collocation of *trīṇi*, three, with Trita (RV. 9, 102[3]; AV. 5, 1[1]) points in the same direction. Finally, it is highly probable that in one passage of the RV. (6, 44[23])[6] the word *trita* in the plural means 'third'.

Trita's regular epithet Āptya seems to be derived from *āp*, water, and hence to be practically equivalent in sense to Apāṃ napāt[7]. Sāyaṇa (on RV. 8, 47[15]) explains it as 'son (*putra*) of waters'. Another epithet of Trita, *vaibhūvasa*, which is formed like a patronymic and only occurs once (10, 46[3]) may be connected with Soma[8].

The above evidence may perhaps justify the conclusion that Trita was a god of lightning, the third or aerial form of fire, originally the middle member of the triad Agni, Vāyu or Indra, Sūrya. By a process of natural selection Indra seems to have ousted this god originally almost identical in character with himself, with the result that Trita occupies but an obscure position even in the RV. If this interpretation be correct, Trita's original connexion with Soma would signify the bringing of Soma from heaven by lightning (as in the Soma-eagle myth: § 37). The paucity of the evidence has led to many divergent views[9]. Only some of these need be mentioned here. ROTH (ZDMG. 2, 224) considered Trita a water and wind god. HILLEBRANDT[10] regards him as a deity of the bright sky. PERRY believes him to be a god of the storm, older than Indra[11]. PISCHEL who formerly (PVS. 1, 186) thought him to be 'a god of the sea and of the waters' has recently (GGA. 1894, p. 428) expressed the opinion that Trita was originally a human healer who was later deified. HARDY thinks Trita is a moon god[12].

[1] See WHITNEY'S AV. Index verborum, s. v. Tṛta. — [2] Otherwise PISCHEL, GGA. 1894, p. 427. — [3] SP. AP. 193. — [4] SP. AP. 271. — [5] BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, 229; according to FICK, Vergleichendes Wörterbuch 14, 63. 229, Trita originally meant sea. — [6] ORV. 183, n.; cp. POTT, KZ. 4, 441. — [7] Cp. JOHANSSON, IF. 4, 136. 143. — [8] JRAS. 25, 450. — [9] Stated up to date in JRAS. 25, 4, 19—23. — [10] Varuṇa und Mitra 94—5. — [11] JAOS. 11, 142—5. — [12] HVBP. 35—8.

MACDONELL, The god Trita; JRAS. 25, 419—96. To the authorities here quoted may be added: LRV. 3, 355—7; KRV. 33, note 112 d; BRI. 11; BDA. 82, n. 3; SP.AP. 262—71; BLOOMFIELD, AJP. 11, 341; PAOS. 1894, CXIX—CXXiii; LUDWIG, Rgveda-Forschung 117—9; FAY, PAOS. 1894, CLXXiv; AJP. 17, 13; ORV. 143; SBE. 46, 406; IIRI. 104; OERTEL, JAOS. 18, 18—20.

§ 24. Apāṃ napāt. — The deity called Apāṃ napāt is celebrated in one whole hymn (2, 35), is invoked in two verses of a hymn to the waters (10, 30[3. 4]), and is mentioned by name nearly thirty times altogether in the RV. The waters stood around the brilliant Son of waters; the youthful waters go around him the youthful; three divine females desire to give food to him the divine; he sucks the milk of the first mothers (2, 35[3—5]). He, the bull, engendered the embryo in them; he the child, sucks and they kiss him (v. [13]); the Son of waters growing strong within the waters, shines forth (v. [7]). He shines without fuel in the waters (v. [4]; 10, 30[4]). Clothed in lightning the Son of waters has mounted upright the lap of the slanting (waters); carrying him the swift (waters) golden in colour go around him (v. [9]; cp. Agni in 1, 95[4. 5]). The Son of waters is golden in form, appearance and colour; coming from a golden womb he sits down and gives food to his worshipper (v. [10]). Standing in the highest place he always shines with undimmed (splendour); the swift waters carrying ghee as food to their son, fly

around with their garments (v. [14]). The face of the Son of waters, whom the maidens kindle, whose colour is golden, and whose food is ghee, increases in secret (v. [11]). He has a cow which in his own house gives good milk (v. 7). Steeds (*vṛṣaṇaḥ*) swift as thought carry the son of waters (1, 186[5]). The son of waters is connected with rivers (*nādya*: v. [1]). The son of waters has engendered all beings, who are merely branches of him (v. [2. 8]). In the last stanza of the Apāṃ napāt hymn, the deity is invoked as Agni and must be identified with him. Conversely Agni is in some hymns addressed to him, spoken of as Apāṃ napāt (cp. VS. 8, 24). Agni is the Son of waters (3, 9[1]). He is the Son of waters who sat down on earth as a dear priest (1, 143[1]). But they are also distinguished. Agni, accordant with the Son of waters, confers victory over Vṛtra (6, 13[3]). The Son of waters unites here with the body of another as it were (2, 35[13]). The epithet *āśuheman*, 'swiftly speeding'[1], applied three times to Apāṃ napāt, is in its only other occurrence used of Agni.

Apāṃ napāt is mentioned in various enumerations, especially with Aja ekapād (2, 31[6]; 7, 35[13]), Ahi budhnya (1, 186[5]; 2, 31[6]; 7, 35[13]), and Savitṛ (2, 31[6]; 6, 50[13]). The epithet is directly applied to Savitṛ at least once (p. 33), perhaps because Savitṛ represents another fertilizing form of Agni.

Apāṃ napāt, who is golden, is clothed in lightning, dwells in the highest place, grows in concealment, shines forth, is the offspring of the waters, comes down to earth, and is identified with Agni, appears to represent the lightning form of Agni which is concealed in the cloud. For Agni, besides being directly called Apāṃ napāt, is also termed the embryo (*garbha*) of the waters (7, 9[3]; 1, 70[3]). As such he has been deposited in human dwellings (3, 5[3]), his abode is in the waters (8, 43[9]) and the two fire-sticks engender Agni who is the embryo both of plants and of waters (3, 1[13]). Agni is also called the 'son of the rock' (10, 20[7] cp. 6, 48[5]), which can hardly refer to anything but the lightning which issues from the cloud mountain. As contrasted with his celestial and terrestrial forms, the third form of Agni is described as kindled in the waters, the ocean, the udder of heaven, the lap of the waters (10, 45[1–3]). In fact the abode of the celestial Agni in the waters is one of the best established points in Vedic mythology[2]. The term Āptya applied to Trita appears to bear a similar interpretation (§ 23).

Apāṃ napāt is not a creation of Indian mythology, but goes back to the Indo-Iranian period. In the Avesta Apãm napāṭ is a spirit of the waters, who lives in their depths, is surrounded by females and is often invoked with them, drives with swift steeds, and is said to have seized the brightness in the depth of the ocean[3]. Spiegel[4] thinks this deity shows indications of an igneous nature in the Avesta, and Darmesteter considers him to be the fire-god as born from the cloud in lightning[5]. L. v. Schroeder agrees with this view[6]; some scholars, however, dissent from it. Oldenberg[7] is of opinion that Apāṃ napāt was originally a water genius pure and simple, who became confused with the water-born Agni, a totally different being. His grounds are, that one of the two hymns in which he is celebrated (10, 30), is connected in the ritual with ceremonies exclusively concerned with water, while even in 2, 35 his aqueous nature predominates[8]. Hillebrandt[9], on the other hand, followed by Hardy[10], thinks Apāṃ napāt is the moon, and Max Müller[11] that he is the sun or lightning.

[1] Windisch, FaR. 144. — [2] Cp. especially RV. 3, 1 (GVS. 1, 157—70); also 5, 85[2]; 7, 49[4]; 10, 9[6]. — [3] Cp. HVM. 1, 377—8. — [4] Sp.AP. 192—3. — [5] SBE. 4[2], lxiii; l'Avesta traduit 2, 630, note, 3, 82 (cp. Ormazd et Ahriman 34); but see Hillebrandt, ZDMG. 48, 422. — [6] WZKM. 9, 227—8. — [7] ORV. 118—20, cp.

357. — [8] Cp. v. SCHROEDER, WZKM. l. c.; MACDONELL, JRAS. 27, 955—6. — [9] HVM. 1, 365—80; ZDMG. 48, 422 f. — [10] HVBP. 38 f. — [11] Chips, 4², 410; NR. 500. RIALLE, Revue de Ling. 3, 49 ff.; WINDISCHMANN in SPIEGEL'S Zoroastrische Studien 177—86; SPIEGEL, Avesta Tr. 3, XIX. LIV; GRV. I, 45; BRV. 2, 17—19. 36—7; 3, 45; Manuel pour étudier le Sanscrit védique, s. v. apām napāt; LRV. 4, 181; GRUPPE, Die griech. Culte 1, 89; BDA. 82, note 2; LRF. 93; MACDONELL, JRAS. 25, 475—6; HRI. 106.

§ 25. Mātariśvan. — Mātariśvan is not celebrated in any hymn of the RV., and the name is found there only twenty-seven times, occurring twenty-one times in the latest portions of that Veda and otherwise only five times in the third and once in the sixth book. In these six older passages Mātariśvan is always either identified with Agni or is the producer of fire. Though the myth of Mātariśvan is based on the distinction between fire and a personification which produces it, the analysis of the myth shows these two to be identical. Nothing even in any of the later books of the RV., can be said to show clearly that the conception of Mātariśvan prevailing in the other Vedas and in the post-Vedic period, had begun to appear in that Veda.

Mātariśvan is a name of Agni in three passages (3, 5[9]. 26[2]; 1, 96[4]). This is probably also the case where the name occurs in the vocative at the end of an Agni hymn (9, 88[19]). In another verse, where an etymological explanation of the name is given, he is spoken of as one of the forms of Agni: 'As heavenly germ he is called Tanūnapāt, he becomes Narāśaṃsa when he is born; when as Mātariśvan he was fashioned in his mother (*amimīta mātari*: cp. 1, 141[5]), he became the swift flight of wind' (3, 29[11]). It is further said elsewhere: 'One being the wise call variously: they speak of Agni, Yama, Mātariśvan' (1, 164[46]). Once Mātariśvan is also a form of Bṛhaspati, who is several times identified with Agni (§ 36): 'That Bṛhaspati appeared (*sam abhavat*) at the rite as Mātariśvan' (1, 190[2]).

Elsewhere Mātariśvan is distinguished from Agni. 'He (Agni) being born in the highest heavens appeared to Mātariśvan' (1, 143[2]). 'Agni first appeared to Mātariśvan and Vivasvat; the two worlds trembled at the choosing of the priest' (1, 31[3]). 'Agni being the highest of the luminaries has supported with his flame the firmament, when Mātariśvan kindled the oblation-bearer who was concealed' (3, 5[10]). This verse follows one in which Agni is directly called Mātariśvan. The only explanation of such a discrepancy in contiguous verses of the same hymn, seems to be that the name of a specific personification of Agni in the latter verse is used as an epithet of the generic Agni in the former. Mātariśvan brought to Bhṛgu as a gift the glorious offerer, the banner of the sacrificial gathering, the messenger who has two births (1, 60[1]). Mātariśvan brought the one (Agni) from the sky, the eagle wrested the other (Soma) from the rock (1, 93[6]). Mātariśvan brought Agni the adorable priest, the dweller in heaven (3, 2[13]). Mātariśvan (and) the gods fashioned Agni, whom the Bhṛgus produced, as the first adorable (priest) for man (10, 46[9]). Him, the god, Mātariśvan has brought from afar for man (1, 128[2]). Mātariśvan, the messenger of Vivasvat, brought hither from afar Agni Vaiśvānara, whom the mighty seized in the lap of the waters (6, 8[4]). Mātariśvan brought from afar the hidden Agni, produced by friction, from the gods (3, 9[5]). Mātariśvan produced by friction the hidden Agni (1, 141[3]). Agni was produced with friction by Mātariśvan and was set up in human abodes (1, 71[4]. 148[1]). Indra produced cows for Trita from the dragon and delivered the cowstalls to Dadhyañc (and) Mātariśvan (10, 48[2]).

There are a few obscure passages in late hymns which hardly shed any further light on the character of Mātariśvan. In two of these he seems to

be regarded as purifying and enjoying Soma (9, 67[31]; 10, 114[1]); and in another, he is mentioned in an enumeration of Fathers beside whom Indra drank Soma (Vāl. 4[2]). Indra is once compared with him as with a skilful artificer (10, 105[6]), probably in allusion to Mātariśvan's skill in producing Agni (cp. 10, 46[9], where the same verb *takṣ* is used). This notion of skill is probably also present in a verse of the wedding hymn (10, 85[47]), where Mātariśvan is invoked along with other deities to join the hearts of two lovers (cp. Tvaṣṭṛ, § 38). Finally, in a very obscure verse (10, 109[1]) Mātariśvan is spoken of as 'boundless' and 'wandering' (*salila*, an adjective several times used with *vāta* in the AV.), attributes which possibly already represent the conception of Mātariśvan to be found in later times.

Mātariśvan would thus appear to be a personification of a celestial form of Agni, who at the same time is thought of as having like Prometheus brought down the hidden fire from heaven to earth. Hardly anything but lightning can be his natural basis. This would account for his being the messenger of Vivasvat from heaven to earth (6, 8[4]), just as Agni himself is a messenger of Vivasvat (§ 35) between the two worlds[1]. In the AV. Mātariśvan is still found as a mystic name of Agni (AV. 10, 8[39. 40]); but generally in that (AV. 12, 1[51] &c.) and other Saṃhitās, the Brāhmaṇas and all the subsequent literature, the name is a designation of wind. The transition to this conception is to be found in a passage already quoted (3, 29[11]): 'Agni, when as Mātariśvan he was formed in his mother, became the swift flight of wind'[2], and Agni in the air as a raging serpent is elsewhere compared with the rushing wind (1, 79[1]). Such a statement might easily have been taken later to interpret Mātariśvan as the wind.

The word *mātariśvan*, which is without a cognate in any other Indo-European language, has every appearance of being a purely Indian compound (like *mātaribhvarī*, *ṛjiśvan*, *durgṛbhiśvan*). The Rigvedic poet's explanation of the name as 'he who is formed in his mother' can hardly be dismissed as an etymological conceit, since the word in all likelihood dates from a contemporary phase of language. It probably means 'growing in his mother' (√*śū*, to swell, from which we have *śiśu*, child, and other derivatives)[3], Agni being also said to grow (√*vṛdh*) in his mothers (1, 141[5]). There is a change of accent from the second to the third syllable, probably due to the influence of numerous words in *-van* (like *prātaritvan*). By the mother either the lower *araṇī* or the thundercloud might be meant; but the latter is the more probable, as Mātariśvan comes from heaven. Yāska (Nir. 7, 26), who regards Mātariśvan as a designation of Vāyu, analyzes the compound into *mātari* (= *antarikṣe*) and *śvan* (from *śvas* to breathe or *āśu an* to breathe quickly), so as to mean the wind that breathes in the air.

[1] ORV. 122, n. 1 thinks the frequently expressed opinion that Mātariśvan is nothing but a form of Agni, has no sure foundation, and regards Mātariśvan simply as the Prometheus of the RV.; cp. ORV. 108, n. 1, and SBE. 46, 123. — [2] Cp. BRV. 1, 27; BDA. 51; Oldenberg, SBE. 46, 306. — [3] Cp. Whitney, Sanskrit Roots p. 176; Roth, Nirukta 111—3; Weber, IS. 1, 416; Reuter, KZ. 31, 544—5.

KHF. 8. 14; Muir, JRAS. 20, 416, note; OST. 5, 204, note; Schwartz, KZ. 20, 210; GW. s. v.; BRV. 1, 52—7; BRI. 9; KRV. 35; HVBP. 110; Eggeling, SBE. 12, 186, note 2; ORV. 122—3.

§ 26. Ahi budhnya. — The serpent of the Deep, Ahi budhnya, whose name is mentioned solely in hymns to the Viśvedevas, is spoken of only twelve times in the RV. and hardly ever alone. He is associated five times with Aja ekapād, three times with Apāṃ napāt, three times with the ocean (*samudra*), and twice with Savitṛ. There are only three verses (5, 41[16];

7, 34[16. 17]) in which he is invoked alone. When only one other deity is referred to with him, it is either Apāṃ napāt (1, 186[5]) or Aja ekapād (10, 64[4]). When Ahi budhnya and Aja ekapād are mentioned together in the same verse, they are always (with the slight exception of 10, 66[11]) in juxtaposition. The most characteristic enumerations in which the name is invoked are: Aja ekapād, Ahi budhnya, the ocean, Apāṃ napāt, Pṛśni (7, 35[13]); Ahi budhnya, Aja ekapād, Trita, Ṛbhukṣan, Savitṛ, Apāṃ napāt (2, 31[6]); the ocean, the stream, the space (*rajas*), the air, Aja ekapād, the thundering flood, Ahi budhnya, and all the gods (10, 66[11]). Judged by these associates Ahi budhnya would seem to be an atmospheric deity, and he is enumerated in the Naighaṇṭuka (5, 4) among the divinities of the middle or aerial region. But it is only where he is mentioned alone that anything more definite than this can be gathered. In the verse which gives most information about him, the poet exclaims: 'I praise with songs the serpent born in water (*abjām*), sitting in the bottom (*budhne*) of the streams in the spaces' (7, 34[16]; cp. 10, 93[5]). This indicates that he dwells in the atmospheric ocean, and Yāska explains *budhna* as air (Nir. 10, 44). In the verse immediately following he is besought not to give his worshippers over to injury, and these identical words are addressed to him in another passage also (5, 41[16]). This suggests that there is something hurtful in his nature. Ahi is otherwise a term commonly applied to Vṛtra (§ 68), and Vṛtra enclosing the waters is described as overflowed by the waters or lying in them (ibid.) or at the bottom (*budhna*) of the air (1, 52[6]). Agni in the space of air is called a raging *ahi* (1, 79[1]) and is also said to have been produced in the depth (*budhne*) of the great space (4, 11[1]). Thus it may be surmised that Ahi budhnya was originally not different from Ahi Vṛtra, though he is invoked as a divine being, who resembles Apāṃ napāt, his baleful aspect only being hinted at. In later Vedic texts Ahi budhnya is allegorically connected with Agni Gārhapatya (VS. 5, 33; AB. 3, 36; TB. 1, 1, 10[3]). In post-Vedic literature Ahi budhnya is the name of a Rudra as well as an epithet of Śiva.

WEBER, IS. 1, 96; ROTH, PW. s. v. *budhnya*; OST. 5, 336; BRV. 2, 205—6. 401; 3, 24—5; HVBP. 41 (as a name of the moon).

§ 27. Aja ekapād. — This being is closely connected with Ahi budhnya, his name occurring five times in juxtaposition with that of the latter and only once unaccompanied by it (10, 65[13]). The deities invoked in the latter passage, 'the thundering Pāvīravī ('daughter of lightning': PW.), Ekapād aja, the supporter of the sky, the stream, the oceanic waters, all the gods, Sarasvatī', are, however, almost identical with those enumerated in the following hymn: 'the ocean, the stream, the aerial space, Aja ekapād, the thundering flood, Ahi budhnya, and all the gods' (10, 66[11]). These two passages suggest that Aja ekapād is an aerial deity. He is, however, enumerated in the Naighaṇṭuka (5, 6) among the deities of the celestial region. In the AV. Aja ekapāda is said to have made firm the two worlds (AV. 13, 1[6]). The TB. (3, 1, 2[8]) speaks of Aja ekapād as having risen in the east. The commentator on his passage defines Aja ekapād as a kind of Agni, and Durga on Nirukta 12, 29 interprets him as the sun. Yāska himself does not express an opinion as to what Aja ekapād represents, merely explaining *Aja* as *ajana*, driving, and *ekapad* as 'he who has one foot' or 'he who protects or drinks with one foot'. Though hardly any longer an independent deity, Aja ekapād as well as Ahi budhnya receives a libation in the domestic ritual (Pārask. 2, 15[2]). In the Epic Ajaikapād is both the name of one of the eleven Rudras and an epithet of Śiva.

ROTH[1], with whom GRASSMANN agrees[2], regards Aja ekapād as a genius

of the storm, translating the name as the 'one-footed Driver or Stormer'. Bloomfield[3] and Victor Henry[4] think he represents a solar deity. Hardy[5] believes that 'the goat who goes alone' is the moon. Bergaigne[6], interpreting the name as 'the unborn (*a-ja*) who has only one foot', thinks this means he who inhabits the one isolated mysterious world. If another conjecture may be added, the name, meaning 'the one-footed goat'[7], was originally a figurative designation of lightning, the 'goat' alluding to its agile swiftness in the cloud-mountains, and the one foot to the single streak which strikes the earth.

[1] PW. s. v. *aja*; Nirukta, Erl. 165—6 (cp. OST. 5, 336). — [2] GW. s. v. 1 *aja*; cp. Fay, AJP. 17, 24—5. — [3] AJP. 12, 443; SBE. 42, 664. — [4] Les hymnes Rohita, Paris 1891, p. 24. — [5] HVBP. 41—2. — [6] BRV. 3, 23. — [7] ORV. 71—2; cp. BRI. 24. Weber, IS. 1, 96.

§ 28. Rudra. — This god occupies a subordinate position in the RV., being celebrated in only three entire hymns, in part of another, and in one conjointly with Soma, while his name occurs about 75 times.

His physical features in the RV. are the following. He has a hand (2, 33[7] &c.), arms (2, 33[3]; VS. 16, 1), and firm limbs (2, 33[11]). He has beautiful lips (2, 33[5]) and (like Pūṣan) wears braided hair (1, 114[1.5]). His colour is brown (*babhru*: 2, 33[5] &c.). His shape is dazzling (1, 114[5]), and he is multiform (2, 33[9]). He shines like the brilliant sun, like gold (1, 43[5]). He is arrayed with golden ornaments (2, 33[9]) and wears a glorious multiform necklace[1] (*niṣka*: 2, 33[10]). He sits on a car-seat (2, 33[4]). The later Saṃhitās (especially VS. 16) add a number of other traits. He is thousand-eyed (AV. 11, 2[2.7], VS. 16, 7). He has a belly, a mouth, a tongue, and teeth (AV. 11, 2[6]). His belly is black and his back red (AV. 15, 1[7.8]). He is blue-necked (VS. 16, 7) and blue-tufted (AV. 2, 27[6]). He is copper-coloured and red (VS. 16, 7). He is clothed in a skin (VS. 3, 61; 16, 51) and dwells in mountains (VS. 16, 2—4).

The RV. often mentions Rudra's weapons of offence. He is once said to hold the thunderbolt in his arm (2, 33[3]). His lightning shaft (*didyut*) discharged from the sky traverses the earth (7, 46[3]). He is usually said to be armed with a bow and arrows (2, 33[10. 11]; 5, 42[11]; 10, 125[6]), which are strong and swift (7, 46[1]). He is invoked with Kṛśānu (§ 48) and the archers (10, 64[8]); and seems to be intended when Indra is compared with the archer on the car-seat (6, 20[9], cp. 2, 33[11]). In the AV. he is also called an archer (1, 28[1]; 6, 93[1]; 15, 5[1—7]). In that and other later Vedic texts his bow, arrow, weapon, bolt, or club are frequently referred to (AV. 1, 28[5] &c.; ŚB. 9, 1, 1[6]).

One of the points most frequently mentioned about Rudra is his relationship to the Maruts. He is their father (1, 114[6. 9]; 2, 33[1]); or they are more frequently spoken of as his sons and are also several times called Rudras or Rudriyas[2]. He is said to have generated them from the shining udder of Pṛśni (2, 34[2])[3]. But Rudra is never associated, as Indra is, with the warlike exploits of the Maruts, for he does not engage in conflict with the demons. *Tryambaka*, a common epithet of Śiva in post-Vedic literature, is already applied to Rudra in Vedic texts (VS. 3, 58; ŚB. 2, 6, 2[9]) and seems to refer to him once even in the RV. (7, 59[12]). The meaning appears to be 'he who has three mothers' (cp. 3, 56[5]) in allusion to the threefold division of the universe (cp. GRV. 1, 555). Ambikā, a post-Vedic name of Śiva's wife, is mentioned for the first time in VS. 3, 5, appearing here, however, not as Rudra's wife, but as his sister. Umā and Pārvatī, regular names of Śiva's wife, seem first to occur in the TA. and the Kena Upaniṣad.

In a passage of the RV. (2, 1[6]) Rudra is one of several deities identified

with Agni. He is also identified with Agni in the AV. (7, 87[1]), in the TS. (5, 4, 3[1]; 5, 5, 7[4]), and the ŚB. (6, 1, 3[10], cp. 9, 1, 1[1]). The word *rudra* often occurs as an adjective, in several cases as an attribute of Agni[4] (though rather oftener as an attribute of the Aśvins (§ 21). Śarva and Bhava are, among several others, two new names assigned to Rudra in VS. (16, 18. 28). These two also occur in the AV. where their destructive arrows and lightnings are referred to (2, 27[6]; 6, 93[1]; 10, 1[23]; 11, 2[1. 12]); but they seem here to have been regarded as deities distinct from one another and from Rudra. Bhava and Śarva are in a Sūtra passage spoken of as sons of Rudra and are compared with wolves eager for prey (ŚŚS. 4, 20[1]). In VS. 39, 8 Agni, Aśani, Paśupati, Bhava, Śarva, Iśāna, Mahādeva, Ugradeva, and others are enumerated as gods or forms of one god. Rudra, Śarva, Paśupati, Ugra, Aśani, Bhava, Mahān devaḥ are names given to represent eight different forms of Agni (ŚB. 6, 1, 3[7]; cp. Śāṅkh. Br. 6, 1 &c.), and Śarva, Bhava, Paśupati, and Rudra are said to be all names of Agni (ŚB. 1, 7, 3[8]). Aśani, one of the above names assigned to Agni Kumāra in the ŚB. (6, 1, 3[10]), is there explained to mean lightning (*vidyut*) but in the Śāṅkh. Br. it is interpreted as Indra. The epithet *paśupati*, 'lord of beasts', which Rudra often receives in the VS., AV., and later, is doubtless assigned to him because unhoused cattle are peculiarly exposed to his attacks and are therefore especially consigned to his care.

Rudra is described in the RV. as fierce (2, 33[9. 11]; 10, 126[5]) and destructive like a terrible beast (2, 33[11]). He is the ruddy[5] (*aruṣa*) boar of heaven (1, 114[5]). He is a bull (2, 33[7. 8. 15]). He is exalted (7, 10[4]), strong (1, 43[1]. 114[1]), strongest of the strong (2, 33[3]), unassailable (7, 46[1]), unsurpassed in might (2, 33[10]), rapid (10, 92[5]), and swift (1, 114[4]). He is young (2, 33[1]; 5, 60[5]) and unaging (6, 49[10]). He is called *asura* (5, 42[11]) or the great *asura* of heaven[6] (2, 1[6]). He is self-glorious (1, 129[3]; 10, 92[9]), rules heroes (1, 114[1. 2] &c.), and is a lord (*īśāna*) of this vast world (2, 33[9]) and father of the world (6, 49[10]). He is an ordainer (6, 46[1]), and by his rule and universal dominion he is aware of the doings of men and gods (7, 46[2]). He makes the streams flow over the earth and, roaring, moistens everything (10, 92[5]). He is intelligent (1, 43[1]), wise (1, 114[4]), and beneficent (2, 33[7]; 6, 49[10]). He is several times called 'bountiful', *mīḍhvas* (1, 114[3]), and in the later Vedas the comparative and superlative of this word have only been found in connexion with Rudra[7]. He is easily invoked (2, 33[6]) and is auspicious, *śiva* (10, 92[9]), an epithet which is not even in the AV. as yet peculiar to any particular deity.

Malevolence is frequently attributed to Rudra in the RV.; for the hymns addressed to him chiefly express fear of his terrible shafts and deprecation of his wrath. He is implored not to slay or injure, in his anger, his worshippers, their parents, children, men, cattle, or horses (1, 114[7. 8]), but to spare their horses (2, 33[1]), to avert his great malevolence and his bolt from his worshippers, and to prostrate others with them (2, 33[11. 14]). He is besought to avert his bolt when he is incensed and not to injure his adorers, their children, and their cows (6, 28[7]. 46[2–4]), and to keep from them his cow-slaying, man-slaying missile (2, 33[1]). His ill-will and anger are deprecated (2, 33[4–6. 15]), and he is besought to be merciful to the walking food (10, 169[1]). His worshippers pray that they may be unharmed and obtain his favour (2, 33[1. 6]). He once even receives the epithet 'man-slaying' (4, 3[6]), and in a Sūtra passage it is said that this god seeks to slay men (AG. 4, 8[32]). Rudra's malevolence is still more prominent in the later Vedic texts. His wrath is frequently deprecated (VS. 3, 61 &c.; AV. 1, 28[5] &c.). He is invoked not to assail his worshippers with celestial fire and to cause the lightning to

descend elsewhere (AV. 11, 2^{26}; 10, 1^{23}). He is even said to assail with fever, cough, and poison[8] (AV. 11, $2^{22.\ 26}$; 6, 90 cp. 93). Rudra's wide-mouthed, howling dogs, who swallow their prey unchewed, are also spoken of (AV. 10, 1^{30}, cp. VS. 16, 28). Even the gods were afraid of the strung bow and the arrows of Rudra, lest he should destroy them (ŚB. 9, 1, $1^{1.\ 6}$). Under the name of Mahādeva he is said to slay cattle (TMB. 6, 9^{2}). In another Brāhmaṇa passage he is said to have been formed of a compound of all the most terrible substances (AB. 3, 33^{1}). It is probably owing to his formidable characteristics that in the Brāhmaṇas and Sūtras Rudra is regarded as isolated from the other gods. When the gods attained heaven, Rudra remained behind (ŚB. 1, 7, 3^{1}). In the Vedic ritual after offerings to other gods, a remainder is not uncommonly assigned to Rudra (Gobh. GS. 1, 8^{28}; Āp. Dh. S. 2, 4^{23}). His hosts, which attack man and beast with disease and death, receive the bloody entrails of the victim (ŚŚS. 4, 19^{8}), just as blood is poured out to demons as their peculiar share of the sacrifice[9] (AB. 2, 7^{1}). The abode of Rudra in these later texts is commonly regarded as in the north[10], while that of the other gods is in the east. It is perhaps due to his formidable nature that in the RV. Rudra only appears once associated with another deity (Soma: § 44) as a dual divinity in one short hymn of four stanzas.

In the VS., besides many other epithets too numerous to repeat, several disgraceful attributes of Rudra are mentioned. Thus he is called a 'robber, cheat, deceiver, lord of pilferers and robbers' (16, 20—1). In fact, his character as shown by the various epithets occurring here, approximates to the fierce, terrific, impure, and repulsive nature of the post-Vedic Śiva.

Rudra is, however, not purely maleficent like a demon. He is also supplicated in the RV. to avert the anger or the evil that comes from the gods (1, 114^{4}; 2, 33^{7}). He is besought not only to preserve from calamity (5, 51^{13}), but to bestow blessings (1, $114^{1.\ 2}$; 2, 33^{6}), and produce welfare for man and beast (1, 43^{6}). His healing powers are mentioned with especial frequency. He grants remedies (2, 33^{12}), he commands every remedy (5, 42^{11}), and has a thousand remedies (7, 46^{3}). He carries in his hand choice remedies (1, 114^{5}), and his hand is restorative and healing (2, 33^{7}). He raises up heroes by his remedies, for he is the greatest physician of physicians (2, 33^{4}), and by his auspicious remedies his worshipper hopes to live a hundred winters (2, 33^{2}). He is besought to remove sickness from his worshippers' offspring (7, 46^{2}) and to be favourable to man and beast, that all in the village may be well-fed and free from disease (1, 114^{1}). In this connexion Rudra has two epithets which are peculiar to him, *jalāṣa*, (perhaps) 'healing' and *jalāṣa-bheṣaja*, 'possessing healing remedies (1, 43^{4}; AV. 2, 27^{6}). These medicines against sickness are probably rains[11] (cp. 5, 53^{14}; 10, 59^{9}). That this attribute was essential to his nature, appears from a verse of a hymn in which various deities are characterized without being named (8, 29^{5}): 'One bright, fierce, possessing healing remedies, holds a sharp weapon in his hand'. Rudra's lightning and his remedies are also mentioned together in another verse (7, 46^{3}). The healing Rudra with the Rudras is invoked to be favourable (7. 35^{6}). The Maruts are also in another verse associated with Rudra as possessing pure and beneficent remedies (2, 33^{13}). The healing power of Rudra is sometimes referred to in the other Saṃhitās (VS. 3, 59; 16, 5. 49; AV. 2, 27^{6}); but much less frequently than his destructive activity. In the Sūtras, sacrifices to him are prescribed for removing or preventing disease in cattle (AG. 4, 8^{4o}; Kauś. S. 51, 7 &c.).

The evidence of the RV. does not distinctly show with what physical

basis Rudra is connected. He is generally regarded as a storm-god. But his missile is maleficent, unlike that of Indra, which is directed only against the enemies of his worshippers. Rudra appears therefore to have originally represented not the storm pure and simple, but rather its baleful side in the destructive agency of lightning[12]. This would account for his deadly shafts and for his being the father or chief of the Maruts or Storm-gods, who are armed with lightning and who are said to have been born 'from the laughter of lightning' (1, 23[12]). His beneficent and healing powers would be based partly on the fertilizing and purifying action of the thunderstorm and partly on the indirect action of sparing those whom he might slay. Thus the deprecations of his wrath gave rise to the euphemistic epithet 'auspicious' (*śiva*), which became the regular name of Rudra's historical successor in post-Vedic mythology. This explanation would also account for Rudra's close connexion with Agni in the RV.

WEBER[13] expresses the view that this deity in the earliest period specially designated the howling of the Storm (the plural therefore meaning the Maruts), but that as the roaring of fire is analogous, Storm and Fire combined to form a god of rage and destruction, the epithets of the Śatarudriya being derived partly from Rudra = Storm and partly from Agni = Fire. H. H. WILSON thought that Rudra was 'evidently a form of either Agni or Indra'[14]. L. v. SCHROEDER[15] regards Rudra as originally the chief of the souls of the dead conceived as storming along in the wind (cp. p. 81). OLDENBERG is of opinion that Rudra probably represented in his origin a god of mountain and forest, whence the shafts of disease attack mankind[16].

The etymology of the word *rudra* is somewhat uncertain as regards the meaning. It is generally derived from the root *rud*, to cry, and interpreted as the Howler[17]. This is the Indian derivation[18]. By GRASSMANN[19] it is connected with a root *rud* having the conjectural meaning of 'to shine' or, according to PISCHEL, 'to be ruddy'[20]. Rudra would thus mean the 'bright' or the 'red one'[21].

1 Cp. PISCHEL, ZDMG. 40, 120—1. — 2 1, 64[2. 12]. 85[11]; 5, 42[15]; 6, 50[4]. 66[11]; 8, 20[17] (cp. 5, 59[8]; 7, 56[1]. 58[5]). — 3 Vāyu is once said to have generated the Maruts from the sky (1, 134[4]) and Vāta is approximated to Rudra in 10, 169[1]. — 4 1, 27[10] (cp. Nir. 10, 8; Erl. 136); 3, 25; 4, 3[1]; 5, 33; 8, 61[3]. — 5 Cp. BLOOMFIELD, AJP. 12, 429; PVS. 1, 57; ORV. 359, note 4. — 6 Cp. BDA. 46. 54; GELDNER, FaW. 20. — 7 BLOOMFIELD, AJP. 12, 428—9. — 8 Cp. BLOOMFIELD's explanation (AJP. 7, 469—72) of AV. 1, 12 as a prayer to lightning conceived as the cause of fever, headache, and coughs (otherwise WEBER, IS. 4, 405). — 9 HRI. 250, note 2; cp. ORV. 488. 302—3. 334—5. 458. — 10 Cp. ORV. 335, note 3. — 11 The remedy is explained by BRV. 3, 32 as Soma, the draught of immortality, and by BLOOMFIELD (AJP. 12, 425—9) followed by HVBP. 83—4, and HOPKINS, PAOS. Dec. 1894, CL ff., as rain (*jalāṣa* = the *mūtra* of Rudra). — 12 MACDONELL, JRAS. 27, 957; HOPKINS, PAOS. Dec. 1894, p. CLI; HRI. 112; cp. KRV. 38, note 133. — 13 IS. 2, 19—22. — 14 Translation of the RV., introductions to vol. 1, 26—7. 37—8; cp. vol. 2, 9—10. — 15 WZKM. 9, 248. — 16 ORV. 216—24 (cp. HOPKINS, PAOS. l. c.). — 17 KUHN, Herabkunft 177; KZ. 2, 278; 3, 335; WEBER, IS. 2, 19—22; MM., OGR. 216; otherwise v. BRADKE, ZDMG. 40, 359—61. — 18 TS. 1, 5, 1[1]; ŚB. 6, 1, 3[10]; YN. 10, 5; Sāyaṇa on RV. 1, 114[1]. — 19 GW. — 20 PVS. 1, 57; ZDMG. 40, 120. — 21 Cp. BRI. 14; HVBP. 83.

ROTH, ZDMG. 2, 222; WHITNEY, JAOS. 3, 318—9; Oriental and Linguistic Studies 1873, p. 34—5; OST. 4, 299—363. 420—3; LRV. 3, 320—2; BRV. 3, 31—8. 152—4; v. SCHROEDER, WZKM. 9, 233—8. 248—52; HRI. 99. 578.

§ 29. The Maruts. — These are prominent deities in the RV., thirty-three hymns being dedicated to them alone, seven at least to them conjointly with Indra, and one each to them with Agni and Pūṣan. They form a troop, *gaṇa* (a word generally used in connexion with them) or *śardhas* (1, 37[1. 5] &c.),

of deities mentioned only in the plural. Their number is thrice sixty (8, 85[8]) or thrice seven (1, 133[6]; AV. 13, 1[13]). Their birth is often referred to (5, 57[5] &c.). They are the sons of Rudra (p. 74), being also often called Rudras (1, 39[4. 7] &c.) and sometimes Rudriyas (1, 38[7]; 2, 34[10] &c.), and of Pṛśni (2, 34[2]; 5, 52[16]. 60[5]; 6, 66[3]), often also receiving the epithet *pṛśnimātaraḥ*, 'having Pṛśni for their mother' (1, 23[10] &c.; AV. 5, 21[11]). The cow Pṛśni (5, 52[16]), or simply a cow is their mother (8, 83[1]) and they bear the epithet *gomātaraḥ*, 'having a cow for their mother' (1, 85[3], cp. 8, 20[8]). This cow presumably represents the mottled storm-cloud (§§ 43. 61 B.); and the flaming cows having distended udders with whom they come (2, 34[5]), can hardly refer to anything but the clouds charged with rain and lightning. When born from Pṛśni the Maruts are compared with fires (6, 66[1—3]). They are also said to have been born from the laughter of lightning (1, 23[12], cp. 38[8]). Agni is said to have fashioned or begotten them (6, 3[6]; 1, 71[8]). Vāyu is once said to have engendered them in the wombs of heaven (1, 134[4]), and once they are called the sons of heaven (10, 77[2]), being also referred to as the heroes (*vīrāḥ*) of heaven (1, 64[4]. 122[1]; 5, 54[10]) or as the males (*maryāḥ*) of heaven (3, 54[13]; 5, 59[6]). Once they are said to have the ocean for their mother, *sindhumātaraḥ* (10, 78[6] cp. p. 51). Elsewhere they are said to be self-born (1, 168[2]; 5, 87[2]).

They are brothers among whom none is eldest or youngest (5, 59[6]. 60[5]), for they are equal in age (1, 165[1]). They have grown together (5, 56[5]; 7, 58[1]) and are of one mind (8, 20[1. 21]). They have the same birthplace (5, 53[3]) and the same abode (1, 165[1]; 7, 56[1]). They are spoken of as having grown on earth, in air, and heaven (5, 55[7]) or as dwelling in the three heavens (5, 60[6]). They are also once described as dwelling in the mountains (8, 83[1 2]).

They are associated with the goddess Indrāṇī, who is their friend (10, 86[9]), and with Sarasvatī (7, 96[2], cp. 39[5]). Their connexion is, however, closest with the goddess Rodasī, who is described as standing with them on their car bringing enjoyments (5, 56[8]) or simply as standing beside them (6, 66[6]). In all the five passages in which her name occurs, she is mentioned with them (cp. 1, 167[4. 5]). She therefore appears to have been regarded as their bride (like Sūryā as the bride of the Aśvins). It is probably to this connexion that they owe the epithet *bhadrajānayaḥ*, 'having a beautiful wife' (5, 61[4]) and their comparison with bridegrooms (5, 60[4]) or youthful wooers (10, 78[6]).

The brilliance of the Maruts is constantly referred to. They are golden, of sun-like brightness, like blazing fires, of ruddy aspect (6, 66[2]; 7, 59[11]; 8, 7[7]). They shine like tongues of fire (10, 78[3]). They have the form or the brilliance of Agni (10, 84[1]; 3, 26[5]), with whom they are compared in brightness (10, 78[2]). They are like fires (2, 34[1]) or kindled fires (6, 66[2]) and are expressly called fires (3, 26[4]). They have the brilliance of serpents (*ahibhānavaḥ*: 1, 172[1]). They shine in the mountains (8, 7[1]). They are self-luminous (1, 37[2] &c.), an epithet almost exclusively applied to them. They are frequently spoken of in a more general way as shining and brilliant (1, 165[12] &c.).

They are particularly often associated with lightning, *vidyut* (5, 54[2. 3. 11]; 1, 64[5]). The lightnings smile down on earth when the Maruts shed their ghee (1, 168[8], cp. 5, 52[6]). The lightning lows like a cow, as a mother following her calf, when they shed their rain (1, 38[8]). They are like lightnings shining with rain (7, 56[13]). Lightning is so characteristic of them that all the five compounds of *vidyut* in the RV. are connected with the Maruts and,

excepting a single instance, with them only. They hold lightnings in their hands (8, 7[25]; 5, 54[11]), they delight in lightnings and cast a stone (5, 54[3]). Their lances (*ṛṣṭi*) are often mentioned, and that these represent the lightning is shown by their epithet *ṛṣṭividyut*, 'lightning-speared' (1, 168[5]; 5, 52[13]). Less frequently they are spoken of as having axes (1, 37[2]. 88[3]; 5, 33[4]. 57[2]; 8, 20[4]), which are golden (8, 7[32]). Once (ibid.) they are said to bear the bolt (*vajra*), Indra's peculiar weapon, in their hands. Sometimes they are said to be armed with bows and arrows (5, 53[4]. 57[2]; 8, 20[4. 12]), once being termed archers shooting an arrow; but as this trait is rare in the numerous hymns addressed to them, it may be borrowed from their father Rudra. The Maruts are decorated with garlands and other ornaments (5, 53[4]). They wear golden mantles (5, 55[6]). Like rich wooers they deck their bodies with golden ornaments (5, 60[4]). Armlets or anklets (*khādi*) are an ornament peculiar to them. With these they shine like the sky with stars and glitter like showers from the clouds (2, 34[2]). One verse describes their appearance more fully than usual. They have spears on their shoulders, anklets on their feet, golden ornaments on their breasts, fiery lightnings in their hands, golden helmets upon their heads (5, 54[11]).

The Maruts ride on cars which gleam with lightning (1, 88[1]; 3, 54[13]), which are golden (5, 57[1]), which have golden wheels or fellies (1, 64[11]. 88[5]), in which are weapons (5, 57[6]), and which have buckets standing in them (1, 87[2]). The coursers which draw their cars are ruddy or tawny (1, 88[2]; 5, 57[4]), golden-footed (8, 7[27]), and swift as thought (1, 85[4]). These coursers are spotted, as appears from the epithet *pṛṣadaśva*, 'having spotted steeds', which is several times and exclusively connected with the Maruts. More frequently the animals which draw their car are spoken of in the feminine as *pṛṣatīḥ* (1, 39[6] &c.). These are in two passages (5, 55[6]. 58[6]), mentioned with the masculine *aśvāḥ*. The Maruts are also described as having yoked the winds as steeds to their pole (5, 58[7]).

The Maruts are great as the sky (5, 57[4]), they surpass heaven and earth (10, 77[3]), are immeasurable in greatness (5, 58[2]), and no others can reach the limit of their might (1, 167[9]). The Maruts are young (1, 64[2]. 165[2]; 5, 42[15]) and unaging (1, 64[3]). They are divine (*asura*), vigorous, impetuous, without soil (1, 64[2. 12]) and dustless (6, 66[2]). They are fierce (1, 19[4]), irascible (7, 56[8]), terrible (5, 56[2. 3]; 7, 58[2]), of terrible aspect (5, 56[2]), of fearful form (1, 19[5]. 64[2]), and are terrible like wild beasts (2, 34[1]; cp. p. 75). They are playful like children or calves (1, 166[2]; 7, 56[16]; 10, 78[6]). They are like black-backed swans (7, 59[7]). They are iron-tusked boars (1, 88[5]); they are like lions (1, 64[8]).

The noise which they make is often referred to (1, 169[7] &c.) and is expressly called thunder (1, 23[11]); but it is also the roaring of the winds (7, 56[3]). At their coming heaven as it were roars with fear (8, 7[26]). They are often described as causing the mountains to quake as well as making the earth or the two worlds tremble[1]. With the fellies of their cars they rend the mountains or the rock (1, 64[11]; 5, 52[9]). It is when they come with the winds that they cause the mountains to quake (8, 7[4]). They rend trees and like wild elephants devour the forests (1, 39[5]. 64[7]). The forests bow down before them through fear (5, 60[2]). Resistless as mountains they cast down terrestrial and celestial creatures (1, 64[3]). All creatures are afraid of them (1, 85[8]). They speed like boisterous winds (10, 78[3]) and whirl up dust (1, 64[12]). They make the winds or the noise of the winds (7, 56[3]). They come with the winds (8, 7[3. 4. 17]) and take them as their steeds (5, 58[7]).

One of the main functions of the Maruts is to shed rain. They are

clothed with rain (5, 57⁴). They rise from the ocean and shed rain (1, 38⁹). Milking the unfailing well, they blow through the two worlds with rain (1, 64⁶; 8, 7¹⁶). Rain follows them (5, 53¹⁰). They bring water and impel rain (5, 58³). They obscure their brilliance with rain (5, 59¹). They cover the eye of the sun with rain (5, 59⁵). They create darkness with the cloud when they shed rain (1, 38⁹). They scatter mist when they speed with winds (8, 7⁴). They cause the heavenly pail (5, 53⁶. 59⁸) and the streams of the mountains to pour (5, 59⁷). When they hurry on, the waters flow (5, 58⁶). A terrestrial river receives its name, Marudvṛddhā, 'swelled by the Maruts' (10, 75⁵), from this action. The sweat of the sons of Rudra became rain (5, 58⁷). The rain shed by the Maruts is also figuratively referred to as milk (1, 166³), ghee (1, 85³; 10, 78⁴), milk and ghee (1, 64⁶); or they are said to pour out the spring (1, 85¹¹) or to wet the earth with honey (5, 54⁸)[2]. They raise waters from sea to sky and discharge them from the sky upon the earth (AV. 4, 27⁴). The waters which they shed are often clearly connected with the thunderstorm. Desiring to give water, whirling hail, violent, they rush on with thunder (5, 54³). They cause winds and lightnings with their might, milk heavenly gifts from the udder, and fill the earth with milk (1, 64⁵). The spring which they milk, thunders (1, 64⁶). The sky, the ruddy bull, bellows when they shed the waters (5, 58⁶). They cause the stallion to make water (1, 64⁶). They bestow the rain of heaven and shed abundantly the streams of the stallion (5, 83⁶). They assume a golden colour when they make water with the steed (2, 34¹³). The streams resound with the fellies of the Maruts, when they raise the voice of the cloud (1, 168⁸). The waters which Indra sheds are called *marutvatīḥ*, 'attended by the Maruts' (1, 80⁴). In connexion with their character as shedders of rain, the Maruts receive the epithets *purudrapsāḥ* (5, 57⁵) or *drapsinaḥ* (1, 64²) 'abounding in drops' and the frequent *sudānavaḥ*, 'dripping well'. They also avert heat (5, 54¹). But they likewise dispel darkness (7, 56²⁰), produce light (1, 86¹⁰), and prepare a path for the sun (8, 7⁸). They are also said to have measured out the air (5, 55²), stretched out the terrestrial regions as well as the bright realms of heaven, and held apart the two worlds (8, 83⁹· ¹¹).

Doubtless in allusion to the sound of the wind, the Maruts are several times called singers (5, 52¹. 60⁸; 7, 35⁹). They are the singers of heaven (5, 57⁵). They sing a song (1, 19⁴. 166⁷). While singing they made the sun to shine (8, 29¹⁰) and while blowing their pipe they cleft the mountain (1, 85¹⁰). For Indra when he slew the dragon, they sang a song and pressed Soma (5, 29². 30⁶). In singing a song they created Indra-might (1, 85²). Though their song must primarily have represented the sound of the winds (cp. 4, 22⁴), it is also conceived as a hymn of praise (3, 14⁴). Thus they come to be addressed as priests when in the company of Indra (5, 29³), and are compared with priests (10, 78¹). They were the first to perform the sacrifice as Daśagvas (2, 36²), and they purified Agni in the house of the pious, while the Bhṛgus kindled him (10, 122⁵). Like the other gods they are several times also spoken of as drinkers of Soma (2, 36²; 8, 83⁹⁻¹² &c.).

Being identified with the phenomena of the thunderstorm, the Maruts are naturally intimate associates of Indra, appearing as his friends and allies in innumerable passages. They increase his strength and prowess (3, 35⁹; 6, 17¹¹), with their prayers, hymns, and songs[3] (1, 165¹¹ &c.). They generally assist Indra in the Vṛtra fight (8, 65²· ³; 10, 113³). They help Trita as well as Indra in slaying Vṛtra (8, 7²⁴). They are besought to sing a Vṛtra-slaying hymn (8, 78¹⁻³). They helped Indra in the conflict with the dragon and with Śambara (3, 47³· ⁴). With them Indra gains the light (8, 65⁴), found

the cows (1, 65) and supported the sky (7, 475). In fact Indra accomplishes all his celestial exploits in their company (1, 100. 101. 165; 10, 65). Sometimes the Maruts appear more independent in these exploits. Thus they strike Vṛtra, assisted by Indra (1, 239) and are even spoken of alone as having rent Vṛtra joint from joint (8, 723) or as having disclosed the cows (2, 341). They (like the gods in general) have Indra as their chief (1, 238 &c.) and are accompanied by Indra (10, 1282). They are like sons to Indra (1, 1005) and are called his brothers (1, 1702). The Maruts are, however two or three times said to have left Indra in the lurch. They involved him alone in the fight with the dragon (1, 1656) and they abandoned him (8, 731). One verse even gives evidence of hostility between Indra and the Maruts, when the latter say to him: 'Why dost thou seek to kill us, Indra? Do not kill us in the fray' (1, 1702 cp. 1716)[4]. A Brāhmaṇa passage (TB. 2, 7, 11[1]) also refers to a conflict between the Maruts and Indra.

When not associated with Indra, the Maruts occasionally exhibit malevolent traits. They then to some extent participate in the maleficent nature of their father Rudra. They are implored to ward off the lightning from their worshippers nor to let their ill-will reach them (7, 569), and are besought to avert their arrow and the stone which they hurl (1, 1722), their lightning (7, 574), and their cow- and man-slaying bolt (7, 5617). Evil can come from them (1, 398), their anger is deprecated (1, 1711; 7, 585), and they are said to have the wrath of the serpent (1, 648.9). But like their father Rudra, the Maruts are supplicated to bring healing remedies, which abide in the Sindhu, the Asiknī, the seas, and mountains (8, 2023–6), and once they are associated with Rudra in the possession of pure, salutary, and beneficent remedies (2, 3313). The remedies appear to be the waters, for the Maruts bestow medicine by raining (5, 5314). Like Agni, they are several times also said to be pure or purifying, *pāvaka* (7, 5612 &c.).

From the constant association of the Maruts with lightning, thunder, wind, and rain, as well as from other traits mentioned above, it seems clear that they are Storm-gods in the RV. According to the native interpreters the Maruts represent the winds, and the post-Vedic meaning of the word is simply 'wind'. But in the RV. they hardly represent the winds pure and simple, as some of their attributes are borrowed from cloud and lightning as well. A. KUHN and BENFEY[5] held the Maruts to be personifications of the souls of the dead (cp. p. 77), and with this view MEYER[6] and v. SCHROEDER[7] substantially agree. This origin is historically possible, but the RV. furnishes no evidence in support of it. The etymology[8] being uncertain can throw no additional light on the beginnings of the conception. The root appears to be *mar*, but whether in the sense of 'to die', 'to crush', or 'to shine', it is hard to decide. The latter meaning, however, seems to accord best with the description given of the Maruts in the RV.

1 PVS. 2, 73. — 2 On the various names for rain in the RV. see BOHNENBERGER, op. cit. 43–4. — 3 BRV. 2, 391. — 4 PVS. 1, 59. — 5 OO. on RV. 1, 64. — 6 Indogermanische Mythen 1, 218. — 7 WZKM. 9, 248–9. — 8 Nirukta 11, 13; GRASSMANN, KZ. 16, 161–4; BDA. 112–3; ZDMG. 40, 349–60; KRV. note 136; MM., Vedic Hymns, SBE. 32, XXIV–XXV; HRI. 97.

ROTH, ZDMG. 2, 222; WHITNEY, JAOS. 3, 319; OST. 5, 147–54; GRV. 1, 44; BRV. 2, 369–402; BRI. 14; KRV. 39; MMPhR. 317–20; HVBP. 83–5; v. BRADKE, FaR. 117–25; ORV. 224–5. 283; HRI. 96–9.

§ 30. Vāyu-Vāta. — Each of the two names of wind Vāyu and Vāta is used to express both the physical phenomenon and its divine personification. But Vāyu is chiefly the god and Vāta the element. Vāyu is celebrated alone in one whole hymn besides parts of others, and in about half

a dozen others conjointly with Indra. Vāta is invoked only in two short hymns (168 and 186) at the end of the tenth book of the RV. The names of both sometimes occur in the same verse (6, 50[12]; 10, 92[13]). The difference between the two is illustrated by the fact that Vāyu alone is as a god associated with Indra, the two deities being then often invoked as Indravāyū. This couple was regarded as so closely connected by the ancient native interpreters, that either of them might represent the deities of the atmospheric region in the Vedic triad (Nir. 7, 5). Vāta on the other hand, being less fully personified, is only associated with Parjanya (§ 31), whose connexion with the thunderstorm is much more vivid than that of Indra. Different sets of epithets are applied to the two wind-gods, those belonging to Vāta being chiefly expressive of the physical attributes of swiftness and violence.

Few references are made to Vāyu's origin. The two worlds are said to have generated him for wealth (7, 90[3]). He is once spoken of as the son-in-law of Tvaṣṭṛ (8, 26[21-2]), though his wife's name is not mentioned (cp. § 38). In the Puruṣa hymn he is said to have sprung from the breath of the world-giant (10, 90[13]). Vāyu is rarely connected with the Maruts. He is, however, once said to have generated them from the wombs of heaven (1, 134[4]) and to be accompanied by them (1, 142[12]) as well as by Pūṣan and the Viśvedevas. His personal attributes are rather indefinite. He is beautiful (1, 2[1]) and with Indra is spoken of as touching the sky, swift as thought, and thousand-eyed (1, 23[2. 3]). He is once said to have roaring velocity (10, 100[2]). Vāyu has a shining car drawn by a team or by a pair of red (*rohita*) or ruddy (*aruṇa*) steeds. His team consists of 99 (4, 48[4]), 100 or even 1000 (4, 46[3]) horses yoked by his will. The attribute *niyutvat*, 'drawn by a team', often occurs with reference to Vāyu or his car, being otherwise used only once or twice in each case with reference to Indra, Agni, Pūṣan, or the Maruts. Vāyu's car, in which Indra is his companion (4, 46[2]. 48[2]; 7, 91[5]), has a golden seat and touches the sky (4, 46[4]). Like the other gods, Vāyu is fond of Soma, to which he is often invited to come with his teams and the first draught of which he obtains as his share[1] (also in company with Indra: 1, 135[4]), for he is the swiftest of the gods (ŚB. 13, 1, 2[7] &c.)[2]. The AB. (2, 25) tells a story of how in a race which the gods ran for the first draught of Soma, Vāyu reached the goal first and Indra second. He is in the RV. also called a protector of Soma (10, 85[5]) and has the characteristic epithet *śucipā*, 'drinking the clear (Soma draught)', an epithet which Indra once shares with him. He is also once connected with the 'nectar-yielding' (*sabardughā*) cow[3] (1, 134[4]). Vāyu grants fame, offspring, wealth in steeds, oxen, and gold (7, 90[2. 6]). He disperses foes (4, 48[2]) and is invoked for protection by the weak (1, 134[5]).

Vāta, as the ordinary name of wind, is celebrated in a more concrete manner. His name is frequently connected with the root *vā*, to blow, from which it is derived. One of the hymns devoted to his praise (10, 168) describes him as follows. Shattering everything and thundering, his din presses on; he goes along whirling up the dust of the earth; he wanders in the air on his paths; he does not rest even a day. Firstborn, he is a friend of the waters; but the place of his birth is unknown. This deity wanders where he lists; one hears his roaring, but his form one does not see (cp. 1, 164[44]). He is the breath of the gods (cp. 7, 87[2]; 10, 92[13]) and is worshipped with oblations.

Vāta, like Rudra, also wafts healing and prolongs life, for he has the treasure of immortality in his house (10, 186). This healing power of wind doubtless represents its purifying character (cp. p. 77). The activity of wind

is chiefly mentioned in connexion with the thunderstorm (4, 17[12]; 5, 83[4]; 10, 168[1. 2]). Blasts of wind being coincident with the appearance of lightnings and preceding the reappearance of the sun, Vāta is spoken of as producing ruddy lights (10, 168[1]) and of making the dawns to shine (1, 134[3]). The swiftness of wind often supplies a comparison for the speed of the gods (4, 17[12]; 5, 41[3]; 9, 97[52]) or of mythical steeds (1, 163[11]; 4, 38[3]). Its noise is also frequently mentioned (4, 22[4]; 8, 91[3]; 10, 168[1. 4]). The name of Vāta has been identified with that of the Germanic god of storm and battle, Odhin or Wodan[4], which is explained as formed with a derivative suffix from the cognate base. But this identification seems to be very doubtful[5].

[1] 1, 134[1]. 135[1]; 4, 46[1]; 5, 43[3]; 7, 92[1]; 8, 89[2]. — [2] OLDENBERG, ZDMG. 39, 55, note 1; HVM. 1, 260. — [3] Cp. OLDENBERG, SBE. 46, 244. — [4] GROHMANN, KZ. 10, 274; ZIMMER, ZDA. 19, 170—2. 179—80; MANNHARDT, ibid. 22, 4; MOGK in PAUL'S Grundriss 1075; STOKES, BB. 19, 74; MACDONELL, JRAS. 25, 488; v. SCHROEDER, WZKM. 9, 239. — [5] Cp. BDA. p. x; IF. 5, 272.

OST. 5, 143—6; KRV. 38; BRV. 1, 24—8; SP.AP. 156—8; HVBP. 82—3; ORV. 225—6.

§ 31. Parjanya. — This god plays a very subordinate part among the deities of the RV., being celebrated in only three hymns, while the name is mentioned less than thirty times. His praises are also sung in one hymn of the AV. (4, 15), which, however, chiefly consists of verses from the RV. In the following passages the word *parjanya* can only have the appellative sense of 'rain-cloud'. 'This same water rises and descends day by day; the rain-clouds (*parjanyāḥ*) quicken the earth, the fires quicken heaven' (1, 164[51]). The Maruts 'even during the day cause darkness by the water-carrying rain-cloud, when they inundate the earth' (1, 38[9]); 'they poured out the pail of heaven, they discharge the raincloud through the two worlds, the rain pervades the dry places' (5, 53[6]). Bṛhaspati is besought to cause the cloud to rain and to send the rain-charged (*vṛṣṭimantam*) cloud (10, 98[1. 8]). Soma flows 'like the rain-charged cloud' (9, 2[9]) and the drops of Soma speed 'like the rains of the cloud' (9, 22[2]). In the AV. the rain-shedding cow Vaśā is thus addressed: 'The rain-cloud is thy udder, o excellent goddess, the lightnings are thy teats, O Vaśā' (AV. 10, 10[7]). In all such passages the native commentators explain *parjanya* by *megha*, 'cloud'. On the other hand *parjanya* is used to explain *dyaus* in VS. 12, 6 and *stanayitnu*, 'thunder' in ŚB. (14, 5, 5[10])[1]. In some cases it is hard to say whether we have the appellative or the personified meaning. Thus the might of Agni is said to resound like *parjanya* (8, 91[5]); and the frogs are spoken of as uttering their voices when roused by *parjanya* (7, 103[1]). In most passages, however, the word clearly represents the personification which presides over the rain-cloud, while generally retaining the attributes belonging to the phenomenon. The latter then becomes an udder, a pail (*kośa*) or water-skin (*dṛti*: 5, 83[8. 9]; 7, 101[4]). The personification is to a considerable extent theriomorphic, Parjanya being often spoken of as a bull, though with a certain confusion of gender (probably because clouds are otherwise cows). He is a roaring bull with swift-flowing drops, who places his seed in the plants as a germ (5, 83[1], cp. [7. 9]; AV. 4, 15[1]). The clouds (*abhrāṇi*) impelled by the wind come together, and the roaring waters of the great bellowing aqueous (*nabhasvataḥ*) bull delight the earth (AV. 4, 15[1]). Sometimes Parjanya is like a barren cow, sometimes he is productive, disposing of his body according to his wish (7, 101[3]).

The shedding of rain is his most prominent characteristic. He flies around with a watery car and loosens and draws downwards the water-skin (5, 83[7]). Like a charioteer urging on his horses, he displays his rainy messengers; when he sheds rain water, the roar of the lion resounds from afar;

with thunder he comes shedding rain-water as our divine (*asura*) father (5, 83[3. 6]). He is besought for rains (7, 101[5]) and is implored to withhold rain after shedding it (5, 83[10]). It is, however, implied that the action of Parjanya, as well as of the Maruts, in shedding rain is subordinate to that of Mitra and Varuṇa (5, 63[3–6]). He is several times said to thunder (5, 83). Thundering he strikes down trees, demons, evil-doers; the whole world is terrified at his mighty weapon (5, 83[2]). He and Vāta are the wielders of mighty thunder (10, 66[10]). Parjanya is also associated with lightning, though less frequently than with thunder. The winds blow forth, the lightnings fall, when Parjanya quickens the earth with his seed (5, 83[4]). Parjanya thunders with lightning in the (aerial) ocean (AV. 19, 30[1]). He also appears to be meant, in a hymn of the RV. to the Viśvedevas, by the god who thunders and roars, rich in clouds and water, who with lightning excites the two worlds, besprinkling them (5, 42[14]).

As the shedder of rain Parjanya is naturally in a special degree the producer and nourisher of vegetation. When he quickens the earth with his seed, the plants spring up; in his activity are plants of every form; he has produced plants for nourishment (5, 83[4. 5. 10], cp. 6, 52[6]; AV. 4, 15[2. 3. 15]; 8, 7[21]). He is the fructifier and increaser of plants; protected by the god they bear good fruit (7, 101[1. 5]). Reeds and grass are produced by his action (7, 102[1], cp. 5, 75[15]; AV. 1, 2[1]. 3[1]; 19, 30[5]). Parjanya places the germ not only in plants but in cows, mares, and women (7, 102[2]), and is invoked to bestow fertility (5, 83[7] cp. 6, 52[16]). He is the bull that impregnates everything: in him is the soul of what moves and stands (7, 101[6]; cp. 1, 115[1]). He is even described as a self-dependent sovereign, who rules over the whole world, in whom all beings and the three heavens are established, and in whom the threefold waters flow (7, 101[2. 4. 5]). Owing to his generative activity Parjanya several times receives the epithet of 'father' (7, 101[3]; 9, 82[3]; AV. 4, 15[12]; 12, 1[12]). He is once called 'our divine (*asura*) father' (5, 83[6]); and in another passage 'the occult power of the Asura' (5, 63[3. 7]) perhaps refers to him.

His wife is by implication the Earth (5, 83[4]; 7, 101[3], cp. 1, 160[3]). The AV. (12, 1[12]) states that Earth is the mother, Parjanya the father[2], but elsewhere explicitly calls Vaśā his wife (10, 10[6]). In these respects as well as the theriomorphic conception of him as a bull, his relation to thunder, lightning, and rain, he approximates to the character of Dyaus (cp. 10, 45[4]; 2, 4[6]. 27[15]) whose son he is once called (7, 102[1]). Parjanya himself is said to produce a calf (*vatsam*), the germ of plants (7, 101[1], cp. v. [3]; 5, 83[1]), who perhaps represents lightning. Soma may, however, be meant, for his father is once (9, 82[3]) said to be Parjanya[3], and he is spoken of as 'increased by Parjanya' (9, 113[3]).

Parjanya is associated with various other deities. His connexion is closest with Vāta, who, with the single exception of Agni in one passage, is the only god forming a dual divinity with him (§ 44). The Maruts are also a few times invoked with Parjanya (5, 63[6]. 83[5]) and are called upon to sing his praises (AV. 4, 15[4]). Agni is celebrated with him in two verses of one hymn (6, 52[6. 16]; cp. § 44). Indra has much in common with the 'rainy' Parjanya, being compared with him in this respect (8, 6[1]). The two gods have in fact much the same natural basis, the connexion with which is, however, much clearer in the case of Parjanya (cp. p. 82).

Parjanya's name is of uncertain derivation. But it is still usually identified, owing to the similarity of character, with that of the Lithuanian thundergod Perkúnas[4], though the phonetic difficulties of the identification cannot be explained. The freshness of the conception in the RV. renders it probable that

if the two names are really connected, their Indo-European form was still an appellative. It seems clear that in the RV. the word is an appellative of the thundering rain-cloud as well as the proper name of its personification, the god who actually sheds the rain. The senses of rain-cloud and rain-god both survive through the Brāhmaṇas into the later language. The native dictionaries explain the appellative as 'thunder-cloud' (*garjanmegha* &c.), while the deity is sometimes found identified with Indra in the Mahābhārata.

[1] Cp. OO. 1, 223. — [2] The TA. 1, 10, 1[2] says that Bhūmi or Earth is the wife and Vyoman or Sky is the husband. — [3] Cp. BLOOMFIELD, FaR. 153. — [4] OO. 1, 223; ZIMMER, ZDA. 19, 164 f., cp. AIL. 42 f.; LRV. 3, 322 f.; ZDMG. 32, 314 f.; KRV. note 139; HIRT, IF. 1, 481—2.

BÜHLER, OO. 1, 214—29; DELBRÜCK, ZVP. 1865, p. 275 f.; ROTH, ZDMG. 24, 302—5 (on RV. 1, 165); OST. 5, 140—2; BRV. 3, 25—30; KRV. 40; BRI. 14; WC. 56 f.; HVBP. 80—2; ORV. 226; SBE. 46, 105; HRI. 103—4.

§ 32. Āpaḥ. — The Waters, Āpaḥ, are lauded in four hymns of the RV. (7, 47. 49; 10, 9. 30), as well as in a few scattered verses. They are also invoked in many detached verses along with other deities. The personification is only incipient, hardly extending beyond the notion of their being mothers, young wives, and goddesses who bestow boons and come to the sacrifice. They are goddesses who follow the path of the gods (7, 47[3]). Indra armed with the bolt dug out a channel for them (7, 47[4]. 49[1]), and they never infringe his ordinances (7, 47[3]). They are also said to be under the commands of Savitṛ (p. 32). They are celestial, as well as flowing in channels, and have the sea for their goal (7, 49[2]). It is implied that they abide where the gods are and the seat of Mitra and Varuṇa is (10, 30[1]). They are beside the sun and the sun is with them (1, 23[17]). King Varuṇa moves in their midst, looking down on the truth and falsehood of men (7, 49[3]). In such passages at least, the rain-waters must be meant (HRI. 99). But the Naighaṇṭuka (5, 3) enumerates the waters among the terrestrial deities only (cp. YN. 9, 26).

Agni is often described as dwelling in the waters (p 92). He is said to have entered into them (7, 49[4]). As mothers they produce Agni (10, 91[6], cp. 2[7]; AV. 1, 33[1]), one of whose forms is called 'Son of Waters' (§ 24). The waters are mothers (10, 17[10]; 1, 23[16]), who are the wives of the world, equal in age and origin (10, 30[10]). They are besought to give their auspicious fluid like loving mothers (10, 9[2]). They are most motherly, the producers of all that is fixed and moves (6, 50[7]).

The waters cleanse and purify; these goddesses bear away defilement; the worshipper comes up out of them pure and cleansed (10, 17[10]). They are even invoked to cleanse from moral guilt, the sins of violence, cursing, and lying (1, 23[22] = 10, 9[8]). They are remedial (6, 50[7]), bestowing remedies and long life, for all remedies, immortality and healing are contained in them (10, 9[5—7]; 1, 23[19—21]). They watch over man's health in the house (HGS. 2, 4[5]). They dispose of boons and wealth and bestow excellent strength and immortality (10, 9[5]. 30[12]). Their blessing and aid is often implored (7, 47[4]. 49[1—4]; 10, 9. 30[11]), and they are invited to seat themselves along with the Son of waters on the sacrificial grass at the offering of the soma-priest (10, 30[14. 15]).

The waters are several times associated with honey. As mothers they mix their milk with honey (1, 23[16]). The wave of the waters is rich in honey; dripping with ghee it became the drink of Indra, whom it exhilerated (7, 47[1. 4]). Apāṃ napāt is besought to give waters rich in honey, by which Indra grew to heroic strength (10, 30[4]). The waters are invoked to pour the wave, rich in honey and gladdening the gods, for Indra who released them from confinement; the wave which intoxicates, the draught of Indra, which is produced

in the sky (10, 30[7–9]). These passages appear to show that sometimes at least the celestial waters were regarded as containing or identical with the heavenly Soma, the beverage of Indra. In other passages the waters used in preparing the terrestrial Soma seem to be meant. When they appear bearing ghee, milk, and honey, they are accordant with the priests, bearing well-pressed Soma for Indra (10, 30[13]). Soma delights in them as a young man in lovely maidens; he approaches them as a lover; they are maidens who bow down before the youth (10, 30[5–5]).

OST. 5, 24, note. 343. 345; BRV. 1, 260; Darmesteter, Haurvatāt et Ameretāt 73—4; WC. 56; Sp.Al. 153—5; ORV. 242.

C. TERRESTRIAL GODS.

§ 33. Rivers. — Beside the divine Waters, deified rivers occupy a not unimportant position in the RV. The whole of one hymn (10,75) celebrates the Sindhu or Indus with the exception of the fifth verse, in which several of its tributaries are invoked besides other streams, while in the sixth verse a number of other rivers are mentioned as affluents of the Indus. Another entire hymn (3, 33) is devoted to the invocation and praise of the sister streams Vipāś and Śutudrī.

The Sarasvatī is, however, more greatly celebrated than any other river. But though the personification in this case goes much further than in the others, the connexion of the goddess with the river is in the RV. always present to the minds of the poets. Sarasvatī is lauded in three hymns of the RV. and in numerous detached verses. Sarasvatī, Sarayu, and Sindhu are invoked as great streams (10, 64[9]) and elsewhere (10, 75[5]) Gaṅgā, Yamunā, Sarasvatī, Śutudrī, Paruṣṇī, and others known and unknown, altogether twenty-one, are addressed. Kings and peoples living on the banks of the Sarasvatī are referred to (7, 96[2]; 8, 21[18]). Sarasvatī, an iron fort, flows with fertile flood, a stream (*sindhu*) surpassing all other waters in greatness; she alone of rivers appeared pure, flowing from the mountains, from[1] the (celestial) ocean (7, 95[1. 2], cp. 5, 43[11]). She tears away with her mighty waves the peaks of mountains, and her immense and impetuous flood moves roaring (6, 61[2. 8]). She is distinguished by greatness among the great, she is the most active of the active, and is implored not to withhold her milk (6, 61[13]). The poet prays that he may not be removed from her to fields which are strange (6, 61[14]). She has seven sisters and is sevenfold (6, 61[10. 12]). She is one of seven, a mother of streams[2] (7, 36[6]). She is the best of mothers, of rivers, and of goddesses (2, 41[16]). She is called *pāvīravī*, an epithet (applied also to *tanyatu*, 'thunder', in 10, 65[13]) probably meaning 'daughter of lightning'[3], and is said (6, 49[7]) to be the wife of a hero (probably Sarasvat). She fills the terrestrial regions and the wide atmospheric space and occupies three abodes (6, 61[11. 12]). She is invoked to descend from the sky, from the great mountain, to the sacrifice (5, 43[11]). The last three passages (cp. also 7, 95[2]) seem to allude to the notion of a celestial origin, like that of Gaṅgā in post-Vedic mythology. She is once called *asuryā* or divine (7, 96[1]). The goddess comes to the sacrifice on the same chariot as the Fathers and seats herself on the sacrificial grass (10, 17[8. 9]). Even here she must be conceived as the river goddess, for in the following two verses the waters are invoked to cleanse from defilement.

She herself is a purifier (1, 3[10]). She is besought to come 'swelling with streams' (6, 52[6]) and, along with the waters, the bestowers of wealth, progeny,

and immortality, to grant vitality (10, 30[12]). She bestows vitality and offspring (2, 41[17]) and is associated with deities who assist procreation (10, 184[2]). She is also said to have given a son named Divodāsa to Vadhryaśva (6, 61[1]). Her unfailing breast (cp. ĀB. 4, 1) yields riches of every kind (1, 164[49]). She is often said to bestow wealth, plenty, and nourishment (7, 95[2]; 8, 21[17]; 9, 67[32]; 10, 17[8.9]), and several times receives the epithet *subhaga*, 'bountiful' (1, 89[3]; 7, 95[4. 6]; 8, 21[17]). As a mother (*ambā*) she grants reputation to the unrenowned (2, 41[16]). She stimulates, directs, and prospers the devotions of her worshippers (1, 3[10. 11]; 2, 3[8]; 6, 61[4]). She is invoked along with the goddesses of prayer (7, 37[11]; 10, 65[13]). She destroys the revilers of the gods, is terrible, and a Vṛtra-slayer (6, 61[3. 7]). But to her worshippers she affords protection and conquers their enemies (7, 95[4. 5]; 2, 30[8]; 6, 49[7]).

Sarasvatī is often invoked with other deities. Besides Pūṣan and Indra, she is particularly associated with the Maruts (3, 54[13]; 7, 9[5]. 39[5]. 40[3]) and is said to be accompanied by them (2, 30[8]) or to have them as her friends[4] (7, 96[2]). She is also once in the RV. connected with the Aśvins. When the latter aided Indra, Sarasvatī is said to have refreshed him (10, 131[5]). With reference to the same myth the VS. (19, 12) states that when the gods celebrated a healing sacrifice, the Aśvins as physicians and Sarasvatī through speech (*vācā*) communicated vigour to Indra[5]. The VS. even speaks of Sarasvatī as the wife of the Aśvins (19, 94). Sarasvatī is several times associated in the eighth and ninth verses of the *āprī* and *āpra* hymns with the sacrificial goddesses Iḍā and Bhāratī (with whom she forms a triad), and sometimes also with Mahī and Hotrā. This association may have been due to the sacred character of the river. Allusion is made to Agni being kindled for sacrifice on the banks of the Sarasvatī and Dṛṣadvatī (3, 23[4])[6]; and the AB. (2, 19) refers to a sacrifice performed by Ṛṣis on the Sarasvatī. Hence on the banks of the Sarasvatī there were perhaps places of worship of the Bharatas; in that case, Bhāratī, the personified offering of the Bharatas, would naturally find a fixed place along with Sarasvatī in the Āprī litany which accompanied the animal sacrifice[7].

Though there is nothing to show distinctly (cp. 7, 35[11]) that Sarasvatī is ever anything more in the RV. than a river goddess, we find her identified in the Brāhmaṇas (ŚB. 3, 9, 1[7]; AB. 3, 1[10]), with Vāc, Speech, and in post-Vedic mythology she has become goddess of eloquence and wisdom, invoked as a muse and regarded as the wife of Brahmā[8]. The transition from the older to the later conception is perhaps to be found in passages like VS. 19, 12 quoted above.

There has been much controversy as to the identity of the stream of which the goddess Sarasvatī is a personification. The name is identical with that of the Avestan river Haraqaiti in Afghanistan[9], and it may have been the latter river which was first lauded as the Sarasvatī[10]. But ROTH (PW.), GRASSMANN (GW.), LUDWIG[11], and ZIMMER (AIL. 10) are of opinion, that in the RV. Sarasvatī usually and originally meant a mighty stream, probably the Indus (Sarasvatī being the sacred and Sindhu the secular name), but that it occasionally designates the small stream in Madhyadeśa, to which both its name and its sacred character were in later times transferred. MAX MÜLLER[12] believes it to be identical with this small river Sarasvatī, which with the Dṛṣadvatī formed the boundaries of the sacred region Brahmāvarta and which loses itself in the sands of the desert, but in Vedic times reached the sea. According to OLDHAM[13] a survey of ancient river-beds affords evidence that the Sarasvatī was originally a tributary of the Śutudrī (the modern Sutlej)[14], and that when the latter left its

old bed and joined the Vipāś, the Sarasvatī continued to flow in the old bed of the Śutudrī.

Sarasvatī has a male correlative named Sarasvat, who after the praises of the river goddess have been sung in three verses of one hymn (7, 96), is invoked in the next three by worshippers desiring wives and offspring, protection and plenty. Here his fertilizing waters and even his exuberant breast are referred to. In another passage (1, 164[52]), Sarasvat, here apparently a name of the bird Agni[15], is spoken of as refreshing with rain. Roth (PW.) regards him as a guardian of the celestial waters who bestows fertility. Hillebrandt[16] identifies Sarasvat with Apāṃ napāt (= Soma, the moon) and Hardy[17] expresses a similar view.

[1] Cp. BRV. 1, 326. — [2] According to Bergaigne (ibid.) 'having the (celestial) ocean for her mother', owing to the accent. — [3] Roth, Nir. 165f.; PW.; BRV. 1, 327. — [4] Cp. Marudvṛddhā as the name of a river (10, 75[5]). — [5] Cp. ŚB. 12, 7, 3[1]; OST. 5, 94 note. — [6] Cp. Mānavadharmaśāstra II, 17f.; Oldenberg, Buddha 413f. — [7] ORV. 243. — [8] Cp. ZDMG. 1, 84; 27, 705. — [9] Sp.AP. 105f. — [10] HRI. 31. [11] Nachrichten des RV. und AV. uber Geographie etc., Prag 1875—6, p. 13; cp. PVS. 2, 86. — [12] Vedic Hymns SBE, 32, 60. — [13] JRAS. 25, 49—76. — [14] OST. 2, 345. — [15] BRV. 1, 144; 2, 47. — [16] HVM. 1, 380—2. — [17] HVBP. 42—3. OST. 5, 337—43; BRV. 1, 325—8; Bollensen, ZDMG. 41, 499; HVM. 1, 382—3 (celestial Sarasvatī = milky way); HVBP. 98; ORV. 243.

§ 34. Pṛthivī. — The Earth, Pṛthivī, being, as has been shown (p. 22), generally celebrated conjointly with Dyaus, is lauded alone in only one short hymn of three stanzas in the RV. (5, 84) and in a long and beautiful one in the AV. (12, 1). The personification is but slight, the attributes of the goddess being chiefly those of the physical earth. According to the RV. she abounds in heights, bears the burden of the mountains, and supports the trees of the forest in the ground (*kṣmā*). She quickens the soil, for she scatters rain, and the showers of heaven are shed from the lightning of her cloud. She is great (*mahī*), firm (*dṛḷhā*) and shining (*arjunī*).

The meaning of Pṛthivī is 'the broad one'; and a poet of the RV. (2, 15[2]) alludes to the etymology when he says that Indra upheld the earth (*pṛthivī*) and spread it out (*paprathat*). The TS. (7, 1, 5) and TB. (1, 1, 3[5]) in describing the origin of the earth, expressly derive the name of Pṛthivī from the root *prath*, to extend, because she is extended.

Pṛthivī is spoken of as 'kindly Mother Earth', to whom the dead man in a funeral hymn (10, 18[10]), is exhorted to go. When mentioned wirh Dyaus, Pṛthivī frequently receives the epithet of 'mother' (cp. §§ 11. 44).

Bruce, JRAS. 1862, p. 321; OST. 5, 21—2; BRV. 1, 4—5; BDA. 48; Bollensen, ZDMG. 41, 494—5; HVBP. 25—6; Thurneysen, IF. 4, 84.

§ 35. Agni. — The chief terrestrial deity is Agni, being naturally of primary importance as the personification of the sacrificial fire, which is the centre of the ritual poetry of the Veda. Next to Indra he is the most prominent of the Vedic gods. He is celebrated in at least 200 hymns of the RV., and in several besides he is invoked conjointly with other deities.

As his name is also the regular designation of fire, the anthropomorphism of his physical appearance is only rudimentary, his bodily parts having a clear reference to the phenomena of terrestrial fire mainly in its sacrificial aspect. He is butter-backed (5, 4[3] &c.), butter-faced (3, 1[18] &c.) and beautiful-tongued (1, 14[7]). He is butter-haired (8, 49[2]), flame-haired (1, 45[6] &c.) or tawny-haired (3, 2[13]), and has a tawny beard (5, 7[7]). He has sharp (8, 49[3] &c.) or burning jaws (1, 58[5] &c.), golden (5, 2[3]) or shining teeth (5, 7[4]) and iron grinders (10, 87[2]). He is once described as footless and headless (4, 1[11]),

but elsewhere he is said to have a burning head (7, 3[1]) or three heads and seven rays (1, 146[1]; 2, 5[3]). He faces in all directions (2, 3[1] &c.). His tongue is often mentioned (8, 61[18] &c.). He is also said to have three tongues (3, 20[2]) or seven (VS. 17, 79), his steeds also being seven-tongued (3, 6[2]). A name was later given to each of these seven tongues[1]. Butter is Agni's eye (3, 26[7]); he is four-eyed (1, 31[13]), thousand-eyed (1, 79[12]), and thousand-horned (6, 1[8]). In his hand he bears many gifts for men (1, 72[1]). Like Indra, he has the epithet *sahasra-muṣka* (8, 19[32]). He is called an archer (4, 4[1]) or is compared with an archer (1, 70[11]), who sharpens his flame like a blade of iron (6, 3[5]).

He is often likened to various animals, in most cases doubtless with a view to indicating his functions rather than representing his personal form. He is frequently called a bull (1, 58[5] &c.). He is a strong bull with a mighty neck (5, 2[12]). As such he bellows (10, 8[1]), abounds in seed (4, 5[3]), and is provided with horns (5, 1[8]; 6, 16[39]), which he sharpens (8, 49[13]), which he shakes, and which make him difficult to seize (1, 140[6]). He is many times spoken of or alluded to when born as a calf (*vatsa*). He is also often compared with (1, 58[2] &c.) or directly called a steed (1, 149[3]; 6, 12[6])[2]. The tail which he agitates like a horse (2, 4[4]) is doubtless his flame. When purified by sacrificers he is compared with a groomed horse (1, 60[5] &c.). Sacrificers lead (3, 2[7]), excite, and set him in motion like a horse (7, 7[1] &c.). He is the horse they seek to tame and direct (2, 5[1]; 3, 27[3]). He is kindled like a horse that brings the gods (3, 27[14]). He is attached to the pole at places of sacrifice (2, 2[1]) or to the pole of the rite (1, 143[7]). He is yoked in order to waft the sacrifice to the gods (10, 51[7]). He is also compared with (3, 26[3]) or directly called a neighing steed (1, 36[8]). He is further likened to a horse as conquering (8, 91[12]) or causing to escape from dangers (4, 2[8]). Agni is, moreover, like a bird. He is the eagle of the sky (7, 15[4]) and a divine bird (1, 164[52]). As dwelling in the waters he resembles the aquatic bird *haṃsa* (1, 65[9]). He takes possession of the wood as a bird perches on a tree (1, 66[2]; 6, 3[5]; 10, 91[2]). He is winged (1, 58[5]; 2, 2[4]), his course is a flight (6, 3[7]. 4[6] &c.), and he darts with rapid flight to the gods (10, 6[4]). He is once described as a raging serpent (1, 79[1]).

Agni is besides frequently compared with inanimate objects. Like the sun, he resembles gold (2, 2[4]; 7, 3[6]). When he stretches out his tongue (6, 3[4]) he is like a hatchet, to which he is elsewhere also several times compared (1, 127[3] &c.). He resembles (1, 141[8] &c.) or is directly called a car (3, 11[5]), as bringing riches (1, 58[3]; 3, 15[5]) or as being formidable in battle (1, 66[6]). He seems to be thought of as a car directed by others, for he is conducted to the sacrifice like a laden car (10, 176[3]). He is even compared to wealth (1, 58[6]. 60[1]) or to wealth acquired by inheritance (1, 73[1]).

Wood (2, 7[6]) or ghee (7, 3[1]) is his food, melted butter is his beverage (2, 7[6]; 10, 69[2]). He is nourished by ghee poured into his mouth (3, 21[1]; 5, 11[3] &c.) and is an eater of oil (AV. 1, 7[2]). He eats and chews the forests with sharp tooth (1, 143[5]) or eats and blackens them with his tongue (6, 60[10]; 10, 79[2]). He is all-devouring (8, 44[26]). He is nourished three times a day (4, 12[1], cp. 1, 140[2]; 7, 11[3]). He is sometimes spoken of as the mouth and the tongue by which the gods eat the sacrifice (2, 1[13. 14]); and his flames are spoons with which he besprinkles or honours the gods (1, 76[5]; 10, 6[4]). But he is more frequently asked to eat the offerings himself (3, 21[1–4]. 28[1–6]). With upright, god-ward form he strives after the ghee that is offered (1, 127[1]). Though the regular offering to him is fuel or butter[3], he is sometimes, and then nearly always with other gods, invited to drink the Soma juice (1, 14[10].

19^{9}. $21^{1.3}$; 2, 36^{4}). In one hymn he is called *somagopā*, 'guardian of Soma' (10, $45^{5.12}$). He is invited to come to the sacrifice (10, 98^{9}) and is often spoken of as sitting down on the sacrificial grass along with the gods (3, 14^{2}; 5, 11^{2}. 26^{5}; 7, 11^{2}, cp. 43^{3}).

Agni's brightness is naturally much dwelt upon. He is of brilliant lustre (2, 10^{2} &c.), brilliant-flamed (6, 10^{3}), bright-flamed (7, 15^{10} &c.), clear-flamed (8, 43^{31}), and bright-coloured (1, 140^{1}; 5, 2^{3}). He has a golden form (4, 3^{1} 10, 20^{9}). He shines like the sun (1, 149^{3}; 7, 3^{6}). His lustre is like the rays of the dawn and the sun and like the lightnings of the rain-cloud (10, $91^{4.5}$). He shines even at night (5, 7^{4}). Like the sun he dispels the darkness with his rays (8, 43^{32}). He is a destroyer of darkness and sees through the gloom of the night (1, 94^{5}; 7, 9^{2}). Kindled he opens the gates of darkness (3, 5^{1}). The earth enveloped in darkness and the sky become visible when Agni is born (10, 88^{2}). For he is kindled at dawn and is the only individual god who is described as 'waking at dawn', *uṣarbudh* (though the gods collectively sometimes receive this epithet).

On the other hand, Agni's course, path, or track, and his fellies are black (1, 141^{7}; 2, $4^{6.7}$; 6, 6^{1}; 7, 8^{2}; 8, 23^{19}), and his steeds make black furrows (1, 140^{4}). Driven by the wind he rushes through the wood (1, $58^{4.5}$), invades the forests and shears the hairs of the earth (1, 65^{8}), shaving the earth as a barber a beard (10, 142^{4}).

His flames are like the roaring waves of the sea (1, 44^{12}). His sound is like the Wind or the thunder of Heaven (5, 25^{5}; 7, 3^{6}). He roars like the thundering Dyaus (10, 45^{4}), or Parjanya (8, 91^{5}), or a lion (3, 2^{11}). He bellows like a bull when he invades the forest trees, and the birds are terrified at the noise when his grass-devouring sparks arise (1, $94^{10.11}$). He cannot be checked any more than the sound of the Maruts, an army let loose, or the bolt of heaven (1, 143^{5}).

Agni flames upwards (6, 15^{2}). Driven by the wind his flames shoot into the sky (8, 43^{4}). His smoke wavers and his flame cannot be seized (8, 23^{1}). His red smoke rises up to heaven (7, 3^{1}. 16^{3}). His smoke spreads in the sky (6, 2^{6}). Like the erector of a post (*metṛ*), he supports the sky with his smoke (4, 6^{2}). He touches the ridge of heaven with his crest and mingles with the rays of the sun (7, 2^{1}). He encompasses heaven with his tongue (8, 61^{18}) and goes to the flood of heaven, to the waters in the bright space above and below the sun (3, 22^{3}). The Agni of Divodāsa spread along mother earth towards the gods and stood on the ridge of the sky (8, 92^{2}). 'Smoke-bannered' (*dhūmaketu*) is a frequent epithet exclusively connected with Agni.

Agni is borne on an lightning car (3, 14^{1}), on a car that is luminous (1, 140^{1}), bright (1, 141^{12}), shining (5, 1^{11}), brilliant (10, 1^{5}), golden (4, 1^{8}) or beautiful (4, 2^{4}). It is drawn by two or more horses[4], which are butter-backed (1, 14^{6}), ruddy (*rohita*, *aruṣa*), tawny and ruddy (7, 42^{1}), beautiful (4, 2^{2}), omniform (10, 70^{2}), active (2, 4^{2}), wind-impelled (1, 94^{10}), mind-yoked (1, 14^{6}). He yokes them to summon the gods (1, 14^{12}; 3, 6^{6}; 8, 64^{1}). For he is a charioteer (1, 25^{3} &c.) of the sacrifice (10, 92^{1} &c.). With his steeds he brings the gods on his car (3, 6^{9}). He comes seated on the same car as the gods (3, 4^{11}; 7, 11^{1}) or in advance of them (10, 70^{2}). He brings Varuṇa to the offering, Indra from the sky, the Maruts from the air (10, 70^{11}).

According to the ordinary view of the Vedic poets, Agni's father is Dyaus, who generated him (10, 45^{8}). He is the child (*śiśu*) of Dyaus (4, 15^{6}; 6, 49^{2}) and is said to have been born from the belly of the Asura[5] (3, 29^{4}). He is often called the son of Dyaus and Pṛthivī (3, 2^{2}. 3^{11}. 25^{1}; 10, 1^{2}. 2^{7}.

$1 40^{2}$). He is also spoken of as the offspring of Tvaṣṭṛ and the Waters, as well as of Heaven and Earth ($10, 2^{7}. 46^{9}$), or even simply of Tvaṣṭṛ ($1, 95^{2}$) or of the Waters ($10, 91^{6}$; AV. 1, 33^{1}). It is otherwise incidentally said that the Dawns generated Agni as well as the Sun and Sacrifice ($7, 78^{3}$) or Indra-Viṣṇu generated Agni besides Sun and Dawn ($7, 99^{4}$), or Indra generated Agni between two stones ($2, 12^{3}$, cp. 1^{1}). Agni is also described as the son of Iḷā ($3, 29^{3}$) or as the embryo of the rite ($6, 48^{5}$). The gods, it is sometimes said, generated him ($6, 7^{1}$; $8, 91^{17}$), as a light for the Āryan ($1, 59^{2}$), or simply fashioned him for man ($10, 46^{9}$) or placed him among men ($1, 36^{10}$; $2, 4^{3}$; $6, 16^{1}$; $8, 73^{2}$). At the same time Agni is the father of the gods ($1, 69^{1}$, cp. p. 12). The different points of view which give rise to these seemingly contradictory statements, are sufficiently clear.

Owing to his slightly developed anthropomorphism, the myths of Agni have little to say about his deeds, being, outside his main activity as sacrificial fire, chiefly concerned with his various births, forms, and abodes.

The divergent accounts given of the births of Agni are not inconsistent, because they refer to different places of origin. His daily terrestrial birth by friction from the two *araṇīs* or firesticks[6] is often referred to ($3, 29^{2}. 23^{2.3}$; $7, 1^{1}$; $10, 7^{9}$). In this connexion they are his parents, the upper being the male and the lower the female ($3, 29^{3}$). Or they are his mothers, for he is said to have two mothers ($1, 31^{2}$)[7]. The two sticks produce him as a newborn infant, who is hard to catch ($5, 9^{3.4}$). From the dry (wood) the god is born living ($1, 68^{2}$). The child as soon as born devours the parents ($10, 79^{4}$). He is born of a mother who cannot suckle him ($10, 115^{1}$). With reference to this production by friction, men are said to have generated him ($1, 60^{3}$; $4, 1^{1}$; $7, 1^{1}$), the ten maidens[8] that produce him ($1, 95^{2}$) being the ten fingers (cp. $3, 23^{3}$) employed in twirling the upright drill, which is the upper *araṇī*. *Pramantha*, the name of this fire-drill, occuring for the first time in a late metrical Smṛti work[9], the Karmapradīpa ($1, 75$)[10] has, owing to a superficial resemblance, been connected with Προμηθεύς[11]. The latter word has, however, every appearance of being a purely Greek formation, while the Indian verb *math*, to twirl, is found compounded only with *nis*, never with *pra*, to express the act of producing fire by friction.

The powerful friction necessary to produce fire is probably the reason why Agni is frequently called the 'son (*sūnu*, *putra*, once *yuvan*) of strength' (*sahasaḥ*)[12]. This explanation is supported by a passage of the RV. stating that Agni 'rubbed with strength (*sahasā*) is produced (*jāyate*) by men on the surface of the earth' ($6, 48^{5}$). According to a later text, the kindling of Agni by friction must not take place before sunrise (MS. 1, 6^{10}). Being produced every morning for the sacrifice Agni appropriately receives the very frequent epithet, exclusively connected with him, of 'youngest' (*yaviṣṭha*, *yaviṣṭhya*). His new births are opposed to his old ($3, 1^{20}$). Having grown old he is born again as a youth ($2, 4^{5}$). In this sense, he does not grow old ($1, 128^{2}$), his new light being like his old ($6, 16^{21}$). Like some other gods, Agni is also spoken of simply as 'young'. At the same time he is old. There is no sacrificer older than Agni ($5, 3^{5}$), for he conducted the first sacrifice ($3, 15^{4}$). He shone forth after former dawns ($1, 44^{10}$), and the part played by Agni in the sacrifices of ancestors is often referred to ($8, 43^{13}$ &c.). He is thus sometimes in the same passage paradoxically called both 'ancient' and 'very young' ($10, 4^{1.2}$).

More generally Agni is spoken of as born in wood ($6, 3^{3}$; $10, 79^{7}$), as the embryo of plants ($2, 1^{14}$; $3, 1^{13}$) or as distributed in plants ($10, 1^{2}$). He is also said to have entered into all plants or to strive after them ($8, 43^{9}$).

When he is called the embryo of trees (1, 70[4]) or of trees as well as plants (2, 1[1]), there may be a side-glance at the fire produced in forests by the friction of the boughs of trees.

The terrestrial existence of Agni is further indicated by his being called the 'navel of the earth' (1, 59[2]). This expression appears, in the many passages in which it occurs, to allude to the receptacle of the sacrificial Agni on the excavated altar or *vedi*[13]. In the Vedic ritual *nābhi* or 'navel' is the technical term designating the hollow in the *uttarā vedi*, in which Agni is deposited[14]. The earlier use of the term probably suggested the figure, that the gods made Agni the 'navel' or centre of immortality (3, 17[4]). The only two occurrences in the RV. of the attribute *vediṣad*, 'sitting on the altar', refer to Agni.

Agni's origin in the aerial waters is often referred to. The 'Son of waters' has, as has been shown (§ 24), become a distinct deity. Agni is also the 'embryo' (*garbha*) of the waters (3, 1[12. 13]); he is kindled in the waters (10, 45[1]; AV. 13, 1[50]); he is a bull who has grown in the lap of the waters (10, 8[1]); he is ocean-girt (8, 91[5]). He is also said to descend from the *dhanu* or cloud-island (1, 144[5]; 10, 4[5]) and to be the shining thunder dwelling in the bright space (6, 6[2]). In such passages the lightning form of Agni must be meant. Some of the later hymns of the RV. (10, 51—3. 124)[15] tell a legend of Agni hiding in the waters and plants and being found by the gods. This legend is also often related in the Brāhmaṇas[16]. In the AV. the Agnis in the waters are distinguished from those that go on the path of lightning or from the celestial Agni with the lightning (AV. 3, 21[1. 7]; 8, 1[11]) and are said to have dwelt on earth (AV. 12, 1[37]). In one passage of the RV. also it is stated that Agni rests in all streams (8, 39[8], cp. Āp. ŚS. 5, 2[1]); and in the later ritual texts Agni in the waters is invoked in connexion with ponds and water-vessels. Thus even in the oldest Vedic period, the waters in which Agni is latent, though not those from which he is produced, may in various passages have been regarded as terrestrial. OLDENBERG[17] thinks that the terrestrial waters are chiefly meant in this connexion and doubts whether the lightning Agni is intended even in the first hymn of the third book[18]. In any case, the notion of Agni in the waters is prominent throughout the Vedas. Water is Agni's home, as heaven is that of the sun (5, 85[2]: cp. AV. 13, 1[50]; 19, 33[1]). The waters are also often mentioned along with the plants or wood as his abode[19] (2, 1[1] &c.).

Agni's origin in heaven is moreover frequently spoken of. He is born in the highest heavens (1, 143[2]; 6, 8[2]). He existed potentially though not actually in the highest heavens (10, 5[7]), and was brought from heaven, from afar by Mātariśvan (§ 25). In such passages Agni doubtless represents lightning; for lightning is regarded as coming from heaven as well as from the waters (AV. 3, 21[1. 7]; 8, 1[11]), and in a Brāhmaṇa passage (AB. 7, 7[2]) it is spoken of as both celestial (*divya*) and aqueous (*apsumat*). When lightning is mentioned by its proper name *vidyut* (which occurs hardly 30 times in the RV.) along with Agni, it is commonly compared with and thereby distinguished from him[20], doubtless as a concrete phenomenon in contrast with the god. The myth, too, of the descent of fire from heaven to earth, due undoubtedly to the actual observation of conflagrations caused by the stroke of lightning, implies the identity of the celestial Agni and lightning. The heavenly origin of Agni is further implied in the fact that the acquisition of fire by man is regarded as a gift of the gods as well as a production of Mātariśvan; and Agni's frequent epithet of 'guest (*atithi*) of men' may allude to the same notion (5, 1[9] &c.).

In other passages, again, Agni is to be identified with the sun; for the conception of the sun as a form of Agni, is an undoubted Vedic belief. Thus Agni is the light of heaven in the bright sky, waking at dawn, the head of heaven (3, 2[14]). He was born on the other side of the air and sees all things (10, 187[4. 5]). He is born as the sun rising in the morning (10, 88[6])[21]. The AB. (8, 28[9. 13]) remarks that the sun when setting enters into Agni and is produced from him. The same identification is probably alluded to in passages stating that Agni unites with the light or the rays of the sun (5, 37[1]; 7, 2[1]), that when men light Agni on earth, the celestials light him (6, 2[3]), or that Agni shines in heaven (3, 27[12]; 8, 44[29]). Sometimes, however, it is difficult to decide whether lightning or the sun is intended. The solar aspect of Agni's nature is not often mentioned, the sun being too individual a phenomenon to be generally conceived as a form of fire. Agni is usually thought of in his terrestrial form, being compared rather than identified with the sun. Thus the poet says that the minds of the godly are turned to Agni as eyes towards the sun (5, 1[4]). At the same time there is frequently a side-glance at Agni's other forms, it being therefore in many cases doubtful which of his aspects is intended.

Owing to the diverse births above described, Agni is often regarded as having a triple character[22], which in many passages is expressly referred to with some form of the numeral 'three'. This earliest Indian trinity is important, for on it is based much of the mystical speculation of the Vedic age[23]. Agni's births are three or threefold (1, 95[3]; 4, 1[7]). The gods made him threefold (10, 88[10]). He is threefold light (3, 26[7]), has three heads (1, 146[1]), three tongues, three bodies, three stations (3, 20[2]). The epithet *triṣadhastha*, 'having three stations', is predominantly connected with Agni[24], and the only passage in which the word *tripastya*, 'having three dwellings', occurs (8, 39[8]), it is an attribute of Agni. The triad is not always understood in exactly the same way or mentioned in the same order. Thus one poet says: 'From heaven first Agni was born, the second time from us (= men), thirdly in the waters (10, 45[1], cp. vv. [2. 3]). The order of Agni's abodes is also heaven, earth, waters in other passages (8, 44[16]; 10, 2[7]. 46[9]), while one verse (1, 95[3]) has the variation: ocean, heaven, waters. Sometimes the terrestrial Agni comes first: 'He was first born in houses, at the base of great heaven, in the womb of this atmosphere' (4, 1[11]); 'the immortals kindled three flames of Agni: of these they placed one with man for use, and two went to the sister-world' (3, 2[9]). A Sūtra passage (Āp. ŚS. 5, 16[4]) distinguishes a terrestrial Agni in animals, an aerial one in the waters, and a celestial one in the sun. Occasionally the terrestrial Agni comes third. He is one of three brothers of whom 'the middlemost brother is lightning (*aśnaḥ*) and the third is butter-backed' (1, 164[1], cp. 141[2]). 'Agni glows from the sky, to god Agni belongs the broad air, men kindle Agni, bearer of oblations, lover of ghee' (AV. 12, 1[20], cp. 13, 3[21]; 18, 4[11]).

The third form of Agni is once spoken of as the highest (10, 1[3]; cp. 5, 3[3]; 1, 72[2. 4]). Yāska (Nir. 7, 28) mentions that his predecessor Śākapūṇi regarded the threefold existence of Agni referred to in 10, 88[10] as being in earth, air, and heaven, a certain Brāhmaṇa considering Agni's third manifestation, which is in heaven, to be the sun (cp. Nir. 12, 19). This threefold nature of Agni, so clearly recognised in the RV., was probably the prototype not only of the posterior triad of Sun, Wind, Fire (8, 18[19]), which is spoken of as distributed in the three worlds (10, 158[1]; AV. 4, 39[2]) and is implied in another verse (1, 164[44]), but also of the triad of Sun, Indra, Fire, which though not Rigvedic is still ancient. Here Vāta or Vāyu and Indra have

taken the place of Agni Vaidyuta, the lightning Agni, as the Brāhmaṇas and commentators call him. This substitution is perhaps partly due to the transient nature of lightning and partly to the lack of any name other than Agni for the personified lightning, which could therefore be expressed only by epithets or allusions. The triad of Agnis may have suggested and would explain the division of the sacrificial fire into the three sacrificial fires[25] which in the Vedic ritual are kept distinct from the domestic fire[26] and which form an essential feature of the cult in the Brāhmaṇas[27]. The ritual may have then reacted on the myth. At any rate, later Hindu literature took the three fires as representative of the three forms of Agni known to the RV.[28] The three sacrificial fires may go back to the time of the RV., possibly even to an anterior period[29]. Thus Agni is besought to bring the gods and to seat himself in the three receptacles (*yoniṣu*: 2, 36[4], cp. 5, 11[2]; 10, 105[9]).

Doubtless on the basis of the twofold division of the Universe into heaven and earth, Agni is in several passages said to have two births, being the only single god spoken of as *dvijanman* (1, 60[1]. 140[2]. 149[2. 3]). An upper and a lower birth are mentioned (2, 9[3]), his abode in lower and upper spheres is referred to (1, 128[3]), and the opposition is generally between terrestrial and celestial fire (3, 54[1]; 10, 45[10]), though in one passage at least (8, 43[28]) the contrast is between his birth in heaven and in the waters. Agni is summoned from his supreme abode (8, 11[7]) and comes thence to the lower ones (8, 64[15]). When he is brought from the highest father he rises into the plants (1, 141[4]). Here Agni is conceived as coming down in rain and then entering the plants, out of which he is again produced. The fires, like water, after descending to earth again rise to heaven (1, 164[51]). On this distinction of two forms of fire are based such prayers as that Agni should sacrifice to himself (10, 7[6]), that he should bring Agni (7, 39[5]), or that he should descend with the gods to the sacrifice (3, 6[9] &c.). Allied to this distinction is the notion that Agni was kindled by the gods as contrasted with men[30] (6, 2[3]). The latter notion is due to the assumption that celestial fires must be kindled by some one and gods must sacrifice like men (cp. AB. 2, 34).

From another point of view, Agni is said to have many births (10, 5[1]). This multiplicity no doubt primarily refers to the numerous fires kindled on terrestrial altars. For Agni is very frequently said to abide in every family, house, or abode (4, 6[8]. 7[1. 3]; 5, 1[5]. 6[8] &c.). He is produced in many places (3, 54[19]) and has many bodies (10, 98[10]). Scattered in many places, he is one and the same king (3, 55[4]). Kindled in many places, he is but one (Vāl. 10[2]). Other fires are attached to him as branches to a tree (8, 19[33]). Thus he comes to be invoked with the Agnis (7, 3[1]; 8, 18[9]. 49[1]; 10, 141[6]) or all the Agnis (1, 26[10]; 6, 12[6]).

The accounts given of Agni's abodes or birthplaces sometimes involve cross divisions. Thus his brilliance in heaven, earth, air, waters, and plants is referred to (3, 22[2]) or he is said to be born from the heavens, the waters, stone, woods, and plants (2, 1[1]). Longer enumerations of a similar kind occasionally occur elsewhere (AV. 3, 21; 12, 1[19]; Āp. ŚS. 5, 16[4]). When Agni is said (1, 70[4], cp. 6, 48[5]) to dwell in a rock (*adrau*) the reference is probably to the lightning latent in the cloud (cp. p. 10). The same is probably the case when he is said (2, 1[1]) to be produced from a stone (*aśmanaḥ*) or to have been generated by Indra between two stones (2, 12[3]); but here there may lurk an allusion to the production of fire from flint. Animal heat is of course meant when Agni is said to be in the heart of man (10, 5[1]), or in beasts, horses, birds, bipeds and quadrupeds (AV. 3, 21[2]; 12, 1[19]. 2[33]; TS. 4, 6, 1[3]). As being the spark of vitality and so widely diffused in nature,

Agni naturally comes to be described as the germ (*garbha*) of what is stationary or moves and of all that exists (1, 70[3]; AV. 5, 25[7]).

The triple nature of Agni gave rise to the notion of three brothers (1, 164[1]); while the multiplicity of sacrificial fires may have suggested the idea of Agni's elder brothers who are spoken of in the plural (10, 51[6]). The number of these is later stated to be three (TS. 2, 6, 6[1]). The same are probably meant by the four Hotṛs of the gods, of whom the first three died (Kāṭh. 25, 7)[31]. Varuṇa is once spoken of as Agni's brother (4, 1[2]). Elsewhere Indra is said to be his twin brother (6, 59[2])[32]. Indra is indeed oftener associated with Agni than with any other god and is, with two slight exceptions, the only god with whom Agni forms a dual divinity (§ 44). It is doubtless owing to this association that Agni is described as bursting the rock with heat (8, 46[16]) and vanquishing the unbelieving Paṇis (7, 6[3]). In one entire hymn (1, 93) Agni is also coupled with Soma (§ 44).

Agni is occasionally identified with other gods, especially with Varuṇa and Mitra[33] (2, 1[4]; 3, 5[4]; 7, 12[3]). He is Varuṇa when he goes to the sacrifice (10, 8[5]). He is Varuṇa when he is born and Mitra when he is kindled (5, 3[1]). Agni in the evening becomes Varuṇa, rising in the morning he becomes Mitra; becoming Savitṛ he traverses the air, becoming Indra he illumines the sky in the midst (AV. 13, 3[13]). In one passage of the RV. (2, 1[3–7]) he is successively identified with about a dozen gods besides five goddesses. He assumes various divine forms (3, 38[7]) and has many names (3, 20[3]). In him are comprehended all the gods (5, 3[1]), whom he surrounds as a felly the spokes (5, 13[6]).

What is probably the oldest function of fire in regard to its cult, that of burning and dispelling evil spirits and hostile magic, still survives in the Veda. Agni drives away the goblins with his light (3, 15[1] &c.)[34] and receives the epithet *rakṣohan*, 'goblin-slayer' (10, 87[1]). When kindled he consumes with iron teeth and scorches with heat the sorcerers as well as the goblins (10, 87[2. 5. 14]), protecting the sacrifice with keen glance (ib. [9]). He knows the races of the sorcerers and destroys them (AV. 1, 8[4]). Though this function of dispelling terrestrial demons is shared with Agni by Indra (as well as by Bṛhaspati, the Aśvins, and especially Soma), it must primarily have belonged to Agni alone, just as, conversely, that of slaying Asuras or aerial demons is transferred to Agni (7, 13[1]) though properly peculiar to Indra. This is borne out by the fact that Agni is undoubtedly more prominent as a goblin-slayer than Indra, both in the hymns and in the ritual[35].

Agni is more closely connected with human life than any other god. His association with the dwellings of men is peculiarly intimate. He is the only god to whom the frequent epithet *gṛhapati*, 'lord of the house', is applied. He dwells in every abode (7, 15[2]), never leaving his home (8, 49[19]). The attribute 'domestic' (*damūnas*) is generally connected with him (1, 60[4] &c.). This household deity probably represents an old order of ideas; for in the later elaborate ritual of the three sacrificial fires, the one from which the other two (the *āhavanīya* or eastern and the *dakṣiṇa* or southern) were taken, is called the *gārhapatya* or that which belongs to *gṛhapati*. In this connexion it is interesting to observe that even as early as Rigvedic times there are traces of the sacrificial fire having been transported[36]. For Agni is led round (4, 9[3]. 15[1]), strides round the offerings (4, 15[3]) or goes round the sacrifice three times (4, 6[4. 5]. 15[2]); and as soon as he is released from his parents, he is led to the east and again to the west (1, 31[4]).

He is further constantly designated a 'guest' (*atithi*) in human abodes. He is a guest in every house (10, 91[2]), the first guest of settlers (5, 8[2]). For

he is an immortal (a term much more commonly applied to Agni than to any other god), who has taken up his abode among mortals (8, 60[1]). He has been established or settled among human habitations (3, 5[3]; 4, 6[2]). It is the domestic Agni who caused mortals to settle (3, 1[17]). He is a leader (3, 2[5]) and a protector of settlers (1, 96[4]), and the epithet *viśpati*, 'lord of settlers' is mainly connected with him.

Thus Agni comes to be called the nearest kinsman of man (7, 15[1]; 8, 49[10]), or simply a kinsman (1, 26[3] &c.) or a friend (1, 75[4] &c.). But he is oftenest described as a father (6, 1[5] &c.), sometimes also as a brother (8, 43[16]; 10, 7[3] &c.), and even as a son (2, 1[9]) or mother (6, 1[5]), of his worshippers. Such terms seem to point to an older order of things, when Agni was less sacrificial and, as the centre of domestic life, produced an intimate relation such as is not easily found in the worship of other gods[37].

The continuity of Agni's presence in the house would naturally connect him more closely than any other god with the past. Hence the ancestral friendship of Agni with his worshipper (1, 71[10]) is probably more typical of him than of any other deity. He is the god whom the forefathers kindled, to whom they prayed. Thus mention is made of an Agni of Bharata (2, 7[1]; 7, 8[4] &c.), of Vadhryaśva (10, 69[1]), of Devavāta (3, 23[3]), of Divodāsa (8, 92[2]), and of Trasadasyu (8, 19[32])[38]. The names of ancestors sometimes identified with Agni are in part those of families to which composers of the RV. belonged. Some of these, like Vasiṣṭha, seem to have had a historical origin, while others, like Angiras (§ 54) and Bhṛgu (§ 51), are probably mythical (cp. § 58).

Agni is further brought into close relations with the daily life of man in the sacrifice. He is, however, not merely a passive receiver of the offering, but is an intermediary between heaven and earth. He transmits the oblation to the gods, who do not get exhilarated without him (7, 11[1]). On the other hand, he brings the gods (3, 14[2]) to the sacrifice as well as takes it to them (7, 11[5]). He seats them on the strewn grass (1, 31[17]; 8, 44[3]), to eat the offering (5, 1[11] &c.). He goes on the paths leading both to the gods (10, 98[11]) and to earth (8, 7[2]), knowing these paths (6, 16[3]). He is therefore constantly and characteristically called a messenger (*dūta*), who knows the paths and conveys the sacrifice (1, 72[7]) or visits all abodes (4, 1[8]); who flies swiftly (10, 6[4]), moving between heaven and earth (4, 7[8]. 8[4]; 10, 4[2]), or the two races, gods and men (4, 2[2.3]); who has been appointed by the gods (5, 8[6] &c.) and by men (10, 46[10]), to be an oblation-bearer (*havya-vah* or *-vāhana*, terms always connected with Agni) and to announce the hymn of the worshipper (1, 27[4]) or to bring the gods to the place of sacrifice (4, 8[2]). He is the messenger of the gods (6, 15[9]) and of Vivasvat (p. 42); but as knowing the innermost recesses of heaven, as conveying the sacrifice, and bringing the gods (4, 7[8]. 8[1]) he is mainly to be considered the messenger of men. A later text states that Agni is the messenger of the gods, and Kāvya Uśanas or Daivya that of the Asuras (TS. 2, 5, 8[5]. 11[8]). Another describes Agni not as the messenger of, but as the path leading to, the gods, by which the summit of heaven may be reached (TB. 2, 4, 1[6]).

In consequence of his main function in the Veda of officiating at the sacrifice, Agni comes to be celebrated as the divine counterpart of the earthly priesthood. He is therefore often called generically the 'priest' (*ṛtvij*, *vipra*) or specifically the 'domestic priest' (*purohita*), and constantly, more frequently in fact than by any other name, the 'offerer' (*hotṛ*) or chief priest, who is poet and spokesman in one. He is a Hotṛ appointed by men (8, 49[1]; 10, 7[5]) and by gods (6, 16[1]). He is the most adorable, the most eminent of Hotṛs

(10, 2[1]. 91[8]). He is also termed an *adhvaryu* (3, 5[4]) and (like Bṛhaspati, Soma, and Indra) a *brahman* or praying priest (4, 9[4]). He combines in himself the functions, in a higher sense, of the various human priests called by the above and other specific names (1, 94[6]; 2, 1[2] &c.). He is constantly invoked to honour or worship the gods (3, 25[1]; 7, 11[3] &c.), while they in their turn are said to honour Agni three times a day (3, 4[2]). He is the accomplisher of the rite or sacrifice (3, 3[3]. 27[2]), promoting it by his occult power (3, 27[7]), making the oblations fragrant (10, 15[12]), and causing the offering which he protects to reach the gods (1, 1[4]). He is the father (3, 3[4]), the king (4, 3[1]), the ruler (10, 6[3]), the superintendant (8, 43[24]), the banner (3, 3[3]. 10[4]; 6, 2[3]; 10, 1[5]), of sacrifice. In one hymn (10, 51) it is related that Agni grew weary of the service and refused to fulfil his sacrificial offices, but on being granted the remuneration he required from the gods, continued to act as high priest of men[39]. Agni's priesthood is the most salient feature of his character. He is in fact the great priest, as Indra is the great warrior. But though this phase of Agni's character is so prominent from the beginning to the end of the RV., it is of course from a historical point of view comparatively recent, due to those mystical sacerdotal speculations which ultimately led to the endless sacrificial symbolism of the later ritual texts. From the ordinary sacrificial Agni who conveys the offering (*havya-vah* or *-vāhana*) is distinguished the form of Fire which is called 'corpse-devouring' (*kravyād*: cp. § 71). The VS. distinguishes three forms, as the Agni who devours raw-flesh (*āmād*), the corpse-devouring or funereal, and the sacrificial Agni (VS. 1, 17, cp. 18, 51). The TS. (2, 5, 8[6]) also distinguishes three, the Agni that bears the oblation (*havyavāhana*), as belonging to the gods, the Agni that bears the funeral offering (*kavyavāhana*), as belonging to the Fathers, and the Agni associated with goblins (*saharakṣas*) as belonging to the Asuras.

Agni is a seer (*ṛṣi*) as well as a priest (9, 66[20]); he is kindled as an eminent seer (3, 21[3]); he is the most gracious seer (6, 14[2]); he is the first seer Aṅgiras (1, 31[1]). He is the divine one (*asura*) among the sages (3, 3[4]). Agni knows the sacrifice exactly (10, 110[11]) and knows all rites (10, 122[2]). Knowing the proper seasons he rectifies the mistakes which men commit through ignorance of the sacrificial ordinances of the gods (10, 2[4. 5]) He knows the recesses of heaven (4, 8[2. 4]). He knows everything (10, 11[1]) by his wisdom (10, 91[3]). He has all wisdom (3, 1[17]; 10, 21[5]), which he embraces as the felly the wheel (2, 5[3]) and which he acquired as soon as born (1, 96[1]). He is 'all-knowing' (*viśvavid*); and the epithets 'possessed of all knowledge' (*viśvavedas*), 'sage' (*kavi*), and 'possessing the intelligence of a sage' (*kavikratu*) are predominantly applicable to him. He exclusively bears the epithet *jātavedas*, which occurs upwards of 120 times in the RV. and is there (6, 15[13]) explained as meaning 'he who knows all generations' (*viśvā veda janimā*)[40]. He knows the divine ordinances and the generations of men (1, 70[1. 3]). He knows and sees all creatures (3, 55[10]; 10, 187[4]) and hears the invocations addressed to him (8, 43[23]). Agni is also a producer of wisdom (8, 91[8]). Wisdom and prayers arise from him (4, 11[3]). He is an inspirer (10, 46[5]), an inventor of brilliant speech (2, 9[4]), the first inventor of prayer (6, 1[1]). He is also said to be eloquent (6, 4[4]) and a singer (*jaritṛ*).

Agni is a great benefactor of his worshippers. He protects them with a hundred iron walls (7, 3[7]. 16[10], cp. 6, 48[8]; 1, 189[2]). He preserves them from calamities or takes them across calamities as in a ship over the sea (3, 20[4]; 5, 4[9]; 7, 12[2]). He is a deliverer (8, 49[5]) and a friend of the man who entertains him as a guest (4, 4[10]). He grants protection to the worshipper who sweats to bring him fuel (4, 2[6]). He watches with a thousand eyes the

man who brings him food and nourishes him with oblations (10, 79[5]). He consumes his worshippers' enemies like dry bushes (4, 4[4]) and strikes down the malevolent as a tree is destroyed by lightning (6, 8[5], cp. AV. 3, 2[1] &c.). He is therefore invoked in battle (8,43[21]), in which he leads the van (8,73[8]). The man whom he protects and inspires in battle wins abundant food and can never be overcome (1,27[7]). All blessings issue from him as branches from a tree (6,13[1]). He gives riches, which he abundantly commands (1,1[3]. 31[10]. 36[4]). All treasures are collected in him (10, 6[6]) and he opens the door of riches (1, 68[10]). He commands all riches in heaven and earth (4, 5[11]) or in earth, heaven, and ocean (7, 6[7]; 10, 91[3]). He gives rain from heaven (2, 6[5]) and is like a water-trough in the desert (10, 4[1]). He is therefore constantly besought to bestow every kind of boon: food, riches, deliverance from poverty, childlessness, enemies, and demons[41]. The boons which Agni bestows are rather domestic welfare, offspring, and prosperity, while Indra for the most part gives power, victory, and glory. Agni also forgives sin[42] committed through folly, makes guiltless before Aditi (4, 12[4]; 7, 93[7], cp. p. 121), and averts Varuṇa's wrath (4, 1[4]). He even frees from guilt committed by a man's father and mother (AV. 5, 30[4]; TB. 3, 7, 12[3. 4])

Agni is a divine (*asura*) monarch (*samrāj*), strong as Indra (7,6[1]). His greatness surpasses that of mighty heaven (1,59[5]). He is greater than heaven and earth (3, 6[2]; 10, 88[14]), than all the worlds, which he filled when born (3, 3[10]). He is superior to all the other gods in greatness (1, 68[2]). All the gods fear and do homage to him when he abides in darkness (6, 9[7]). He is celebrated and worshipped by Varuṇa, Mitra, the Maruts, and all the gods (3, 9[8]. 14[4]; 10, 69[9]). Agni performed great deeds of old (7, 6[2]). Men tremble at his mighty deeds (8,92[3]). In battle he procured space for the gods (1,59[5]) and he delivered them from curse (7, 13[2]). He is a conqueror of thousands (*sahasrajit*: more commonly an attribute of Soma). He drives away the Dasyus from the house, thus creating a wide light for the Ārya (7, 5[6]). He is a promoter of the Ārya (8,92[1]) and a vanquisher of irreligious Paṇis (7,6[3]). He receives with some frequency the epithet of 'Vṛtra-slayer', and two or three times that of 'fort-destroyer' (*puramdara*), attributes primarily appropriate to Indra (p. 60). Such warlike qualities, though suitable to Agni in his lightning form, are doubtless derived by him from Indra, with whom he is so frequently associated (p. 127).

Although Agni is the son of Heaven and Earth he is nevertheless called the generator of the two worlds (1, 96[4], cp. 7,5[7]), his ordinance, which does not perish (2, 8[3]), being followed by heaven and earth (7, 5[4]). He stretched them out (3, 6[5]; 7, 5[4]) or spread them out like two skins (6, 8[3]). With his flame or his smoke he supported the vault of heaven (3, 5[10]; 4, 6[2]). He kept asunder the two worlds (6, 8[3]). He supported earth and heaven with true hymns (1, 67[3]). He stands at the head of the world or is the head of the earth at night (10, 88[5. 6]), but he is also the head and summit (*kakud*) of the sky (1, 59[2]; 6, 7[1]; 8, 44[16]). He measured out the air and touched the vault of heaven with his greatness (6, 8[2]). He measured out the aerial spaces and the bright realms of heaven (6, 7[7]). He caused the sun to ascend the sky (10, 156[4]). The notion that the kindling of Agni exercised a magical influence on the sunrise seems not to be entirely absent in the RV.[43]. Such appears to be the meaning of the poet when he exclaims: 'Let us light Agni, that thy wondrous brand may shine in heaven' (5,6[4]). This notion is clearly stated in a Brāhmaṇa passage: 'By sacrificing before sunrise he produces him (the sun), else he would not rise' (ŚB. 2, 3, 1[5], cp. TS. 4, 7, 13[3]). Otherwise the kindling of Agni and the sunrise are represented merely as simultaneous

in the RV.: 'The sun became visible when Agni was born' (4, 3[11]). This trait of the Agni myth resembles the winning of the sun in the Indra myth, but the original point of view in the two cases is clearly different. Agni is further said to have adorned the sky with stars (1, 68[5]). He created all that flies, walks, stands, or moves (10, 88[4]). He placed the germ in these beings (3, 2[10]), in plants, in all beings, and engendered offspring in the earth and in women (10, 183[3]). Agni is once spoken of as having generated these children of men (1, 96[2]); but this is a mere incidental extension of the notion expressed in the same stanza, that he created heaven, earth, and the waters, and cannot be interpreted as a general belief in Agni as father of the human race[44]. Finally, Agni is the guardian (7, 7[4]) and lord (7, 4[6]) of immortality, which he confers on mortal men (1, 31[7]).

Though *agni* is an Indo-European word (Lat. *igni-s*, Slavonic *ogni*), the worship of fire under this name is purely Indian. In the Indo-Iranian period the sacrificial fire is already found as the centre of a developed ritual, tended by a priestly class probably called Atharvan; personified and worshipped as a strong, pure, wise god, giver of food, offspring, intellectual power, fame; friendly to the house, but a destroyer of foes; probably even thought of as having different forms like lightning or the fire produced from wood[45]. The sacrificial fire seems to have been an Indo-European institution also[46], since the Italians and Greeks, as well as the Iranians and Indians had the custom of offering gifts to the gods in fire. But the personification of this fire, if it then existed, must have been extremely shadowy[47].

The word *ag-ni* may possibly be derived from the root which in Sanskrit appears as *aj*[48], to drive (*ájāmi*, Lat. *ago*, Gk. ἄγω), meaning 'nimble', with reference to the agility of the element.

Besides epithets of celestial fire which, like Apāṃ napāt, have become separate names, some epithets of Agni exhibit a semi-independent character. The epithet Vaiśvānara[49], occurring about sixty times in the RV. and with two exceptions restricted to Agni, is, apart from some five detached verses, to be found in fourteen hymns of the RV., in nearly all of which, according to the native tradition of the Anukramaṇī, Agni Vaiśvānara is the deity addressed. The attribute is never in the RV. unaccompanied by the name of Agni. It means 'belonging to all men' and seems to designate 'Universal Agni', fire in all its aspects, celestial as well as terrestrial. Thus the hymns addressed to this form of Agni sometimes refer to the myth of Mātariśvan and the Bhṛgus, which is connected with the descent of celestial fire to earth (3, 2[4]; 6, 8[4]), and Agni Vaiśvānara is once even directly styled Mātariśvan (3, 26[2]). In the Naighaṇṭuka (5, 1) Vaiśvānara is given as one of the names of Agni. Yāska in commenting on the epithet states (Nir. 7, 23), that ancient ritualists (*yājñikāḥ*) took Agni Vaiśvānara to be the sun, while Śākapūṇi considered him to be this Agni[50]. Later on (Nir. 7, 31), he states as his own opinion that the Agni Vaiśvānara who receives praise and sacrifice is this (i. e. terrestrial) Agni, while the two higher (*uttare*) lights (i. e. the aerial and the celestial) only occasionally share this designation. In the ritual texts Vaiśvānara is distinguished as a special form of Agni (ĀŚS. 1, 3[23]; KŚS. 23, 3[1]; (PB. 21, 10[11]; ŚB. 1, 5, 1[16]).

The epithet Tanūnapāt, generally unaccompanied by the name of Agni, occurs eight times in the RV. and, with two exceptions (3, 29[11]; 10, 92[2]) always in the second verse of the Āprī hymns, which are liturgical invitations introducing the animal sacrifice and in which fire under various names and forms is invoked[51]. The word occurs as an independent name in the Naighaṇṭuka (5, 2). The explanations given by Yāska (Nir. 8, 5) are artificial

and improbable[52]. It seems to mean 'son of himself', as spontaneously generated in wood and cloud. According to Bergaigne's interpretation, it signifies 'the bodily (i. e. own) son' of the divine father[53]. Tanūnapāt as contrasted with Mātariśvan and Narāśaṃsa is said to be 'the divine (*āsura*) embryo' (3, 29[11]). The dawns are said to kiss Agni 'the domestic priest, the Tanūnapāt of the ruddy one' (10, 92[2], cp. 5, 58[6]). Tanūnapāt is beautiful-tongued (10, 110[2]). He is besought to take the sacrifice to the gods (1, 13[2]; 10, 110[2]); he distributes the sacrifice rich in ghee and mead (1, 142[2], cp. 188[2]). The gods honour him three times a day, Varuṇa, Mitra, Agni, every day (3, 4[2]). Hillebrandt[54] (comparing 9, 5[2]) identifies Agni Tanūnapāt with Agni Somagopā or the lunar Fire, which he assumes to be a special form of Agni[55].

The somewhat more frequent epithet Narāśaṃsa which is given as an independent appellation in the Naighaṇṭuka (5, 3) and is unaccompanied by the name of Agni in the RV., is not restricted to Agni, being twice connected with Pūṣan (1, 106[4]; 10, 64[3])[56]. It has the third verse as its fixed place in the Āprī hymns and the second in those which are technically called Āpra. Narāśaṃsa is 'four-limbed' (10, 92[11]) and is the 'lord of a celestial wife (*gnāspati*: 2, 38[10]). With honey on his tongue and in his hand, he performs the sacrifice (1, 13[3]; 5, 5[2]). Three times a day he besprinkles the sacrifice with honey (1, 142[3]). He anoints the three heavens and the gods (2, 3[2]). He comes at the head of the gods and makes the sacrifice pleasant for them (10, 70[2]). Through his sacrifices worshippers praise the greatness of the gods (7, 2[2]). Soma is said to go between Narāśaṃsa and the celestial (*daivya*) one (9, 86[42]), which seems to mean, between the terrestrial and the celestial Agni. As contrasted with Tanūnapāt and Mātariśvan, Agni is called Narāśaṃsa when he is born (3, 29[11]). In one hymn to Bṛhaspati (10, 182[2]) Narāśaṃsa is invoked for protection, and in another he is spoken of as the sacrificer of the seat of heaven (1, 189). He thus seems in these two passages to be identified with Bṛhaspati. The word *nárā-śáṃsa* is apparently an improper compound (in which the *m* of the genitive plural has disappeared), having a double accent and having its parts separated by particles in two passages (9, 86[42]; 10, 64[3]). As the expressions *narāṃ śaṃsa* and *devānāṃ śaṃsa* occur (2, 34[6]; 1, 141[11]) and a poet once calls Agni *śaṃsam āyoḥ*, 'Praise of Āyu' (4, 6[11]), Narāśaṃsa appears to mean 'Praise of men' in the sense of 'he who is the object of men's praise'. Bergaigne expresses the opinion[57] that the exact aspect of Agni represented by Narāśaṃsa, is that of a god of human prayer, like a second Bṛhaspati.

[1] Muṇḍ. Up. 1, 2 4; cp. ZDMG. 35, 552. — [2] Cp. Oldenberg, ZDMG. 50, 425—6; SBE. 46, 159. 207. — [3] ORV. 104; SBE. 46, 128. — [4] Cp. BRV. 1, 143; SBE. 46, 144. — [5] BDA. 50—1; Oldenberg, ZDMG. 39, 69. — [6] Schwab, Das altindische Tieropfer 77—8; Roth, Indisches Feuerzeug, ZDMG. 43, 590—5. — [7] BRV. 2, 52; PVS. 2, 50. — [8] Roth, Nirukta, Erl. 120; PW. s. v. *yuvati* and *tvaṣṭṛ*; OO. 2, 510. — [9] Jolly in this Encyclopaedia II, 8, p. 25. — [10] KHF. ed. Schrader (1889) 37—9; cp. ZDMG. 35, 561. — [11] KHF. 18; KRV. note 121; HRI. 107. — [12] Roth, ZDMG. 43, 593; ORV. 121. — [13] Cp. HVM. 1, 179 note 4. — [14] Haug, AB. 2, p. 62. — [15] Oldenberg, ZDMG. 39, 68—72; Macdonell, JRAS. 26, 16 ff. — [16] LRV. 5, 504. — [17] ORV. 115. — [18] Cp. GVS. 1, 157—70. — [19] ORV. 113 note 2. — [20] Ibid. 112. — [21] Other passages are 3, 144; 8, 565; 10, 88[11. 12]; AV. 13, 1[13]; TS. 4, 2, 94. — [22] OST. 5, 206; BRV. 1, 21—5; Macdonell, JRAS. 25, 468—70; ORV. 106; SBE. 46, 231. — [23] Cp. HRI. 105. — [24] See GW. s. v. — [25] LRV. 3, 356; BRV. 1, 23. — [26] ORV. 348. — [27] Cp. ŚB. 2, 1 and Eggeling, SBE. 12, 274 ff. — [28] HRI. 106; cp. LRV. 3, 356. — [29] BRV. 1, 23; LRV. 3, 355; Oldenberg, SBE. 30, x, note 1; 46, 362; ORV. 348. — [30] BRV. 1, 103. — [31] LRV. 5, 504—5. — [32] Cp. Sāyaṇa; Roth, Nirukta, Erl. 140; MM., LSL. 2, 614. — [33] Cp. BRV. 3, 134 f. — [34] BRV. 2, 217. — [35] ORV. 128. [36] SBE. 46, 361. —

37 ORV. 132—3. — — 38 OST. 1, 348—9; cp. SBE. 46, 123. 211. — 39 MACDONELL, JRAS. 26, 12—22. — 40 WHITNEY, AJP. 3, 409; otherwise PVS. 1, 94 and BLOOMFIELD, JAOS. 16, 16. — 41 OST. 5, 218. — 42 Cp. ORV. 299—300. — 43 Cp. BRV. 1, 140 ff.; ORV. 109; SBE. 46, 330. — 44 The view of KHF. 69 ff. — 45 ORV. 103. — 46 KNAUER, FaR. 64. — 47 ORV. 102. — 48 PW.; MM.PhR. 117 (cp. KIRSTE, WZKM. 7, 97); rejected by BARTHOLOMAE, IF. 5, 222. — 49 BRV. 153—6. — 50 ROTH, Nir. Erl. 7, 19. — 51 ROTH, Nirukta, Introd. 36 f.; Erl. 117—8. 121—4; MM.ASL. 463—6; WEBER, IS. 10, 89—95; GRV. 1, 6. — 52 ROTH, Nir. Erl. 117; cp. OLDENBERG, SBE. 46, 10. — 53 BRV. 2, 99 f. — 54 HVM. 1, 339. — 55 Ibid. 330—6. — 56 ROTH, Erl. 117 f.; cp. SP.AP. 209 f. — 57 BRV. 1, 305—8. KHF. 1—105; WHITNEY, JAOS. 3, 317—8; OST. 199—220; LRV. 3, 324—5; KRV. 35—7; BRV. 1, 11—31. 38—45. 70—4. 100—1. 139—45; BRI. 9—11; SP.AP. 147—53; v. SCHROEDER, KZ. 29, 193 ff. (cp. BB. 19, 230); WZKM. 225—30; MM.PhR. 144—203. 252—302; HVBP. 63—8; ORV. 102—33; HRI. 105—12.

§ 36. Bṛhaspati. — This god occupies a position of considerable prominence in the RV., eleven entire hymns being dedicated to his praise. He also forms a pair with Indra in two hymns (4, 49; 7, 97). His name occurs about 120 times and in the form of Brahmaṇas pati about 50 times besides. The two forms of the name alternate in different verses of the same hymn (e. g. in 2, 23). The physical features of Bṛhaspaṭi are few. He is seven-mouthed and seven-rayed (4, 50[4]), beautiful-tongued (1, 190[1]; 4, 50[1]), sharp-horned (10, 155[2]), blue-backed (5, 43[12]), and hundred-winged (7, 97[7]). He is golden-coloured and ruddy (5, 43[12]), bright (3, 62[7]; 7, 97[7]), pure (7, 97[7]), and clear-voiced (7, 97[5]). He has a bow, the string of which is the rite (*ṛta*), and good arrows (2, 24[8]; cp. AV. 5, 18[8. 9]). He also wields a golden hatchet (7, 97[7]) and is armed with an iron axe, which Tvaṣṭṛ sharpens (10, 53[9]). He has a car (10, 103[4]) and stands on the car of the rite, which slays the goblins, bursts the cowstalls, and wins the light (2, 23[3]). He is drawn by ruddy steeds (7, 97[6]).

Bṛhaspati was first born from great light in the highest heaven and with thunder (*raveṇa*) drove away darkness (4, 50[4]; cp. 10, 68[12]). He is the offspring of the two worlds (7, 97[8]), but is also said to have been generated by Tvaṣṭṛ (2, 23[17]). On the other hand, he is called the father of the gods (2, 26[3]), being said to have blown forth the births of the gods like a blacksmith (10, 72[2]).

Bṛhaspati is a domestic priest[1] (2, 24[9]; VS. 20, 11; TS. 6, 4, 10; AB. 8, 26[4]), a term almost peculiar to Agni (p. 96). The ancient ṣeers placed him at their head (*puro-dhā*) (4, 50[1]). He is Soma's *purohita* (SB. 4, 1, 2[4]). He is also a *brahman* or praying priest[2] (2, 1[3]; 4, 50[8]), once probably in the technical sense (10, 141[3]). In later Vedic texts Bṛhaspati is the *brahman* priest (in the technical sense) of the gods[3]. He is even called the prayer or devotion (*brahma*) of the gods (TS. 2, 2, 9[1] &c.) Bṛhaspati promotes the yoking of devotion, and without him sacrifice does not succeed (1, 18[7]). As a pathmaker he makes good the access to the feast of the gods (2, 23[6. 7]). From him even the gods obtained their share of sacrifice (2, 23[1]). He awakens the gods with sacrifice (AV. 19, 63[1]). He himself pronounces the hymn in which Indra, Varuṇa, Mitra, Aryaman, the gods take pleasure (1, 40[5]). He sings chants (10, 36[5]). His song (*śloka*) goes to heaven (1, 190[4]) and metre (*chandas*) belongs to him (MS. 1, 9[2]). He is associated with singers (7, 10[4]; 10, 14[3]). He sings with his 'friends that cry like Haṃsas' (10, 67[5]), by whom the Aṅgirases[4] (§ 54) mentioned in the preceding verse (10, 67[2]) seem to be meant. He is also said to be accompanied by a singing (*ṛkvat*)[5] host (*gaṇa*: 4, 50[5]). This is doubtless the reason why he is called *gaṇapati*, 'lord of a host' (2, 23[1]), a term once applied to Indra also (10, 112[9]).

As the name Brahmaṇas pati shows, the god is a 'lord of prayer'. He

is also described as the supreme king of prayers, the most famous sage of sages (2, 23[1]). Mounting the car of the rite he conquers the enemies of prayer and of the gods (2, 23[3.8]). He is the generator of all prayers (1, 190[2]). He utters prayer (1, 40[5]) and communicates prayers to the human priest (10, 98[27]). Thus he comes later to be called a 'lord of speech', *vācaspati* (MS. 2, 6[6], cp. ŚB. 14, 4, 1[23]), a term specially applied to Bṛhaspati as god of eloquence and wisdom in post-Vedic literature.[6]

There are several passages in which Bṛhaspati appears identified with Agni. Thus 'the lord of prayer, Agni, handsome like Mitra' is invoked (1, 38[13]). In another passage (2, 1[3] ff.) Agni, though identified with other gods as well, is clearly more intimately connected with Brahmaṇaspati, as only these two names are in the vocative. In one verse (3, 26[2]) both Mātariśvan and 'Bṛhaspati the wise priest, the guest, the swiftly-moving' seem to be epithets of Agni, while in another (1, 190[2]) Mātariśvan seems to be an epithet of Bṛhaspati. Again, by Bṛhaspati, who is blue-backed, takes up his abode in the house, shines brightly, is golden-coloured and ruddy (5, 43[12]), Agni must be meant. In two other verses (1, 18[19]; 10, 182[2]) Bṛhaspati seems to be the same as Narāśaṃsa, a form of Agni (p. 100). Like Agni, Bṛhaspati is a priest, is called 'Son of strength' (1, 40[2]) and Aṅgiras (2, 23[18]) as well (the epithet *āṅgirasa* belonging to him exclusively), and burns the goblins (2, 23[14]) or slays them (10, 103[4]). Bṛhaspati is also spoken of as ascending to heaven, to the upper abodes (10, 67[10]). Like Agni, Bṛhaspati has three abodes (4, 50[1]); he is the adorable one of houses (7, 97[5]), and 'lord of the dwelling', *sadasas pati*[7] (1, 18[6]; Indra-Agni are once called *sadaspatī*, 1, 21[5]). On the other hand, Agni is called *brahmaṇas kavi*, 'sage of prayer' (6, 16[30]) and is besought (2, 2[7]) to make heaven and earth favourable by prayer (*brahmaṇā*). But Bṛhaspati is much more commonly distinguished from Agni (2, 25[3]; 7, 10[4]; 10, 68[9]), chiefly by being invoked or named along with him in enumerations (3, 20[5] &c.)[8].

Like Agni, Bṛhaspati has been drawn into and has obtained a firm footing in the Indra myth of the release of the cows. The mountain yielded to his splendour, when Bṛhaspati, the Aṅgiras, opened the cowstall and with Indra as his companion let loose the flood of water enveloped by darkness (2, 23[18], cp. 1, 56[5]. 89[9]). Accompanied by his singing host (cp. § 54) he with a roar rent Vala; shouting he drove out the lowing cows (4, 50[5]). He won treasures and the great stalls full of cows; desiring waters and light, the irresistible Bṛhaspati slays his foe with flames (6, 73[3]). What was firm was loosened, what was strong yielded to him; he drove out the cows, he cleft Vala with prayer; he covered up the darkness and made heaven visible; the stone-mouthed well filled with honey, which Bṛhaspati pierced with might, that the celestials drank, while they poured out together abundantly the watery fountain (2, 24[3.4]). When Bṛhaspati with fiery gleams rent the defences of Vala, he revealed the treasures of the cows; as if splitting open eggs, he drove out the cows of the mountain; he beheld the honey enclosed by the stone; he brought it out, having cloven (Vala) with his roar; he smote forth as it were the marrow of Vala (10, 68[4–9]). He drove out the cows and distributed them in heaven (2, 24[14]). Bṛhaspati fetched the cows out of the rock; seizing the cows of Vala, he took possession of them (10, 68[5]). His conquest of Vala is so characteristic that it became proverbial (AV. 9, 3[2]). Being in the clouds (*abhriya*) he shouts aloud after the many cows (10, 68[12], cp. 67[3]). These cows may represent the waters, which are expressly mentioned (2, 23[18]; 6, 73[3]) or possibly the rays of dawn (cp. 10, 67[5]. 68[9]).

In releasing the cows Bṛhaspati seeks light in darkness and finds the

light; he found the Dawn, light, and Agni, and dispelled the darkness (10, 68[4. 9]). In shattering the fort, he found the Dawn, the Sun, the Cow (10, 67[5]). He hid or dispelled the darkness and made visible the light (2, 24[3]; 4, 50[4]). Bṛhaspati thus comes to acquire more general warlike traits. He penetrated the mountain full of riches and split open the strongholds of Śambara (2, 24[2]). Bṛhaspati Aṅgirasa, the first-born holy one, cleaver of rocks, roars as a bull at the two worlds, slays Vṛtras (*vṛtrāṇi*), shatters forts, overcomes foes (6, 73[1. 2]). He disperses foes and wins victory (10, 103[4]). No one can overcome him in great fight or small (1, 40[8]). He vanquishes the enemy in battle (2, 23[11]). He is to be invoked in combats (2, 23[13]) and is a priest much praised in conflict (2, 24[9]).

Being the companion and ally of Indra (2, 23[18]. 24[2]; 8, 85[15]), he is often invoked with that deity (4, 50[10. 11] &c.). With Indra he is a soma-drinker (4, 49[3]. 50[10]) and, like him, is styled *maghavan*, 'bountiful' (2, 24[12]). Indra, too, is the only god with whom he forms a pair (2, 24[12]; 4, 49[1–6]). Thus he comes to be styled *vajrin*, 'wielder of the bolt' (1, 40[8]) and to be described as hurling the bolt, the Asura-slaying missile (AV. 11, 10[13]). He is also invoked with the Maruts at the same time as Indra (1, 40[1]) and is once besought to come accompanied by the Maruts, whether he be Mitra, Varuṇa or Pūṣan (10, 98[1]). In one passage he is said to have heard the prayer of Trita buried in a well and to have delivered him (1, 105[17]).

Bṛhaspati favours the man who offers prayer (2, 25[1]) but scourges the hater of prayer (2, 23[4]). He protects the pious man from all dangers and calamities, from curse and malignity, and blesses him with wealth and prosperity (1, 18[3]; 2, 23[4–10]). Possessed of all desirable things (7, 10[4]. 97[4]), he is opulent, a procurer of wealth, and an increaser of prosperity (1, 18[2]). He is a prolonger of life and a remover of disease (1, 18[2]). Having such benevolent traits he is called a father (4, 50[6]; 6, 73[1]).

He is *asurya*, 'divine' (2, 23[2]), belongs to all the gods (3, 62[4]; 4, 50[6]), and is the most god-like of the gods (2, 24[3]). As a god he widely extended to the gods and embraces all things (2, 24[11], cp. 8, 61[18]). Mightily he holds asunder the ends of the earth with his roar (4, 50[1]). It is his inimitable deed that sun and moon rise alternately (10, 68[10]). He is also spoken of as stimulating the growth of plants (10, 97[15. 19]). Later Bṛhaspati is brought into connexion with certain stars. Thus in the TS. (4, 4, 10[1]) he is stated to be the deity of the constellation Tiṣya[9], and in post-Vedic literature he is regarded as the regent of the planet Jupiter.

Bṛhaspati is a purely Indian deity. Both forms of the name occur throughout the older as well as the later books of the RV. But since appellations formed with *pati* (like *vācas pati*, *vāstoṣ pati*, *kṣetrasya pati*) to designate deities presiding over a particular domain, must be comparatively recent as products of reflexion[10], this mythological creation can hardly go much further back than the beginning of the Rigvedic period. The accentuation of the word *bṛ́haspáti* shows it to be an improper compound. The prior member might possibly be a neuter noun in *-as*[11], but the contemporaneous form *brā́hmaṇas páti*, which is a kind of explanation, indicates that the poets of the RV. regarded it as the genitive[12] of a noun *bṛh*, from the same root as *brahman*.

The evidence adduced above seems to favour the view that Bṛhaspati was originally an aspect of Agni as a divine priest presiding over devotion, an aspect which (unlike other epithets of Agni formed with *pati*, such as *viśām pati*, *gṛhapati*, *sadaspati*) had attained an independent character by the beginning of the Rigvedic period, though the connexion with Agni was

not entirely severed. Langlois[13], H. H. Wilson[14], Max Müller[15] agree in regarding Bṛhaspati as a variety of Agni. Roth[16] was of opinion that this sacerdotal god is a direct impersonation of the power of devotion. Similarly Kaegi[17] and Oldenberg[18] think him to be an abstraction of priestly action, which has appropriated the deeds of earlier gods. Weber[19] considers Bṛhaspati to be a priestly abstraction of Indra, and is followed in this by Hopkins[20]. Finally, Hillebrandt[21] holds him to be a lord of plants and a personification of the moon[22], representing predominantly the igneous side of that luminary.

As the divine *brahman* priest, Bṛhaspati seems to have been the prototype of Brahmā, the chief of the Hindu triad, while the neuter form of the word, *brahma*, developed into the Absolute of the Vedānta philosophy[23].

[1] Cp. ZDMG. 32, 316. — [2] ORV. 396, note 1; SBE. 46, 190. — [3] ORV. 382. — [4] Roth thinks they are the Maruts: ZDMG. 1, 77. — [5] Stars, HVM. 1, 416; Maruts, Vedainterpretation 10. — [6] ZDMG. 1, 77. — [7] Cp. Hillebrandt, Vedaint. 10. — [8] OST. 5, 283. — [9] Weber, Die Nakṣatra 2, 371. — [10] Roth, ZDMG. 1, 72. — [11] HVM. 1, 409. — [12] Macdonell, KZ. 34, 292—6. — [13] RV. Trans. 1, 249. 254. 578. — [14] RV. Trans. 1, xxxvii. — [15] Vedic Hymns, SBE. 32, 94. — [16] ZDMG. 1, 73; PW. — [17] KRV. 32. — [18] ORV. 66—8. 381—2; SBE 46, 94. [19] Vājapeya 15. — [20] HRI. 136; cp. Wilson, RV. Tr. 2, ix; BDA. xi. — [21] HVM, 1, 404. 418—9 (cp. 277); cp. Oldenberg, ZDMG. 49, 173. — [22] Also HVBP. 46—7. — [23] BRV. 1, 304; HRI. 136.

Roth, ZDMG. 1, 72—80; OST. 5, 272—83; BRV. 1, 299—304; KRV. 73—4; BRI. 15—6; HVM. 1, 404—25; LRF. 97—8; Pischel, GGA. 1894, p. 420.

§ 37. Soma. — Since the Soma sacrifice forms the main feature of the ritual of the RV.[1], the god Soma is naturally one of the most important deities of that Veda. All the 114 hymns of the ninth besides 6 in other books, are dedicated to his praise. He is also celebrated in portions of four or five other hymns, and as a dual divinity with Indra, Agni, Pūṣan, or Rudra, in about six more. The name of Soma, in its simple form and in compounds, occurs hundreds of times in the RV. Judged by the standard of frequency, Soma therefore comes third in order of importance among the Vedic gods. Soma is much less anthropomorphic than Indra or Varuṇa, the constant presence of the plant and its juice setting limits to the imagination of the poets who describe its personification. Consequently little is said of his human form or action. The marvellous and heroic deeds attributed to him are either colourless, because common to almost all the greater gods, or else only secondarily belong to him. Like other gods, he is, under the name of Indu as well as Soma, invoked to come to the sacrifice and receive the offerings on the strewn grass[2]. The ninth book mainly consists of incantations sung over the tangible Soma while it is pressed by the stones, flows through the woolen strainer into the wooden vats, in which it is finally offered on a litter of grass to the gods as a beverage, sometimes in fire (1, 94[14]; 5, 5[1]; 8, 43[11] &c.) or drunk by the priests. The processes to which it is subjected are overlaid with the most varied and chaotic imagery and with mystical fancies often incapable of certain interpretation.

In order to make intelligible the mythology of Soma, the basis of which are the concrete terrestrial plant and the intoxicating juice extracted therefrom, it is necessary briefly to describe these as well as the treatment they undergo. The part of the Soma plant which is pressed is called *aṃśu*, 'shoot or stalk' (9,67[28]). The shoots swelling give milk like cows with their udders (8,9[19]). As distinguished from the stalk, the whole Soma plant seems to be intended by *andhas* (8,32[28]; 10,94[8] &c.), which is said to have come from heaven (9,61[10]) and to have been brought by the eagle (5,45[9]; 9,68[6]; 10,144[5]). The same term is applied to the juice also[3] and is distinguished from Indu the god (9, 51[3]; 10, 115[3]). The juice is also designated by *soma* (which

means the plant as well) and generally by *rasa*, fluid. In one hymn (1, 187) the juice is called *pitu*, the 'beverage'; and it is often styled *mada*, 'intoxicating draught'[4]. Soma is occasionally also referred to with *anna*, 'food' (7, 98[2]; 8, 4[12]; ŚB. 1; 6, 4[5]). The term *madhu*, which in connexion with the Aśvins means 'honey' or 'mead', comes to be applied, in the general sense of 'sweet draught', not only to milk (*payas*) and ghee (*ghṛta*), but especially to the Soma juice (4, 27[5]; 8, 69[6]). Mythologically *madhu* is the equivalent of Soma when the latter means the celestial ambrosia (*amṛta*)[5]. Conversely, *amṛta* is frequently used as an equivalent of ordinary Soma (5, 2[3]; 6, 37[3] &c.; VS. 6, 34; ŚB. 9, 5, 1[8])[6]. King Soma when pressed is *amṛta* (VS. 19, 72). Another expression is *somyam madhu*, 'Soma mead' (4, 26[5]; 6, 20[3]). Figuratively the Soma juice is called *pīyūṣa* (3, 48[2] &c.), milk (9, 107[12]), the wave of the stalk (9, 96[8]) or the juice of honey (5, 43[4]). The most frequent figurative name applied to Soma is *indu*, the 'bright drop', another term of similar meaning, *drapsa*, 'drop', being much less common.

The extraction of the juice is generally described by the root *su*, 'to press' (9, 62[4] &c.), but often also by *duh* 'to milk' (3, 36[6. 7] &c.). The juice is intoxicating (1, 125[3]; 6, 17[11]. 20[6]) and 'honied', *madhumat* (9, 97[14]). The latter expression simply means 'sweet', but as applied to Soma originally seems to have meant 'sweetened with honey', some passages pointing to this admixture (9, 17[8]. 86[48]. 97[11]. 109[20])[7]. As flowing from the press, Soma is compared with the wave of a stream (9, 80[5]) and directly called a wave (9, 64[11] &c.) or a wave of honey (3, 47[1]). With reference to the juice collected in the vat, Soma is spoken of as a sea (*arṇava*: 10, 115[3]) and frequently as an ocean (*samudra*: 5, 47[3]; 9, 64[8] &c.). The heavenly Soma is also called a well (*utsa*), which is in the highest place of the cows (5, 45[8]), which is placed in the cows and guided with ten reins (i. e. fingers: 6, 44[24]), or a well of honey in the highest step of Viṣṇu (1, 154[5]).

The colour of the plant and juice, as well as of the god, is described as brown (*babhru*) or ruddy (*aruṇa*), but most frequently as tawny (*hari*). Thus Soma is the branch of a ruddy tree (10, 94[3]); it is a ruddy milked shoot (7, 98[1]); the tawny shoot is pressed into the strainer (9, 92[1]). The colour of the Soma plant or its substitute prescribed in the Brāhmaṇas is ruddy (ŚB. 4, 5, 10[1]); and in the ritual the cow which is the price paid in the purchase of Soma, must be brown or ruddy because that is Soma's colour (TS. 6, 1, 6[7]; ŚB. 3, 3, 1[14])[8].

Soma is described as purified with the hands (9, 86[34]), by the ten fingers (9, 8[4]. 15[8] &c.), or, figuratively, by the ten maidens who are sisters (9, 1[7]. 6[5]), or by the daughters (*naptī*) of Vivasvat (9, 14[5]). Similarly, the maidens of Trita are said to urge on the tawny one with stones as a drop for Indra to drink (9, 32[2]. 38[2]). Soma is also spoken of as purified or brought by the daughter of the sun (9, 1[6]. 72[3]. 113[3])[9]. Sometimes it is said to be purified by prayer (9, 96[13]. 113[5]). The priests who press Soma are Adhvaryus[10] (8, 4[11]).

The shoot is crushed with a stone (9, 67[19]) or pressed with stones (9, 107[10]); the plant is pounded to produce the Soma draught (10, 85[3]). The stones tear its skin (TB. 3, 7, 13[1]). The stones lie on a skin; for they 'chew him on the hide of the cow' (9, 79[4]). They are placed on the *vedi* or altar (5, 31[12]): a practice differing from that of the later ritual[11]. They are held with hands or arms (7, 22[1]; 9, 79[4]; AV. 11, 1[10]). The two arms and the ten fingers yoke the stone (5, 43[4]). Hence the stones are said to be guided by ten reins (10, 94[8]). Being spoken of as yoked, they are compared with horses (10, 94[6]). The usual name for the pressing stones is *adri*

(generally used with the verb *su*, to press) or *grāvan* (generally connected with *vad*, to speak, or verbs of cognate meaning, and hence showing a greater tendency to personification[12] than *adri*). Both terms nearly always occur either in the singular or the plural, and not in the dual. The stones are also once respectively called *aśna* (8, 2[2]), *bharitra* (3, 36[7]), *parvata* (3, 35[8]) and *parvatā adrayaḥ* (10, 94[1]). The pressing of Soma by means of stones was the usual method in the period of the RV. But the extraction of the juice by mortar and pestle, which is also sanctioned by the ritual texts, was already known to the RV. (1, 28[1–4]); and as this method is in use among the Parsis, it may go back to the Indo-Iranian age.

The pressed drops are poured upon (9, 63[10] &c.) and pass over the strainer of sheep's wool (9, 69[9]). For it removes Soma's impurity, so that he goes cleansed to the feast of the gods (9, 78[1]). This strainer, which is very frequently mentioned, passes under various names. It is called a skin (*tvac*), hair (*roman*), wool (*vāra*), filter (*pavitra*), or ridge (*sānu*, as the top of the contrivance). All these terms are used with or without an adjective formed from *avi*, sheep. The word *avi* itself is sometimes figuratively employed in this sense. As passing through the strainer Soma is usually called *pavamāna* or *punāna*, 'flowing clear' (from √*pū*). The more general term *mṛj*, 'to cleanse', is not only applied to the purification of Soma with the strainer, but also to the addition of water and milk (9, 86[11]. 91[2]). The purified (unmixed) Soma juice is sometimes called *śuddha*, 'pure', but much oftener *śukra* or *śuci*, 'bright' (8, 2[10]; 9, 33[2]; 1, 5[5]. 30[2]). This unmixed Soma is offered almost exclusively to Vāyu and Indra, the epithet *śucipā*, 'drinking clear (Soma)' being distinctive of Vāyu (p. 82). This agrees with the later ritual, where, in the Grahas or draughts for dual divinities, clear Soma is offered to Vāyu and Indra-Vāyu, but is mixed with milk for Mitra-Varuṇa, and with honey for the Aśvins[13].

After passing the filter, Soma flows into jars (*kalaśa*, 9, 60[3] &c.) or vats (*droṇa*)[14]. The streams of Soma rush to the forest of the vats like buffaloes (9, 33[1]. 92[6]); the god flies like a bird to settle in the vats (9, 3[1]); like a bird sitting on a tree, the tawny one settles in the bowls (*camū*: 9, 72[5]). Soma is mixed with water in the vat. United with the wave, the stalk roars (9, 74[5]). Like a bull on the herd, he rushes on the vat, into the lap of the waters, a roaring bull; clothing himself in waters, Indu rushes around the vat, impelled by the singers (9, 76[5]. 107[26]). The wise milk him into the waters with their hands (9, 79[4]). Having passed over the wool and playing in the wood, he is cleansed by the ten maidens (9, 6[5]). Several other passages refer to the admixture of water with Soma (9, 30[5]. 53[4]. 86[8.25]). The Soma drops are said to spread brightness in the streams (9, 76[1]). Besides the verb *mṛj*, 'to cleanse', which is commonly used to express the admixture of water (e. g. 9, 63[17]), *ā-dhāv*, 'to wash', is also employed (8, 1[17]). In the preparation of Soma, the pressing (√*su*) comes first, then the mixing with water (7, 32[6]; 8, 1[17]. 31[5]; AV. 6, 2[1]), just as in the later ritual the *savana*, 'pressure', precedes the *ādhāvana*, 'washing'. In the bowls Soma is mixed with milk (9, 8[6] &c.)[15], which is said to sweeten it (8,2[3])[16]. In several passages the addition of both water and milk is mentioned. Thus it is said that Soma clothes himself in waters, that streams of water flow after him, when he desires to clothe himself in cows (i. e. milk: 9, 2[3.4]). They press him with stones, they wash him in water, clothing him as it were in cow-garments, men milk him out of the stalks (8, 1[17]; cp. 2, 36[1]; 6, 40[2]; 9, 86[24–5]. 96[19]).

Soma is recognised in the RV. as having three kinds of admixture (*tryāśir*: 5, 27[5]), with milk (*gavāśir*), sour milk (*dadhyāśir*), and barley (*yavā-*

śir). The admixture is figuratively called a garment (*vastra, vāsas, atka*)[17] or a shining robe (*nirṇij*: 9, 14[5]), the latter term being applied to the strainer also (9, 70[7]). Hence Soma is spoken of as decked with beauty (9, 34[4] &c.) and as richly adorned (9, 81[1]). Mention is also made, though rarely, of mixture with ghee (9, 82[2]); but neither this addition nor that of water, is a regular *āśir*[18].

In the ritual there is a ceremony called *āpyāyana* or causing the half-pressed Soma stalks to swell by moistening them with water afresh. The beginnings of it are found in the MS. (4, 5[5]). The verb *ā-pyā*, 'to swell', occurs in the RV. in connexion with Soma (1, 91[16–8]; 10, 85[5])[19]; but here it seems to refer to Soma as identified with the moon. In one other passage, however, (9, 31[4]) it may have a ritual application. Soma is also said in the RV. to swell (*pi, pinv*), like a sea or river (9, 64[8]. 107[12]).

Soma is described in the RV. as pressed three times in the day. Thus the Ṛbhus are invited to the evening pressing (4, 33[11] &c.)[20], Indra to the midday pressing (3, 32[1. 2]; 8, 37[1]), which is his alone (4, 36[7]), while the morning libation is his first drink (10, 112[1]).

The abode (*sadhastha*) of Soma is often referred to[21]; once, however, mention is made of three, which he occupies when purified (9, 103[2]), the epithet *triṣadhastha*, 'having three abodes', being also applied to him in another passage (8, 83[5]). These three abodes may already designate the three tubs used at the Soma sacrifice of the later ritual (TS. 3, 2, 1[2]; KSS. 9, 5[17]. 7[4]; cp. RV. 8, 2[8]); but BERGAIGNE (BRV, 1, 179) regards them as purely mythological. A similar remark applies to the three lakes of Soma which Indra drinks (5, 29[7.8]; 6, 17[11]; 8, 7[10])[22]. The epithet *tripṛṣṭha*, 'three-backed', is peculiar to Soma. Being applied to the juice at least once (7, 37[1]) it probably refers (as Sāyaṇa thinks) to the three admixtures, much as the Agni's epithet *ghṛtapṛṣṭha* alludes to ghee being thrown on the fire[23].

Based on the mixture of water with the juice, the connexion of Soma with the waters is expressed in the most varied ways. Streams flow for him (9, 31[3]). The waters follow his ordinance (9, 82[5]). He flows at the head of streams (9, 86[12]). He is lord and king of streams (9, 15[5]. 86[33]. 89[2]), lord of spouses (9, 86[32]), an oceanic (*samudriya*) king and god (9, 107[16]). The waters are his sisters (9, 82[3]). As leader of waters, Soma rules over rain (9, 74[3]). He produces waters and causes heaven and earth to rain (9, 96[3]). He streams rains from heaven (9, 8[8]. 49[1]. 97[17]. 108[9.10]). The Soma drops themselves are several times compared with rain (9, 41[3]. 89[1]. 106[9])[24] and Soma is said to flow clearly with a stream of honey like the rain-charged cloud (9, 2[9]). So too the Pavamāna drops are said to have streamed from heaven, from air, on the ridge of earth (9, 63[27]). There are some other passages in which the soma that is milked appears to refer to rain (8, 7[10]; 9, 74[4], cp. 10, 30[4])[25]. The ŚB. (11, 5, 4[5]) identifies the *amṛta* with the waters. This identification may have given rise to the myth of Soma brought down to man by an eagle (p. 111)[26]. But the celestial Soma descending to earth was doubtless usually regarded as only mixed with rain, and not confounded with it[27].

The waters are invoked to set in motion the exhilerating wave, the draught of Indra, the sky-born well (10, 30[9]). Soma is the drop which grows in the waters (9, 85[10]. 89[2]). Hence he is the embryo of the waters (9, 97[41]; ŚB. 4, 4, 5[21]) or their child, for seven sisters as mothers are around the child, the newly born, the Gandharva of the waters (9, 86[36]; cp. 10, 13[5]), and the waters are directly called his mothers (9, 61[4]). Soma is also spoken of as a youth among the waters or cows (5, 45[9]; 9, 9[5]).

The sound made by the Soma juice as it is being purified and rushes into the vats or bowls, is often referred to. It is compared with that of rain (9, 41[3]). But the language is generally hyperbolical. Thus the sweet drop is said to flow over the filter like the din of combatants (9, 69[2]). The noise is constantly designated by various verbs meaning to roar or bellow (*krand, nad, mā, ru, vāś*: 9, 91[3]. 95[4] &c.). Even the verb *stan*, 'to thunder', is used (9, 86[9]) and the wise are described as 'milking the thundering unfailing stalk' (9, 72[6]). Lightning also is in some verses connected with the purification of Soma (9, 41[3]. 80[1]. 84[3]. 87[8]); this in all probability alludes to the purification of the celestial Soma and may have referred to the phenomena of the thunderstorm[28].

When Soma is said to roar he is commonly compared with or directly called a bull. 'As a bull he bellows in the wood' (9, 7[3]); 'the tawny bull bellows and shines with the Sun' (9, 2[6]). As the waters, added with or without milk,[29] are figuratively called cows, the relation of Soma to them is usually that of a bull to cows. He is a bull among the cows (9, 16[6]. 69[4]. 96[7]) or is lord of the cows (9, 72[4]). He bellows like a bull traversing the cows (9, 71[9]) or like a bull towards the cows (9, 71[7]), the cows also bellowing towards him (9, 80[2] &c.). He is the bull of heaven as well as of the earth and the streams (6, 44[21]). The impetuosity of Soma is also several times illustrated by comparison with a buffalo (*mahiṣa*). Thus he even comes to be called an animal (*paśu*: 9, 86[43]). Being a bull among the cow-waters, Soma is the fertilizer of the waters (10, 36[8], cp. 9, 19[5]). He is also (9, 86[39]) an impregnator (*retodhā*), an epithet especially applied to the moon in the YV. (e. g. MS. 1, 6[9]). Hence he is a bestower of fertility (9, 60[4]. 74[5]). Soma being so frequently called a bull (*ukṣan, vṛṣan, vṛṣabha*) is sharp-horned (*tigmaśṛṅga*), an epithet which in five of its six occurrences in the RV. is accompanied by a word meaning 'bull'. Thus the brewed drink (*mantha*) of Indra is like a sharp-horned bull (10, 86[15]). Soma is also said (like Agni) to sharpen his horns (9, 15[4]. 70[7])[30].

Soma is swift (1, 4[7]) and, in illustration of the speed with which the pressed juice flows, is very often compared with or designated a steed. Thus the ten maidens are said to cleanse him like a swift steed (9, 6[5]). The drop which intoxicates Indra is a tawny steed (9, 63[17]). Soma flowing into the vats is sometimes also compared with a bird flying to the wood (9, 72[5] &c).

Owing to the yellow colour of the juice, the physical quality of Soma mainly dwelt on by the poets, is his brilliance. His rays are often referred to and he is frequently assimilated to the sun. He shines like or with the sun or clothes himself in its rays (9, 76[4]. 86[32]; cp. 71[9]). He ascends the car of the sun and stands above all beings like the sun[31]. He fills heaven and earth with rays like the sun (9, 41[5]). When born a bright son, he caused his parents to shine (9, 9[3]). The daughter of the sun purifies him (9, 1[6]). Thus it comes to be said of him that he combats the darkness (9, 9[7]), wards it off with light (9, 86[22]), or creates bright light, dispelling the darkness (9, 66[24]. 100[8]. 108[12] &c.).

Its mysteriously exhilerating and invigorating action, surpassing that of ordinary food or drink and prompting to deeds beyond the natural powers, led to Soma being regarded as a divine drink which bestows immortal life. Hence it is mythologically called *amṛta*, the draught of immortality. It is an immortal stimulant (1, 84[4]), which the gods love (9, 85[2]) and of which, when pressed by men and mixed with milk, all the gods drink (9, 109[15]); for they hasten to exhileration (8, 2[18]) and become exhilerated (8, 58[11]). Soma is immortal (1, 43[9]; 8, 48[12]; 9, 3[1] &c.); and the gods drank him for immortality

(9, 106[8]). He confers immortality on the gods (1, 91[6]; 9, 108[3]) and on men (1, 91[1]; 8, 48[3]). He places his worshipper in the everlasting and imperishable world where there is eternal light and glory, and makes him immortal where king Vaivasvata lives (9, 113[7.8])[32].

Thus Soma naturally has medicinal power also. It is medicine for a sick man (8, 61[17]). Hence the god Soma heals whatever is sick, making the blind to see and the lame to walk (8, 68[2]; 10, 25[11]). He is the guardian of men's bodies and occupies their every limb (8, 48[9]), bestowing length of life in this world (1, 91[6]; 8, 48[4.7]; 9, 4[6]. 91[6]). The Soma draught is even said to dispel sin from the heart, to destroy falsehood and to promote truth.

When imbibed Soma stimulates the voice (6, 47[3]; 9, 84[4]. 95[5]. 97[32]), which he impels as the rower his boat (9, 95[2]). This is doubtless the reason why Soma is called 'lord of speech' *vācas pati*[33] (9, 26[4]. 101[5]) or leader of speech, *vāco agriya* or *agre* (9, 7[3]. 62[25–6]. 86[12]. 106[10]). He is also said to raise his voice from heaven (9, 68[8]). In the Brāhmaṇas *vāc*, 'speech', is described as the price paid by the gods for Soma[34]. Soma also awakens eager thought (6, 47[3]). So his worshippers exclaim: 'We have drunk Soma, we have become immortal, we have entered into light, we have known the gods' (8, 48[3]). Thus he is also spoken of as a lord of thought and as a father, leader, or generator of hymns[35]. He is a leader of poets, a seer among priests (9, 96[6]). He has the mind of seers, is a maker of seers (9, 96[18]) and a protector of prayer (6, 52[3]). He is the 'soul of sacrifice' (9, 2[10]. 6[8]), a priest (*brahmā*) among the gods (9, 96[6]), and apportions to them their share of sacrifice (10, 85[19]). Soma's wisdom thus comes to be predominantly dwelt upon[36]. He is a wise seer (8, 68[1]). He knows the races of the gods (9, 81[2]. 95[2]. 97[7]. 108[3]). He is a wise man-seeing wave (9, 78[2]). Soma with intelligence surveys creatures (9, 71[9]). Hence he is many-eyed (9, 26[5]) and thousand-eyed (9, 60[1]).

Soma stimulated the Fathers to deeds (9, 96[11]); through him the Fathers found the light and the cows (9, 97[39]). Soma is also said to be united with the fathers (8, 48[13]) or to be accompanied by them (AV. 18, 4[12]; ŚB. 2, 6, 1[4], &c.), the Fathers, conversely, being called soma-loving, (*somya:* 10, 14[6]; AV. 2, 12[5]).

The exhilerating effect of the draught on man was naturally transferred to the gods, to whom the Soma was offered. The main application of its intoxicating power is its stimulating effect on Indra in his conflict with the hostile powers of the air. That Soma strengthens Indra for the fight with Vṛtra, is mentioned in innumerable passages of the RV. (8, 81[17] &c.). In the intoxication of Soma Indra slays all foes (9, 1[10]) and no one can resist him in battle when he has drunk it (6, 47[1]). Soma is the soul of Indra (9, 85[3]), the auspicious friend of Indra (10, 25[9]), whose vigour he stimulates (9, 76[2]) and whom he aids in slaying Vṛtra (9, 61[22]). With Soma as a companion Indra made the waters to flow for man and slew the dragon (4, 28[1]). Thus Soma is sometimes even called the bolt (*vajra*) of Indra (9. 72[7]. 77[1] 111[3]). Soma, Indra's juice, becomes a thousand-winning bolt (9, 47[3]). It is the intoxicating draught which destroys a hundred forts (9, 48[2]) and is a Vṛtra-slaying intoxicating stalk (6, 17[11]). Thus the god Soma is said to be 'like Indra a slayer of Vṛtras and a fort-destroyer' (9, 88[4]) and comes to receive half a dozen times the epithet *vṛtrahan*, 'Vṛtra-slaying', which primarily belongs to Indra[37].

When drunk by Indra Soma caused the sun to rise in heaven (9, 86[22]). So this cosmic action comes to be attributed to Soma independently. He caused the sun to shine (9, 28[5]. 37[4]), caused the lights of the sky to shine

(9, 85[9]), and produced the sun in the waters (9, 42[1])[38]. He caused the sun to rise, impelled it, obtained and bestowed it, and caused the dawns to shine[39]. He makes his worshippers participate in the sun (9, 4[5]) and finds light for them (9, 35[1]). He found the light (9, 59[4]) and wins light and heaven (9, 3[2]). Just as even the sacrificial butter is spoken of as the 'navel of immortality', on which rests the whole world (4, 58[1.11]), the conception of Soma comes to be extended to that of a being of universal dominion (9, 86[28.29]), who is 'lord of the quarters' (9, 113[2]), who performs the great cosmic actions of generating the two worlds (9, 90[1]), of creating or establishing heaven and earth, of supporting heaven, and of placing light in the sun (6, 44[23–4]. 47[3.4])[40].

Being so intimately connected with Indra in the conflict with Vṛtra, Soma comes to be spoken of independently as a great fighter. He is a victor, unconquered in fight, born for battle (1, 91[21]). He is the most heroic of heroes, the fiercest of the terrible, ever victorious (9, 66[16–7]). He conquers for his worshippers cows, chariots, horses, gold, heaven, water, a thousand boons (9, 78[4]), and everything (8, 68[1]). Without reference to his warlike character, he is constantly said to bestow all the wealth of heaven and earth, food, cattle, horses, and so forth (9, 45[3]. 49[4]. 52[1] &c.). Soma himself is occasionally called a treasure (*rayi:* 9, 48[3]) or the wealth of the gods (ŚB. 1, 6, 4[5]). Soma can also afford protection from foes (10, 25[7]). He drives away goblins (9, 49[5]) and, like some other deities but more frequently, receives the epithet of goblin-slayer (*rakṣohan*). Soma is the only god who is called a slayer of the wicked (9, 28[6] &c.). In the later Vedic literature the statement occurs that Brāhmans who drink Soma are able to slay at a glance (MS, 4, 8[2])[41].

Being a wârrior, Soma is said to have weapons (9, 96[16]), which like a hero he grasps in his hand (9, 76[2]) and which are terrible and sharp (9, 61[30]. 90[3]). In one passage he is said to have obtained his weapons by robbing his malignant father of them (6, 44[22]). He is described as armed with a thousand-pointed shaft (9, 83[5]. 86[40]) and his bow is swift (9, 90[3]).

Soma rides in the same chariot as Indra (9, 87[9]. 96[2]. 103[5]). He is charioteer to the car-fighter Indra (AV. 8, 8[23]). He drives in a car (9, 3[5]), which is heavenly (9, 111[3]). He has light (9, 86[45]) or a filter for his car (9, 83[5]). He is the best of charioteers (9, 66[26]). He has well-winged mares of his own (9, 86[37]) and a team like Vāyu (9, 88[3]).

Soma is naturally sometimes connected with Indra's intimate associates, the Maruts. They are said to milk the bull of heaven (9, 108[11], cp. 54[1]) and to adorn the child when born (9, 96[17]). Like Indra, Soma is attended by the Maruts (6, 47[5]) or the troop of the Maruts (9, 66[22]). The Winds, too, are said to be gladdening to Soma (9, 31[3]) and Vāyu is his guardian (10, 85[5]). Soma forms a pair with Agni, Pūṣan, and Rudra respectively (p. 128—9). A few times he is mystically indentified with Varuṇa (9, 77[5]. 95[4]; cp. 73[3.9]; 8, 41[8]).

The Soma plant is once in the RV. (10, 34[1]) described as *maujavata*, which according to later statements[42] would mean 'produced on Mount Mūjavat'. Soma is also several times described as dwelling in the mountains (*giriṣṭhā*)[43] or growing in the mountains[44] (*parvatāvṛdh:* 9, 46[1]). Mountains are also called 'Soma-backed' (AV. 3, 21[10]), a term which, perhaps by sacrificial symbolism, is applied to the pressing stones (*adrayaḥ*) in RV. 8, 52[2]. All these terms point to the abode of the Soma plant being on terrestrial mountains (cp. especially 9, 82[3]). This is confirmed by the statement of the Avesta that Haoma grows on the mountains[45]. Since the Soma plant actually

grew on mountains, it is probable that this fact is present to the mind of the poet even when he says that 'on the vault of heaven sweet-tongued friends milk the mountain-dwelling bull' (9, 85[10] cp. 95[4]). Terrestrial hills may also be intended when it is said that 'Varuṇa has placed Agni in the waters, the sun in heaven, and Soma on the rock' (5, 85[2]), or that 'Mātariśvan brought the one (Agni) from heaven, while the eagle carried off the other (Soma) from the rock' (1, 93[6]); but here there is more doubt, as 'mountain' and 'rock' mythologically often mean 'cloud' (p. 10).

Though Soma is a terrestrial plant, it is also celestial (10, 116[3]); in fact its true origin and abode are regarded as in heaven. Thus it is said that the birth of the plant is on high; being in heaven it has been received by earth (9, 61[10]). The 'intoxicating juice' is the 'child of heaven' (9, 38[5]), an epithet frequently applied to Soma. In one passage, however, he is called the offspring (*jāḥ*) of the sun (9, 93[1]) and in another Parjanya is spoken of as the father of the mighty bird (9, 82[3] cp. 113[3]). In the AV. the origin of *amṛta* is also traced to the seed of Parjanya (AV. 8, 7[21]). When Soma is called a child (*śiśu*) simply (9, 96[17]) or a youth (*yuvan*), this is doubtless in allusion to the fact that, like Agni, he is continually produced anew[46]. Soma is the milk (*pīyūṣa*) of heaven (9, 51[2] &c.), is purified in heaven (9, 83[2]. 86[22] &c.). He flows with his stream to the dear places of heaven (9, 12[8]). He runs through heaven across the spaces with his stream (9, 3[7]). He occupies heaven (9, 85[9]), is in heaven (SB. 3, 4, 3[13]), or is the lord of heaven (9, 86[11.33]). As bird of heaven he looks down on earth and regards all beings (9, 71[9]). He stands above all worlds like god Sūrya (9, 54[3]). The drops being purified have been poured from heaven, from the air, on the surface of the earth (9, 63[27])[47]; for he is a traverser of space (*rajastur:* 4, 48[4]. 108[7]). Fingers rub him surrounded with milk 'on the third ridge, in the bright realm of heaven' (9, 86[27]). His place is in the highest heaven (3, 32[10]; 4, 26[6]; 9, 86[15]) or in the third heaven (TS. 3, 5, 7[1] &c.)[48]. 'Heaven', however, also seems to be frequently a mystical name of the strainer of sheep's wool[49]. This seems to be the case when Soma is spoken of as being 'on the navel of heaven, on the sheep-filter' (9, 12[4]), as traversing the lights of heaven, the sheep-filter (9, 37[3]), as running with Sūrya in heaven, on the filter (9, 27[5]); or when it is said that 'the bull has occupied heaven, the king goes soaring over the strainer' (9, 85[9] cp. 86[8]). The term *sānu*, 'summit', so frequently applied to the filter, is suggestive of *divaḥ sānu*, 'the summit of heaven'. Such terms would naturally come to be connected with the terrestrial Soma, because heaven is the abode of the celestial Soma or *amṛta* (6, 44[23]).

Soma has been brought from heaven (9, 63[27]. 66[30]). The myth most commonly expressive of this belief is that of Soma and the eagle. It was brought by the eagle (1, 80[2]). The bird brought Soma from that highest heaven (4, 26[6]). The eagle brought the Soma or mead (*madhu*) to Indra (3, 43[7]; 4, 18[13]). The swift eagle flew to the Soma plant (5, 45[9]); the eagle tore off the sweet stalk for Indra (4, 20[6]). The eagle brought it for Indra through the air with his foot (8, 71[9]). Flying swift as thought, the bird broke through the iron castle (cp. 4, 27[1]), going to heaven he brought the Soma for the wielder of the bolt (8, 89[8]). The eagle bore the plant from afar, from heaven (9, 68[6]. 77[2]. 86[24]; 10, 11[4]. 99[8]. 144[4]). The myth is most fully dealt with in RV. 4, 26 and 27[50]. In the Brāhmaṇas it is Gāyatrī, a mystical sacerdotal name of Agni[51], that carries off the Soma. In the RV. the eagle is constantly distinguished from Indra as bringing the Soma to him. There is only one passage (unconnected with this myth) in which Indra seated

at the Soma offering is called an eagle (10, 99[8]). 'Eagle of heaven' is an epithet applied to Agni (7, 15[4]: otherwise twice said of the Maruts), the term eagle is connected with Agni Vaidyuta or lightning (TB. 3, 10, 5[1] cp. 12,1[2]), and Agni is often called a bird in the RV. (p. 89). On this evidence BLOOMFIELD, who subjects his predecessors' interpretations of RV. 4, 27 to a searching criticism, with much plausibility explains the carrying off of Soma by the eagle as a mythological account of the simple phenomenon of the descent of lightning, darting from the cloud (i. e. the iron castle) and causing the fall of the ambrosial fluid Soma (i. e. the water of the cloud). At the same time he refers to a passage of the RV. (1, 93[6]) in which the descent of fire and of Soma are mentioned together[52]. A detail of the myth (probably a mere embellishment added by the individual poet) is the trait that as the eagle carried away Soma, the archer Kṛśānu[53] shot at him knocking out a feather (4, 27[3. 4]; cp. AB. 3, 25). This trait is related with greater detail in the Brāhmaṇas. Either a feather or a claw is here stated to have been shot off. Falling to the ground, it became a *parṇa* (*palāśa*) or a *śalyaka* tree. The tree hereby acquired a specially sacred character in connexion with the ritual[54].

Being the most important of herbs Soma is said to have been born as the lord of plants (9, 114[2]), which are also said to have Soma as their king[55] (9, 97[18–9]). He receives the epithet *vanaspati*, 'lord of the wood' (1, 91[6]; 9, 12[7]) and is said to have generated all plants (1, 91[22]). In the Brāhmaṇas plants are connected with Soma, being styled *saumya* (ŚB. 12, 1, 1[2])[56]. Irrespectively of his being lord of plants, Soma is often, like other leading gods, called a king[57]. He is also a king of rivers (9, 89[2]), a king of the whole earth (9, 97[58]), a king or father of the gods (9, 86[10]. 87[2]. 109[4]) a king of gods and mortals (9, 97[24]), and a king of Brāhmans (VS. 9, 40; TS. 1, 8[10]; MS. 2, 6[9]). He is of course often called a god; but in one passage he is described as 'a god pressed for the gods' (9, 3[6. 7]).

In the post-Vedic literature Soma is a regular name of the moon, which is regarded as being drunk up by the gods and so waning, till it is filled up again by the sun. In the Chāndogya Upaniṣad (5, 10[1]) the statement is found that the moon is king Soma, the food of the gods, and is drunk up by them[58]. Even in the Brāhmaṇas the identification of Soma with the moon is already a common-place[59]. Thus the AB. (7, 11) remarks that the moon is the Soma of the gods; the ŚB. (1, 6, 4[5]), that king Soma, the food of the gods, is the moon; and in the Kauṣītaki Br. (7, 10; 4, 4) the sacrificial plant or juice is symbolical of the moon-god. The mythology of the Brāhmaṇas already explains the phases of the moon as due to the gods and Fathers eating its substance, which consists of ambrosia[60]. Soma, as the moon, is in the YV. also conceived as having the lunar asterisms, the daughters of Prajāpati, for his wives[61]. In the AV., moreover, Soma several times means the moon (7, 81[3. 4]; 11, 6[7], &c.). A large number of scholars agree that even in a few of the latest hymns of the RV. (in the first and tenth books) Soma is already identified with the moon[62]. Most of them, however, hold that Soma as a god is celebrated in the Vedic hymns only as a personification of the beverage, regarding his identification with the moon as merely a secondary mythological growth[63]. The most important of the passages in which the identification is generally admitted, is that which describes the wedding of Soma and the sun-maiden Sūryā (10, 85)[64]. Here Soma is spoken of as 'in the lap of the stars', (v.[2]), and it is said that no one eats of that Soma which the priests know and which is contrasted with that which they crush (v. 3). The Soma nature of the moon being referred

to as a secret known to Brāhmans only, shows that it cannot yet have been a popular notion. The process by which the celestial Soma gradually coalesced with the moon is not difficult to understand. Soma is, on the one hand, continually thought of as celestial and bright, sometimes as dispelling darkness and swelling in the waters; on the other hand, it is very often called a 'drop', *indu* (6, 44[21])[65]. Comparison with the moon would therefore easily suggest itself. Thus Soma in the bowls is said in one passage to appear like the moon in the waters (8, 71[8]; cp. 1, 105[1]); and in another, Soma being described as the drop (*drapsa*) which goes to the ocean, looking with the eye of a vulture (10, 123[8]), is generally admitted to allude to the moon.

HILLEBRANDT, however, in his Vedische Mythologie not only claims this identification for a number of other passages in the RV., but asserts that in the whole of the ninth book Soma is the moon (p. 309) and nowhere the ordinary plant (p. 326), the ninth book in fact being a book of hymns to the moon[66]. Soma, he maintains, means, in the earliest as well as the latest parts of the whole RV., only the Soma plant or juice on the one hand, and, as a deity, only the moon on the other (pp. 274. 340. 450). According to his view, the moon is a receptacle of Soma or *amṛta* and is the god whom the worshipper means when he presses the draught, which is part of the lunar ambrosia. HILLEBRANDT goes even further than this complete identification of Soma and the moon in the RV. He also asserts that the moon-god as Soma forms the centre of Vedic belief and cult (p. 277), being the creator and ruler of the world much more than the sun (p. 313), while Indra is the most popular Vedic god only next to the moon[67] (p. 315).

In opposition to this hypothesis, it has been argued that, in the vast majority of the references to Soma in the RV., the character of the god as a personification of the plant and juice is clear and obvious. On the other hand, while the identification of Soma and the moon is perfectly clear in the later literature, there is in the whole of the RV. no single distinct and explicit instance either of the identification or of the conception that the moon is the food of the gods. It is only in passages where the brilliance of Soma, so constantly connected with the sun, is vaguely expressed, that references to the moon can be found. At the same time it is possible that amid the chaotic details of the imagery of the Soma hymns, there may occasionally lurk a veiled identification of ambrosia and the moon. Here and there passages celebrating the luminous nature of Soma or referring to his swelling (*āpyāyana*), which affords a parallel to the swelling of the moon, may allude to such a notion. But on the whole, with the few late exceptions generally admitted, it appears to be certain that to the seers of the RV. the god Soma is a personification of the terrestrial plant and juice[68]. It is, moreover, hardly conceivable that all the Vedic commentators, in whose day Soma and the moon were believed to be one, should not know that Soma means the moon in the RV. also[69].

It is an undoubted fact that Soma, the Avestan Haoma, was already prepared and celebrated in the Indo-Iranian period. In the RV. Soma is described as growing on the mountains or a particular mountain; in the Avesta it is said to grow on a certain mountain. In the RV. Varuṇa places it on the rock; in the Avesta it is placed on the great mountain Haraiti by a skilful god. In the RV. it is brought by an eagle; in the Avesta it is distributed from its native mountain by certain auspicious birds. In both it is king of plants. In both it is a medicine which gives health, long life, and removes death. As Soma grows in the waters, so Haoma in the waters of Ardvī-śūra[70]. The pressing and offering of Soma was already an important

feature of Indo-Iranian worship. But while three daily pressings are referred to in the RV., only two are mentioned in the Avesta (Yasna 10, 2). In both it is stated that the stalks (*aṃśu* = *āsu*) were pressed, that the juice was yellow and was mixed with milk (Yasna 10, 13). In both the celestial Soma is distinguished from the terrestrial, and the beverage from the god. In both the mythical home of Soma is heaven, whence it comes down to earth. In both the Soma draught (like the sacrificial fire) had already become a mighty god and is called a king. As Soma is *vṛtrahan*, so Haoma is *verethrajan* and casts missiles (*vadare* = Vedic *vadhar*). Both are light-winning (*svarṣā* = *hvaresa*) and wise (*sukratu* = *hukhratu*). Both remove the machinations of the wicked, bestow victory over foes, and confer the celestial world. Both grant steeds and excellent children. The RV. and the Avesta even agree in the names of ancient preparers of Soma, Vivasvat and Trita Āptya on the one hand, and Vīvaṅhvant, Āthwya, and Thrita on the other[71]. The belief in an intoxicating divine beverage, the home of which was heaven, may be Indo-European. If so, it must have been regarded as a kind of honey-mead (Skt. *mádhu*, Gk. μέθυ, As. *medu*) brought down to earth from its guardian demon by an eagle (the Soma-bringing eagle of Indra agreeing with the nectar-bringing eagle of Zeus and with the eagle which, as a metamorphosis of Odhin, carried off the mead)[72]. This *madhu* or honey-mead, if Indo-European, was replaced in the Indo-Iranian period by Soma; but may have survived into the Vedic period, by amalgamating with Soma[73].

Etymologically *Soma* = *Haoma* means 'pressed juice', being derived from the root *su* = *hu*, 'to press'.

[1] Oldenberg, ZDMG. 42, 241. — [2] BRV. 1, 182. — [3] HVM. 1, 47. — [4] *Anna* = *surā* ŚB. 12, 7, 3[8]; cp. HVM. 1, 264. — [5] HVM. 1, 518. — [6] KHF. 128 f.; ZDMG. 32, 301. — [7] HVM. 1, 243—4. — [8] Op. cit. 28. — [9] Op. cit. 468 ff.; ORV. 389. — [10] Hillebrandt, Vedainterpretation 16. — [11] HVM. 1, 182. — [12] Op. cit. 151. — [13] Op. cit. 206—7. — [14] Windisch, FaR. 141. — [15] HVM. 1, 186. — [16] LRV. 3, 378—9. — [17] HVM. 1, 210. — [18] Op. cit. 229. — [19] Op. cit. 195. — [20] Op. cit. 256, note 3. — [21] Op. cit. 189. — [22] LRV. 5, 260. — [23] Otherwise HVM. 1, 392—3. — [24] Windisch, FaR. 140. — [25] PVS. 1, 87—8; KHF. 129. 142. 227; KZ. 1, 521 ff.; GGH. 70. 115; WVB. 1894, 4. 13. — [26] HRI. 123—4. — [27] BRV. 1, 165. — [28] Op. cit. 1, 170; lightning is associated with rain in 1, 399; 5, 843; 7, 56[13]; 10, 91[5] cp. 5, 834; Bloomfield, AJP. 7, 470. — [29] BRV. 1, 204 — [30] HVM. 1, 340 thinks the horns are those of the moon. — [31] References in HVM. 1, 601. — [32] KRV. note 308; BRV. 1, 192. — [33] BRV. 1, 185; HVM. 1, 349. — [34] Roth, ZDMG. 35, 687; Weber, IS. 10, 360; HVM. 1, 79. — [35] BRV. 1, 300, note 2; HVM. 1, 403. — [36] BRV. 1, 185—6. — [37] KHF. 105; Macdonell, JRAS. 25, 472. — [38] HVM. 1, 387—8. — [39] References in HVM. 1, 388. — [40] Cp Haug, ZDMG. 7, 511. — [41] ZDMG. 7, 331. 375. — [42] VS. 3, 61 and comm., Āp. ŚS. 12, 5, 11; YN. 9, 8; cp. AIL. 29; HVM. 1, 63 ff. — [43] Twice, also said of Viṣṇu, once of the Maruts. — [44] 'Bergfroh', Hillebrandt, Vedainterpretation 15. — [45] On the habitat of the Soma plant, see Roth, ZDMG. 38, 134—9; MM., Biographies of Words (London, 1888) 222—42. — [46] JRAS. 25, 437. — [47] Windisch, FaR. 140. — [48] Also 6, 1, 6[1]; Kāṭh. 23, 10 in IS. 8, 31; VS. 1, 211; TB. 1, 1, 3[10]; 3, 2, 1[1]. — [49] HVM. 1, 361, note 3. — [50] Roth, ZDMG. 36, 353—60. 384; Ludwig, Methode 30. 66; Koulikovski, Revue de linguistique 18, 1—9; BRV. 3, 322 ff.; PVS. 1, 207—16; HVM. 1, 278—9; Bloomfield, FaR. 149—55; ORV. 180—1; WVB. 1894, p. 5. — [51] Cp. ŚB. 3, 9, 4[10]; KHF. 130 f. 144 f. 172. — [52] Bloomfield, JAOS. 16, 1—24; ORV. 176. 180 thinks there is no reason to see a natural agent in the bird, or to assume any connexion between the Soma and the water of clouds. — [53] Sp.AP. 224. — [54] KHF. 159 f. 170. 209; WVB. 1894, p. 5. — [55] Cp. ZDMG. 25, 647. — [56] HVM. 1, 390, note 4. — [57] Op. cit. 317—8. — [58] Deussen, System des Vedānta 415 ff. — [59] WVB. 1894, p. 16—7. — [60] HVM. 1, 296. — [61] Weber, Nakṣatra 2, 274 ff; Oldenberg, ZDMG. 49, 470; on Soma dwelling with Rohiṇī, cp. Jacobi, FaR. 71, note; R. Brown jr., Academy 42, 439. — [62] HVM. 1, 269. — [63] BRV. 1, 160. — [64] Weber, IS. 5, 178 ff.; WVB. 1894, p. 34; OST. 5, 237; Ehni, ZDMG. 33, 167—8; Jacobi, ib. 49, 227; Oldenberg, ib. 478. — [65] Ehni, l. c. — [66] Cp. Bloomfield, AJP. 14, 491—3; MM.

Fortnightly Review, Oct. 1893, 443 ff. (= Chips 4^2, 328—67) — [67] GUBERNATIS, Myth. des Plantes 2, 351, Letture sopra la mitol. vedica 106, and PVS. 1, 80 (cp. 2, 242) had called for a complete identification, but without attempting to prove the proposition (cp. GGA. 1889, p. 10). — [68] WHITNEY, PAOS. 1894, p. xcix f.; ORV. 599—612. — [69] HRI. 117. — [70] SPIEGEL, Av. Tr. 2, LXXII f.; DARMESTETER, Ormazd et Ahriman 140. — [71] Yasna IX—X; cp. SP.AP. 172; HVM. 1, 121. 265. 450; ORV. 178; MACDONELL, JRAS. 25, 485. — [72] ORV. 176. — [73] Op. cit. 178.

WINDISCHMANN, Ueber den Somakultus der Arier, Abh. d. Münchner Akad. 1846, p. 127 ff.; KHF. 105 ff.; WHITNEY, JAOS. 3, 299; WEBER, IS. 3, 466; WVB. 1894, p. 3. 13—17; HAUG, AB. Introd. p. 61—2; OST. 5, 258—71; BRV. 1, 148—225 &c.; BRI. 24; ROTH, ZDMG. 35, 680—92; SP.AP. 168—78; HVM. I; ZDMG. 48, 419 f.; E. H. MEYER, IF. 2, 161; KNAUER, Vedische Fragen, FaR. 61—7; HVBP. 68—74.

D. ABSTRACT GODS.

§ 38. Two Classes. — There are in the RV. two classes of deities whose nature is founded on abstraction. The one class consisting of the direct personfications of abstract notions such as 'desire' is rare, occurring only in the very latest hymns of the RV. and due to that growth of speculation which is so plainly traceable in the course of the Vedic age. The other and more numerous class comprises deities whose names primarily either denote an agent, in the form of a noun derived from a root with the suffix *-tṛ*, such as Dhātṛ, 'Creator', or designate some attribute, such as Prajāpati, 'Lord of Creatures'. This class, judged by the evolution of the mythological creations of the Veda, does not represent direct abstractions, but appears in each case to be derived from an epithet applied to one or more deities and illustrating a particular aspect of activity or character. Such epithets gradually becoming detached finally attained to an independent position. Thus Rohita, 'the Red One' (whose female form is Rohiṇī), originally an epithet of the sun, figures in the AV. as a separate deity in the capacity of a Creator[1].

A. Various Agent Gods. — The most important of the gods whose names denote an agent in *-tṛ*, is Savitṛ, who has already been treated among the solar deities (§ 15). Most of the others are of rare occurrence in the RV. Dhātṛ, found in a few passages as an appellative designating priests as 'establishers' of the sacrifice, occurs as the name of a deity about a dozen times and, with the exception of one indefinite mention in company with a number of other gods (7, 35^3), only in the tenth book. In one of these passages the name is an epithet of Indra (10, 167^3) and in another of Viśvakarman (10, 82^2). The frequent ascription of the action of establishing (*√dhā*) the phenomena of the world to different gods, gradually led to the conception of a separate deity exercising this particular activity. Thus Dhātṛ generally has the independent character of a god who creates sun, moon, heaven, earth, and air (10, 190^3), and is lord of the world (10, 128^7). In a hymn to the Sun, Dhātṛ is invoked to grant a clear eye (10, 158^3). He is besought with Viṣṇu, Tvaṣṭṛ, Prajāpati, to grant offspring (10, 184^1) and, by himself, to bestow length of days (10, 18^5). He is also prayed to indefinitely with Viṣṇu and Savitṛ (10, 181^{1-3}) or with Mātariśvan and Deṣṭrī (10, 85^{47}). In the Naighaṇṭuka (5, 5) Dhātṛ is enumerated among the gods of the middle region and by Yāska (Nir. 11, 10) explained as the 'ordainer of everything'. In the post-Vedic period, Dhātṛ is the Creator and Preserver of the world, being the equivalent of Prajāpati or Brahmā. The rare name Vidhātṛ, the 'Disposer' is in two passages an epithet, beside Dhātṛ, once of Indra (10, 167^3) and once of Viśvakarman (10, 82^2); but appears twice in enumerations of deities to have an independent character (6, 50^{12}; 9, 81^5). Dhartṛ, 'Supporter',

frequently used (almost exclusively with the genitive of that which is supported) as an epithet of Indra and other gods, occurs once as an independent name along with Dhātṛ and other deities (7, 35[3]). Similarly, Trātṛ, the 'Protector', mostly employed as an epithet of Agni or Indra and, in the plural, of the Ādityas, occurs independently as 'the Protector God' in five passages along with other deities (1, 106[7]; 4, 55[5. 7]; 8, 18[20]; 10, 128[7]). In Roth's opinion, Savitṛ especially and also Bhaga are intended by this god[2]. A 'Leader God' (*deva netṛ*) is invoked two or three times in one hymn (5, 50) as a guide to prosperity in life.

B. Tvaṣṭṛ. — The only deity bearing a name of this type, who besides Savitṛ is mentioned with any frequency, is Tvaṣṭṛ. His name occurs about 65 times in the RV., pretty uniformly in the family books (though rarely in the seventh as well as the eighth), but relatively oftenest in the first and tenth. No hymn is, however, devoted to his praise.

No part of Tvaṣṭṛ's physical form is mentioned except his arm or hand, it being characteristic of him to hold an iron axe in his hand (8, 29[3]). He is once described as yoking his two steeds to his chariot and shining greatly (6, 47[19]). Tvaṣṭṛ is beautiful-armed (*sugabhasti*: 6, 49[9]), or beautiful-handed (*supāṇi*: predominantly applied to him and Savitṛ).

He is a skilful workman (1, 85[9]; 3, 54[12]), producing various objects showing the skill of an artificer. He is in fact the most skilful of workmen, versed in crafty contrivances (10, 53[9]). He is several times said (5, 31[4] &c.) to have fashioned (√*takṣ*) the bolt of Indra. He also sharpens the iron axe of Brahmaṇaspati (10, 53[9]). He formed a new cup (1, 20[6]) which contained the food of the *asura* (1, 110[3]) or the beverage of the gods (1, 161[5]; 3, 35[5]). He thus possesses vessels out of which the gods drink (10, 53[9]). The AV. (9, 4[3. 6]) describes him as an old man bearing a bowl of wealth, a cup full of Soma. From Tvaṣṭṛ the swift horse was produced (VS. 29, 9), and he gives speed to the horse (AV. 6, 92[1]).

The RV. further states that Tvaṣṭṛ adorned all beings with form (10, 110[9]). He developes the germ in the womb and is the shaper of all forms, human and animal (1, 188[9]; 8, 91[8]; 10, 184[1]). Similar statements are frequently made in later Vedic texts (AV. 2, 26[1], &c.), where he is characteristically a creator of forms (ŚB. 11, 4, 3[3]; TB. 1, 4, 7[1])[3]. He himself is called omniform (*viśvarūpa*) oftener than any other deity in the RV. As fashioner of living forms, he is frequently described as presiding over generation and bestowing offspring (3, 4[9] &c.). Thus he is said to have fashioned husband and wife for each other from the womb (10, 10[5]; AV. 6, 78[3]). He has produced and nourishes a great variety of creatures (3, 55[19]). Beasts belong to Tvaṣṭṛ (ŚB. 3, 7, 3[11]. 8, 3[11]). He is indeed a universal father, for he produced the whole world (VS. 29, 9).

He is also the ancestor of the human race in so far as his daughter Saraṇyū, wife of Vivasvat, becomes the mother of the primeval twins Yama and Yamī (10, 17[1. 2], cp. 5, 42[13]). Vāyu is once said to be his son-in-law (8, 26[21]). Tvaṣṭṛ begot Bṛhaspati (2, 23[17]). Agni produced by the ten fingers, is the offspring of Tvaṣṭṛ (1, 95[2]), who, along with Heaven and Earth, the Waters, and the Bhṛgus, generated him (10, 2[7]. 46[9]). It is to be inferred that Tvaṣṭṛ was also the father of Indra (p. 57). Tvaṣṭṛ is especially a guardian of Soma, which is called 'the mead of Tvaṣṭṛ' (1, 117[22]). It is in his house that Indra drinks Soma and presumately steals it, even slaying his father in order to obtain it (p. 57). The 'omniform' Tvaṣṭṛ has a son named Viśvarūpa (the Omniform), who is a guardian of cows. The hostility of Indra is directed against the son in order to win these cows, just as against the father in

order to gain possession of the Soma. Even Tvaṣṭṛ himself is said to tremble with fear at the wrath of Indra (1, 80[14]) and is represented as inferior to Indra, inasmuch as not even he was able to perform a feat done by Indra (10, 49[10]). The TS. (2, 4, 12[1]) tells a story of how Tvaṣṭṛ, whose son had been slain by Indra, refused to allow the latter to assist at his Soma sacrifice, but Indra came and drank off the Soma by force. The Brāhmaṇas often relate a similar tale (ŚB. 1, 6, 3[6], &c.).

Probably because of his creative agency in the womb[4], Tvaṣṭṛ is closely allied with celestial females (*gnāḥ, janayaḥ*) or the wives of the gods, who are his most frequent attendants (1, 22[9] &c.)[5]. Tvaṣṭṛ is chiefly mentioned with gods of cognate activity, Pūṣan, Savitṛ, Dhātṛ, Prajāpati. 'Savitṛ' is indeed an attribute of Tvaṣṭṛ in two passages (3, 55[19]; 10, 10[5]) in which occurs the identical collocation *devas tvaṣṭā savitā viśvarūpaḥ*[6], 'god Tvaṣṭṛ, the omniform vivifier', and in both of which the generative or creative faculty of the deity is referred to. In the Kauśika Sūtra, Tvaṣṭṛ is identified with Savitṛ and Prajāpati[7], and in the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, with Viśvakarman and Prajāpati. In the later mythology Tvaṣṭṛ is one of the twelve Ādityas and in the Mahābhārata and the Bhāgavata Purāṇa is once or twice a form of the sun.

The RV. adds a few rather indefinite traits, which throw no light on Tvaṣṭṛ's character. He is said to be the first (1, 13[10]) or the first-born (*agrajā*) and one who goes before (9, 5[9]). As a companion of the Aṅgirases he knows the region of the gods (10, 70[9]), goes to the place of the gods (2, 1[9]) between heaven and earth (MS. 4, 14[9]). He is a bestower of blessings and is possessed of excellent wealth (10, 70[9]. 92[11]). He is supplicated to grant riches to his worshippers and to delight in their hymns (7, 34[21]). Tvaṣṭṛ also confers long life (10, 18[6]; AV. 6, 78[3]).

The word is derived from a rare root *tvakṣ*, of which only one verbal form, besides some nominal derivatives, occurs in the RV., and the cognate of which, *thwakṣ*, is found in the Avesta. It appears to be identical in meaning with the common root *takṣ*, which is used with the name of Tvaṣṭṛ in referring to the fashioning of Indra's bolt. The meaning therefore appears to be the 'Fashioner' or 'Artificer'.

Tvaṣṭṛ is one of the obscurest members of the Vedic pantheon[8]. The obscurity of the conception is explained by KAEGI[9] as due to Tvaṣṭṛ, like Trita and others, having belonged to an earlier race of gods who were ousted by later ones; while HILLEBRANDT thinks Tvaṣṭṛ was derived from a mythical cycle outside the range of the Vedic tribes. Different explanations have been offered of Tvaṣṭṛ's original nature. Owing to Tvaṣṭṛ being called Savitṛ, A. KUHN[10] thought that he meant the sun, but seems later[11] to have withdrawn this view. LUDWIG[12] regards him as a god of the year, while OLDENBERG believes him to be a pure abstraction expressing a definite characteristic activity[13]. HILLEBRANDT holds KUHN's earlier view that Tvaṣṭṛ represents the sun, to be probable[14]. HARDY also considers him a solar deity[15]. It does not indeed seem unlikely that this god, in a period anterior to the RV., represented the creative aspect of the sun's nature. If such was the case the Rigvedic poets themselves were only very dimly conscious of it. The name itself would have encouraged the growth of mythical accretions illustrative of creative skill, the desire to supply the pantheon with a regular divine artificer being natural enough. Much in the same way it was supplied with a divine priest in the person of Bṛhaspati.

The cup of Tvaṣṭṛ has been explained as the 'bowl of the year' or the nocturnal sky. But neither of these could well have been conceived as full

of Soma and drunk by the gods. Hillebrandt's interpretation of it as the moon is more plausible (cp. p. 133).

[1] OST. 5, 395—6; V. Henry, Les Hymnes Rohitas, Paris 1891; Bloomfield, AJP. 12, 429—44; HRI. 209, n. 1. — [2] Roth, PW.; cp. GW.; WC. 9—10. — [3] Cp. PW. s. v. *tvaṣṭṛ*. — [4] Ibid. — [5] OST. 5, 229. — [6] Roth, Nir. Erl. 144. — [7] Weber, Omina und Portenta 391—2. — [8] GGH. 113—6. — [9] KRV. note 131. — [10] KZ. 1, 448. — [11] KHF. 109. — [12] LRV. 3, 333—5. — [13] ORV. 233. — [14] HVM. 1, 517. — [15] HVBP. 30—1.

ZDMG. 1, 522; Geiger, Ostiranische Kultur 304; BRI. 22; BRV. 3, 38—64; HVM. 1, 513—35; IF. 1, 8; Ehni, Yama 4—16; Oldenberg, SBE. 46, 416 f. 248.

§ 39. Viśvakarman, Prajāpati. — A few other abstract deities originating in compound epithets and all representing the supreme god who was being evolved at the end of the Rigvedic period, are found in the RV. As the name of a god Viśvakarman occurs only five times in the RV. and always in the tenth book. Two whole hymns (10, 81. 82) are dedicated to his praise. The word also occurs as an attribute once (8, 87[2]) of Indra and once (10, 170[4]) of the Sun as the 'all-creating'. It is not uncommon as an adjective in the later Vedas, where it also appears as an attribute of Prajāpati (VS. 12, 61). The two hymns of the RV. describe Viśvakarman thus. He is all-seeing, having eyes, as well as a face, arms, and feet, on every side. (In this the Brahmā of later mythology, who is four-faced and four-armed, resembles him.) He is also provided with wings. He is a seer, a priest, our father. He is a lord of speech (*vācas pati*), swift as thought, beneficent, the source of all prosperity. He knows all places and beings, and he alone gives their names to the gods. He is wise and energetic, the highest apparition (*paramā saṃdṛk*). He is an establisher (*dhātṛ*) and a disposer (*vidhātṛ*), having produced the earth and disclosed the sky. It seems likely that the word was at first attached as an epithet chiefly to the sun-god, but in the later Rigvedic period became one of the almost synonymous names given to the one god (10, 81[3]) the conception of whom was then being tentatively evolved, and who as Viśvakarman was, owing to the name, mainly thought of in his architechtonic aspect[1]. Viśvakarman in the Brāhmaṇas is expressly identified with the creator Prajāpati (ŚB. 8, 2, 1[10]. 3[13], cp. AB. 4, 22). In post-Vedic times he was conceived as the artificer of the gods.

Prajāpati occurs in one passage of the RV. (4, 53[2]) as an epithet of Savitṛ, who is spoken of as a supporter of heaven and *prajāpati* of the world[2], and in another, as an epithet of Soma compared with Tvaṣṭṛ and Indra (9, 5[9]). Otherwise the word is found four times as the name of a distinct deity, always in the tenth book. The god Prajāpati is invoked (10, 85[43]) to bestow abundant offspring (*prajām*), is besought, along with Viṣṇu, Tvaṣṭṛ, and Dhātṛ, to grant offspring (10, 184[1]), and is spoken of as making cows prolific (10, 169[4]). As a protector of generation and living beings Prajāpati is also often invoked in the AV.[3] In the one hymn devoted to his praise in the RV. (10, 121), he is invoked by this name only in the last verse. In this hymn he is celebrated as the creator of heaven and earth, of the waters and of all that lives; who was born (*jāta*) as the one lord (*pati*) of all that is, the one king of all that breathes and moves, the one god above the gods; whose ordinances all beings and the gods follow; who established heaven and earth; who traverses space in the atmosphere; who embraces with his arms the whole world and all creatures. Here Prajāpati is clearly the name of the supreme god. Though only mentioned once in the RV. in this sense, he is commonly in the AV. and VS., and regularly in the Brāhmaṇas, recognized as the chief god. He is the father of the gods (ŚB. 11, 1, 6[14]; TB. 8, 1, 3[4] &c.), having existed alone in the beginning (ŚB. 2

2, 4[1]). He created the Asuras as well (TB. 2, 2, 2[3])[4]. He is also described as the first sacrificer (ŚB. 2, 4, 4[1]; 6, 2, 3[1]). In the Sūtras Prajāpati is identified with Brahmā (AGS. 3, 4, &c.). In the place of this chief god of the later Vedic theology, the philosophy of the Upaniṣads put the impersonal Brahma, the universal soul or the Absolute.

A myth is told in the MS. (4, 2[12]) of Prajāpati being enamoured of his daughter Uṣas. She transformed herself into a gazelle; whereupon he transformed himself into the corresponding male. Rudra incensed at this aimed his arrow at him, when Prajāpati promised to make him lord of beasts if he did not shoot (cp. RV. 10, 61[7]). The story is several times referred to in the Brāhmaṇas (AB. 3, 33; ŚB. 1, 7, 4[1]; PB. 8, 2[10])[5]. The basis of this myth seem to be two passages of the RV. (1, 71[5]; 10, 61[5–7]) in which the incest of a father (who seems to be Dyaus) with his daughter (here apparently the Earth) is referred to and an archer is mentioned[6].

In the refrain of the first nine verses of RV. 10, 121 the supreme god is referred to as unknown by the interrogative pronoun *Ka*, Who? The answer given in the tenth verse, is that Prajāpati alone embraces all beings. This later led to the employment of *Ka* not only as an epithet of Prajāpati (AB. 3, 22[7]), but as a name, used by itself, of the supreme god (MS. 3, 12[5]). In the TS. (1, 7, 6[6]) Ka is expressly identified with Prajāpati[7].

In the first verse of RV. 10, 121 the supreme god is referred to as Hiraṇyagarbha, the 'Germ of Gold', the one lord of what exists. This is the only occurrence of the name in the RV., but it is mentioned several times in the AV. and the literature of the Brāhmaṇa period (cp. p. 13). Hiraṇyagarbha is also alluded to in a passage of the AV. (4, 2[8]) where it is stated that the waters produced an embryo, which as it was being born, was enveloped in a golden covering. In the TS. (5, 5, 1[2]) Hiraṇyagarbha is expressly identified with Prajāpati. In the later literature he is chiefly a designation of the personal Brahmā[8].

[1] OST. 4, 5—11; 5, 354—5; WC. 80—5; SPH. 33—40. — [2] Cp. BLOOMFIELD, AJP. 14, 493. — [3] See PW. s. v. *prajāpati*. — [4] Cp. OST. 5, 80—1. — [5] ASL. 529; OST. 4, 45; SBE. 12, 284, n. 1; DELBRÜCK, FaB. 24; WVB. 1894, p. 34; GELDNER, FaW. 21. — [6] Cp. BRV. 2, 109 f.; OLDENBERG, SBE. 46, 78 f. — [7] SPH. 27, n. 2; ASL. 433; IS. 2, 94; SBE. 12, 8. — [8] ASL. 569 f.; OGR. 295; OST. 4, 15—18; 5, 352. 355; WC. 50—1; HVM. 1, 380, n. 1; HRI. 141—2; GELDNER, l. c.

§ 40. Manyu, Śraddhā &c. — We have yet to deal with the deifications of abstract nouns. Manyu, Wrath, a personification suggested chiefly by the fierce anger of Indra, is invoked in two hymns of the RV. (10, 83. 84). He is of irresistible might and self-existent. He glows like fire, is a god, who is Indra, Varuṇa, Jātavedas. He slays Vṛtra, is accompanied by the Maruts, grants victory like Indra, and bestows wealth. United with Tapas, Ardour, he protects his adorers and slays their foes. One short hymn of the RV. (10, 151) is devoted to the praise of Śraddhā, Faith[1]. She is said to be invoked morning, noon, and night. Through Faith fire is kindled and ghee offered. Through Faith wealth is obtained. In the Brāhmaṇas Śraddhā is the daughter of the Sun (ŚB. 12, 7, 3[11]) or of Prajāpati (TB. 2, 3, 10[1]). Her relationships are still further worked out in the Epics and Purāṇas. Anumati, Favour (of the gods), occurs twice as a personification in the RV. She is besought to be gracious and let her worshippers long see the sun (10, 59[6]) and her protection is referred to (10, 167[3]). In the AV. and VS. she becomes a goddess of love and presides over propagation. The later ritual connected her with the moon, regarding her as representing the day before full-moon[2]. Aramati, Devotion, Piety, is occasionally personified

known to Sampāti (R 4, 58, 13) are interpreted as hells even for men. Thus Kaśyapa is asked what "other worlds" are the punishment for a recalcitrant or perjured witness and says in reply that such a sinner fastens upon himself a thousand nooses of Varuna, and it takes a year to loosen each (though nothing is said of hell). The later Rām (7, 59, pra. 3, 36) has the same explanation. Varuṇa is satyasaṃgara (9, 45, 46), upholder of truth. So Bāṇa's cows are held by Varuṇa, H 10970

§ 63. The descendants of Varuṇa are indefinitely multiplied through the practice of calling all descendants of Bhṛgu (and Aṅgiras and Kavi[1]) Bhārgavas or Vārunas, Bhṛgu having been born of Varuna's sacrifical fire (1, 5, 7), so that Bhṛgu is a form of Varuna as Varuna to the later writers is a form of Rudra-Śiva (13, 85, 88 and 125 f.). Agastya and Vasistha also claim (above) Varuṇa as their sire. Vālmīki is son of "Pracetas", who "guards the western half of the world" (R 6, 24, 19; 7, 111, 11, the Prācetasas are ten sons of Prācinabarhis, 1, 196, 15, 12, 208, 6 and may revert to the same origin, though Pracetas is also a Prajāpati) R adds (the apes) Suseṇa, Hemakūta, and the Nāgas (in general) to the "sons of Varuṇa" (R 1, 17, 14, R 6, 7, 12, ib 30, 33) Puñjikasthalā, the Apsaras mother of Hanumat (p 14), was his kanyakā (R 6, 60, 11). A passage of S, cited p. 118, calls his wife Gaurī, as explicitly stated in 5, 117, 9 In 12, 301, 59, she is Devī Siddhi; in 13, 146, 5 and 166, 11, she is again Gaurī. The early epic says that Devī, the "eldest wife" of the god is the daughter of Śukra and she bore him a son Bala (also son of Danāyu; Vala?) and a daughter called Surā and Vāruṇī (in Brahman's palace, 2, 11, 42), through whom the gods got joy (intoxication) and godhead (pun on sura, 1, 66, 52: 5, 98, 14) His son Puskara, who lives in the palace called Puskaramālinī (2, 8, 41) and is "lotus-eyed", is called "son of Gopati" (Varuṇa 5, 98, 11), which calls to mind the connection of "Gopati and Varuna", enlisted among the inferior Devagandharvas (cf Varuṇa as name of a Nāga), as descendants of Muni, the daughter of Daksa (1, 65, 42) Another son of Varuṇa was the sage Vandin, who, owing to his paternity, had no fear of drowning and even raised to life another man who had been drowned (3, 134, 31) Finally Śrutāyudha (§ 4), a valiant hero, was son of Varuna and of the river Parṇāśā Parṇāśa, his mother, begged Varuṇa to give him immortality, but the god would only make him invulnerable, avadhya, by means of a divine weapon, not immortal, since "there is no immortality for man" and "who is born must die". This weapon was a "club with a charm said over it", which might not be hurled against a man unless he was fighting, since otherwise it became a boomerang and would return and kill the thrower. Śrutāyudha forgot, threw it at a non-combatant, and was slain, for it returned and smote him "like badly used magic" (7, 92, 44 f) Similarly, Varuṇa limits the gift of life bestowed upon Hanumat (as grandson?): "He shall not meet death in a million years withal, from my noose (or) even from water", where perhaps water (sickness) is the noose (R 7, 36, 15) Here also may be mentioned the list of Varuṇa's seven seers, acting as sacrificial priests: Dṛḍheyu, Ṛteyu, Parivyādha, Ekata, Dvita, Trita, and Atri's son Sārasvata, "whose soul was virtue" (13, 151, 36 f). They "belong to the West" (the first two are mentioned only here).

§ 64 Varuṇa's activities, apart from records of fighting and noosing, are not numerous He was robbed of his "cows" (he is here Ambupati

[1]) Kavi is son of Bhṛgu (son of Brahman in the pseudo-epic) and father of Śukra Uśanas, 1, 66, 42 (13, 85, 106 f)

that her motherhood is an essential and characteristic trait. Her epithet *pastyā*, housewife (4, 55[3]; 8, 27[5]) may possibly also allude to her motherhood. In the Epic and Purāṇic mythology Aditi is the daughter of Dakṣa and mother of the gods in general, and expressly of Vivasvat, the Sun, and of Viṣṇu in his dwarf incarnation. She is said to be the wife of Viṣṇu in VS. (29, 60 = TS. 7, 5[14]).

Aditi is several times spoken of as protecting from distress (*aṃhas*), and she is said to grant complete welfare or safety (10, 100; 1, 94[15]), but she is more frequently invoked to release from guilt or sin. Thus Varuṇa (1, 24[15]), Agni (4, 12[4]), and Savitṛ (5, 82[6]), are besought to free from guilt against Aditi. Aditi, Mitra, and Varuṇa are implored to forgive sin (2, 27[14]), Aditi and Aryaman, to loosen (the bonds of) sin (7, 93[7]). Worshippers beseech Aditi to make them sinless (1, 162[22]); praying that by fulfilling her ordinances they may be without sin towards Varuṇa (7, 87[7]) and that evildoers may be cut off from Aditi (10, 87[18]). Hence though other gods, Agni (3, 54[10]), Savitṛ (4, 54[3]), Sun, Dawn, Heaven and Earth (10, 35[2. 3]) are petitioned to pardon sin, the notion of releasing from it is much more closely connected with Aditi and her son Varuṇa, whose fetters that bind sinners are characteristic, and who unties sin like a rope and removes it (p. 26).

This notion is nearly allied to the etymology of the name. The word *aditi* is primarily a noun meaning 'unbinding', 'bondlessness', from *dí-ti* 'binding' (= Gk. δέ-σι-ς), derived from the root *dā*, 'to bind'. The past passive participle of this verb is employed to describe Śunaḥśepa 'bound' (*dí-tá*) to the stake (5, 2[7]). Hence as a goddess Aditi is naturally invoked to release her worshippers like a tied (*baddha*) thief (8, 67[14]). The original unpersonified meaning of 'freedom' seems to survive in a few passages of the RV. Thus a worshipper exclaims, 'who gives us back to great *aditi*, that I may see father and mother'? (1, 24[1]). The Ādityas are besought (7, 51[1]) to 'place the offering in guiltlessness (*anāgāstve*) and freedom (*adititve*)'. The poet perhaps means the same thing when he prays to Heaven and Earth for 'the secure and unlimited gift of *aditi*' (1, 185[3]). The word *aditi* also occurs several times in the adjectival sense of 'boundless'. It is thus used as an attribute twice of Dyaus (5, 59[8]; 10, 63[3]) and more frequently of Agni (1, 94[15]; 4, 1[20]; 7, 9[3]; 8, 19[14]).

The indefiniteness of the name would easily have lent itself to mystical identifications, and the conception was naturally affected by the theogonic and cosmogonic speculations found in the more recent portions of the RV. Thus the gods are said to have been born from Aditi, the Waters, and Earth (10, 63[2]; cp. p. 14). In the verse immediately following, the 'boundless' Sky (*dyaur aditi*), their mother, is said to supply the gods with honied milk. Here therefore she appears to be identified with the sky[2]. Elsewhere (1, 72[9]; AV. 13, 1[38]) Aditi seems to be identified with the Earth, and this identification is frequent in the TS. and ŚB. In the Naighaṇṭuka the name is given as a synonym of earth, and, in the dual, of Heaven and Earth[3]. In many passages of the RV., however, she is distinguished from Heaven and Earth by being mentioned separately along with them (10, 63[10] &c.)[4]. In another passage (1, 89[10]) Aditi represents a personification of Universal Nature: 'Aditi is the sky; Aditi is the air; Aditi is the mother, and father, and son; Aditi is all the gods and the five tribes; Aditi is whatever has been born; Aditi is whatever shall be born' (p. 16; cp. Kaṭha Up. 4, 7).

Though according to the older mythology of the RV. Aditi is the mother of Dakṣa as an Āditya (2, 27[1]), she is in a cosmogonic hymn (10, 72[4. 5]) said to be his daughter as well as his mother by the reciprocal generation

which is a notion not unfamiliar to the RV. (p. 12; cp. 10, 90[5]). In two other hymns of the tenth book (5[7]. 64[5]) these deities are connected in such a way that Aditi can scarcely be the mother of Dakṣa, but seems rather to be subordinate to him. Though Aditi is the mother of some of the leading deities, she plays an inferior part in a few other passages also. Thus she celebrates, along with her sons Varuṇa, Mitra, Aryaman, the praises of Savitṛ (7, 38[4]) and is said to have produced a hymn for Indra (8, 12[14], cp. 5, 31[5]).

Probably as the mother of the luminous Ādityas, Aditi is sometimes connected with light. She is asked for light (4, 25[3], cp. 10, 36[3]), her imperishable light is celebrated (7, 82[10]), and Dawn is called the face of Aditi (1, 113[19]). Occasionally Aditi is referred to in general terms which might apply to other deities. Thus she is implored to protect or bless her worshippers, their children, and their cattle (8, 18[6. 7]; 1, 43[2]). She is prayed to for wealth (7, 40[2]), her pure, intact, celestial, imperishable gifts are supplicated (1, 185[3]), and the large blessings bestowed by the Maruts are compared with the beneficent deeds of Aditi (1, 166[12]).

In some passages of the RV. (1, 153[3]; 8, 90[15]; 10, 11[1] &c.) as well as in later Vedic texts (VS. 13, 43. 49), Aditi is spoken of as a cow, and, in the ritual, a ceremonial cow is commonly addressed as Aditi[5]. Terrestrial Soma is compared to the milk of Aditi (9, 96[15]); and milk only can be meant[6] by the daughter of Aditi who yields to Soma as he flows to the vat (9, 69[3]). There may be a similar allusion when priests with their ten fingers are said to purify Soma on the lap of Aditi (9, 26[1]. 71[5]).

A review of the evidence indicates that Aditi has two and only two prominent characteristics. The first is her motherhood. She is the mother of a group of gods whose name represents a metronymic formation from hers. Her second main characteristic, in conformity with the etymological meaning of the name, is her power of releasing from the bonds of physical suffering and moral guilt. Mystical speculation on the name would lead to her being styled a cow, as representing boundless plenty, or to her being identified with the boundless earth, heaven, or universe. But how are we to account for so early a personification of such an abstract idea, and in particular for Aditi becoming the mother of the Ādityas? BERGAIGNE[7] thinks the transition to Aditi's motherhood is to be found in such an expression as *dyaur aditiḥ*, the 'boundless sky', the mother who supplies the gods with milk (10, 63[3]). According to this view, the rare and secondary adjectival meaning 'boundless' would have developed from being an epithet of the sky, otherwise characteristically regarded as a father, into an independent female deity. Nor does this explanation seem to account satisfactorily for the conception of Aditi releasing from bondage. Another explanation is possible. The expression *aditeḥ putrāḥ*, sons of Aditi, several times applied to the Ādityas in the RV., may in the pre-Vedic period have simply meant 'sons of freedom' (like *sahasaḥ putraḥ*, 'son of strength': p. 12) as describing a prominent quality of Varuṇa and cognate gods. Such an expression would easily lead to the personification of Aditi as a mother. Similarly Śavasī was evolved as a name of Indra's mother in the RV. itself from his epithet 'Son of Might' (*śavasaḥ*: p. 12) and Indra's epithet *śacīpati*, 'lord of might', later led to *śacī* being personified as the wife of that god, the compound being interpreted as 'husband of Śacī'. The formation of a metronymic Āditya, son of Aditi, would tend to the limitation of the group comprising her sons. The deified personification would naturally retain a connexion with the original meaning of existence free from all fetters, but would assume a few additional fluctuating attributes, such as brightness, from the Ādityas. As mother of some of the leading gods

or of the gods in general, she might occasionally be identified with Heaven and Earth, the universal parents, and the meaning of the word would encourage cosmogonic speculations. Thus Aditi, an entirely Indian goddess, is historically younger than some at least of her sons.

The opinion that Aditi is a personification of the idea of 'freedom from bondage' is favoured by WALLIS[8] and OLDENBERG[9]. MAX MÜLLER[10] thinks that Aditi, an ancient god or goddess, is the earliest name invented to express the infinite as visible to the naked eye, the endless expanse beyond the earth, the clouds, and the sky. ROTH at first[11] interpreted Aditi to mean 'inviolability, imperishableness', denoting as a personification the goddess of eternity. Later he explained her as 'eternity', the principle which sustains the Ādityas, or imperishable celestial light[12]. He regards her not as a definite but only an incipient personification. In the St. Petersburg Dictionary, however, he explains Aditi as a personification of the boundlessness of heaven as opposed to the finite earth. PISCHEL, on the other hand believes Aditi represents the earth[13]. This is also HARDY's opinion[14]. COLINET considers Aditi the female counterpart of Dyaus[15]. The Naighaṇṭuka gives *aditi* as a synonym of *pṛthivī* (earth), *vāc* (speech), *go* (cow), and, in the dual, of *dyāvāpṛthivī* (heaven and earth). Yāska defines Aditi as 'the mighty mother of the gods', and following the Naighaṇṭuka (5, 5) locates her in the atmospheric region, while the Ādityas are assigned to the celestial, and Varuṇa to both[16].

[1] OST. 5, 36, note 68. — [2] Op. cit. 5, 39, note 73. — [3] According to BRV. 3, 90, Aditi in 4, 55[1b] = 7, 62[4a] is synonymous with dyāvāpṛthivī. — [4] References in OST. 5, 40 f. — [5] ORV. 206 cp. 72. — [6] Otherwise BRV. 3, 94. — [7] BRV. 3, 90. — [8] WC. 45 f. — [9] ORV. 204—7 cp. SBE. 46, 329. — [10] Vedic Hymns, SBE. 32, 241; cp. LSL. 2, 619; HOPKINS, JAOS. 17, 91. — [11] Nirukta, Erl. 150—1. — [12] ZDMG. 6, 68 f.; so also KRV. 59, HILLEBRANDT, Aditi p. 20. — [13] PVS. 2, 86. — [14] HVBP. 94. — [15] Trans. of the 9th Or. Congress 1, 396—410. — [16] ROTH on Nir. 10, 4.

BENFEY, Hymnen des Sāmaveda 218 (= Unteilbarkeit); OST. 1, 26; 5, 35—53. 55; BRV. 3, 88—98; HILLEBRANDT, Ueber die Göttin Aditi, Breslau 1876; BRI. 19; DARMESTETER, Ormazd p. 82; COLINET, Etude sur le mot Aditi, Museon 12, 81—90; ROTH, IS. 14, 392—3; BLOOMFIELD, ZDMG. 48, 552, note 1; HRI. 72—3.

§ 42. Diti. — The name of Diti occurs only three times in the RV., twice along with that of Aditi. Mitra and Varuṇa are said to behold from their car Aditi and Diti (5, 62[8]). Sāyaṇa here explains the two as the indivisible earth and the separate creatures on it, ROTH[1], as 'the eternal and the perishable', and MUIR[2] as 'the entire aggregate of visible nature'. In a second passage (4, 2[11]), Agni is besought to grant *diti* and preserve from *aditi*. Here Sāyaṇa interprets the two words as 'liberal giver' and 'illiberal giver', ROTH as 'wealth' and 'penury'. BERGAIGNE[3] takes the words to designate the goddesses of the previous passage; but it is more likely that they are here quite different words, derived from *dā*, 'to give', and thus meaning 'giving' and 'non-giving'. This view seems to be favoured by both the context and the order in which the words occur. In the third passage (7, 15[12]) Diti is mentioned without Aditi, but along with Agni, Savitṛ, and Bhaga, being said to give (*dā*) what is desirable (*vāryam*). Diti is named along with Aditi as a goddess in the later Saṃhitās also (VS. 18, 22; AV. 15, 18[4]; 16, 6[7]). Her sons are mentioned in AV. 7, 7[1]. These are the Daityas, who in post-Vedic mythology are the enemies of the gods. The name of Diti as a goddess seems to be merely an antithesis to that of Aditi[4], formed from the latter to express a positive sense, as *sura*, 'god', was later (by false etymology) evolved from *asura*, 'demon'.

[1] ZDMG. 6, 71. — [2] OST. 5, 42. — [3] BRV. 3, 97. — [4] MM., SBE. 32, 256; cp. WC. 46.

E. GODDESSES.

§ 43. Goddesses. — Goddesses occupy a very subordinate position in Vedic belief and worship. They play hardly any part as rulers of the world. The only one of any importance is Uṣas, who judged by the statistical standard ranks as a deity of the third class (p. 20). But, unlike nearly all the gods, she received no share in the Soma offering[1]. Next to her comes Sarasvatī (§ 33), who, however, only ranks with the lowest class of deities. A few other goddesses are praised in one hymn each. Pṛthivī, hardly separable from Dyaus, is praised in one short hymn of three stanzas (§ 34). Rātrī, Night, is also invoked in one hymn (10, 127). Like her sister Dawn, she is called the daughter of Heaven. She is not conceived as the dark, but as the bright starlit night. She shines manifoldly with her eyes. Decked with all splendour, she fills the valleys and heights, driving away the darkness with light. At her approach men return home like birds to their nests. She is invoked to keep away the wolf and the thief, guiding her worshippers to safety. Night probably became a goddess by way of antithesis to Dawn, with whom she is invoked in several verses as a dual divinity[2] (pp. 48. 129). Vāc, personified Speech, is celebrated in one hymn (10, 125 cp. 71), in which she describes herself. She accompanies all the gods and supports Mitra-Varuṇa, Indra-Agni, and the Aśvins. She bends Rudra's bow against the unbeliever. Her place is in the waters, the sea. She encompasses all beings. In another passage (8, 89[10. 11]) she is called queen of the gods and divine[3]. In the Naighaṇṭuka (5, 5) Vāc is enumerated among the deities of the atmosphere; and thunder, or *mādhyamikā vāc*, 'the voice of the middle region', in the terminology of the commentators (Nir. 11, 27), may have been the starting point of the personification. A legend about Vāc frequently referred to in the Brāhmaṇas is that of Soma being bought back from the Gandharvas at the price of Vāc transformed into a woman (AB. 1, 27). Puraṃdhi, whose name occurs about nine times in the RV., is goddess of Plenty[4]. She is nearly always mentioned with Bhaga[5], two or three times also with Pūṣan and Savitṛ, and once with Viṣṇu and Agni. Pārendi, commonly regarded as identical with Puraṃdhi, is generally considered a goddess of riches and abundance (cp. Yaṣt 8, 38) in the Avesta[6]. Hillebrandt, however, thinks Puraṃdhi is a goddess of Activity[7]. Another goddess of abundance is Dhiṣaṇā, mentioned nearly a dozen times in the RV[8]. Iḷa, Nourishment, is the personification (mentioned less than a dozen times in the RV.) of the offering of milk and butter, thus representing plenty derived from the cow. Hence Iḍā is in the Brāhmaṇas frequently connected with, though never an actual name of, the cow; and in the Naighaṇṭuka (2, 11) it occurs as one of the synonyms of cow. Owing to the nature of the offering Iḷa is called butter-handed (7, 16[8]) and butter-footed (10, 70[8]). As a personification she generally appears in the Āprī hymns, in which she usually forms a triad with Sarasvatī and Mahī or Bhāratī[9]. It is doubtful whether the literal or the personified sense is intended by the phrase *iḷāyās pade*, 'in the place of nourishment' (i. e. of the sacrificial fire). Agni is once called the son of Iḷā, clearly in allusion to the place of his production (3, 29[9. 10]). Purūravas is also said to be her son (10, 95[18]). She is once called the mother of the herd (*yūtha*) and connected with Urvaśī (5, 41[19]). She is once mentioned with Dadhikrāvan and the Aśvins in reference to the morning sacrifice (7, 44[2]). In the ŚB. she is called the daughter of Manu (1, 8, 1[8]; 11, 5, 3[5]) as well as of Mitra-Varuṇa (1, 8, 1[27]; 14, 9, 4[27]; ĀŚS. 1, 7[7]). The name of the goddess Bṛhaddivā occurs four times in hymns to the

Viśvedevas. She is called a mother (10, 64[10]) and is mentioned with Iḷā (2, 31[4]; 5, 41[19]), Sarasvatī and Rākā (5, 42[12]). Rākā (probably from √*rā*, to give) is mentioned only twice in the RV. as a rich and bountiful goddess, who is invoked with others (2, 32[7]; 5, 42[12]). Sinīvālī is referred to in two hymns of the RV. (2, 32; 10, 184). She is a sister of the gods, broad-hipped, fair-armed, fair-fingered, prolific, a mistress of the family, and is implored to grant offspring. She is invoked with Sarasvatī, Rākā, as well as Guṅgū (who is only mentioned here). In the AV. (8, 46[3]) Sinīvālī is called the wife of Viṣṇu. The later Saṃhitās and the Brāhmaṇas also mention a goddess Kuhū, a personification of the new moon[10]. Rākā and Sinīvālī are in later Vedic texts connected with phases of the moon, the former being the presiding deity of the actual day of full moon, and the latter, of the first day of new moon. There is nothing to show that any such connexion is to be found in the RV[11].

A few other goddesses occasionally mentioned in the RV. have already been incidentally referred to. Pṛṣni, the mother of the Maruts (p. 78) presumably represents the mottled storm-cloud[12]. The word is also used as an adjective in the sense of speckled (cp. 7, 103[6. 10]), in the singular as an attribute of both bull and cow, and in the plural, of the cows which milk Soma for Indra (1, 84[10. 11]; 8, 6[10]. 7[10]. 58[3]). It thus came to mean 'speckled cow', and finally 'speckled cloud'. Saraṇyū occurs once in the RV. (10, 17[2]) as the name of Tvaṣṭṛ's daughter, wedded to Vivasvat. The most likely interpretation seems to be that which identifies her with the sun-maiden Sūryā or Uṣas, the Dawn[13]. The word also occurs four times as an adjective in the RV. meaning 'swift'. It is an ordinary Sanskrit formation, derived with the suffix *-yu* from *saraṇa*, speed (√*sṛ*, to run), like *caraṇ-yu* and others.

Goddesses as wives of the great gods similarly play an insignificant part in the Veda. They are altogether without independent character, simply representing the spouses whom such gods as Indra must have had. Hardly anything about them is mentioned but their names, which are simply formed from those of the gods with the feminine suffix *-āni*. Thus *Indrāṇī* is simply 'wife of Indra'[14]. Varuṇānī and Agnāyī also occur in the RV., but rarely. Rudrāṇī is not found till the Sūtras, but she plays a decidedly more important part in the cult than any of the other goddesses in *-āni*[15]. The wife of the Aśvins is once in the RV. called Aśvinī (= Sūryā: p. 51)[16]. The 'wives of the gods' (*devānāṃ patnīḥ*) occasionally mentioned in the RV. have in the Brāhmaṇas an established place assigned to them in the cult apart from the gods (ŚB. 1, 9, 2[11])[17].

[1] BERGAIGNE, Recherches sur l'histoire de la liturgie védique, p. 9. — [2] OST. 5, 191; HRI. 79 f. — [3] WEBER, IS. 9, 473 ff.; BRI. 16; OLDENBERG, ZDMG. 39, 58—9; WC. 85—6; HRI. 142—3. 226. — [4] PVS. 2, 202—16; BLOOMFIELD, JAOS. 16, 19; ORV. 63. — [5] Cp. OLDENBERG, SBE. 46, 190. — [6] DARMESTETER, Ormazd et Ahriman 25; SBE. 4, LXX; 23, 11; MILLS, SBE. 31, 25; PVS. 1, 202; SP.AP. 207—9; COLINET, BOR. 2, 245; 4, 121; Trans. Or. Cong. 1892, 1, 396—420. — [7] HILLEBRANDT, WZKM. 3, 188—94. 259—73; cp. also V. HENRY, Vedica, 1re série, p. 1 ff., Mémoires de la Société de ling. 9. — [8] PVS. 2, 82 ff.; OLDENBERG, SBE. 46, 120—2. — [9] WEBER, IS. 1, 168—9; BRV. 1, 325; GGH. 51; ORV. 238. 326; SBE. 46, 11. 156. 191. 288; BAUNACK, KZ. 34, 563. — [10] ZDMG. 9, LVIII. — [11] IS. 5, 228 ff. — [12] Cp. ROTH on Nir. 10, 39, p. 145. — [13] BLOOMFIELD, JAOS. 15, 172—88, where the opinions of his predecessors are stated. — [14] ORV. 172; cp. LEUMANN, KZ. 32, 299. — [15] ORV. 219. — [16] KRV. n. 148; on Sūryā and the Aśvins cp. WEBER, IS. 5, 178—89; BRV. 2, 486; PVS. 1, 13—29; OLDENBERG, GGA. 1889, 7—8; ORV. 241. — [17] On female divinities cp. HOPKINS, PAOS. 1889, p. CLXII; on Sarama (above pp. 63—4) see below, § 62.

F. DUAL DIVINITIES.

§. 44. A peculiar feature of Vedic mythology is the celebration in pairs of a number of deities whose names are joined in the form of a special kind of dual compound in which both members are dual, accented, and occasionally separable[1]. About a dozen gods are thus conjointly praised in at least sixty hymns of the RV. The name of Indra enters into seven or more than half of these combinations, but by far the largest number of hymns — twenty-three, and parts of several others — is addressed to the pair *Mitrā́váruṇā*. Eleven are dedicated to *Indrāgnī́*, nine to *Índrā-váruṇā*, about seven to *Índra-vāyū́*, six to *Dyā́vā-pṛthivī́*, two each to *Índrā-sómā* and *Índrā-bṛ́haspátī*, and one each to *Índrāvíṣṇū*, *Índrā-pūṣáṇā*, *Somā-pūṣáṇā*, *Somā-rudrā*, and *Agnī́-ṣómā*. A few other couples, including the names of nine or ten deities not mentioned above, are invoked in detached verses. These are *Indra-nāsatyā*, *Indrā-parvatā*, *Indrā-marutaḥ*, *Agnī-parjanyā*, *Parjányā-vātā* (once *Vātā-parjanyā́*), *Uṣā́sānáktā* or (less often) *Náktoṣā́sā*, *Sū́ryā-māsā or Sūryā-candramásā*.

There can be little doubt that the analogy for this favourite formation was furnished by Dyāvāpṛthivī, Heaven and Earth[2], the pair which to early thought appeared so indissolubly connected in nature, that the myth of their conjugal union is found widely diffused among primitive peoples[3] and has therefore probably come down to the Veda from a period anterior to that immediately preceding the separation of the Indo-European nations. In the RV. itself this couple is so closely associated that while they are invoked as a pair in six hymns, not one is devoted to the praise of Dyaus alone and only one of three verses to that of Pṛthivī. So hard was it for the poets to dissociate the two, that even in this hymn Pṛthivi is praised for sending the rain of heaven from her cloud (5, 84[3]). The dual compound, moreover, occurs much more frequently than the name of Dyaus as a god. It occurs, including the comparatively rare synonyms *Dyā́vākṣā́mā* and *Dyā́vābhū́mī*, about a hundred times, or more frequently than the name of any other pair. Heaven and Earth are also called *rodasī*, the two worlds (spoken of as sisters, 1, 185[5], owing to the gender of the word), an expression occurring at least a hundred times in the RV. Heaven and Earth are parents, being often styled *pitarā*, *mātarā*, *janitrī*, and also separately addressed as father and mother (1, 159[1—3]. 160[2]). They are primeval parents (7, 53[2]; 10, 65[8]). Their marriage is referred to in the AB. (4, 27[5—6])[4]. They have made and sustain all creatures (1, 159[2]. 160[2]. 185[1]). Though themselves footless, they support much offspring with feet (1, 185[2]). They are the parents of the gods also; for to them exclusively belongs the epithet *deváputre*, 'having the gods as sons'. They are in particular said to be the parents of Bṛhaspati (7, 97[8]) and, with the Waters and Tvaṣṭṛ, to have begotten Agni (10, 2[7]). At the same time they are in different passages spoken of as themselves created by individual gods. Thus a poet observes that he who produced heaven and earth must have been the most skilful artisan of all the gods (1, 160[4]; 4, 56[3]). Indra is said to have generated or fashioned them (6, 30[5]; 8, 36[4]; 10, 29[6]. 54[3]). Viśvakarman produced them (10, 81[2] cp. AV. 12, 1[60])[5]. They received their forms from Tvaṣṭṛ (10, 110[9]). They sprang from the head and feet of Puruṣa (10, 90[14]). But one poet is puzzled as to how they were produced and which of the two first came into being (1, 185[1]; cp. p. 13)[6]. Many of the epithets applied to Dyāvāpṛthivī are suggested by their physical characteristics. The one is a prolific bull, the other a variegated cow (1, 160[3]). They are both rich in seed (1, 159[2]; 6, 70[1. 2]). They yield milk, ghee, and honey abundantly

(6, 70[1–5]), and produce *amṛta* (1, 159[2]. 185[6]). They never grow old (6, 70[1]). They are great (1, 159[1]) and wide-extended (1, 160[2]). They are broad and great abodes (1, 185[6]). They are fair-faced, wide, manifold, with ends which are far away (1, 185[6. 7]). Sometimes, however, moral qualities are attributed to them. They are wise and promote righteousness (1, 159[1]). As father and mother they guard beings (1, 160[2]) and protect from disgrace and misfortune (1, 185[10]). They grant food and wealth (6, 70[6]; 1, 159[5]) or bestow great fame and dominion (1, 160[5]). They are sufficiently personified to be called leaders of the sacrifice and to be conceived as seating themselves around the sacrifice (4, 56[2.7]), as coming to their worshippers along with the heavenly folk (7, 53[2]), or taking the sacrifice to the gods (2, 41[20]). But Heaven and Earth never attained to a living personification or importance in worship. These two deities are quite coördinate. But in most of the other couples one of the two greatly predominates, his characteristic qualities being shared by his companion. Thus Indra-Agni are conjointly called 'wielders of the bolt' and 'Vṛtra-slayers'. Occasionally an attribute of the lesser deity is predicated of both. Thus Indra-Viṣṇu are together said to have taken wide strides (6, 69[5]). Frequent association of this kind may lead to a deity receiving by himself an epithet to which he originally had no right. Thus Agni when mentioned alone is often called a 'Vṛtra-slayer'. The characteristics of each member of the pair are, however, in some passages distinguished[7].

Next to Heaven and Earth, the pair most frequently named is Mitra-Varuṇa. These two deities are invoked conjointly in many more hymns than are dedicated to their separate praise. As Mitra has hardly any individual traits, the same attributes and functions belong to the pair conjointly as to Varuṇa alone. Scarcely anything need therefore be here added to what has already been said about Varuṇa. The couple are conceived as young men (3, 54[10]; 7, 62[5]). Like various other gods, they are spoken of as shining (*candra*), bright (*śuci*), sunlike (*svardṛś*), ruddy (*rudra*), and terrible (*ghora*). The priority of the name of Mitra in the compound might seem to indicate that he was originally the more important deity; it is, however, probably due simply to the tendency to make the shorter word the first member of a compound. This dual invocation goes back to the Indo-Iranian period, for Ahura and Mithra are thus coupled in the Avesta[8].

Indra-Varuṇa, the two universal monarchs (1, 17[1]), hollowed out the channels of the waters and set the sun in motion in the sky (7, 82[3]). They are vanquishers of Vṛtra (6, 68[2]), aid in battle (4, 41[11]), and grant victory (1, 17[7]). They cast their mighty bolt against the wicked (4, 41[4]). They bestow protection and prosperity (1, 17[7.8]), fame, wealth, and abundance of steeds (4, 41[2.10]; 6, 68[8]). They are drinkers of the pressed Soma, their car comes to the sacrifice, and they are invoked to exhilerate themselves seated on the sacrificial grass (6, 68[10.11]). In some passages the characteristics of each member of the pair are distinguished. Thus Varuṇa is besought to divert his wrath from his worshippers, and Indra to procure them wide space (7, 84[2]). Indra is contrasted as the warlike god who slays Vṛtra, with Varuṇa who supports men in peace and wisdom (6, 68[3]; 7, 82[5.6]. 85[3]). The association of the couple Indra-Agni[9] is very intimate; for Indra is invoked conjointly with Agni in more hymns than with any other deity[10], while Agni is otherwise addressed as a dual divinity only in one hymn and two detached verses with Soma and in one verse with Parjanya. Indra-Agni, the best of Soma-drinkers (1, 21[1]), come on their car to drink Soma (1, 108[1]), and are invited together to come and drink it (7, 93[6]; 8, 38[4. 7–9]), to sit down on the sacrificial grass at the offering, and to exhilerate themselves with the

pressed draught (1, 109[5]). They are often called Vṛtra-slayers. They are armed with the bolt (6, 59[3] &c.), and their lightning is sharp (5, 86[3]). They are fort-destroyers who aid in battle (1, 109[7.8]). They together demolished the 99 forts of the Dāsa (3, 12[6]) and are invincible in battle (5, 86[2]). They released the rivers from their imprisonment (8, 48[8]) and accomplished heroic deeds together (1, 108[5]). They are bountiful (5, 86[3]). All these are traits characteristic of Indra. Indra-Agni are also called the two priests of sacrifice (8, 38[1]), and are wise (8, 40[3]). They are lords of the abode (*sadaspatī*) and drive away the goblins (1, 21[5]). These features are more appropriate to Agni. The two gods are twin brothers who have one father (6, 59[2]). They are once called Aśvins[11] (1, 109[4]), possibly in allusion to this close relationship. They bestow food, wealth, strength, cattle, steeds (4, 60[13–14]). They are greater than heaven and earth, rivers, and mountains (1, 109[6]). The two gods are once contrasted, though not when addressed as a pair; Indra being said to slay, but Agni to burn, the Dasyus (6, 28[4]). The two hymns (4, 49; 7, 97) addressed to Indra-Bṛhaspati consist chiefly of invitations to drink Soma and of prayers to bestow great wealth abounding in steeds and to promote devotion. Indra-Vāyu are constantly invited to come and drink Soma (1, 23[1–2] &c.), little else being said about them. They come to the offering with their teams (4, 47[2–4]) or in their golden-seated car (4, 46[4]) and seat themselves on the sacrificial litter (7, 91[4]). They are thousand-eyed, lords of devotion (*dhiyas patī:* 1, 23[3]), and lords of might (*śavasas patī*: 4, 47[3]). They help in battle (7, 92[4]) and bestow wealth in steeds, cattle, and gold (7, 90[6]). Indra-Soma perform the warlike exploits characteristic of Indra or the great cosmic actions so often ascribed to him. They made the waters flow for man, released the seven rivers, slew the dragon, depressed the wheel of the sun (4, 28[1.2]; 6, 72[3]). The true work of the two bountiful gods was that they destroyed their foes and broke open what was enclosed in the rock (4, 28[4.5]). They performed the first great deeds in finding the sun and light, dispelling the darkness, causing the sun to shine, supporting heaven, and spreading out the earth (6, 72[1.2]). They too placed ripe milk in the raw bodies of cows (ib.[4]). They grant victorious might to men (ib.[5]). Indra-Viṣṇu, who are receptacles of Soma, lords of intoxication (*madapatī*), are invited to come with their steeds, to drink Soma, and to fill their belly with it. The two gods strode out widely in the intoxication of Soma, made the air broader, and spread out the spaces for existence. Ever victorious, they grant wealth, and conduct safely across dangers. As generators of all prayers, they are besought to hear the invocations of their worshippers (6, 69)[12]. Indra-Pūṣan are invoked conjointly in only one short hymn (6, 57), and their names form a dual compound only twice. When Indra made the great waters flow, Pūṣan was his companion. With him as a friend, Indra slays Vṛtras (6, 56[2]). One of them drinks Soma and is drawn by two steeds with which he slays Vṛtras, while the other desires gruel (*karambha*) and is drawn by goats. Mention is once (1, 162[2]) made of the abode (*pāthas*) of Indra-Pūṣan, to which a goat conducts the sacrificial horse. The two gods are as usual also besought to confer welfare and booty.

Soma-Pūṣan (2, 40) drive away darkness and are invoked to quicken the seven-wheeled five-reined car, yoked by thought, which measures out space. They are generators of wealth, of heaven and earth, and protectors of the world (cp. 10, 17[3]), whom the gods made the centre of immortality. For them Indra is invoked to produce ripe milk in the raw cows. Together they bestow victory over foes and grant abundance of wealth and food.

But they are also contrasted. One of them has made his abode high in heaven, while the other dwells on earth and in air; one generated all beings, while the other moves seeing everything[13]. Soma-Rudra (6, 74) are invoked to drive away sickness and decay from the house, to place all remedies in the bodies of their worshippers, to remove from them all sin, and to free from the fetter of Varuṇa. Wielding sharp weapons, they are besought to have mercy and are implored for prosperity to man and beast. Agni-Soma are celebrated together for having released the confined streams, obtained the light, and set the luminaries in the sky. At the same time they are distinguished, Mātariśvan being said to have brought the one from heaven, and the eagle the other from the rock (1, 93). Their joint help and protection are invoked, and they are besought to grant cattle, horses, offspring, health, happiness, and wealth (10, 19[1]. 66[7]). This pair is mentioned several times in the AV. In the MS. (3, 7[1]) they are spoken of as 'two eyes'. The ŚB. refers to them as brothers (11, 1, 6[10]), also stating that the sun belongs to Agni and the moon to Soma (1, 6, 3[24]). In the ritual Agni-Soma seem never to receive a share in the Soma offering, but only cakes and animal sacrifices. It is somewhat remarkable that the two great ritual deities, who form a very frequent couple in the sacrificial literature, should, outside the one hymn (1, 93) devoted to their praise, be mentioned only twice as a pair, and that only in the most recent part of the RV.[14]

A few other pairs are invoked in detached verses only. Agni-Parjanya are mentioned in one passage (6, 52[16]). They are together besought to bestow food and progeny, but are at the same time contrasted, the one being said to have produced the oblation (*iḷām*) and the other offspring (*garbham*). Parjanya-Vāta are invoked in four passages. As bulls of earth they are besought (6, 49[6]) to impel the watery vapours (*purīṣāṇi*). Along with Indra-Vāyu and other gods, they are invoked as vaporous (*purīṣiṇā*) bulls (10, 65[9]). In another enumeration they are entreated to bestow abundant food (6, 50[12]). They are also once (10, 66[10] cp. Nir. 7, 10) invoked as connected with 'the thundering buffalo' (probably Dyaus[15]). Dawn and Night are invoked several times. They are mentioned almost exclusively in Viśvedeva or Āprī hymns. They are rich goddesses (2, 31[5]; 10, 70[6]), divine maidens (7, 2[6]; 10, 110[6]), daughters of heaven (5, 41[7]; 10, 70[6]). They are like two wives (1, 122[2]) and abound in milk (2, 3[6]). Changing their colour they suckle a single child who beams between heaven and earth (1, 96[5]). They are two sisters who are of one mind but of different colour, whose path is the same and endless, who, taught by the gods, move alternately and never clash or stand still (1, 113[3]). They are the shining mothers of order (1, 142[7]); they conduct with bright rays every offering (5, 41[7]) and weave the web of sacrifice (2, 3[6]). They are bountiful, much invoked, and sit on the sacrificial grass (7, 2[6]). They are great and well-adorned (10, 36[1]. 110[6]; 1, 13[7]. 142[7]). Appearing alternately they arouse all living things (2, 31[5])[16]. Sun and Moon are mentioned five times in the form of *sūryāmāsā* and three times in that of *sūryācandramāsā*. These are the only dual compounds formed with the name of Sūrya[17]. In most cases the concrete luminaries only are meant. Thus they are said to move alternately so that we may see (1, 102[2]). It is the act of Bṛhaspati that sun and moon rise alternately (10, 68[10]). The Creator fashioned sun and moon (10, 190[3]). A poet says, 'let us go on our path like sun and moon' (5, 51[15]). There is, however, an incipient personification when the pair is invoked with other deities (10, 64[3]. 92[12]. 93[5]). In a few passages sun and moon, though not expressly mentioned, are evidently thought of in their dual character. 'The two go round the sacrifice like

playing children; the one surveys all beings, the other is born again, ordering the seasons' (10, 85[18]). There is no doubt that they are meant by the two bright eyes of Varuṇa (8, 41[9]) and by the two eyes of heaven made by the immortals (1, 72[10]).

[1] KHF. 161 f.; OGR. 297 f.; HVM. 1, 98. — [2] Sp.AP. 159; cp. ORV. 93. 240. — [3] Tylor, Primitive Culture 322—8 (Chapter on Mythology). — [4] Haug Translation of the AB., vol. 2, 308. — [5] Cp. ibid. 2, 299. — [6] Cp. Nirukta 3, 22; MM., LSL. 2, 606. — [7] RV. 2, 40[4. 5]; 6, 52[16]. 57[2]. 68[3]; 7, 36[2]. 82[5. 6]. 839. 84[2]. 85[3]. — [8] OST. 5, 70; Eggers, Mitra 29—31; Oldenberg, ZDMG. 50, 46. — [9] OST. 5, 220; Macdonell, JRAS. 25, 470. — [10] Cp. Fay, AJP. 17, 14. — [11] LSL. 2, 614. — [12] Macdonell, JRAS. 27, 175. — [13] OST. 5, 180; HVM. 1, 456. — [14] Oldenberg, Die Hymnen des Rigveda I, 267; Hillebrandt, GGA. 1890, p. 401; HVM. 1, 458—61. — [15] Cp. LRV. 4, 228. — [16] KRV. 52; Oldenberg, ZDMG. 39, 89; HRI. 79. — [17] Oldenberg, ZDMG. 50, 63.

G. GROUPS OF GODS.

§ 45. The mythology of the Veda recognised a certain number of more or less definite groups of divine beings, generally associated with some particular god. The largest and most important of these, the Maruts, whose number in the RV. is variously stated to be 21 or 180 (p. 78), is, as has been shown, constantly described as attending Indra in his warlike exploits (p. 57). The same group under the name of Rudras is occasionally associated with their father Rudra (7, 10[4]. 35[6]). The number of the Rudras, treated as a separate class in the Brāhmaṇas, is stated to be eleven in the AB. and ŚB. (p. 19) but is thirty-three in the TS. (1, 4, 11[1]). The smaller group of the Ādityas, whose number in two passages of the RV. is seven or eight (p. 43) and in the Brāhmaṇas becomes twelve, is in the RV. constantly associated either with their mother Aditi (7, 10[4] &c.) or with their chief Varuṇa (7, 35[6] &c.). This group is more definite than that of the Maruts inasmuch as its members have separate names. A third group frequently mentioned in the RV. is more vague than the other two, for they are neither characterized nor is their number mentioned. That they were conceived as specially connected with Indra, is shown by two passages in which Varuṇa or Aditi with the Ādityas, Rudra with the Rudras, and Indra with the Vasus, are invoked (7, 10[4]. 35[6]). But in later Vedic texts Agni is the leader of the Vasus[1]. They are regarded as eight in number in the AB. and ŚB. (p. 19), but in the TS. (5, 5, 2[5]) become 333. The three groups of the Ādityas, Rudras and Vasus are invoked together in a few passages of the RV. (2, 31[1]; 10, 66[12] cp. 7, 10[4]. 35[6])[2]. The Brāhmaṇas distinguish, as three kinds of gods, the Vasus of earth, the Rudras of air, and the Ādityas of heaven (ŚB. 1, 3, 4[12]; 4, 3, 5[1]). In the Chāndogya Upaniṣad (3, 6—10) five groups are mentioned, the Vasus being connected with Agni, the Rudras with Indra, the Ādityas with Varuṇa, the Maruts with Soma, and the Sādhyas with Brahmā (cp. RV. 10, 90[7. 16])[3]. There is besides the group of the semi-divine Aṅgirases who are chiefly connected with Bṛhaspati (§§ 36, 54) and the small one of the three Ṛbhus who are nearly always associated with Indra (§ 46). Finally, a comprehensive group is formed of the Viśvedevāḥ or All-gods, who occupy an important position in the sacrifice, for at least forty entire hymns of the RV. are devoted to their praise. It is a factitious sacrificial group meant to represent all the gods in order that none should be excluded in laudations intended to be addressed to all. But the All-gods are sometimes conceived as a narrower group, being invoked with other groups, such as the Vasus and Ādityas (2, 3[4])[4].

[1] IS. 5, 240; BRV. 2, 370; Bloomfield, FaR. 151. — [2] LRV. 6, 147; cp. Perry, JAOS. 16, 178. — [3] Weber, IS. 9, 6; SPH. 23. — [4] HRI. 137. 143, note 1. 182.

H. LOWER DEITIES.

§ 46. Ṛbhus. — Besides the higher gods of the Veda there are a number of mythical beings not regarded as having the divine nature fully and originally. The most important of these are the Ṛbhus. They are celebrated in eleven hymns of the RV. and are mentioned by name over a hundred times. They form a triad. Their individual names, which often occur, are Ṛbhu or less commonly Ṛbhukṣan ('chief of the Ṛbhus'), Vāja, and Vibhvan. These three names are several times mentioned together, sometimes only two of them, while occasionally Ṛbhu is referred to alone. They are most often spoken of in the plural as *ṛbhavaḥ*, but the plural of each of their names may designate the triad. Sometimes the plurals of all three (4, 36[3]; 8, 48[1]) or of only two (*Vājā Ṛbhukṣaṇaḥ* or *Vājā Ṛbhavaḥ*) appear to be used together pleonastically to indicate the trio. Once the combination *Vājo Vibhvāṅ Ṛbhavaḥ* occurs (4, 36[6]). Occasionally an indefinite group seems to be meant, as all (*viśve*) the Ṛbhus (7, 51[3]), or Ṛbhu with the Ṛbhus, Vibhvan with the Vibhus (7, 48[2]) are invoked. In the latter passage Ṛbhu and Vibhvan are evidently thought of as chiefs of groups of the same name. The three Ṛbhus are once distinguished as eldest, younger, and youngest (4, 33[5]).

The Ṛhbus are about a dozen times called by the patronymic name of Saudhanvana, sons of Sudhanvan, 'the good archer'. They are also once collectively addressed as the son (*sūno*) of Indra (4, 37[4]). In the same verse they are invoked as 'children of might' (*śavaso napātaḥ*), as if a play on the meaning of *napāt* (also 'grandson') were intended, in contrast with the epithet 'son of might' (*śavasaḥ sūnu*), which is applied exclusively to Indra. The epithet *śavaso napātaḥ* is almost peculiar to them, being applied to them five times and otherwise only once to Mitra-Varuṇa. In one passage (3,60[3]) they are spoken of as 'children of Manu' (*manor napātaḥ*) and their parents (*pitarā*) are several times mentioned. In one hymn they address Agni as their brother (1, 161[1. 3]).

They are very frequently invoked to come to the sacrifice (4,34[1. 3]. 37[1]) and to drink the Soma juice (4, 34[4]. 36[2]; 7, 48[1]). Being high in heaven they are besought to come to the Soma in the lower abodes (4, 37[3]). In this they are generally associated with Indra (3, 60[4–6]; 4, 33[3]. 34[6]. 35[7]), a few times with the Maruts (1, 20[5]. 111[4]; 4, 34[11]), and once with the Ādityas, Savitṛ, Mountains, and Rivers (4,34[8]). In other respects also they are closely connected with Indra. They are Indra-like (4,37[5]) and Ṛbhu is like a new Indra (1,110[7]). With Indra they help mortals to victory (4, 37[6]) and are invoked with him to crush foes (7, 48[3]). They are said to have obtained the friendship of Indra by their skilful work (3, 60[3]; 4, 35[7. 9]); for it is they who fashioned his steeds. In the hymns devoted to their praise, they are rarely invoked with gods other than Indra, there being only one such passage (4, 34[8]) in which Indra is not mentioned as well. Indra's connexion with them is indeed so characteristic, that he is, like the eldest of the triad, called 'chief of the Ṛbhus' (*ṛbhukṣan*), a term also two or three times applied to Indra's associates, the Maruts. In some of the Viśvedeva hymns they are brought into connexion with a few other gods, chiefly Tvaṣṭṛ.

The references to the physical aspect or the equipment of the Ṛbhus are scanty. They are of sunlike appearance (1, 110[4]). They have a car (1,161[7]), which is drawn by steeds (7, 48[1]). Their car is bright, their steeds are fat; they wear metal helmets and fair necklaces (4, 37[4]). Ṛbhu is a possessor of steeds (*aśvin*: 4, 37[5]). The Ṛbhus are characteristically deft-

handed (*suhastāḥ*) and skilful (*apás*, *suapas*: 4, 33[1.8] &c.), their skilful deeds being incomparable (3, 60[4]). They are frequently said to have acquired the rank of gods in consequence of their marvellous skill. Through their wondrous deeds they obtained divinity (3, 60[1]). By their skilful deeds they became gods and immortal, alighting like eagles in heaven (4, 35[8]). They are men of the air who by their energy mounted to heaven (1, 110[6]). For their skilful services they went the path of immortality to the host of the gods (4, 35[3]), obtaining immortality among the gods and their friendship (4, 33[3.4]. 35[3]. 36[4]). But they were originally mortals, children of Manu, who by their industry acquired immortality (3, 60[3]; 1, 110[4]). The AB. (3, 30[2]) speaks of them as men who by austerity (*tapas*) obtained a right to partake of Soma among the gods. The gods rejoiced so greatly in their work, that Vaja became the artificer of the gods, Ṛbhukṣan of Indra, and Vibhvan of Varuṇa (4, 33[9]). They went to the gods and obtained the sacrifice, or a share of the sacrifice, among the gods through their skilful work (1, 20[1.8]. 121[6.7]). Thus the third or evening pressing or libation (*savana*) belongs to them, they having obtained it by their skilful work (1, 161[8]; 4, 33[11]. 34[4]. 35[9]). They are thus sometimes expressly invoked as gods (4, 36[5]. 37[1]).

Like the higher gods, they are besought to give prosperity and wealth (4, 33[8]. 37[5]), in cattle, horses, heroes (4, 34[10]), and to grant vigour, nourishment, offspring, dexterity (1, 111[2]). They grant treasures to the Soma presser (1, 20[7]; 4, 35[6]). He whom they help is invincible in fight (4, 36[9]), and Ṛbhu and Vāja are besought to give aid and booty in battle (1, 115[5]).

The same verb *takṣ*, to fashion, is generally used with reference to the manual skill of the Ṛbhus as to that of Tvaṣṭṛ. The five great feats of dexterity by which they became gods, are spoken of with pretty uniform frequency and are all or most of them mentioned in nearly every hymn dedicated to their praise. They fashioned or made a car (1, 111[1]. 161[3]; 4, 33[8]. 36[2]), which is horseless, reinless, three-wheeled, and traverses space (4, 36[1]). The car which goes round they fashioned for the Aśvins (1, 20[3]. 161[9]; 10, 39[12]). When in a verse (4, 34[9]) which enumerates each of their feats with a single word, they are said to have fashioned the Aśvins themselves, this appears to be only a loose way of referring to the same exploit.

For Indra they fashioned the two bay steeds (*harī*) which waft him (4, 33[10] &c.). It appears to be only a varied reference to the same feat when the Ṛbhus are represented as desiring to make a horse or as having made one horse after another (1, 161[3.7]).

They further fashioned or made a cow (1, 161[3]; 4, 34[9]), which yields nectar (1, 20[3]) and is all-stimulating and omniform (4, 33[8]). This cow they formed out of hide (1, 110[8]) or extracted (*ariṇīta*) from a hide (1, 161[7] &c.). They guarded her and formed her flesh (4, 33[4]). That they formed this cow for Bṛhaspati may be inferred from a verse (1, 161[6]) which states that Indra yoked the two bay steeds and the Aśvins the car, while Bṛhaspati drove up the omniform (cow). A minor feat, only twice referred to and perhaps connected with the foregoing one, consists in their having re-united the mother with her calf (1, 110[8]. 111[1]).

The Ṛbhus also rejuvenated their parents (1, 20[4]. 111[1]; 4, 35[5]), who were frail and lay like decaying posts (1, 110[8]; 4, 33[2.3]). They made the two who were old young again (1, 161[3.7]). When in the brief enumeration of their feats already referred to (4, 34[9]), they are simply said to have fashioned their parents, the same feat is doubtless meant. It was their laudable fame among the gods, that they made their frail and very old parents young again so as to walk (4, 36[3]). In the first verse of the same hymn it is said

to have been the great proclamation of their divine power, that they made heaven and earth to thrive. The latter thus seem to be intended by their parents.

The exhibition of skill which is most frequently mentioned and appears to have been thought the greatest, as showing the Ṛbhus in the character of successful rivals of Tvaṣṭṛ, consists in their having made the one cup, the work of Tvaṣṭṛ, into four (1, 20[6]. 110[3]; 4, 35[2. 3]. 36[4]). This cup is the drinking vessel of the gods (1, 161[5]; 4, 35[5]) or of the Asura (1, 110[3]). The Ṛbhus were commissioned by the gods through their messenger Agni, to make the one cup, which was of wood, into four, promising as a reward that they should receive worship equally with the gods (1, 161[1. 2]). Tvaṣṭṛ praised (*panayat*) the proposal of the Ṛbhus to make two, three, or four cups, and acquiesced (*avenat*) when he saw the four shining cups (4, 33[5. 6]). But in another passage it is said that Tvaṣṭṛ, on seeing the four cups, hid himself among the females and desired to kill the Ṛbhus for desecrating the drinking vessel of the gods (1, 161[4. 5]), though the Ṛbhus in a previous verse of the same hymn (v. [1]) disclaim any wish to desecrate it. They are described as measuring out like a field the one wide drinking vessel (*pātra*), desiring fame among the immortals (1, 110[5]). The same feat is less definitely referred to when they are said to have formed or fashioned cups (1, 161[9]; 3, 60[2] cp. 4, 35[5]).

The skill of the Rbhus is incidentally exemplified by the statement that they fashioned prayer (10, 80[7]), sacrifice (3, 54[12]), and the two worlds (4, 34[9]), or that they are supporters of the sky (10, 66[10]).

Another myth connects the Ṛbhus with Savitṛ. They are said to have been round the sky, wind-sped, in swift course (4, 33[1] cp. 1, 161[12]). After much wandering they came to the house of Savitṛ, who conferred immortality on them when they came to Agohya (1, 110[2. 3]). When, slumbering for twelve days, they had rejoiced in the hospitality of Agohya, they made fair fields and directed the streams, plants occupied the arid ground and waters the lowlands (4, 33[7]). By their skill they made grass on the heights and waters in the depths, when they slumbered in the house of Agohya (1, 161[11]). Having slept, they asked Agohya as to who had awakened them; in a year they looked around (ib. [13]).

The word *ṛbhu* is apparently derived from the root *rabh*, to grasp (cp. 2, 3[8])[1], thus meaning 'handy', 'dexterous'. It frequently occurs in the RV. as an adjective and is several times thus used as an attribute of Indra, Agni, and the Ādityas. It seems to be identical with the German *elbe* and the English *elf*[2]. Vāja (from the root *vaj*) means the 'vigorous one'[3], and Vibhvan[4] (from *vi* and the root *bhū*), 'the eminent' (artist). Thus both the name of the Ṛbhus and the account given of them in the RV. indicate that their essential character is that of skilful artificers.

It is clear that they were regarded as not having been gods from the beginning. Whether their close connexion with Indra has in any way to do with their original nature is doubtful. It is also uncertain who is meant by their patronymic Saudhanvana, since the word *sudhanvan* occurs only twice in the RV. as an attribute of Rudra and of the Maruts. It is, however, most probable that their parents who are mentioned so often, represent heaven and earth[5]. The notion that they produce fertility is connected with their sojourn of twelve days in the house of Savitṛ or Agohya, the sun 'who cannot be concealed'[6]. They have therefore by various scholars[7] been taken to be genii of the three seasons[8], which are at a stand-still during the twelve days of the winter solstice. The cup of Tvaṣṭṛ possibly represents the moon,

and the four into which it was transformed by the Ṛbhus, its four phases. On the whole it seems probable that the Ṛbhus were originally terrestrial or aerial elves, whose dexterity gradually attracted to them various myths illustrative of marvelous skill. But the evidence furnished by the RV. is hardly sufficient to warrant any certain conclusion.

[1] Cp. WACKERNAGEL, Altind. Gr. p. 70. — [2] BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, 298; cp. A. KUHN, KZ. 4, 103—20; WACKERNAGEL, KZ. 24, 297. — [3] 'Riches' according to BRV. 2, 407. — [4] Cp. OLDENBERG, SBE. 46, 191. — [5] A. KUHN, Entwicklungsstufen 134; AIL. 366. — [6] WVB. 1894, 37, note 3; according to BRV. 3, 52, 'from whom nothing is concealed'. — [7] AIL. l. c.; LRV. 3, 335; KRV. 53—4; HVM. 1, 515; HVBP. 100. — [8] According to WEBER, l. c., they are genii of creative time, past, present, and future; according to BRV. 2, 412, three ancient skilful sacrificers who acquired immortality and whose number is connected with the triad of sacrificial fires.

NÈVE, Essai sur le Mythe des Ribhavas, Paris 1847; cp. ROTH, ZDMG. 2, 126; OST. 5, 226—7; GKR. 119; GRV. 1, 103; BRV. 2, 403—13; 3, 51—5; GGH. 108. 110; WC. 24—6; E. H. MEYER, Germanische Mythologie 124; Anzeiger für deutsches Altertum 13, 31—5; ORV. 235—6 (cp. L. v. SCHROEDER, WZKM. 9, 253).

§ 47. The Apsarases. — Apsaras denotes a kind of nymph that even in the RV. appears almost completely separated from her physical basis. The information there obtainable is very scanty, as the name occurs only five times. The Apsaras smiles at her beloved (the Gandharva mentioned in the preceding verse) in the highest heaven (10, 123[5]). Vasiṣṭha was born of the Apsaras (7, 33[12]) and the Vasiṣṭhas are said to have sat close to the Apsarases (ibid. [9]). The Apsarases of the sea are described as flowing to Soma (9, 78[3]), with reference to the water which is mixed with the juice. The long-haired ascetic with semi-divine powers is spoken of as able to move on the path of the Apsarases and the Gandharvas (10, 136[6]). The Apsaras is also doubtless meant by the aqueous nymph (*apyā yoṣā*), the wife of the Gandharva in the waters (10, 10[4]).

More is said about the Apsarases in the AV. Their abode is in the waters, whence they come and go in a trice (AV. 2,2[3]); and they are besought to depart from the vicinity of men to the river and the bank of the waters (AV. 4, 37[3]). The goddesses accompanying the Gandharva Viśvāvasu are described as connected with clouds, lightning, and stars (AV. 2, 2[4]). They are expressly called wives of the Gandharvas (AV. 2, 2[5]), and their connexion with the latter has assumed the character of a formula in the later Saṃhitās (VS. 30, 8; AV. 8, 9[9], &c.)[1]. In the ŚB. (11, 5, 1[4]) the Apsarases are described as transforming themselves into a kind of aquatic bird (*ātayaḥ*: cp. RV. 9, 5[9]). In the post-Vedic literature they are very often spoken of as frequenting forest lakes and rivers, espescially the Ganges, and they are found in Varuṇa's palace in the ocean[2]. The etymological meaning of the word is most probably 'moving in the waters'[3].

The above evidence indicates that the oldest conception of the Apsaras is that of a celestial water nymph, already regarded in the RV. as the consort of a genius named Gandharva. In the later Saṃhitās the sphere of the Apsarases extends to the earth and in particular to trees. They are spoken of as inhabiting banyans (*nyagrodha*) and sacred fig-trees (*aśvattha*), in which their cymbals and lutes resound (AV. 4, 37[4]). Elsewhere the same trees as well as other varieties of the fig-tree (*udumbara* and *plakṣa*) are said to be the houses of Gandharvas and Apsarases (TS. 3, 4, 8[4]). The Gandharvas and Apsarases in such trees are entreated to be propitious to a passing wedding procession (AV. 14, 2[9])[4]. In the ŚB. (11, 6, 1) the Apsarases are described as engaged in dance, song, and play. Post-Vedic texts even speak of mount-

ains, both mythical and actual, as favourite resorts of these two classes of beings[5]. The AV. adds the traits that the Apsarases are fond of dice and bestow luck at play (AV. 2, 2^5 &c.), but that they are feared especially as causing mental derangement, magic therefore being employed against them (AV. 2, 3^5 &c.).

The love of the Apsarases, who are of the great beauty[6] (cp. ŚB. 13, 4 $3^{7.8}$), is enjoyed not only by the Gandharvas, but occasionally even by men (cp. 10, 95^9). A myth turning on such a union is related of at least one individual Apsaras in Vedic literature. The names only of several other Apsarases are there mentioned. The AV. refers to three, Ugrajit, Ugrampaśyā, and Rāṣṭrabhṛt (AV. 16, $11 8^{1.2}$), while the VS., among several others, speaks of Urvaśī and Menakā (VS. 15, 15—19). The ŚB. (3, 4, 1^{22}) also specifies Śakuntalā, the ancestress of the royal family of the Bharatas[7] (ŚB. 13, 5, 4^{13}), as well as Urvaśī (ŚB. 11, 5, 1^1).

The only one of these names occurring in the RV. is that of Urvaśī. That she was there regarded as an Apsaras, appears from the fact that Vasiṣṭha is said in one verse to have been born of Urvaśī and, in the next, of an Apsaras (7, $33^{11.12}$). She is once invoked with the streams (5, 41^{10}). Her name is otherwise only mentioned[8] twice in a late and obscure hymn (10, $95^{10.17}$), which consists of a dialogue between her and her lover Purūravas, son of Iḷā. She is there described as aqueous (*apyā*), as filling the atmosphere, and traversing space (the latter expression is also applied to the celestial Gandharva in 10, 139^5). She is said to have spent four autumns among mortals (v. ^{10}) and is besought to return (v. ^{17}). The request is apparently refused; but Purūravas receives the promise that his offspring shall worship the gods with the offering, while he himself shall enjoy bliss in heaven (*svarga*: v. ^{18}). Several verses of this hymn find their setting in a continous story told in the ŚB. (11, 5, 1), which fills in details partly based on a misunderstanding of the text of RV. It is there related that the Apsaras Urvaśī joins herself with Purūravas, son of Iḷā, in an alliance, the permanence of which depends on the condition that she shall never see him naked. The Gandharvas by a stratagem produce a noise during the night. Purūravas springs up naked, when he is seen by Urvaśī illuminated by a flash of lightning. Urvaśī vanishes forthwith. Purūravas wanders about in search of her, till he at last observes her swimming in a lotus lake with other Apsarases in the form of an aquatic bird. Urvaśī discovers herself to him and, in response to his entreaties, consents to receive him for one night a year later[9]. He returns at the appointed time, and on the following day the Gandharvas grant him the boon of becoming one of themselves by producing fire in a particular way. Excepting 10, 95, the name of Purūravas, which means 'calling aloud', occurs only in one passage of the RV. (1, 31^4), where Agni is said to have caused the sky to thunder (*vāśaya*) for the righteous man (*manave*) Purūravas. The word may here, however, have the adjectival sense. Purūravas and Urvaśī have by some scholars[10] been interpreted as sun and dawn.

[1] See PW. s. v. *gandharva*. — [2] HOLTZMANN, ZDMG. 33, 635. 641. — [3] Explained by YN. 5, 13 by *ap-sāriṇī*; cp. MEYER, Indogermanische Mythen 1, 183; GGH. 10; PVS. 1, 79 cp. 183 ff.; LUDWIG, Methode 91; otherwise WEBER, IS. 13, 135, GW., BURY, BB. 7, 339. — [4] HAAS, IS. 5, 394; 13, 136; E. H. MEYER, op. cit. 13. — [5] HOLTZMANN, ZDMG. 33, 640 f.; v. SCHROEDER, op. cit. 67; MANNHARDT, Wald- und Feldkulte 1, 99 ff. — [6] In the Epic period the Apsarases have become regular celestial courtesans. — [7] Cp. WEBER, IS. 1, 198—201; HOLTZMANN, ZDMG. 33, 635 f.; LEUMANN, ZDMG. 48, 80—2; v. BRADKE, ibid. 498 ff. — [8] Cp. OLDENBERG, SBE. 46, 323. — [9] They have a son named Āyu: cp. KHF. 65. 71;

IS. 1, 197; GVS. 1, 283; BRV. 2, 324; Oldenberg, SBE. 46, 28. — [10] Weber, IS. 1, 196; MM., Oxford Essays p. 61; Essays 1, 408—10; Chips 4[2], 109 f. Lassen, Indische Alterthumskunde 1, 432, note 2; KHF. 71—8; Roth, Nirukta 155—6; GRV. 2, 488; BRV. 2, 90—6; v. Schroeder, op. cit. 1, 23—39 (cp. WZKM. 9, 253); Oldenberg, ZDMG. 37, 81; 39, 52 n. 4. 73—6; GGA. 1890, 420 ff.; GVS. 1, 243—95; Siecke, Die Liebesgeschichte des Himmels, Strassburg 1892 (Urvaśī = moon); HRI. 137.

§ 48. Gandharvas. — With the Apsaras or Apsarases are associated even in the RV., as has been shown, a male being or beings named Gandharva. Of the twenty occurrences of the word in the RV. only three are in the plural, while of the thirty-two occurrences in the AV. half are in the plural. The name is found a few times in the Avesta as Gandarewa[1] (a dragon-like monster) and only in the singular. This points to the Gandharvas as a class having been gradually developed from a single being. In the later Saṃhitās they are spoken of as forming a distinct class by the side of Gods, Fathers and Asuras (AV. 11, 5[2]; TS. 7, 8, 25[2]). Their number is fixed as 27 in some Yajus texts and is even said to be 6333 in the AV. (11, 5[2])[2]. The fact that the conception goes back to the Indo-Iranian period, accounts to some extent for its obscurity. The evidence of the RV. is, moreover, so scanty and vague that no certain result as to its definite original character is attainable. It is worthy of note that the name is found only once in books II to VII, while in book VIII it occurs twice as that of a being hostile to Indra. The word seems sometimes to be only an appellative[3]. It is occasionally accompanied by the epithet *viśvāvasu*, 'possessing all goods' (9, 86[36]; 10, 139[4. 5]; AV. 2, 2[4]; VS. 2, 3). This epithet is in one hymn used alone to designate Gandharva (10, 85[21. 22] cp. [40. 41]); and in the later Saṃhitās, the Brāhmaṇas, and the post-Vedic literature, it frequently occurs as the name of an individual Gandharva.

In the RV. Gandharva seems to be localized in the high region of air or sky. He is a measurer of space (10, 139[5]). He is found in the fathomless spaces of air (8, 66[5]). He is heavenly (*divya*) and stands erect on the vault of heaven (10, 123[7]). He is the lover on whom the Apsaras smiles (ib. [5]). His abode is in heaven (AV. 2, 2[1. 2]) and the Blest live with the Gandharvas (AV. 4, 34[3]). In several passages Gandharva is closely connected with some form of celestial light. Thus he is brought into relation with the sun, 'the golden-winged bird, the messenger of Varuṇa' (10, 123[6]), with the sun-bird (10, 177[2]), with the sun-steed (1, 163[2]), with Soma likened to the sun (9, 85[12]). He is further connected with the 27 stars of the moon's orbit (VS. 9, 7) and in particular with Rohiṇī (AV. 13, 1[23]). He is possibly also associated with the rainbow[4] in one hymn of the RV. (10, 123). In the VS. (18, 38 ff.) the Gandharvas are enumerated with Agni, Sun, Moon, and Wind. In post-Vedic literature one of the names of the mirage is 'city of the Gandharvas'[5].

Gandharva is, moreover, in the RV. often associated (chiefly in the ninth book) with Soma. He guards the place of Soma and protects the races of the gods (9, 83[4] cp. 1, 22[14]). Observing all the forms of Soma, he stands on the vault of heaven (9, 85[12]). Together with Parjanya and the daughter of the sun, the Gandharvas cherish Soma (9, 113[3]). Through Gandharva's mouth the gods drink their draught (AV. 7, 73[3]). The MS. (3, 8[10]) states that the Gandharvas kept Soma for the gods, but having allowed it to be stolen, were as a punishment excluded from the Soma draught. Doubtless owing to this association with Soma, Gandharva is described as knowing plants (AV. 4, 4[1]). It is probably as a jealous guardian of Soma that Gandharva in the RV. appears as a hostile being, who is pierced by Indra in

the regions of air (8, 66[5]) or whom Indra is invoked to overcome (8, 1[11]). For in a later text Soma is besought to elude the Gandharva Viśvāvasu in the form of an eagle (TS. 1, 2, 9[1]). Soma is further said to have dwelt among the Gandharvas or to have been stolen by the Gandharva Viśvāvasu, but to have been bought from the Gandharvas, as they were fond of females, at the price of the goddess Vāc (AB. 1, 27; TS. 6, 1, 6[5]; MS. 3, 7[3]). The trait of hostility appears to be old, for in the Avesta (Yt. 5, 38) the hostile Gandarewa, dwelling in the sea Vourukaṣa, the abode of the white Haoma, is fought with and overcome by Keresāspa. Moreover, the archer Kṛśānu, who shoots at the eagle that carries off the Soma (RV. 4, 27[3]), appears to be a Gandharva[6], being expressly said to be one in TA. 1, 9[3].

Gandharva is sometimes connected with the waters. 'Gandharva in the waters' and the 'aqueous nymph' are alluded to as the parents of Yama and Yamī (10, 10[4]). Soma poured into water is called 'the Gandharva of the waters' (9, 86[36]). Gandharva, connected with the Apsarases, is also said to dwell in the waters in the AV. (2, 2[3]; 4, 37[12]). In the Avesta Gandarewa is a lord of the abyss who dwells in the waters (Yt. 15, 28).

The union of Gandharva with the water nymph is typical of marriage. He is therefore connected with the wedding ceremony, and the unmarried maiden is said to belong to Gandharva as well as to Soma and Agni (10, 85[40–1]). The Gandharva Viśvāvasu in the first days of wedlock is regarded as a rival of the husband (ib. [22]), and the Gandharvas' love of women is prominent in later texts (cp. MS. 3, 7[3]). The Gandharvas and Apsarases thus preside over fertility and are prayed to by those who desire offspring (PB. 19, 3[2]).

Of the conception of the Gandharvas being celestial singers, which appears in the Epics and later, there seems to be no distinct trace in the RV. (cp. 10, 177[2]. 11[2]).

There are only two or three references to their physical appearance in the RV. They are wind-haired (3, 38[6]) and Gandharva has brilliant weapons (10, 123[7]). The AV. is more definite (especially 4, 37; 8, 6[1] ff.). Here they are said to be shaggy and to have half animal forms, being in many ways dangerous to men. Elsewhere, however, they are spoken of as handsome (ŚB. 13, 4, 3[7. 8]). The RV. adds the touch that Gandharva wears a fragrant (*surabhi*) garment (10, 123[7]), while in the AV. (12, 1[23]) the odour (*gandha*) of the earth is said to rise to the Gandharvas.

This suggests the derivation from *gandha* as possible. But such an etymology, even if true, would seem to shed no light on the original conception. The name has even been identified with Κένταυρος; but in order to justify this equation the aid of popular etymology has to be called in[7] as well as the doubtful epenthesis of *u* assumed in the Greek word[8]. The two conceptions, moreover, appear to have nothing in common. The utmost, from a review of the evidence, it seems possible to say about the original nature of the Gandharva is, that he was a bright celestial being, sometimes thought of as dwelling in the waters with his spouse the Apsaras. Various conjectures have, however, been made by different scholars. Some regard the Gandharvas as wind-spirits[9], others think that Gandharva represents the rainbow[10], or a genius of the moon[11], or Soma[12], or the rising sun[13], or a cloud-spirit[14].

[1] Yasht 5, 37; 19, 41; cp. SP AP. 276; BARTHOLOMAE, ZDMG. 42, 158. — [2] WVB. 1894, p. 34. — [3] HVM. 1, 427. — [4] Disputed by BERGAIGNE and HILLEBRANDT; cp. ORV. 246, note 1. — [5] See PW. s. v. *gandharva-nagara, -pura*. — [6] KHF. 151–2; WVB. 1894, 7–9 (cp. 1888, p. 13, n.); as to Kṛśānu, cp. also WEBER, IS. 2, 313–4; KUHN in KZ. 1, 523; ROTH, ZDMG. 36, 359; BRV. 3, 30 ff.; SP.AP. 223–4; BLOOMFIELD, JAOS. 16, 20; ORV. 181. — [7] v. SCHROEDER, GGH. 73;

MEYER, Indog. Mythen 164 f. — [8] Cp. BRUGMANN, Grundriss 1, 481. — [9] MANNHARDT 201; MEYER, op. cit. 1, 219 f.; v. SCHROEDER, op. cit. 71; HVM. 1, 446. — [10] ROTH, Nir. Erl. 145; GRV. 2, 400; DPV. 253; KIRSTE, WZKM. 9, 164. — [11] PW.; LRV. 4, 158; HRI. 157. — [12] BRV. 2, 38 ff. — [13] WC. 34. 36 cp. LRF. 101. — [14] KHF. 153.

A. KUHN, KZ. 1, 513 ff.; WEBER, IS. 1, 90; 5, 185. 210; 13, 134 f.; MEYER, op. cit. 11—2. 16—8. 23. 55. 179; BRV. 3, 64—7; PVS. 1, 77—81; SP.AP. 210—15; HVM. 1, 427—66; ORV. 244—9; ZDMG. 49, 178—9.

§ 49. Tutelary Deities. — The name of Vástoṣ páti occurs only seven times in the RV., and one hymn of three stanzas (7, 54) is devoted to his praise. He is there invoked to grant a favourable entry, to remove disease, to bless man and beast, to confer prosperity in cattle and horses, and always to afford protection. In the first verse of the hymn immediately following (7, 55[1]) he is described as a destroyer of disease, who assumes all forms. He is once (7, 54[2]) identified with Soma, being addressed as Indu. In a verse of a hymn to the All-gods (5, 41[8]) he is invoked in immediate juxtaposition with Tvaṣṭṛ and is perhaps identified with him as the great artificer. In another verse (8, 17[14]) he is called a firm pillar, a cuirass of Soma-pressers, and seems to be identified with Indra. In the only passage of the tenth book which mentions him, he is spoken of as the observer of ordinances who, along with prayer (*brahma*), was fashioned by the gods (10, 61[7]). According to GELDNER[1] Rudra is here meant, Vāstoṣpati being an epithet of that god in TS. 3, 4, 10[3]. Though identified with various deities in the above passages, there seems no sufficient reason to suppose that the name was originally attached to any one particular greater deity as an epithet (like *gṛhapati* to Agni). The Gṛhya Sūtras (ĀGS. 2, 9[9]; ŚGS. 3, 4; PGS. 3, 4[7]) prescribe that Vāstoṣpati is to be propitiated when a new house is to be entered. This, together with the contents of the hymn devoted to his praise, points to his having been simply a tutelary deity of the house[2], as the name itself 'Lord of the dwelling' implies. He thus seems to be one of the lower order of deities which in primitive beliefs animate, inhabit, or preside over natural objects such as trees and mountains.

To the same order belongs Kṣetrasya pati the tutelary deity of the field. He is invoked, in the first three verses of 4, 57, to grant cattle and horses as well as to fill heaven and earth, plants and waters with sweetness[3]. In a verse of a hymn to the All-gods (7, 35[10]) he is besought, along with Savitṛ, the Dawns, and Parjanya, to bestow prosperity. In a similar hymn (10, 66[13]), worshippers express a desire to have him as a neighbour. The Gṛhya Sūtras state that he is sacrificed to or worshipped when a field is ploughed (AGS. 2, 10[4]; ŚGS. 4, 13[5]). In one verse of a hymn addressed to agricultural deities (4, 57[6]) Sītā, the Furrow, is invoked to grant rich blessings and crops. Sītā later appears (PGS. 2, 17[9]) as the wife of Indra (perhaps because that god is once in the RV. called *urvarāpati*, 'lord of the field': 8, 21[3] cp. 4, 57[7]) and bears the patronymic Sāvitrī (TB. 2, 3, 10[1]). In the Sūtra passage just mentioned the blessings of Urvarā, the arable Field, described as 'having a garland of threshing-floors', are invoked.

[1] FaW. 21; V. = Agni, WC. 22. — [2] Cp. BLOOMFIELD, SBE. 42, 343—4. — [3] PERRY, DRISLER Memorial 241, thinks Pūṣan is probably meant. Cp. WINDISCH, Berichte der k. sächs. Gesellschaft 1892, p. 174; ORV. 254—5.

IV. MYTHICAL PRIESTS AND HEROES.

§ 50. Manu. — As the appellation Manu or Manus is often used in the sense of 'man', there is sometimes an uncertainty as to when it has the value of a proper name in the RV. It appears to have the latter signification

nearly twenty times in the form of Manu and almost as often in that of Manus. Manu is five times styled a father, and in two of these passages more definitely as 'our father' (2, 33[13] &c., cp. § 9). Sacrificers are spoken of as the people (*viśaḥ*) of Manus (4, 37[1] &c.) and Agni is said to abide among the offspring of Manu (1, 68[4]). Manu was the institutor of sacrifice. For when he had kindled the fire, he presented the first offering with the seven priests to the gods (10, 63[7]). The sacrifice of Manu is the prototype of the present sacrifice. For the latter is compared to the sacrifice which Manus offered to the gods (1, 76[5]). Such comparisons are frequently made with the adverb *manuṣvat*, 'like Manus'. Worshippers make Agni the accomplisher of sacrifice, as Manus did (1, 44[11]). They kindle Agni like Manus (5, 21[1] &c.). Like Manus, they invoke Agni who was kindled by Manu (7, 2[3]). They offer Soma as Manus did (4, 37[3]). Soma is prayed to flow as he once flowed for Manu (9, 96[12]). Manu established Agni as a light for all people (1, 36[19]). Manu is also mentioned with other ancient sacrificers, with Aṅgiras and Yayāti (1, 31[17]), with Bhṛgu and Aṅgiras (8, 43[13]), with Atharvan and Dadhyañc (1, 80[16]), with Dadhyañc, Aṅgiras, Atri and Kaṇva (1, 139[9]). The gods (1, 36[10]), Mātariśvan (1, 128[2]), Mātariśvan and the gods (10, 46[9]), and Kāvya Uśanā[1] (8, 23[17]) are said to have given Agni to Manu or to have instituted him a sacrificer for Manu. In the last four passages the word has perhaps only the appellative meaning of 'man'.

Indra is said to have drunk Soma beside Manu Vivasvat (Vāl. 4[1]) or Manu Sāṃvaraṇi (Vāl. 3[1]), and to have drunk the Soma of Manus, three lakes, to strengthen himself for the Vṛtra-fight (5, 29[7]). Soma is said to have been brought to Manu by the bird (4, 26[4]). In the TS. and the ŚB. Manu is also frequently described as a celebrator of religious ceremonies.

Manu appears to have been regarded as the son of Vivasvat even in the RV.; for he is once (Vāl. 4[1] cp. 3[1]) called Manu Vivasvat (cp. p. 42). In the AV. (8, 10[24]) and the ŚB. (13, 4, 3[3]), as well as in post-Vedic literature, he bears the regular patronymic Vaivasvata. Yama also is a son of Vivasvat, and the first of mortals. Manu is thus a doublet of Yama as ancestor of the human race[2]. But Manu is regarded as the first of men living on earth, while Yama, as first of men who died, became the king of the dead in the other world. Hence in the ŚB. (13, 4, 3[3–5]) Manu Vaivasvata is described as ruler of men, and Yama Vaivasvata as ruler of the Manes. Yāska (Nir. 12, 10) explains Manu to be the son of Vivasvat, the sun (*Āditya*), and of Savarṇā the substitute of Saraṇyū (cp. 10, 17[2]; p. 125), counting him (Nir. 12, 34) among the divine beings of the celestial region (Naigh. 5, 6).

The ŚB. (1, 8, 1[1–10]) relates a legend of how Manu was saved in a ship from a deluge, which swept away all other creatures, by a fish (in post-Vedic mythology an Avatār of Viṣṇu). Manu is then said to have become the progenitor of mankind through his daughter Iḍā, who was produced from his offerings. That the story of the flood was known as early as the time of the AV. is implied in a passage of that Saṃhitā (19, 39[8])[3]. The myth of the deluge occurs in the Avesta also, and may be Indo-European[4]. It is generally regarded as borrowed from a Semitic source[5], but this seems to be an unnecessary hypothesis[6].

[1] An ancient sage and sacrificer, see § 58B. — [2] Possibly ancestor of the Āryans only, as he is in several passages contrasted with Dasyus, cp. OST. 1, 174; Sp.AP. 272. — [3] HRI. 160. — [4] Lindner, Die iranische Flutsage, FaR. 213–6. — [5] Burnouf, Bhāgavata Purāṇa, preface, li–liv; Weber, IS. 1, 160 ff.; Sp.AP. 271–4; ORV. 276 note. — [6] MM., India 133–8; HRI. 160.

KHF. 21; KZ. 4, 91; Corssen, KZ. 2, 32; Weber, IS. 1, 194; ZDMG. 4, 302; 18, 286; Roth, ZDMG. 4, 430; ZDMG. 5, 525 ff.; KZ. 12, 293; 19, 156; Ascoli,

KZ. 17, 334; Muir, JRAS. 1863, 410—16; 1865, 287 ff.; OST. 1, 162—96; BRV. 1, 62—70; ORV. 275—6; HRI. 143.

§ 51. Bhṛgus. — Bhṛgu is a name met with twenty-one times in the RV., besides two occurrences in the adverbial form *bhṛguvat*. It is found only once in the singular; and appears therefore to have properly designated a group of mythical beings. Mentioned twelve times in Agni hymns, they are chiefly connected with the communication of fire to men. Mātariśvan brought Agni as a treasure to Bhṛgu (1, 60[1]) or kindled the hidden Agni for[1] the Bhṛgus (3, 5[10]). Mātariśvan and the gods fashioned Agni for Manu, while the Bhṛgus with might produced him (10, 46[9]). The Bhṛgus found Agni lurking in the waters (10, 46[2]); worshipping him in the waters, they placed him in the abodes of Āyu or man (2, 4[2] cp. [4]). They established Agni like a friend well-deposited in the wood (6, 15[2]) or as a treasure among men (1, 58[6]). For Agni is the Bhṛgus' gift (3, 2[4]). Rubbing him they invoked him with prayer (1, 127[7]). With songs of praise they caused him to shine forth (10, 122[5]) in wood (4, 7[1]). They brought him to the navel (cp. p. 92) of the earth (1, 143[4]). While Atharvan established rites with sacrifices, the Bhṛgus showed themselves as gods with their dexterity (10, 92[10]). Their skill, primarily manifested in producing fire, is incidentally spoken of as artistic. For worshippers make a prayer for Indra or the Aśvins as the Bhṛgus (made) a car (4, 16[20]; 10, 39[14]).

They are an ancient race. For sacrificers speak of them, together with the Aṅgirases and Atharvans, as their Soma-loving fathers (10, 14[6]) and invoke Agni as the Bhṛgus (*bhṛguvat*), the Aṅgirases, and Manu did (8, 43[13]). They implore Indra to hear their prayer like those of the Yatis and Bhṛgus (8, 6[18]), or to aid them as he did the Yatis, Bhṛgus, and Praskaṇva (8, 3[9]). The Bhṛgus are mentioned, along with the Druhyus and Turvaśa, as the foes of king Sudās (7, 18[6]). In the last three passages their name appears in the historical character of the designation of a tribe. The Bhṛgus are invoked to drink soma with all the thirty-three gods, the Maruts, the Waters, the Aśvins, Uṣas, and Sūrya (8, 35[3]). They are compared with suns and said to have gained all their desires (8, 3[10]). In one passage (9, 101[13]) they are connected with an unknown myth, when worshippers express a wish to drive away the niggardly, as the Bhṛgus the demon (*makham*).

Thus the Bhṛgus never designate actually existing priests in the RV., but only a group of ancient sacrificers and ancestors, to which Bhṛgu bears the relation of chief, just as Aṅgiras does to the group of the Aṅgirases, or Vasiṣṭha to that of the Vasiṣṭhas.

The myth of the descent of fire and its communication to man is chiefly connected with Mātariśvan and the Bhṛgus. But while Mātariśvan brings it from heaven as lightning, the Bhṛgus do not fetch it, but are rather regarded as kindling it for the establishment and diffusion of the sacrifice on earth.

In the later Vedic literature Bhṛgu occurs as the name of a seer representing a tribe (AV. 5, 19[1]; AB. 2, 20[7]). He arises as a spark from Prajāpati's seed and being adopted by Varuṇa receives the patronymic Vāruṇi (AB. 3, 34[1] cp. PB. 18, 9[1]) and is expressly called a son of Varuṇa (ŚB. 11, 6, 1[1])[2].

Etymologically the word *bhṛgu* means 'shining' from the root *bhrāj*, 'to shine'. Bergaigne[3] thinks there can hardly be a doubt that *bhṛgu* was originally a name of fire, while Kuhn[4] and Barth[5] agree in the opinion that the form of fire it represents is lightning. Kuhn[6] and Weber[7] further identify the Bhṛgus as fire-priests with the Greek φλεγύαι.

[1] Cp. Oldenberg, SBE. 46, 243. — [2] Weber, ZDMG. 9, 240 ff. — [3] BRV. 1,

52—6; cp. HOPKINS, JAOS. 16, 280. — 4 KHF. 9—14. — 5 BRI. 10. — 6 KHF. 21—2. — 7 ZDMG. 9, 242. — OST. 1, 170; ORV. 123; HRI. 168.

§ 52. Atharvan. — The name of Atharvan occurs fourteen times in the RV., thrice in the plural, and is also several times found in the AV. Atharvan generally appears in the character of an ancient priest. He rubbed Agni forth (6, 16[13]) and priests rub Agni as Atharvan did (6, 15[17]). Agni produced by Atharvan became the messenger of Vivasvat (10, 21[5]). Atharvan first established (order) by sacrifices, while the Bhṛgus showed themselves gods by their skill (10, 92[10]). By sacrifices Atharvan first extended the paths; then the sun was produced (1, 83[5]). Atharvan along with Father Manu and Dadhyañc practised devotion (1, 80[16]). Indra is the helper of Atharvan as well as of Trita, Dadhyañc and Mātariśvan (10, 48[2]). The goblin-destroying Agni is invoked to burn down the fool with divine flame like Atharvan (10, 87[12]). The AV. adds some further traits. Atharvan brought a cup of Soma to Indra (AV. 18, 3[54]). A miraculous cow was given to him by Varuṇa (AV. 5, 11; 7, 104). Atharvan is a companion of the gods, is related to them, and dwells in heaven (AV. 4, 1[7], &c.). In the ŚB. Atharvan is spoken of as an ancient teacher (14, 5, 5[22]. 7, 3[28]).

In the plural the Atharvans are enumerated as Fathers along with the Aṅgirases, Navagvas, and Bhṛgus (10, 14[6]). They dwell in heaven and are called gods (AV. 11, 6[13]). They destroy goblins with a magical herb (AV. 4, 37[7]).

In a few passages of the RV. the word *atharvan* appears to have the appellative meaning of 'priest'. Thus it is an attribute of Bṛhaddiva, the composer of a hymn (10, 120[9] cp. [8]). In this sense it seems to be an epithet of Agni, when a seer is described as pouring the libation on the Atharvan (8, 9[7]). The word also means priest when it is said that the Atharvans mix Soma (9, 4[2]) or that they receive a hundred cows from a patron (6, 47[24]). That this is the original sense is borne out by the fact that the cognate Avestan word *āthravan* signifies 'fire-priest', which is also the etymological sense; for *ātar* (for *āthar*), fire, is the same as the Vedic *athar-*[1], which also occurs in *athar-yú*, flaming (said of Agni, 7, 1[1]). This old name must then have been mythologically applied to designate an ancient priestly race of a semi-divine character, generally represented in the singular by their chief.

1 BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, 360; cp. BLOOMFIELD, SBE. 42, XXIII, n. 2; BARTHOLOMAE, IF. 5, 221, rejects the connexion of *ātar* with *atharvan*. — Cp. also LASSEN, Indische Alterthumskunde 1, 523; KHF. 10; IS. 1, 289 ff.; OST. 1, 160; BRV. 1, 49; HRI. 160, n. 1.

§ 53. Dadhyañc. — Dadhyañc, who is the son of Atharvan (6, 16[14]; 1, 116[12]. 117[22]), is mentioned nine times in the RV. and, with one exception, only in the ninth, the tenth, and especially the first book. He is a seer who kindled Agni (6, 16[14]) and is mentioned with Atharvan, Aṅgiras, Manu, and other ancient sacrificers (1, 80[16]. 139[9]).

The Aśvins gave a horse's head to Atharvan's son Dadhyañc, who then proclaimed to them the (place of the) mead (*madhu*) of Tvaṣṭṛ (1, 117[22]). With the head of a horse Dadhyañc proclaimed to the Aṣvins the (place of the) mead (1, 116[12]). The Aśvins won the heart of Dadhyañc; then the horse's head spoke to them (1, 119[9]). Indra is also connected with this myth. For it is said that, when seeking the head of the horse hidden in the mountains, he found it in Saryaṇāvat and slew with the bones of Dadhyañc ninety-nine Vṛtras (1, 84[13. 14]). Indra, besides producing cows from the dragon for Trita, gave cowstalls to Dadhyañc (and) Mātariśvan (10, 48[2]). These are probably the cowstalls which Dadhyañc opens by the power of

Soma (9, 108[4]). It is noteworthy that in the only older passage (6, 16[14]) in which the name of Dadhyañc occurs, he is the son of the ancient fire-priest Atharvan and is himself a kindler of fire. Otherwise he is chiefly connected with the secret abode of Soma and with Indra in the release of the cows. Owing to his horse's head and his name he can hardly be altogether dissociated from the steed Dadhikrā. The etymological sense of *dadhi-añc*, 'curd-ward' might signify either 'possessing'[1] or 'fond of' 'curdled milk'. In Bergaigne's opinion Dadhyañc does not differ essentially in origin from Soma[2]. The evidence is, however, insufficient to justify any certain conclusion. But it does not seem an altogether improbable conjecture that Dadhyañc originally represented the lightning form of fire. The horse's head would indicate its speed, the voice with which it speaks, the thunder, its bones, the thunderbolt. His connexion with the secret abode of Soma, would resemble that of the eagle with the celestial Soma. The name, too, suggests the curdling effect of the thunderstorm. In post-Vedic literature the name generally occurs in the form of Dadhīca, and in the Mahābhārata the thunderbolt for slaying Vṛtra is said to have been fashioned out of his bones[3].

[1] 'Uni au lait', BRV. 2, 457. — [2] BRV. 2, 458. — [3] PW. s. v. — Cp. also BRV. 2, 456—60; GRV. 2, 84; Perry, JAOS. 11, 138; LRF. 120—2; Oertel, JAOS. 18, 16—18.

§ 54. Aṅgirases.[1] — Of the more than sixty occurrences of this name in the RV. about two-thirds are in the plural. Derivatives of the word are also found there about thirty times. The whole of one hymn (10, 62) is voted to the praise of the Aṅgirases as a group.

The Aṅgirases are sons of heaven[2] (3, 53[7]; 10, 67[2] cp. 4, 2[15]). They are seers who are sons of the gods (10, 62[4]). A single Aṅgiras being regarded as their ancestor, they are also termed 'sons of Aṅgiras' (10, 62[5]). Poets speak of them as 'fathers' (ib. [2]), 'our fathers' (1, 71[2]), or 'our ancient fathers' (1, 62[2]). They are once mentioned as fathers with the Atharvans and Bhṛgus (10, 14[6]), being especially associated with Yama (ib.[3—5]). They are also in a more general way connected with other groups of divine beings, the Ādityas, Vasus, Maruts (7, 44[4]; 8, 35[14]), or the Ādityas, Rudras, Vasus, as well as the Atharvans (AV. 11, 8[13]). Soma is offered to them (9, 62[9]), and they are invoked like gods (3, 53[7]; 10, 62). They are *brahman* priests (7, 42[1]). They found Agni hidden in the wood (5, 11[6]) and thought of the first ordinance of sacrifice (10, 67[2]). It is by sacrifice that they obtained immortality as well as the friendship of Indra (10, 62[1]).

With the latter deity the Aṅgirases are closely associated. To them Indra disclosed the cows (8, 52[3]), for them he opened the stall (1, 51[3]. 134[4]), and drove out the cows which were hidden, casting down Vala (8, 14[8]). Accompanied by them Indra pierced Vala (2, 11[20]) and drove out the cows (6, 17[6]). As their leader Indra is twice called *aṅgirastama*, chief Aṅgiras (1, 100[4]. 130[3]). Soma (as inspiring Indra) is also once said to have opened the cowstall for the Aṅgirases (9, 86[23]). In connexion with the myth of the deliverance of the cows the song of the Aṅgirases is characteristic. Praised by them Indra pierced Vala (2, 15[8]), and burst the cowstalls (4, 16[18]), slew Vala and opened his citadels (6, 18[5]), or dispelled the darkness, spread out the earth, and established the lower space of heaven (1, 62[5]). So characteristic is their singing that the Maruts with their varied songs are said to be like the Aṅgirases (10, 78[5]), and the gods are invoked to the offering with the chants of the Aṅgirases (1, 107[2]). Hymns addressed by actual priests to Indra are also several times compared with those of the Aṅgirases (1, 62[1. 2] &c). Incidentally Indra assumes a less prominent position than the Aṅgirases in the myth of the cows. Thus the Aṅgirases are said to have emptied the

stall containing cows and horses, with Indra as their companion (10, 62[7]). Here we have the transition to the omission of Indra altogether, his characteristic action being directly attributed to the Aṅgirases themselves. By the rite they drove out the cows and pierced Vala (ib. [2]), caused the sun to mount the sky, and spread out mother earth (ib. [3]). By the rite they cleft the rock and shouted with the cows (4, 3[11]). Singing they found the cows (1, 62[2]). They burst the rock with their songs and found the light (1, 72[2]). The Aṅgirases are further connected with the finding of the cows of the Paṇis for Indra by Saramā (10, 108[8. 10]), who is said to have assisted Indra and the Aṅgirases in tracking them (1, 62[3] cp. 72[8]). The Aṅgirases are also described alone as having found the cows and steeds of Paṇi (1, 83[4]). Bṛhaspati, who is connected with the same myth (10, 108[6. 11]), receives the epithet *Āṅgirasa* when piercing the rock and capturing the cows (6, 73[1]) or giving cows like Bhaga (10, 68[2]).

Bṛhaspati is even directly called Aṅgiras when he drives out the cows and releases the waters with Indra (2, 23[18]). Otherwise in nearly all the occurrences of the word in the singular, Aṅgiras is an epithet of Agni, who is the first seer Aṅgiras (1, 31[1]), the ancient Aṅgiras (10, 92[15]) or the oldest (1, 127[2]) and the most inspired (6, 11[3]) of the Aṅgirases. Agni is several times also called the chief Aṅgiras (1, 75[2] &c.). This term is, however, once or twice applied to Indra, Uṣas, and Soma. Sometimes Aṅgiras only designates an ancient priest without direct allusion to Agni, as when 'the ancient Aṅgiras' is mentioned in an enumeration of ancestors (1, 139[9]) or when the context shows that in the form *aṅgirasvat* the singular sense 'like Aṅgiras' is meant (1, 45[3]). In one passage (1, 31[17]), in which the poet exclaims, 'O Agni, come to us as to Manus, as to Aṅgiras, o Aṅgiras', the name designates both the ancestor and Agni.

According to the tradition found in the Anukramaṇī of the RV., the Aṅgirases must have been regarded as an actual priestly family, as the composition of the ninth book is attributed to members of it[1]. Priestly families also seem to be alluded to in the compound Atharva-aṅgirasaḥ, which occurs as a designation of the AV. in that Veda itself (AV. 10, 7[20]) and later (ŚB. 11, 5, 6[7] &c.)[4].

On the whole it seems probable that the Aṅgirases were originally conceived as a race of higher beings intermediate between gods and men, as attendants of Agni, who is so often described as a messenger between heaven and earth (p. 96), and that their priestly character was a later development[5]. They may possibly have been personifications of the flames of fire as messengers to heaven (cp. RV. 7, 3[3]). This view is borne out by the etymological connexion of *aṅgiras* with the Greek ἄγγελος, 'messenger'[6]. WEBER, however, is of opinion that they were originally priests of the Indo-Iranian period[7].

[1] KHF. 10; OST. 5, 23; GW.; BRV. 1, 47—8; 2, 308—21; WC. 69—72; ORV. 127—8. — [2] Cp. BDA. 45. — [3] Cp. WEBER, History of Ind. Lit., Engl. tr. p. 31. — [4] Cp. BLOOMFIELD, JAOS. 17, 180—2; SBE. 42, XVII—XXVII. — [5] Cp. ROTH, PW.; BRV. 2, 309; cp. HVBP. 109; ORV. 127. — [6] BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, 188; HRl. 167. — [7] IS. 1, 291 ff.

§ 55. A. Virūpas[1]. — Closely connected with the Aṅgirases are the Virūpas, whose name is mentioned three times in the plural. The Aṅgirases, the Virūpas, are sons of heaven (3, 53[7]). The Virūpas are seers, sons of Aṅgiras, born from Agni, from heaven (10, 62[5. 6]). Virūpa once occurs as the name of a single being, who sings the praises of Agni, in a stanza (8, 64[6]) immediately following one in which Aṅgiras is invoked. The name also has the singular sense in the adverb *virūpavat*, 'like Virūpa', as is indicated by

the occurrence in the same stanza (1, 45[3]) of *Priyamedhavat, Atrivat,* besides *Aṅgirasvat.* The word once occurs in its patronymic form in a verse (10, 14[5]) in which Yama is invoked with the Aṅgirases and the Vairūpas. As the word is most usually a simple adjective meaning 'of variable form' and, when a name, is always found in company with that of Aṅgiras or the Aṅgirases, it would seem to have been hardly more than an epithet of the latter.

B. Navagvas[2]. The name of these beings occurs altogether fourteen times in the RV., six times in association with that of the Aṅgirases. The Navagvas are spoken of as 'our ancient fathers' (6, 22[2]), or as 'our fathers' along with the Aṅgirases, the Atharvans, and the Bhṛgus (10, 14[6]). Like the Aṅgirases, they are connected with the myth of Indra, Saramā, and the cows of the Paṇis (1, 62[3. 4]; 5, 45[7]; 10, 108[3]). Indra with the Navagvas as his friends sought the cows (3, 39[5]). Pressing Soma they laud Indra with songs; they broke open the stall of the cows (5, 29[12]). In one hymn they are described as having sung with the pressing stones for ten months (5, 45[7. 11]). In two of its occurrences in the plural the word *navagva* is a simple adjective, being in one of these cases an attribute of the rays of Agni (6, 6[3]). It is also found three times in the singular, when it appears to be an epithet of Aṅgiras (4, 51[4]; 10, 62[6]) or of Dadhyañc (9, 108[4]). It apparently means 'going in (a company of) nine'[3], designating as a plural noun a group of nine ancient priestly ancestors.

C. Daśagvas[2]. This name occurs seven times in the RV., three times in the singular, and only twice unassociated with that of the Navagvas. The Daśagvas were the first who offered sacrifice (2, 34[12]). Indra with the Navagvas sought the cows and with the ten Daśagvas found the sun (3, 39[5]). With the Navagvas and the Daśagvas Indra rent the rock and Vala (1, 62[4]). The Navagvas and Daśagvas praise Indra and broke open the stall of the cows (5, 29[14]). The dawns shine on the Navagva Aṅgira and the seven-mouthed Daśagva (4, 51[4]). Daśagva, mentioned with Navagva, is once spoken of as chief Aṅgiras (10, 62[6]). Daśagva is described in one passage as having been succoured by Indra (8, 12[2]). The name, being merely a numerical variation of Navagva, was most probably suggested by the latter.

D. The seven Ṛṣis[4]. The ancient seers are represented by a definite numerical group as 'the seven Ṛṣis', who are, however, only mentioned four times in the RV. One poet speaks of them as 'our fathers, the seven seers' (4, 42[8]). They are called divine (10, 130[7]), and in another passage (10, 109[4]) the 'seven ancient seers' are associated with the gods. The number may have been suggested by that of the seven technical priests (enumerated in 2, 1[2]), of whom they would, in that case, have been regarded as the prototypes. In the ŚB. they become individualized by each receiving a name (ŚB. 14, 5, 2[6]; Bṛhadār. Up. 2, 2[6]). In the same Brāhmaṇa (2, 1, 2[4] cp. 8, 1, 10) they are also regarded as the seven stars in the constellation of the Great Bear and are stated to have been originally bears[5]. This identification is doubtless due partly to the sameness of the number in the two cases and partly to the similarity of sound between *ṛṣi*, 'seer', and *ṛkṣa,* which in the RV. means both 'star' (1, 24[10]) and 'bear' (5, 56[3]).

Probably the same ancient sacrificers are referred to as the seven priests (*viprāḥ*) who with the Navagvas praise Indra (6, 22[2] cp. 3, 31[5]; 4, 2[15]), or the seven Hotṛs[6] with whom Manu made the first offering to the gods (10, 63[7]). Similarly the 'two divine Sacrificers' (*daivyā hotārā*) mentioned nearly a dozen times in the RV. seem to have been the celestial counterpart of two technical priests[7].

[1] GW. s. v. *virūpa*; BRV, 2, 307, note 4. — [2] BRV. 2, 145—6. 307—8. —

3 Cp. YN. 11, 19; BRV. 2, 145: 'having nine cows'. — 4 ROTH, PW,; OLDENBERG, ZDMG. 42, 236; ORV. 276—8. — 5 WEBER, IS. 1, 167; EGGELING, SBE. 12, 282, n. 2. — 6 Cp. HOPKINS, JAOS. 16, 277; ORV. 383—4; SBE. 46, 189. 322. — 7 ORV. 391; SBE. 46, 11; cp. BRV. 1, 234—5.

§ 56. Atri. — This is one of the seers of ancient days most frequently mentioned in the RV. The name occurs there about forty times in the singular and six times in the plural as a designation of his descendants. Atri is spoken of as a seer belonging to the five tribes (1, 117[3]) and is mentioned along with Manu and other ancestors of the human race (1, 39[9]).

Agni is said to have helped Atri (7, 15[5]) as a well as other ancient seers (1, 45[3]; 10, 150[5]). Indra also heard the prayer of Atri (8, 36[7]) and opened the cowstall for him and the Aṅgirases (1, 51[3]). Atri is, however, chiefly represented as the protégé of the Aśvins, and the characteristic myth about him is connected with them. They delivered Atri from the darkness (6, 50[10]; 7, 71[5]). They rescued him out of a chasm (5, 78[4]) with all his host (1, 116[8]. 117[3]), when they destroyed the wiles of the malignant demon (1, 117[3]). The chasm into which he has fallen and from which they deliver him is a burning one, but they gave him a strengthening draught (1, 116[8]. 118[7]). They made the burning chasm (*ṛbīsa*) or his abode (*gṛha*) agreeable for him (10, 39[9]; 8, 62[7]); they prevent the fire from burning him (8, 62[8]). They rescued Atri who was in the heat (10, 80[3]), they protected him from the heat with coolness (1, 119[6]; 8, 62[3]), and made the burning heat agreeable for him (1, 112[7]). Once they are said to have rejuvenated Atri, who had grown old (10, 143[1. 2]).

In one hymn Atri is said to have found the sun when it was hidden by the demon Svarbhānu and to have placed it in the sky (5, 40[6. 8]). But in the very next verse (9) this deed is attributed to the Atris collectively. The AV. also refers to Atri finding and placing the sun in the sky (AV. 13, 2[4. 12. 36]). In the ŚB. Atri is a priest who dispelled darkness (4, 3, 4[21]), originated from Vāc (1, 4, 5[13]), and is even identical with her (14, 5, 2[5]).

The plural form of the name in the RV. regularly occurs in the last or one of the last verses of a hymn. The Atris here designate the family of seers who are the composers of the hymns (5, 39[5] &c.). The whole of the fifth book is attributed to the family of the Atris, and about one-fourth of the occurrences of the name in the singular or plural are found in that book.

The name is perhaps derived from the root *ad*, to eat, in the sense of 'devouring', as the cognate word *atrin*, a frequent adjective in the RV. used to describe demons, seems to have this meaning. The word *atri*[1] itself is once employed as an attribute of Agni, probably with this signification (2, 8[5]). BERGAIGNE[2] is even of opinion that, though Atri has become a priest, he originally represented some form of Agni. The name of Atri is four times accompanied or, in the next verse, followed by that of Saptavadhri. The latter is a protégé of the Aśvins, a seer whom they are invoked to release from captivity (5, 78[5. 6]), and who is said to have sharpened the blade of Agni with his prayer (8, 62[8]). For Atri Saptavadhri the Aśvins made the burning chasm agreeable (10, 39[9]). The two are therefore probably identical[3].

1 Cp. OLDENBERG, SBE. 46, 35. 214. — 2 BRV. 2, 467—72. — 3 Op. cit. 467; BAUNACK, ZDMG. 50, 266. — Cp. also PW., s. v. Atri; OLDENBERG, ZDMG. 42, 213; BAUNACK, ZDMG. 50, 266—87.

§ 57. Kaṇva &c. — The name of Kaṇva occurs about sixty times in the RV. as that of an ancient seer and of his descendants, the occurrences in the singular and plural being nearly equally divided. Kaṇva is spoken of as the son of Nṛṣad (10, 31[11]) and bears the patronymic Nārṣada (1, 117[8];

AV. 4, 19[2]). He is mentioned in an enumeration of ancient ancestors such as Manu and Aṅgiras (1, 139[9]). The gods gave Agni to Kaṇva and others, who kindled him and were blessed by him (1, 36[10. 11. 17]). Agni helped Kaṇva, as well as Atri, Trasadasyu, and others, in battle (10, 50[5]), and is spoken of as a friend and chief of the Kaṇvas (10, 115[5]). Indra conferred gold and cattle on Kaṇva, Trasadasyu, and others (Vāl. 1[10. 2[10]). The Maruts bestowed wealth on Kaṇva along with Turvaśa and Yadu (8, 7[18]). The Aśvins are several times said to have helped Kaṇva (1, 47[5]. 112[5]; 8, 5[25]. 8[20]). He was blind when succoured by the Aśvins (8, 5[23]), who restored his sight (1, 118[7]).

Most of the hymns of the eighth book of the RV. are attributed to the family of Kaṇva, and poets there speak of themselves as Kaṇvas. The name as that of a family is therefore historical. But the ancestor whose name was transferred to them in reality[1] never appears in the RV. as that of a contemporary. Roth thinks his origin may have been mythical like that of Aṅgiras[2]; and Bergaigne is of opinion that the blind Kaṇva represents the sun during the night or, more generally, the hidden Agni or Soma[3].

Medhyātithi, a descendant of Kaṇva, being called by the patronymic Kāṇva (8, 2[40]), is mentioned nine times in the RV., occasionally with Kaṇva in enumerations of ancestors (1, 36[10. 11. 17]). The name seems to mean 'he who has a sacrificial guest (i. e. Agni)'. Priyamedha, whose name occurs four or five times and is found beside that of Kaṇva (8, 5[25]), belongs to the past, but his descendants often speak of themselves in the plural as Priyamedhas[4].

[1] Oldenberg, ZDMG. 42, 216—7. — [2] PW. s. v. Kaṇva. — [3] BRV. 2, 465. — [4] Oldenberg, ZDMG. 42, 217.

§ 58. A. Kutsa[1]. This warlike hero belonging to the Indra myth is mentioned nearly forty times in the RV. The name occurs only once in the plural as a designation of a family of singers who address a hymn to Indra (7, 25[5]). Kutsa is four times called by the patronymic Ārjuneya, son of Arjuna (1, 112[23] &c.). Mention is made of a son of his, whom Indra aided in fight against a Dasyu (10, 105[11]). Kutsa is young and brilliant (1, 63[3]). He is a seer, who called upon Indra for aid when plunged in a pit (1, 106[6]). Kutsa rides on the same car as Indra (4, 16[11]; 5, 29[9]), who wafts him (5, 31[8]; 8, 1[11]) or takes him as his charioteer (2, 19[6]; 6, 20[5]). Kutsa is similar to Indra (4, 16[10]) and is even invoked with him in a dual compound as *Indrākutsā*, the pair being besought to come on their car (5, 31[9]).

The foe against whom Kutsa is associated with Indra is Śuṣṇa. Indra smote Śuṣṇa for Kutsa (1, 63[3]. 121[9]; 4, 16[12]; 6, 26[3]), aided Kutsa against Śuṣṇa (1, 51[6]), subjected Śuṣṇa to him (7, 19[2]), or, associated with Kutsa and the gods, vanquished Śuṣṇa (5, 29[9]). Indra is invoked to fight with Kutsa against Śuṣṇa (6, 31[3]) or to bring Kutsa as a slayer of Śuṣṇa (1, 175[4]). Indra fights for Kutsa even against the gods (4, 30[2—5]) or against Gandharva (8, 1[11]). The conflict with Śuṣṇa results in the stealing of the wheel of the sun (1, 175[4]; 6, 31[3]). For Kutsa pressed by his foes Indra tore off the wheel of the sun (4, 30[4]) while the other he gave to Kutsa to drive on with (5, 29[10]). This miracle of stopping the sun (cp. 1, 121[10]; 10, 138[3]) seems to be a transference of the myth of Indra gaining the sun for human happiness, to the reminiscence of a semi-historical battle. In winning the sun Indra is said to have made wide space for his charioteer Kutsa (6, 20[5]). He is invoked to crush the fiends with Kutsa and to roll forward the wheel of the sun (4, 16[14]). In one passage Indra is said to have subjected other foes than Śuṣṇa to Kutsa, viz. Tugra, Smadibha, and the Vetasus (10, 49[4]).

Kutsa, whom Indra aided and loved (1, 33[14]), nevertheless sometimes appears as his enemy. Thus Indra struck down the heroes of Kutsa, Āyu, and Atithigva (2, 14[7]), harassed Āyu, Kutsa, and Atithigva (Vāl. 5[2]), delivered these three into the hand of the young king Tūrvayāṇa (1, 53[10]), or smote them to the earth for him (6, 18[13]). This seems to indicate the historical character of Kutsa. For a deity of light would naturally have been regarded by the Vedic poets as always a friend, and a demon of darkness always as a foe. Tradition also attributes a number of the hymns of the first and ninth book of the RV. to a seer Kutsa of the family of the Aṅgirases. BERGAIGNE, however, thinks that Kutsa is purely mythical, originally a form of Agni (or Soma), sometimes seeming to represent the sun. In the Naighaṇṭuka (2, 20) *kutsa* appears as one of the synonyms of thunderbolt (*vajra*).

B. Kāvya Uśanā[2]. The ancient seer Uśanā is mentioned eleven times in the RV. He is twice called a sage (*kavi*) and five times receives the epithet Kāvya. He is characteristically wise; for Soma uttering wisdom is compared (9, 97[7]) and, owing to his wisdom, is identified with Uśanā (9, 87[3]). Kāvya Uśanā established Agni as the *hotṛ* of sacrifice (8, 23[17]). He is said to have driven hither the cows, in the same verse in which Atharvan, the institutor of sacrifice, is referred to as having prepared the path of the sun (1, 83[5]). He was a protégé of Indra (6, 20[11]), who rejoiced with him (1, 51[11]) and who is represented as identifying himself with Uśanā as well as Kutsa and others (4, 26[1]). He was associated with Indra when the latter, along with Kutsa, vanquished Śuṣṇa (5, 29[9]). Uśanā also fashioned for Indra the bolt for slaying Vṛtra (1, 121[12]; 5, 34[2] cp. 1, 51[10]).

C. Several other ancient seers of a historical or semi-historical character are mentioned in the RV. Such are Gotama, Viśvāmitra, Vāmadeva, Bharadvāja and Vasiṣṭha[3] to whom, or to whose families, the composition of the second, third, fourth, sixth, and seventh books are respectively attributed. Agastya is another seer mentioned several times in the RV.[4]. More or less historical warriors of the olden time are king Sudās, Purukutsa and his son Trasadasyu, as well as Divodāsa Atithigva[5].

Even the most mythical of the ancestors of man or of particular families treated of in this chapter seem, with perhaps two or three exceptions, to have been either actual men of bygone days or to have been projected into the past to represent the first progenitors of actually living men. The deeds attributed to them are partly historical reminiscences, partly aetiological myths, and partly poetical creations. By association with the gods they are often drawn into participation in the mythological actions, such as the winning of the sun, on which the order of nature is founded. Most of what is told about the priestly ancestors, is intended to furnish evidence of sacerdotal art and power, which are therefore treated supernaturally. It is not likely that they represent powers of nature and are faded gods come down to earth[6].

[1] KHF. 54 ff.; BRV. 2, 333—8; PERRY, JAOS. 11, 181; PVS. 1, 24; GVS. 2, 35. 163 ff.; ZDMG. 42, 211; ORV. 158—60; JAOS. 18, 31—3. — [2] BRV. 2, 338—41; SP.AP. 281—7. — [3] Cp. BRV. 1, 50—2; OLDENBERG, ZDMG. 42, 203 ff.; OERTEL, JAOS. 18, 47—8. — [4] Cp. ZDMG. 34, 589 ff.; 39, 65—8. — [5] OLDENBERG, ZDMG. 42, 199—247; HRI. 111. — [6] Cp. GRUPPE, Die griechischen Culte 1, 298 ff.; ORV. 273—4.

V. ANIMALS AND INANIMATE OBJECTS.

§ 59. General Traits. — Animals enter to a considerable extent into the mythological creations of the Veda. There are still numerous traces surviving from a more primitive age, when the line dividing men from animals

was not definitely drawn (§ 65) and gods might be conceived as having animal forms also. The higher Vedic gods themselves being anthropomorphic in character, the supernatural beings of the Veda which have an animal form belong to a lower order, being semi-divine only or demoniac according as the animal is useful to man, as the cow, or injurious, as the serpent. Moreover, just as man has attached to him various animals which are serviceable to him, so the great anthropomorphic gods are naturally surrounded by a celestial animal world of a similar character. Lastly, actual animals are in the ritual connected with mythological conceptions of the gods. They are symbolical representatives intended only as an instrument for the time being to influence the gods they in some respect resemble. This fetishistic point of view is probably the faded remnant of a more primitive identification of gods with visible objects. The part which such animal fetishes play in Vedic times is, however, no longer great, since the representation of deities by animals conflicted with the higher conception prevailing of the gods as mighty men dwelling in heaven and coming invisibly to the sacrifice.

§ 60. The Horse[1]. — A. Dadhikrā. Besides the celestial horses which draw the cars of the gods, various individual divine steeds occur in Vedic mythology. One of the most notable of these is Dadhikrā, who is celebrated in four rather late[2] hymns of the RV. (4, 38—40; 7, 44). The name is mentioned there twelve times, interchanging with the extended form Dadhikrāvan, which is found ten times. The name hardly ever occurs in other Vedic texts. Dadhikrā is so characteristically a steed that the word is given in the Naighaṇṭuka (1, 14) as a synonym of horse. He is swift (4, $38^{2.9}$. 39^{1}), being the first steed at the head of chariots (7, 44^{4}) and a vanquisher of chariots (*rathatur*), who speeds like the wind (4, 38^{3}). The people praise his swiftness and every Pūru praises him as he runs on a precipice as it were (ib. $9^{.3}$). He bounds along the curves of the paths (4, 40^{4}). He is also conceived as winged. For he is called bird-like, his wing being compared with that of a bird and of a speeding eagle (4, $40^{2.3}$). He is likened to a swooping eagle and even directly called an eagle (4, $38^{5.2}$). In one passage (4, 40^{5}) he is spoken of as the swan (*haṃsa*) dwelling in light, as well as the Vasu in the air, the priest at the altar, the guest in the house — all epithets appropriate to various forms of Agni.

Dadhikrā is a hero, smites the Dasyus, and is victorious (4, $38^{1-3.7}$). His adversaries fear him as the thunder of heaven, when he fights against a thousand; he wins booty in combats and the tribes cry after him in contests (ib. $^{8.5.4}$). Making himself (*kṛṇvāna*) a garland, he tosses the dust and scatters it from his brows (ib. $^{6.7}$). He belongs to all the tribes, pervades the five tribes with his power, as Sūrya the waters with his light, and observes the assemblies (ib. $^{2.10.4}$). Mitra-Varuṇa gave him, the victorious steed, like shining Agni, to the Pūrus (4, 39^{2} cp. $38^{1.2}$); they gave us the horse Dadhikrā as a blessing for the mortal (ib. ^{5}).

The steed Dadhikrāvan is praised when Agni is kindled at the dawning of Uṣas (4, 39^{3}). He is invoked with the Dawns (ib.^{1}. 40^{1}), who are prayed to turn to the sacrifice like Dadhikrāvan (7, 41^{6}). He is regularly invoked with Uṣas, nearly as often with Agni, less frequently with the Aśvins and Sūrya, sometimes with other deities also (3, $20^{1.5}$; 7, 44^{1-4}; 10, 101^{1}); but Dadhikrā is invoked first (7, 44^{1}).

The etymological meaning, being uncertain[3], cannot be said to throw any additional light on the original nature of Dadhikrā. The second part of the compound may be a by-form of the root *kṛ*, 'to scatter', and the word would then mean 'scattering curdled milk', in allusion to the dew or

rime appearing at sunrise, according to ROTH and GRASSMANN[4], who both think that Dadhikrā represents in the form of a steed the circling ball of the sun. This view is supported by the fact that the deity with whom Dadhikrā is most closely connected is Uṣas, that the sun is often conceived as a steed or bird (p. 31) and that he is sometimes regarded as warlike (ib.). The statement that Dadhikrā was given by Mitra and Varuṇa might be connected with the notion of the sun being the eye of those deities. BERGAIGNE thinks that the name of Dadhikrā refers rather to lightning, but that he represents Agni in general, including his solar and lightning forms[5]. LUDWIG[6], PISCHEL[7], v. BRADKE[8], and OLDENBERG[9], however, agree in the opinion that Dadhikrā was not a deity, but an actual horse, famous as a racer or charger, which received divine honours.

It has already been remarked (p. 142) that Dadhyañc is allied to Dadhikrā in name, and possibly in nature, since he is spoken of as having a horse's head.

B. Tārkṣya. Nearly related to Dadhikrā is Tārkṣya, whose name is mentioned only twice in the RV. (1, 89[6]; 10, 178[1]). One late hymn, consisting of three stanzas (10, 178), is devoted to his praise. He is there described as a god-impelled mighty steed (*vājin*), a vanquisher of chariots (cp. 6, 44[4]), swift, and speeding to battle. He is invoked as a gift of Indra. In the identical words applied to Dadhikrā (4, 38[10]), he is said to have pervaded the five tribes with his power, as Surya the waters with his light. That he was primarily conceived as a steed is shown (v.[2]; 1, 89[6]) by his epithet *ariṣṭanemi*, 'whose fellies are intact' (which in VS. 15, 18 appears as an independent name beside Tārkṣya and Garuḍa). In the Naighaṇṭuka (1, 14) the word *tārkṣya* occurs as a synonym of 'horse'. In one or two later Vedic texts Tārkṣya is, however, referred to as a bird; and in the Epic and subsequent literature, he is identical with the swift bird Garuḍa, the vehicle of Viṣṇu. It seems on the whole probable that Tārkṣya originally represented the sun in the form of a divine steed[10]. The word seems to be derived from Tṛkṣi, the name of a man, with the patronymic Trāsadasyava, once mentioned in the RV. (8, 22[7]). This derivation leads FOY[11] to believe that Tārkṣya was an actual race horse (like Dadhikrā), belonging to Tṛkṣi of the family of Trasadasyu.

C. Paidva. Another mythical steed is that which the Aśvins are said to have brought to Pedu (1, 119[10]; 7, 71[5]) and which is therefore called Paidva (1, 116[6]; 9, 88[4]). The object of the gift was to replace an inferior horse, as may be inferred from the description of Pedu as *aghāśva*, 'he who has a bad horse' (1, 116[6]). This steed is several times spoken of as 'white' *śveta* (1, 116[6], &c.). He is praiseworthy (1, 119[10]; 10, 39[10]; cp. 4, 38[2]) and is to be invoked (1, 116[6]) by men, like Bhaga (10, 39[10]). He is compared with Indra (1, 119[10]) and is called a 'dragon-slayer', *ahihan* (1, 117[9]. 118[4] cp. 9, 88[4]), an epithet otherwise peculiar to Indra. He is a conqueror invincible in battles, seeking heaven (1, 119[10]). Here again the evidence, as far as it goes, appears to favour the interpretation of the steed of Pedu as symbolical of the sun[12].

D. Etaśa. The word *etaśa*, which occurs a few times as an adjective meaning 'swift', more frequently signifies 'steed' in the RV. In the plural it designates the horses of the sun (7, 62[2]; 10, 37[3]. 49[7]). It occurs about a dozen times as a proper name in the singular, always connected with the sun, often with reference to the wheel of the sun. Savitṛ is the steed (*etaśa*) who measured out the terrestrial regions (5, 81[3]). The swift god Etaśa draws the bright form of the sun (7, 66[14]). Yoked to the pole, Etaśa moves the

wheel of the sun (7, 63[2]); he brought the wheel of the sun (1, 121[13]; 5, 31[11]). Indra urged on the steed (*etaśa*) of the sun (8, 1[11] cp. 9, 63[8]). Indra helped Etaśa contending in a race with Sūrya (1, 61[15]). It may be gathered from stray references to this mythical contest, that Etaśa being at first behind takes up the lost wheel of the sun and fixes it to the car of Sūrya; he has now gained the lead, and in the end Sūrya seems to concede to him the place of honour before his own car[13]. It appears to be impossible to suggest any satisfactory interpretation of this myth. It can, however, hardly be doubted that Etaśa represents the steed of the sun.

E. The Horse symbolical of Sun and Fire. That the horse is symbolical of the sun, is indicated by a passage of the RV. in which Dawn is said to lead a white steed (7, 77[3]), and is suggested by another (1, 163[2]) in which the sacrificial steed is said to have been fashioned by the gods out of the sun[14]. In a particular form of the Soma ritual, the horse also appears to be symbolical of the sun[15].

Agni, the swift and agile god, is often, as has been shown (p. 89), spoken of as a steed. In the ritual the horse is symbolical of Agni. A horse is stationed so as to look at the place where fire is produced by friction. When the fire is borne towards the east, it is deposited in the track of the horse which goes in front[16]. In the ceremony of piling the fire-altar, the horse is addressed with the verse: 'In heaven is thy highest birth, in air thy navel, on earth thy home' (VS. 11, 12). Such a rite is explained in the ŚB. as bringing Agni together with himself[17]. The same Brāhmaṇa speaks of lightning as a horse descended from the waters or the clouds (ŚB. 5, 1, 4[5]; 7, 5, 2[18]).

1 Cp. Gubernatis, Zoological Mythology 1, 283 ff. — 2 E. V. Arnold, KZ. 34, 303. — 3 Cp. Wackernagel, Altind. Gr. p. 15. — 4 Roth, PW.; GW. s. v.; cp. HRI. 55, note 5. — 5 BRV. 2, 456–7; cp. Macdonell, JRAS. 25, 471; MM., SBE. 46, 282. — 6 LRV. 4, 79. — 7 PVS. 1, 124; cp. Hillebrandt, Vedainterpretation 17—18. — 8 ZDMG. 42, 447—9. 462—3. — 9 ORV. 71; SBE. 46, 282. — 10 PW.; BRV. 2, 498; Hirzel, Gleichnisse und Metaphern im RV. (1890) 27. 62–3; Griffith, Transl. of SV. 69, note 1. — 11 KZ. 34, 366—7. — 12 Cp. BRV. 2, 51—2. — 13 BRV. 2, 330 — 3; ORV. 169 f.; cp. PVS. 1, 42; GVS. 2, 161 ff. 14 Cp. AB. 6, 35 &c.; KHF. 52; Weber, IS. 13, 247, n. 3; Die Nakṣatra 2, 270. — 15 ORV. 81. — 16 ORV. 77. — 17 ORV. 80.

§ 61. A. The Bull. — Indra is in the RV. constantly designated a bull, a term applied much less frequently to Agni, and occasionally to other gods, such as Dyaus (p. 22). In the AV. (9, 4[9]) a bull is addressed as Indra, and in the ŚB. (2, 5, 3[18]) the bull is stated to be Indra's form[1]. In the Avesta the bull appears as one of the incarnations of Verethraghna, the Avestan Indra[2]. In one of the sacrifices of the Vedic ritual, a bull also represents the god Rudra[3]. A bull plays a part in the obscure and much discussed myth of Mudgala and Mudgalānī (RV. 10, 102)[4].

B. The Cow. — Owing to its great utility on earth, the cow naturally enters largely into the conceptions of Vedic mythology. The beams of Dawn are personified as cows[5], which draw her car (p. 47). The rain-cloud is personified as a cow, the mother of a (lightning) calf (pp. 10. 12). This cloud-cow is individualized as Pṛśni[6], the mother of the Maruts (VS. 2, 16), her milk (6, 48[22]) and udder being several times referred to (cp. p. 125). The bountiful clouds are doubtless the prototypes of the many-coloured cows which yield all desires (*kāmadughā*) in the heaven of the Blest (AV. 4, 34[8]) and which are the forerunners of the Cow of Plenty (*kāmaduh*) so often mentioned in post-Vedic poetry[7]. Iḍā, the personification of the offering of milk and butter, has a tendency to be regarded as a cow (p. 124). Aditi

also is sometimes spoken of as a cow (p. 122). The gods are sometimes called cow-born, *gojātāḥ*. The most frequent application of the cow is, however, in the myth of the kine released from the rock by Indra (pp. 59. 61).

The terrestrial cow herself has already acquired a certain sanctity in the RV., being addressed as Aditi and a goddess, while the poet impresses on his hearers that she should not be killed (8, 90[15. 16] cp. VS. 4, 19. 20). The inviolability of the cow is further indicated by her designation *aghnyā*, 'not to be slain', which occurs sixteen times in the RV. (the corresponding masculine form *aghnya* being found only three times). In the AV. the worship of the cow as a sacred animal is fully recognised (AV. 12, 4. 5.)[8]. In the ŚB. (3, 1, 2[21]) he who eats beef is said to be born again (on earth) as a man of evil fame; though beef is allowed to be cooked for guests (ŚB. 3, 4, 1[2])[9].

[1] Cp. MS. 1, 10[16]; TB. 1, 6, 7[4]; Āp. ŚS. 8, 11[19]. — [2] ORV. 76, note 2. — [3] ORV. 82. — [4] Last treated of by V. HENRY (with reference to his predecessors) in JA. 1895 (6), 516—48. — [5] Cp. GRUPPE, op. cit. 1, 77. — [6] Cp. ROTH, Nir. Erl. 145; PW. s v. — [7] KHF. 188. — [8] HRI. 156; cp. BLOOMFIELD, SBE. 42, 656. — [9] WVB. 1894, p. 36; HRI. 189; cp. WINTERNITZ, Hochzeitsrituell 33.

§ 62. The Goat &c. — In the RV. the goat is specially connected with Pūṣan as drawing his car (p. 35). It also appears there as a divine being in the form of Aja ekapād, the one-footed Goat (§ 27)[1]. In the the later Vedic literature the goat is several times connected or identified with Agni[2].

The ass appears in Vedic mythology mainly as drawing the car of the Aśvins (p. 50)[3].

The dog[4] is found in the RV. mythologically in the form of the two brindled hounds of Yama, called Sārameya (p. 173). This name indicates that they were regarded as descendants[5] of Saramā[6] (p. 63), the messenger of Indra. There is nothing in the RV. directly showing that Saramā was there conceived as a bitch, though in the later Vedic literature she is regarded as such and by Yāska (Nir. 11, 25) is described as the 'bitch of the gods' (*devaśunī*).

The boar occurs in the RV. as a figurative designation of Rudra, the Maruts, and Vṛtra[7]. In the TS. and TB. this animal appears in a cosmogonic character as the form assumed by the Creator Prajāpati when he raised the earth out of the waters. A later development of it is the boar incarnation of Viṣṇu[8].

In the later Saṃhitās the tortoise is raised to a semi-divine position as 'lord of waters' (VS. 13, 31)[9], or, as Kaśyapa, often appears beside or identical with Prajāpati in the AV., where he receives the epithet *svayambhū*, 'self-existent' (AV. 19, 53[10])[10]. In the AB. (8, 21[10]) the earth is said to have been promised to Kaśyapa by Viśvakarman. In the ŚB. Prajāpati is described as changing himself into a tortoise (7, 4, 3[5]), in which form he produced all creatures (7, 5, 1[1])[11]. This assumed form of the creator became in post-Vedic mythology the tortoise incarnation of Viṣṇu[12]. In the TS. (2, 6, 3[3]) the sacrificial cake (*puroḍāśa*) is said to become a tortoise.

A monkey appears in a late hymn of the RV. (10, 86) as Indra's favourite, who is expelled for his mischievousness by Indrāṇī, but is finally restored to favour (§ 22, p. 64).

Frogs awakened by the rains are in RV. 7, 103 the objects of a panegyric as bestowing cows and long life, and seem to be conceived as possessing magical powers[13]. This hymn has, however, been interpreted by MAX MÜLLER[14] as a satire on Brahmans. BERGAIGNE interprets the frogs as meteorological phenomena[15].

[1] ORV. 72; SBE. 46, 62; Bloomfield, SBE. 42, 625. 664, who thinks Aja ekapād is undoubtedly the Sun, with reference to TB. 3, 1, 2[8] ('Aja ekapād has risen in the east', &c.), a passage which, however, is not cogent for the Rigvedic conception. — [2] ORV. 78. — [3] WVB. 1894, p. 26, n. 2. — [4] Cp. Hopkins, The Dog in the RV., AJP. 1894, 154—5; Bloomfield, SBE. 42, 500. — [5] Cp. Whitney, Sanskrit Grammar[2], 1216. — [6] Op. cit. 1166 b; Wackernagel, Altind. Gr. § 52 a.; KRV. n. 149; ZDMG. 13, 493—9; 14, 583. — [7] Cp. KHF. 177—8; Entwicklungsstufen 136; IS. 1, 272, note; Hopkins, JAOS. 17, 67. — [8] Macdonell, JRAS. 27, 178—89. — [9] Cp. IS. 13, 250. — [10] Cp. SPH. 81. — [11] Cp. IS. 1, 187. — [12] Macdonell, JRAS. 27, 166—7. — [13] ORV. 70; Bloomfield, JAOS. 17, 173—9. — [14] ASL. 494—5; cp. OST. 5, 436. — [15] BRV. 1, 292 &c.; cp. HRI. 100—1.

§ 63. The Bird. — Birds figure largely in Vedic mythology. Soma is often compared with or called a bird[1] (p. 106). Agni in particular is frequently likened to or directly designated a bird[2], once being spoken of as the eagle of the sky (p. 89)[3]. The sun is also sometimes conceived as a bird (p. 31)[4], twice under the name of *garutmat*[5]. The fact that Viṣṇu's vehicle in post-Vedic mythology is Garuḍa, the chief of the birds, is probably based on the same notion (cp. p. 39). The main application of the bird in the Veda is as the eagle which carries off the Soma for Indra and which appears to represent lightning[6]. In the Kāṭhaka it is Indra himself who in the form of an eagle captures the Soma or *amṛta*. Similarly in the Avesta, Verethraghna assumes the form of Vāraghna, the swiftest of birds, and in Germanic mythology, the god Odhin transforming himself into an eagle, flies with the mead to the realm of the gods (p. 114)[7].

Ominous birds as well as beasts are occasionally connected with certain gods by whom they are supposed to be sent. Thus in the RV. the owl and the pigeon are spoken of as messengers of Yama (§ 77)[8]. In the Sūtras the owl is 'the messenger of evil spirits'; while the beast of prey besmeared with blood and the carrion vulture are called messengers of Yama[9]. In the RV. a bird of omen is once invoked to give auspicious signs (2, 42[3]).

[1] Cp. Benfey, SV. glossary, s. v. *śyena*. — [2] Bloomfield, FaR. 152. — [3] KHF. 29. — [4] v. Bradke, ZDMG. 40, 356. — [5] GW.; HRI. 45. — [6] BRI. 11. — [7] ORV. 75. — [8] Cp. ZDMG. 31, 352 ff.; Bloomfield, SBE. 42, 474. — [9] ORV. 76.

§ 64. Noxious Animals. — These generally appear as demons or show demoniac traits. Demons are sometimes in the RV. referred to with the generic term *mṛga*, 'wild beast' (1, 80[7]; 5, 29[4]. 32[3]). One demon who is mentioned three times (2, 11[18]; 8, 32[26]. 66[2]) is called Aurṇavābha, 'Spider-brood'; another referred to only once (2, 14[4]) is named Uraṇa, 'Ram'.

The most common animal form applied in this way is the serpent[1] (*ahi* = Av. *azhi*)[2]. This is generally only another designation of the demon Vṛtra, who probably received his name (cp. § 68) as a formidable enemy of mankind enveloping his prey like a serpent in his coils[3]. The Vṛtra-slayer Indra, who is also called the serpent-slayer, is said to have slain the serpent (8, 82[2] cp. 4, 17[1]); the identity of Ahi and Vṛtra is clear where the terms interchange (1, 32[1. 2. 7—14]); and by the 'first-born of the serpents' (ib.[3. 4]) no other can be meant than 'Vṛtra, the most Vṛtra' (ib.[5]). In several passages, too, the words are in apposition and may be translated 'the serpent Vṛtra'[4]. When Ahi is mentioned alone, the results of Indra's victory over him are the same as in the case of Vṛtra, the god causing the waters to flow, delivering the seven streams, or winning the cows[5]. The waters are also described as encompassed by the serpent, the action being expressed by the root *vṛ* (2, 19[2]) among others. They are similarly said to be swallowed (*√gras*) by the serpent (4, 17[1]; 10, 111[9]). Ahi is armed with lightning thunder and hail (1, 32[13]). He is bright, for the Maruts are called *ahibhānavaḥ*, 'shining like Ahi' (1, 172[1]); and the term *ahi* is applied to Agni,

who is described as a 'raging serpent, like the rushing wind' (1, 79[1])[5]. Soma is once besought to deliver an enemy to Ahi (7, 104[9]). The plural of the word is occasionally used to express a race of demons (9, 88[4]; 10, 139[6]), of whom *the* Ahi is the first-born (1, 32[3. 4]).

The serpent, however, also appears as a divine being in the form of Ahi budhnya (§ 26), who seems to represent the beneficent side of the character of Ahi Vṛtra.

In the later Saṃhitās the serpents (*sarpāḥ*) are found as a class of semi-divine beings beside the Gandharvas and others. They are spoken of as being in earth, air, and heaven (VS. 13, 6; cp. TB. 3, 1, 1[7]). They are often mentioned in the AV.[6], one hymn of which (11, 9) is sometimes interpreted as an invocation of certain serpent divinities[7]. In the Sūtras offerings to the serpents of earth, air, and heaven (AGS. 2, 1[9]; PGS. 2, 14[9]) are prescribed; serpents are satiated along with gods, plants, demons, &c. (SGS. 4, 9[3]. 15[4]; AGS. 3, 4[1]), and blood is poured out for them (AGS. 4, 8[27]). In this worship the serpent, owing to its hurtfulness, is naturally regarded as having a demoniac nature, which has to be propitiated. In a similar sense offerings are sometimes made to ants (KS. 116).

[1] Cp. Benfey, GGA. 1847, p. 1484; Gubernatis, Zoological Mythology 2, 392—7; Winternitz, Der Sarpabali, Vienna 1888. — [2] Sp.AP. 257. — [3] Cp. Sp.AP. 261. — [4] BRV. 2, 204. — [5] Griffith, RV. Transl. 1, 133, note 1; Macdonell, JRAS. 25, 429. — [6] Weber, Jyotiṣa 94; PW. s. v. *sarpa*. — [7] Cp. Bloomfield, SBE. 42, 631—4.

§ 65. Survival of prehistoric notions. — The primitive conception that man does not differ essentially from beast, has left a few traces in the form of a belief in beings of the werewolf order. These are represented by the man-tigers (VS. 30, 8; ŚB. 13, 2, 4[2])[1] and by the Nāgas, human beings in appearance but in reality serpents, which are first mentioned under this name in the Sūtras[2] (AGS. 3, 4[1]). It does not seem likely that the later serpent worship had any connexion with the myth of the Vṛtra serpent, but its development was probably due rather to the influence of the aborigines. For on the one hand there is no trace of it in the RV., and on the other it has been found prevailing very widely among the non-Aryan Indians. The Aryans doubtless found the cult extensively diffused among the natives when they spread over India, the land of serpents[3].

Similarly, there are possibly in the RV. some survivals of totemism or the belief in the descent of the human race or of individual tribes or families from animals or plants. Kaśyapa, 'Tortoise', the name of a seer (9, 114[2]) and of a priestly family (AB. 7, 27), is also frequently found in the AV. and the later Vedic literature[4] as that of a cosmogonic power nearly related to or identified with the Creator Prajāpati. In a passage of the ŚB. (7, 5, 1[5]) Prajāpati appears in the form of a tortoise (*kūrma*). Here it is remarked that, as *kūrma* is identical with *kaśyapa*, 'therefore men say: all beings are the children of the tortoise (*kaśyapa*)'. The RV. (7, 18[6. 19]) mentions as tribal names the Matsyas (Fishes)[5], the Ajas (Goats), and the Śigrus (Horse-radishes). As names of Vedic priestly families also occur the Gotamas[6] (Oxen), the Vatsas (Calves), the Śunakas (Dogs), the Kauśikas (Owls), and Māṇḍukeyas[7] (Frog-sons). The father of Saṃvaraṇa (a name occurring in RV. 5, 53[10]), from whom the kings of the Kurus claimed descent, is in the Epic called Ṛkṣa (Bear)[8]. Hopkins, however, expresses a doubt whether the names of animals ever point to totemism in the RV.[9]

[1] Cp. the Man-lion incarnation of Viṣṇu. — [2] Cp. Winternitz, Sarpabali 43. — [3] ORV. 69, note 2. — [4] PW. s. v.; IS. 3, 457. 459. — [5] Also mentioned in

Manu 2, 19. — [6] Superlative of *go*. — [7] See PW. sub vocibus. — [8] ORV. 85—6; Bloomfield, JAOS. 15, 178, note. — [9] PAOS. 1894, p. cliv.

§ 66. Deified Terrestrial Objects. — A. Besides the phenomena and forces of nature, mostly aerial and celestial, and the earth itself (§ 34), various natural features of the earth's surface, as well as artificial objects, are treated as deities in the RV. It is the worship of inanimate things chiefly regarded as useful to man[1]. It is not pantheistic, since each object is regarded as a separate divinity[2], but is rather fetishistic in its character.

Rivers personified as goddesses have already been dealt with (§ 33).

Mountains (*parvata*) are often in the RV. conceived as divinely animate, being invoked as deities nearly twenty times in the plural and four times in the singular. In this capacity they never appear alone, but only with other natural objects such as waters, rivers, plants, trees, heaven and earth (7, 34[23], &c.), or with gods like Savitṛ, Indra, and others (6, 49[14], &c.). They are invoked as manly, firmly fixed, rejoicing in plenty (3, 54[21]). Parvata is even three times lauded with Indra in the dual compound *Indrāparvatā* (1, 122[3]. 132[6]). The pair are spoken of as driving in a great car and are besought to come to the offering (3, 53[1]). Here Parvata seems to be a mountain god, conceived anthropomorphically as a companion of Indra.

Plants (*oṣadhi*) are also personified as divine. The whole of a long hymn of the RV. (10, 97)[3] is devoted to their praise, mainly with reference to their healing powers[4]. They are called mothers and goddesses (v. [4]), and Soma, to whom trees are subject, is described as their king. In another text a herb to be used medicinally is spoken of as a 'goddess born on the goddess earth' (AV. 6, 136[1]). An animal sacrifice is even offered to plants in order to remove their obstruction to the attainment of offspring (TS. 2, 1, 5[3]).

Large trees, called *vanaspati*, 'lord of the forest', are a few times addressed as deities either in the plural (7, 34[23]; 10, 64[8]) or the singular (1, 90[8]; Vāl. 6[4]), chiefly along with Waters and Mountains. Later texts refer to the adoration paid to large trees passed in marriage processions[5] (cp. p. 134).

The forest as a whole appears as a deity under the name of Araṇyānī, the jungle goddess, who is invoked in RV. 10, 146. Here she is called the mother of beasts, abounding in food without tillage; and the various uncanny sounds heard in her dark solitudes are weirdly described. The plant, tree, and forest deities, however, play a very insignificant part not only in the RV., but even in the AV. and in the ritual of the lesser domestic sacrifices; while in the Buddhist literature they seem to have been more closely connected with human life than any other lower deities[6].

B. Implements. Another group of inanimate objects susceptible of personification and worship is formed by various implements of sacrifice. The deification of these is by Barth[7] called by the rather misleading name of ritualistic pantheism[8]. The most important of these objects is the sacrificial post, which under the name of *vanaspati* and *svaru* is deified and invoked in RV. 3, 8. The tree is here described as well-lopped with the axe, as anointed and adorned by priests; and the posts set up by priests are gods, and as gods go to the gods (vv. [6. 9]). In the tenth or eleventh verses of the Āprī hymns[10], the post is described as thrice anointed with ghee and being set up beside the fire is invoked to let the offering go to the gods. In other verses of the same hymns the sacrificial grass (*barhis*) is twice (2, 3[4]; 10, 70[4]) addressed as a god, and more frequently the doors leading to the place of sacrifice, as goddesses (*devīr dvāraḥ*).

The pressing stones (*grāvan*, also *adri*) are deified in three hymns (10, 76. 94. 175). They are spoken of as immortal, unaging, and more

mighty even than heaven[11]. When pressing they are like steeds or bulls and the sound of their voice reaches to heaven. They are invoked to drive away demons and destruction, and to bestow wealth and offspring. In two verses of the RV. (1, 28[5. 6]) the mortar and pestle are invoked to resound aloud and to press Soma for Indra.

The AV. ascribes divine power of the highest order to Ucchiṣṭa, the 'remnant' of the sacrifice (AV. 11, 7)[12] as well as to different sacrificial ladles[13].

Agricultural implements named Śuna and Sirā, probably the ploughshare and the plough, are invoked in a few verses of the RV. (4, 57[5—8]), and a cake is assigned to them at the sacrifice in the ritual (ŚB. 2, 6, 3[5]).

Weapons, finally, are sometimes deified. The whole of RV. 6, 75 is devoted to the praise of various implements of war, armour, bow, quiver, and arrows. The arrow is adored as divine and is besought to grant protection and to attack the foe (vv. [11. 15. 16]). The drum (*dundubhi*) is invoked to drive away dangers, foes, and demons (vv. [29—31]); and a whole hymn of the AV. (5, 20) celebrates its praises[14].

C. Symbols. Material objects are occasionally mentioned in the later Vedic literature as symbols representing deities. Something of this kind (possibly an image) must be meant even in a passage of the RV., in which the poet asks, 'Who will buy this my Indra for ten cows? When he has slain his foes he may give him back to me' (4, 24[10]; cp. 8, 1[5]). References to idols[15] begin to appear in the later additions to the Brāhmaṇas and in the Sūtras[16].

The wheel is in various ritual performances employed as a symbol of the sun, as representing both its shape and its motion. It is thus used in the Vājapeya sacrifice[17], in the ceremony of laying the sacrificial fire, and at the solstitial festival[18]. In post-Vedic mythology, moreover, one of the weapons of Viṣṇu is a wheel (*cakra*)[19].

Gold or a firebrand was employed as a symbol of the sun, when drawing water after sunset (ŚB. 3, 9, 2[9]); gold served the same purpose when the sacrificial fire was made up after sunset instead of before (ŚB. 12, 4, 4[6]); and in piling the fire-altar, a disc of gold was placed on it to represent the sun (ŚB. 7, 4, 1[10])[20].

A symbol must have been used, as at a later period, in the phallic worship which was known in the earliest Vedic period, as is shown by the occurrence in two passages of the word *śiśnádevāḥ*, 'those who have a phallus for their deity'. Such worship was, however, repugnant to the religious ideas of the RV.; for Indra is besought not to let the *śiśnadevāḥ* approach the sacrifice (7, 21[5]), and he is said to have slain the *śiśnadevāḥ*, when he won the treasure of the hundred-gated fort (10, 99[3]). In the post-Vedic period the phallus or *liṅga* became symbolical of Śiva's generative power and its worship is widely diffused in India even at the present day[21].

[1] HRI. 166. — [2] HRI. 135. — [3] Cp. Roth, ZDMG. 25, 645—8. — [4] Cp. Darmesteter, Haurvatāt et Ameretāt 74—6. — [5] ORV. 252; tree-worship also appears in the Sūtras, where a newly married couple are said to bring offerings to the *udumbara* and to invoke its blessing: Winternitz, Hochzeitsrituell 101—2. — [6] ORV. 259—61. — [7] BRI. 37, note. — [8] HRI. 135. — [9] Cp. Oldenberg, SBE. 46, 12. 253—5. — [10] Cp. Roth, Nir. xxxvi, Erl. 117—8. 121—4; ASL. 463—6; Weber, IS. 10, 89—95; GRV. 1, 6; KRV. n. 126; Oldenberg, SBE. 46, 9—10. — [11] HVM. 1, 151. — [12] OST. 5, 396; SPH. 87—8. — [13] OST. 5, 398. — [14] Roth, FaB. 99. — [15] The allusion to idols of Agni, seen in RV. 1, 145[4. 5] by Bollensen (ZDMG. 47, 586), is inconclusive. — [16] Weber, Omina und Portenta 337. 367 f.; IS. 5, 149; KRV. note 79a; HRI. 251. — [17] Weber, Vājapeya 20. 34 f. — [18] ORV. 88, note 4. — [19] v. Bradke, ZDMG. 40, 356. — [20] ORV. 255—61. 87—92. — [21] v. Schroeder WZKM. 9, 237; HRI. 150.

VI. DEMONS AND FIENDS.

§ 67. A. Asuras. — Opposed to the beneficent gods is a body of malevolent beings called by various designations. Asura is throughout the Vedic literature the name of the celestial demons who are regarded as the regular adversaries of the gods in their mythical conflicts and who only rarely appear as present foes of men (e. g. AV. 8, 6[5]; KS. 87[10]; 88[1]). The term, however, occurs only a few times in the RV. with the later sense of demon. It is there found only four times in the plural with this meaning. Indra is invoked to scatter the godless Asuras (8, 85[9]). Otherwise they are only mentioned in the tenth book, always as opposed to the gods in general. The gods, it is said, smote the Asuras (10, 157[4]). Agni promises to devise a hymn by which the gods may vanquish the Asuras (10, 53[4]). The gods are even said to have placed faith in the formidable Asuras (10, 151[3]). The word also occurs three times as the designation of an individual demon. Bṛhaspati is besought to pierce with a burning stone the heroes of the wolfish Asura (2, 30[4]). Indra shattered the forts of the crafty Asura Pipru (10, 138[3]) and Indra-Viṣṇu smote the 100000 heroes of the Asura Varcin (7, 99[5]). The sense of 'demon' is also found in the epithet *asurahan*, 'Asura-slayer', which occurs three times and is applied to Indra (6, 22[4]), to Agni (7, 13[1]), and to the Sun (10, 170[2]). The older Rigvedic notion of the conflict of a single god with a single demon, mainly exemplified by Indra and Vṛtra, gradually developed into that of the gods and the Asuras in general being arrayed against each other in two hostile camps. This is the regular view of the Brāhmaṇas. A new and frequent feature of the conflicts constantly described in these works is that the gods are worsted at the outset and only win by artifice. The most notable illustration of this notion is the myth of Viṣṇu taking his three strides in the form of a dwarf on behalf of the gods[1].

In the Brāhmaṇas the Asuras are associated with darkness (ŚB. 2, 4, 2[5])[2]. Day belongs to the gods, night to the Asuras (TS. 1, 5, 9[2]). They are, however, constantly spoken of as being the offspring of Prajāpati and as having originally been equal to and like the gods[3]. It is perhaps for this reason that malignant spirits are sometimes included by the term *deva* (TS. 3, 5, 4[1]; AV. 3, 15[5]).

In the AV. and later *asura* means 'demon' only; but in the RV. the word is predominantly a designation of gods, and in the Avesta Ahura (= *asura*) is the name of the highest god. Thus the sense of 'god' is clearly the older. An attempt has been made to explain the transition from this meaning to that of 'devil', from national conflicts in consequence of which the Asuras or gods of extra-Vedic tribes became 'demons' to the Vedic Indian[4]. There is, however, no traditional evidence in support of this view. The explanation seems rather to be found in the following development within the Veda itself[5]. *Asura* as compared with *deva* has in its older sense a peculiar shade of meaning. It is especially applied to Varuṇa or Mitra-Varuṇa[6], whose *māyā* or 'occult power' is particularly dwelt upon[7]. But the word *māyā* in the sense of 'craft' is also applied to hostile beings[8] and is closely connected with the bad sense of *asura* (10, 124[5]. 138[3])[9]. To the Vedic poets *asura* must therefore have meant 'possessor of occult power'[10] and as such would have been potentially applicable to hostile beings. In one hymn of the RV. (10, 124) both senses seem to occur[11]. Towards the end of the Rigvedic period the application of the word to the gods began to fall into disuse. This tendency was perhaps aided by the want of a general word to

denote the higher hostile demoniac power and by an incipient popular etymology[12] recognising a negative in the word and leading to the invention of *sura*, 'god' (first found in the Upaniṣads)[13].

B. Paṇis. — A group of demons of the upper air, primarily the enemies of Indra (6, 20[4]. 39[2]), secondarily also of his allies Soma, Agni, Bṛhaspati, and the Aṅgirases, are the Paṇis. In nearly all the passages in which these demons are named, their cows are either expressly mentioned (10, 108; 6, 39[2]) or alluded to as the treasure or wealth of the Paṇis (2, 24[6]; 9, 111[2]). There is a similar reference when Agni is said to have opened the doors of the Paṇis (7, 9[2]). In one passage the gods are described as having found in the cow the ghee hidden by the Paṇis (4, 58[4]). The Paṇis are comparatively powerful, for they are said to be surpassed in might by Indra (7, 56[10]) and not to have attained to the greatness of Mitra-Varuṇa (1, 151[9]).

The name occurs in the RV. about sixteen times in the plural, but is also found four times in the singular as representative of the group. Thus Indra or Agni-Soma are described as having robbed the cows from Paṇi (10, 67[6]; 1, 93[4]), or Soma is invoked to strike down the voracious Paṇi who is a wolf (6, 51[14]).

The word *paṇi* occurs with considerably greater frequency, and here oftener as a singular than a plural, in the sense of 'niggard', especially with regard to sacrificial gifts. From this signification it developed the mythological meaning of demons similar to those who primarily withhold the treasures of heaven[14].

C. The word *dāsa* or its equivalent *dasyu*, is also used to designate atmospheric demons. Its history is the converse of that of Vṛtra (§ 68). Primarily signifying the dark aborigines of India contrasted with their fair Aryan conquerors, it frequently rises to mythological rank in the RV. as the line between what is historical and mythical is not clearly drawn. This is especially the case with individual Dāsas, some of whose names even (e. g. Suṣṇa) lend themselves to a mythological interpretation, though others seem to be those of non-Aryan men (e. g. Ilībiśa)[15].

Thus both the singular (2, 12[10], &c.) and (mostly of *dasyu*) the plural (1, 101[5]) are frequently used to designate foes vanquished by Indra, sometimes beside the name of Vṛtra (6, 23[2], &c.). Hence Indra is sometimes called *dasyuhan*, 'Dasyu-slayer' (1, 100[12], &c.) and the combat is several times referred to as *dasyuhatya* (1, 51[5. 6], &c.). In favour of individual protégés Indra 'sent to sleep' (i. e. slew) 30000 Dāsas (4, 30[21]), bound a thousand Dasyus (2, 13[9]), or won cowstalls from the Dasyus for Dadhyañc (and) Mātariśvan (10, 48[2]). When Indra's aid is invoked against both Ārya and Dāsa foes (10, 38[3], &c.) or when he is spoken of as discriminating between Āryas and Dasyus or Dāsas (1, 51[8]; 10, 86[19]), terrestrial foes are undoubtedly meant. This is probably also the case when Indra fights against the Dasyus in favour of the Āryas (6, 18[3]. 25[2]). Owing to the Dāsas being so frequently taken captive by the conquering Aryans, the word *dāsa* comes to be used two or three times in the RV. (7, 86[7]; Vāl. 8[3]) in the sense of 'servant', 'slave', its ordinary meaning in post-Vedic Sanskrit[16]. On the other hand, the Dasyus who endeavouring to scale heaven are cast down by Indra (8, 14[14] cp. 2, 12[12]), the Dasyu whom he burnt down from heaven (1, 33[7]), whom he vanquished from birth (1, 51[6]; 8, 66[1–3]), or against whom he aids the gods (10, 54[1]), must be demons. This is also the case, when Indra attacks the Dasyu, scattering the mist and darkness (10, 73[5]), or wins the sun and the waters after slaying the Dasyus (1, 100[18]), and when the gods and the Dasyus are contrasted as foes (3, 29[9]). A demon must be meant

by the Dāsa who is the husband of the waters (1, 32[11]; 5, 30[5]; 8, 85[18]), which by his victory Indra makes the wives of a noble husband (10, 43[8]). The seven forts of the Dāsas, which, like those of Vṛtra (1, 174[2]), are called autumnal (6, 20[10] cp. 7, 103[9]), are doubtless atmospheric.

As the words *dāsa* and *dasyu* primarily mean 'malignant foe' and then 'demon'[17], it seems convenient to render them by 'fiend'. They are frequently added as a generic term to the names of individual fiends combated by Indra, being most commonly thus applied to Namuci (5, 30[7–9], &c.), Śambara (4, 30[14], &c.), Śuṣṇa (7, 19[2], &c.), sometimes to Pipru (8, 32[2]; 10, 138[3]), Cumuri and Dhuni (2, 15[9]; 7, 19[4]), Varcin (4, 30[15]; 6, 47[21]), Navavāstva (10, 49[6. 7]), once to Tvāṣṭra (2, 11[19]) and to the dragon Ahi (2, 11[2]).

[1] Macdonell, JRAS. 27, 168–77. — [2] HRI. 187. — [3] OST. 4, 52. 58–62; 5, 15. 18. 22. 230. — [4] Cp. BDA. 109. — [5] Otherwise BDA. 106. — [6] Op. cit. 120 ff. — [7] BRV. 3, 81 cp. GVS. 1, 142. — [8] BRV. 3, 80. — [9] AV. passim; cp. ORV. 164, note 2. — [10] ORV. 162–5; cp. Darmesteter, Ormazd et Ahriman 269 f. The Indo-Iranian meaning was according to BDA 86 'Herr' (lord). — [11] Oldenberg, ZDMG. 39, 70, note 2. — [12] On the etymology cp. v. Bradke, ZDMG. 40, 347–9. — [13] Cp. PW. s. v. *sura*. — [14] Cp ORV. 145; otherwise HVM. 1, 83 ff. — [15] Cp. Wackernagel, Altindische Grammatik 1, xxii. — [16] Cp. 'Slave', originally = 'captive Slav'. — [17] Cp. AIL. 109–13.

§ 68. A. Vṛtra[1]. — Of the individual atmospheric demons by far the most important and the most frequently mentioned is Vṛtra, who is the chief adversary of Indra and for whose slaughter that deity is said to have been born or grown (8, 78[5]; 10, 55). Hence the most distinctive epithet of Indra is *vṛtrahan*, 'Vṛtra-slayer'. This compound is analyzed in two passages of the RV.: 'May the Vṛtra-slayer slay Vṛtra' (8, 78[3]) and 'Vṛtra-slayer, slay the Vṛtras' (8, 17[9]). Indra's conflict with Vṛtra is also frequently referred to with *vṛtrahatya*, 'slaughter of Vṛtra' and sometimes with *vṛtratūrya*, 'conquest of Vṛtra'.

It has already been shown that Vṛtra is conceived as having the form of a serpent (§ 64). Hence he is without feet or hands (1, 32[7]; 3, 30[8])[2]. His head, which Indra pierces, is mentioned several times (1, 52[10]; 8, 6[6]. 65[2]), as well as his jaws, into which Indra strikes his bolt (1, 52[6]). His hissing or snorting is sometimes referred to (8, 85[7]; 5, 29[4] cp. 1, 52[10]. 61[10]; 6, 17[10]). He has thunder at his disposal (1, 80[12]), as well as lightning, mist, and hail (1, 32[13]).

Vṛtra's mother is called Dānu and is compared with a cow (1, 32[9]). This name seems to be identical with the word *dānu*, which is several times used as a neuter meaning 'stream' and once as a feminine to designate the waters of heaven[3]. The same term is applied as a masculine, apparently in the sense of a metronymic, to Vṛtra or the dragon (2, 12[11]; 4, 30[7]), as well as to the demon Aurṇavābha (2, 11[18]), and to seven demons slain by Indra (10, 120[6]). The regular metronymic Dānava is used five times to designate a demon combated by Indra and doubtless identical with Vṛtra. Indra cast down the wiles of the wily Dānava (2, 11[10]), he struck down the snorting Dānava (5, 29[4]), to release the waters (5, 32[1]).

Vṛtra has a hidden (*niṇya*) abode, whence the waters, when released by Indra, escape overflowing the demon (1, 32[10]). Vṛtra lies on the waters (1, 121[11]; 2, 11[19]) or enveloped by waters at the bottom (*budhna*) of the *rajas* or aerial space (1, 52[6]). He is also described as lying on a summit (*sānu*), when Indra made the waters to flow (1, 80[5]), or as having been cast down by Indra from lofty heights (8, 3[19]). Vṛtra has fortresses, which Indra shatters when he slays him (10, 89[7]) and which are ninety-nine in number (7, 19[5]; 8, 82[2]).

There can be no doubt that the word *vṛ-tra* is derived from the root *vṛ*, 'to cover or encompass'[4]. Poets several times speak of Vṛtra as having encompassed the waters, *apo varivāṇsam* (2, 14[2], &c.) or *vṛtvī* (1, 52[6]), or as being an encompasser of rivers, *nadī-vṛt* (1, 52[2]; 8, 12[26] cp. 6, 30[4]; 7, 21[3]). These are clearly allusions to the etymology of the name. There is also evidently a play on the derivation when it is said that Indra 'encompassed the encompasser', *vṛtram avṛṇot* (3, 43[3]), or that in slaying Vṛtra he uncovered (*apa vṛ*) the prison of the waters (1, 32[11]. 51[4]). A similar notion is implied in a passage in which the (cloud) mountain (*parvata*) is described as being within the belly of Vṛtra and Indra strikes the streams, placed in a covering (*vavri*), down declivities (cp. 1, 57[6]). Vṛtra is also said to be an encloser (*paridhi*) of the streams (3, 33[6]).

It has been shown above that Indra's epithet *vṛtrahan* was understood by the Vedic poets to mean not only 'slayer of Vṛtra' but also as 'slayer of Vṛtras'. This plural, which is of frequent occurrence in the RV. and is always neuter, sometimes appears in passages mentioning the names of various individual fiends (7, 19[4]; 10, 49[6]). The result of Indra's conflict with the Vṛtras is the release of the waters (7, 34[3]) or of the rivers (8, 85[18]) which are 'encompassed', *vṛtān* (4, 42[7]). It is the Vṛtras which, as well as the fiends, he is to smite as soon as born (6, 29[6]) and to destroy which he has been produced by the gods (3, 49[1]). With the bones of Dadhyañc he slew 99 Vṛtras (1, 84[13]) just as he shatters the ninety-nine forts of Vṛtra (7, 19[5]).

The term Vṛtras, which is regularly employed with the verb *han*, 'to slay', also refers to terrestrial foes, as when Āryas and Dāsas are distinguished as two kinds of Vṛtras (6, 22[10]. 33[3]). There are, moreover, many passages in which it is quite as applicable to human enemies as to celestial demons. Then, however, it does not mean simply 'enemy', which is *amitra* (= *inimicus*) or *śatru* (cp. 6, 73[2]), but is employed with a side-glance at the demon Vṛtra, much as the English word 'fiend' in its present use, when applied to men, is suggestive of 'devil'. This relation of meaning is the converse of that in *dāsa* or *dasyu*, which first meant 'foe' and then 'fiend'. The use of *vṛtra* in the plural, as it is then always neuter, can hardly be derived from a generalization of the proper name Vṛtra, but must be based on an earlier meaning such as 'obstruction', then 'obstructor'. In the Avesta *verethra* means 'victory', which is, however, a secondary development of 'obstruction'.

In the Brāhmaṇas Vṛtra is interpreted as the moon, which is swallowed by Indra identified with the sun, at new moon[5].

B. Vala[6]. This word occurs about twenty-four times in the RV. and is regularly connected with the release of the cows by Indra or his allies, especially the Aṅgirases (§ 54). Vala is a guardian of cows, whom Indra rent when he robbed Paṇi of his cows (10, 67[6] cp. 6, 39[2]). He laments for his cows when taken by Bṛhaspati (10, 68[10] cp. 67[6]). He has castles which were forced open by Indra (6, 18[15]), fences which were pierced by Indra (1, 52[5]), and an unbroken summit which was broken by Indra (6, 39[2]). The TS. (2, 1, 5[1]) speaks of Indra having opened the hole (*bila*) of Vala and cast out the best beast in it, a thousand others following. There are, however, several passages in which the word is still unpersonified. The primary meaning in these cases seems to have been 'covering' or 'cave' (from the root *vṛ*, to cover). Thus the word is twice (1, 62[4]; 4, 50[5]) used in apposition with *phaliga*, the receptacle of the (atmospheric) waters (8, 32[25]) and appears in the Naighaṇṭuka (1, 10) as a synonym of *megha*, 'cloud'. Indra is said to have driven out the cows and opened (*apa var*) the *vala* (2, 14[3]) or to have opened (*apāvar*) the aperture (cp. 1, 32[11]) of the *vala* containing

cows (1, 11[5]). The PB. (19, 7) speaks of the cave (*vala*) of the Asuras being closed with a stone. In several passages the word may have either the primary or the personified sense (1, 52[5]; 2, 12[3]; 3, 34[10]). It has probably the latter in Indra's epithet *valaṃruja*, 'breaker of Vala', which occurs immediately after *vṛtrakhāda*, 'destroyer of Vṛtra' (3, 45[2] cp. 2, 12[3]). The transition to the personified meaning appears in a passage (3, 30[10]) in which Vala is spoken of as the stable (*vraja*) of the cow and as having opened (*vi āra*) for fear before Indra strikes. That the personification is not fully developed, is indicated by the action of Indra and others, when they attack Vala, being generally expressed by *bhid*, 'to pierce', sometimes by *dṛ*, 'to cleave', or *ruj*, 'to break', but not (as in the case of Vṛtra) by *han*, 'to slay'. The connexion of the verb *bhid* with the name of Vala is preserved in *valabhid*, which is a frequent epithet of Indra in post-Vedic literature. Here Vala is regarded as the brother of Vṛtra, and the two are associated in Indra's compound epithet *vala-vṛtra-han*, 'Slayer of Vala and Vṛtra'.

C. Other demon foes of Indra. Arbuda is mentioned seven times (twice oxytone, five times proparoxytone) in the RV., always as an adversary of Indra. He is a wily beast, whose cows Indra drove out (8, 3[19]). Indra cast him down (2, 11[20]. 14[4] cp. 8, 32[3]), trod him down with his foot (1, 51[6]), pierced him with ice (8, 32[2]) or struck off his head (10, 67[12]). He is mentioned two or three times with Vṛtra (or Ahi) and appears to be cognate in nature to him[7].

Viśvarūpa[8], the son of Tvaṣṭṛ, is a three-headed demon slain by both Trita and Indra, who seize his cows (10, 8[8. 9]). He is mentioned simply by his patronymic Tvāṣṭra in two or three other passages, in which he is described as rich in horses and cattle (10, 76[3]) and is said to have been delivered over by Indra to Trita (2, 11[19]; cp. pp. 61. 67). In the TS. (2, 5, 1[1]) Viśvarūpa, though related to the Asuras, is spoken of as Purohita of the gods[9]. In the Mahābhārata (5, 22 f.) the three-headed son of Tvaṣṭṛ and Vṛtra are identical.

Svarbhānu[10] is a demoniac (*āsura*) being mentioned four times in one hymn of the RV. (5, 40). He is described as eclipsing the sun with darkness. Indra fought against his wiles and Atri put the eye of the sun (back) in heaven. This demon is also mentioned several times in the Brāhmaṇas. In post-Vedic mythology his place is taken by Rāhu. The name appears to mean 'withholding the light of the sun'.

Uraṇa, a demon slain by Indra and described as having ninety-nine arms, is mentioned only once (2, 14[4]).

[1] Breal, Hercule 87—99; BRV. 2, 196—208; ORV. 135—6; ZDMG. 50, 665 f. — [2] Cp. Agni in 4, 1[11] cp. 2, 2 3. — [3] BRV. 2, 220; cp. Oldenberg, SBE. 46, 123; according to PW. and GW. the words are distinct. — [4] Cp. Perry, JAOS. 11, 135; Vṛtra = 'Restrainer' HRI. 94. — [5] HRI. 197. — [6] PW.; GW. s. v. *vala*; BRV. 2, 319—21. — [7] Cp. GW. — [8] Cp. HVM. 1, 519. 531—2. — [9] Cp. OST. 5, 230—2. — [10] IS. 3, 164 f.; LRV. 5, 508; BRV. 2, 468; Oldenberg, ZDMG. 42, 213; HVM. 1, 464. 507, n. 1; Lanman, FaR. 187—90.

§ 69. Individual Dāsas. — A. Śuṣna[1]. This fiend, who is mentioned about forty times in the RV., is the chief enemy of Kutsa, for or with whom Indra vanquishes him (4, 16[12]; 5, 29[9], &c.). He is horned (1, 33[12]). He has eggs (8, 40[10. 11]), i. e. a brood (cp. 10, 22[11]), from which it may be inferred that he is a serpent. He is described as hissing (*śvasana*: 1, 54[5])[2]. He is six times spoken of as *aśuṣa*, a term which is otherwise only once applied to Agni and perhaps means 'devouring'[3]. He has strong forts (1, 51[11]) or a fort (4, 30[13]), which is moving (8, 1[28]). Indra releases the waters in shattering Śuṣṇa's forts (1, 51[11]), obtains the receptacle of waters (*krivi*) in smiting

Śuṣṇa (Vāl. 3^{8}), or wins heavenly (*svaṛvatīḥ*) waters when he destroys the brood of Śuṣṇa (8, 40^{10}). The name of Śuṣṇa is four times accompanied by the epithet *kuyava*, 'causing bad corn or harvest'. In the two passages in which this word is used independently as the name of a demon (1, 103^{8}. 104^{3}), it may refer to Śuṣṇa. The result of the conflict between Indra and Śuṣṇa is not always the release of the waters, but is also the finding of the cows (8, 85^{17}), or the winning of the sun (cp. § 58). Śuṣṇa in his conflict with Indra moves in darkness, is a 'son of mist', *miho napāt*, and a Dānava (5, 32^{4}). In the Kāṭhaka (IS. 3, 466) Śuṣṇa is called a Dānava who is in possession of the *amṛta*.

The above evidence seems to point to Śuṣṇa having been a demon of drought from the beginning rather than a reminiscence of some historical human foe. This view is supported by the etymological meaning which must be either 'hisser' (from the root *śvas*, *śuṣ*) or 'scorcher' (from *śuṣ*, 'to dry').

B. Śambara. The name of this fiend occurs about twenty times in the RV. He is mentioned along with others, chiefly Śuṣṇa, Pipru (1, 101^{2}. 103^{8}; 2, 19^{6}; 6, 18^{8}), and Varcin. Indra was re-inforced by the Maruts in the fight against the dragon and Śambara (3, 47^{4}). Indra shook the summit of heaven when he cut down Śambara (1, 54^{4}). He found Śambara dwelling in the mountains (2, 12^{11}) and struck him down from the mountain (1, 130^{7}; 6, 26^{5}). He struck down from the great mountain the Dāsa Śambara, the son of Kulitara (4, 30^{14}). He struck down from the height Śambara, who thought himself a little god (7, 18^{20}). Śambara is often said to have forts, ninety (1, 130^{7}), generally ninety-nine (2, 19^{6}, &c.), or a hundred (2, 14^{6}, &c.). The word *śambara* once occurs in the neuter plural, meaning 'the forts of Śambara'[4]. These Bṛhaspati is said to have cleft and then to have entered the mountain rich in treasure (2, 24^{2}). Indra vanquishes Śambara in the interest of Atithigva (1, 51^{6}), but generally of Divodāsa (2, 19^{6}, &c.), and sometimes of both (1, 130^{7}; 4, 26^{3}). The two names are usually thought[5] to refer to the same person, but this is doubted by BERGAIGNE[6].

C. Pipru. This fiend, mentioned eleven times in the RV., is the enemy of Indra's protégé (Vāl. 1^{10}) Ṛjiśvan, who offers Soma to Indra and is aided by him in the conflict (5, 29^{11}; 10, 99^{11}). Indra with Ṛjiśvan (1, $101^{1.2}$; 10, 138^{3}) or for him (4, 16^{13}; 6, 20^{7}) conquered Pipru. The fiend, who has the wiles of Ahi, possesses forts which are shattered by Indra (1, 51^{5}; 6, 20^{7}). When Indra slew the Dāsa Pipru as well as some other rarely mentioned beings, he shed the waters (8, 32^{2}). When the sun unyoked his chariot in the midst of the sky, the Aryan found a match for the Dāsa: Indra acting with Rijiśvan, shattered the strong forts of the wily Asura Pipru (10, 138^{3}). He delivered the wild beast (*mṛgaya*) Pipru to Ṛjiśvan, overthrew 50 000 blacks, and rent the forts (4, 16^{13}). With Ṛjiśvan he drove out those who have a black brood[7] (1, 101^{1}). Since Pipru is called an Asura as well as a Dāsa, it is doubtful whether he represents a human foe with a historical foundation, as some scholars think[8]. The name has the appearance of a Sanskrit word as a reduplicated derivative of the root *par* or *pṛ* (like *si-ṣṇ-u* from √*san*)[9], possibly meaning 'resister', 'antagonist'.

D. Namuci[10] is mentioned nine times in the RV. besides several times in the VS., TB., and ŚB. He once receives the epithet *āsura*, 'demoniac', in the RV. (10, 131^{4}; ŚB. 12, 7, 1^{10}) and is called an Asura in later Vedic texts. He is also spoken of as a Dāsa in three or four passages of the RV. (5, $30^{7.8}$, &c.) and once as 'wily' (1, 53^{7}). In vanquishing Namuci Indra is twice associated with Namī Sāpya as his protégé (1, 53^{7}; 6, 20^{6}). Namuci is slain like several other demons (2, 14^{5}; 7, 19^{5}) or struck down (1, 53^{7}) by

Indra destroyed a hundred castles, slaying Vṛtra and Namuci (7, 19[5]). haracteristic feature about the conflict is that Indra twirls (√*math*) off ead of Namuci (5, 30[8]; 6, 20[6]), while he is said to pierce (√*bhid*) that ra. Otherwise Indra is described as having twisted (*vartaya*) the head nuci (5, 30[7]) or to have twisted it off with the foam ofwater (8, 14[13]). The aṇas also refer to Indra's cutting off Namuci's head with the foam of aters[11]. In one passage of the RV. (10. 131[4. 5]) Indra is described as drunk wine beside the demoniac Namuci, when the Aśvins aided and atī cured him (cp. p. 87).

he etymology of the name is according to Pāṇini (6, 3, 75) *na-muci*, tting go'. In that case it would mean 'the demon withholding the waters'[12].

. Dhuni and Cumuri[13]. The Dāsa Cumuri is mentioned six times, ne exception always along with Dhuni. The closeness of the association se two is shown by their names once appearing as a dual compound [13]). Indra sent them to sleep (2, 15[9]; 6, 20[13]; 7, 19[4]), the same being f Cumuri alone (6, 26[6]). Along with Śambara, Pipru, Śuṣṇa, they were d by Indra, so that their castles were destroyed (6, 18[8]). They were o sleep or overcome by Indra (10, 113[9]) in favour of Dabhīti, who d Soma for him (6, 20[13]) and who was rewarded by the god for his 6, 26[6]). Without any mention of the two fiends, Indra is also said to sent to sleep for Dabhīti 30000 Dāsas (4, 30[21]) and to have bound asyus for him without cords (2, 13[9]).

huni means 'Roarer' (√*dhvan*), the word being frequently also used RV. as an adjective in the sense of 'roaring, raging'. Cumuri on the hand looks like a borrowed aboriginal name[14].

. Varcin and others. Varcin is mentioned four times, always with ra. He is called an Asura (7, 99[5]), but he and Śambara together are l Dāsas (6, 47[21]). Indra is said to have shattered the hundred forts nbara and to have dispersed or slain the 100000 warriors of the Dāsa (2, 14[6]; 4, 30[15]). The name appears to mean 'shining', from *varcas*, nce'.

everal others, whose names occur only once, are mentioned, along with Śuṣṇa, Namuci and other fiends, as vanquished by Indra. Such are ca, Rudhikrā (2, 14[3. 5]), Anarśani[15], Śṛbinda (8, 32[2]), and Ilībiśa (1, 33[12]). probably preserve a historical reminiscence of prominent terrestrial foes. e last two of these names have an un-Aryan appearance; nor does it likely that original individual demons should have received names which t designate a demoniac attribute like the appellations Vṛtra, Vala, uṣṇa.

[1] KHF. 52 ff.; BRV. 2, 333—8; GVS. 2, 163 ff.; HVM. 1, 516; ORV. 155. 58—61. — [2] Cp. √*śvas* and *śvasatha* applied to Vṛtra. — [3] Cp. ORV. 159. — Perhaps through the influence of the neut. pl. *vṛtrāṇi*. — [5] PW., GW., Oldenberg, ZDMG. 42, 210. — [6] BRV. 2, 342—3. — [7] Acc. pl. fem.: = waters, GW. v. *kṛṣṇagarbha*. — [8] LRV. 3, 149; BDA. 95; ORV. 155. — [9] BRV. 2, 349, but ith the sense of 'filler' or 'rescuer'. — [10] LRV. 5, 145; BRV. 2, 345—7; Lanman, AS. Bengal 58, 28—30; Sanskrit Reader 375[b]; Bloomfield, JAOS. 15, 143—63; ldenberg, Göttinger Nachrichten 1893, 342—9; ORV. 161. — [11] Bloomfield, AOS. 15, 155—6. — [12] Cp. Kuhn, KZ. 8, 80. — [13] BRV. 2, 350; ORV. 157. — Wackernagel, Altind. Gr. 1, xxii. — [15] Cp. Johansson, IF. 2, 45; Perry, who eats of all the demons combated by Indra, JAOS. 11, 199—205.

70. A. Rakṣases. — By far the most frequent generic name in the or terrestrial demons or goblins[1], enemies of mankind, is *rakṣas*. It is ned (upwards of fifty times) both in the singular and plural, nearly in connexion with a god, who is invoked to destroy or praised for

having destroyed these demons. In two hymns of the RV. (7, 104; 10, 87) which deal with the Rakṣases, the much less common terms *yātu* or *yātu-dhāna* (strictly speaking 'sorcerer')[2] alternate with, and in some verses appear to be used in the same sense as, *rakṣas*. As the latter word designates evil spirits in general (especially in the YV.), *rakṣas* here perhaps expresses the genus and *yātu* the species[3].

These demons have the form of dogs, vultures, owls, and other birds (7, 104. [20—22]). Becoming birds they fly about at night (ib. [18]). Assuming the form of a brother, husband, or lover, they approach women and desire to destroy their offspring (10, 162[5]). They also lie in wait for women in the shape of a dog or an ape (AV. 4, 37[11]). Thus they are dangerous during pregnancy and childbirth (AV. 8, 6). They prowl around the bride at weddings, and little staves are therefore shot into the air to pierce the eye of the Rakṣases (MGS. 1, 10). The AV. gives the most detailed account of the appearance of the Rakṣases. They have mostly human form, their head, eyes, heart, and other parts being mentioned; but they have frequently some kind of monstrous deformity, being three-headed, two-mouthed, bear-necked, four-eyed, five-footed, fingerless, with feet turned backwards, or with horns on their hands (AV. 8, 6; HGS. 2, 3[7]). Blue and yellow or green demons are also spoken of (AV. 19, 22[4. 5])[4]. They are further described as male and female, having families and even kings (AV. 5, 22[14]; HGS. 2, 3[7]); and they are mortal (AV. 6, 32[2] &.).

The Yātudhānas eat the flesh of men and horses, and drink up the milk of cows (10, 87[16. 17]). In order to satisfy their greed for flesh and blood the Rakṣases attack men, usually by entering them. Agni is besought not to let the Rakṣas enter (*ā viś*) into his worshippers (8, 49[20]), and the AV. describes a demon of disease, which flies about, as entering into a man (AV. 7, 76[4]). These evil spirits seem chiefly to have been regarded as entering by the mouth, especially in the process of eating and drinking (AV. 5, 29[6—8]), but also by other entrances (AV. 8, 6[3]). When once within they eat and lacerate a man's flesh and cause disease (AV. 5, 29[5. 10]). The Rakṣases are also said to produce madness and take away the power of eloquence (AV. 6, 111[3]; HGS. 1, 15[5]). Human dwellings are invaded by them (KS. 135[9]). Some of these spirits are described as dancing round houses in the evening, braying like donkeys, making a noise in the forest, laughing aloud, or drinking out of skulls (AV. 8, 6[10. 11. 14]; HGS. 2, 3[7]).

The time of the Rakṣases is the evening or night (7, 104[18]).[5] In the east they have no power, because they are dispersed by the rising sun (TS. 2, 6, 6[3]). A falling meteor is regarded as an embodiment of a Rakṣas (KS. 126[9]). It is especially the dark time of new moon that belongs to evil spirits, as to the souls of the dead (AV. 1, 16[1]; 4, 36[3]).

The sacrifice is peculiarly exposed to their attacks. Thus the RV. speaks of Rakṣases that have produced taints in the divine sacrifice and of Yātus that throw the offering into confusion (7, 104[18. 21]). They are haters of prayer (10, 182[3]). Agni is besought to burn them in order to protect the sacrifice from curse (1, 76[3]). The AV. contains a spell meant to nullify the sacrifice of an enemy through the wiles of Yātudhānas and of the Rakṣas (AV. 7, 70[2]). These evil spirits also obtrude themselves at the sacrifice to the dead in the form of the souls of ancestors (AV. 18, 2[28] cp. VS. 2, 29)[6]. In post-Vedic literature this notion of the Rakṣases (there often also called *rākṣasa*) disturbing the sacrifice is still familiar.

Agni, being the dispeller of darkness as well as the officiator at the sacrifice, is naturally the god who is oftenest opposed to them and who is

frequently invoked to burn, ward off or destroy them (10, 87[3. 6], &c.)[7]. In this capacity he (as well as some other deities) receives the epithet of *rakṣohan*, 'Rakṣas-slayer'.

These evil spirits injure not only spontaneously but also at the instigation of men. Thus the RV. speaks of the 'yoker of Rakṣases', *rakṣoyuj* (6, 62[9]), and refers to the Rakṣas and the Yātu of sorcerers (7, 104[23]; 8, 60[20]). One suffering from hostile sorcery drives away the Rakṣases by sacrificing to Agni Yaviṣṭha (TS. 2, 2, 3[2]), and in a hymn of the AV. (2, 24) demons are called upon to devour him who sent them.

As a designation of demons *rakṣas* is both masculine as an oxytone and neuter as paroxytone (in the latter case meaning also 'injury'). It may be derived from the root *rakṣ* to injure[8], which occurs in only one verbal form in the AV. (cp. also *ṛkṣa*, 'injurious'). It is, however, possibly connected with the ordinary root *rakṣ* to protect[9]. In this case it must have meant 'that which is to be warded off'. Bergaigne, however, thinks it may originally have signified (avaricious) 'guardian' of celestial treasure.

B. Piśācas. A third and important class of goblins are the Piśācas. The name occurs only once in the RV. as a singular in the form of *piśāci* (1, 133[5]). Indra is here invoked to crush the yellow-peaked (*piśaṅgabhṛṣṭim*) watery (*ambhṛṇam*) Piśāci and to strike down every Rakṣas. In the TS. (2, 4, 1[1]) the three hostile groups of Asuras, Rakṣases, and Piśācas are opposed to the three classes of gods, men, and Pitṛs. The Piśācas would therefore seem to have been specially connected with the dead. They are frequently spoken of as *kravyād*, eaters of raw flesh or corpses (AV. 5, 29[9] &c.), a term which may be regarded as a synonym of Piśāca[10]. Agni is besought to restore to the sick man the flesh which the Piśācas have eaten away (AV. 5, 29[5]). They were thus apparently a kind of ghoul. Piśācas are also spoken of as shining in water (AV. 4, 20[9]. 37[10])[11], or infesting human dwellings and villages (AV. 4, 36[8]).

A lesser group of demons, mentioned about a dozen times in the RV. and frequently in later Vedic texts, are the Arātis[12], a personification of illiberality (*a-rāti*) and, owing to the gender of the word, always feminine. A group of 'injurious' demons, the Druhs, both male and female, is referred to about twelve times in the RV. They are Indo-Iranian, their name occurring in the Avesta as *druj* (§ 5, p. 8).

Goblins of various kinds are usually conceived as forming an indefinite crowd, but are sometimes thought of as pairs. The latter constitute a class named Kimīdin, already mentioned in the RV. (7, 104[23]; 10, 87[24])[13].

The nature of the spirits which surround the everyday life of man consists in injury, and that of their various species in a particular kind of injury usually indicated by their names. They are as a whole unconnected with phenomena or forces of nature, seeming partly at least to be derived from the spirits of dead enemies[14]. Less personal than the demons mentioned above and probably due to a more advanced order of thought, are the hostile powers which are conceived as a kind of impalpable substance of disease, childlessness, guilt, and so forth, which flying about in the air produce infection, and to deflect which to enemies is one of the chief tasks of sorcery[15].

Some of these terrestrial spirits are, however, not injurious, but are regarded as helping at the harvest or weaving long life for the bride, while others, with Arbudi at their head, assist in battle by striking terror into the foe (AV. 3, 24. 25[1]; 14, 1[45]; 11, 9[12]).

[1] BRV. 2, 216—19; ORV. 262—73. — [2] *Yātu* in the Avesta = 'sorcery' and 'sorcerer': Sp.AP. 218—22. — [3] Cp. ORV. 263, note 1. — [4] Hopkins, AJP. 1883,

p. 178. — 5 ORV. 269. — 6 Cp. CALAND, Altindischer Ahnencult, Leiden 1893, p. 3. 4. — 7 Cp. HILLEBRANDT, ZDMG. 33, 248—51. — 8 PW., GW. — 9 Cp. BRV. 2, 218; WHITNEY, Sanskrit Roots, s. v. *rakṣ* — 10 ORV. 264 note. — 11 Cp. ROTH, FaB. 97—8. — 12 Cp. HILLEBRANDT, l. c. — 13 WEBER, IS. 13, 183 ff. — 14 ORV. 60—2; cp. ROTH, FaB. 98. — 15 Cp RV. 10, 103[12]; KS. 14, 22; IS. 17, 269.

VII. ESCHATOLOGY.

§ 71. Disposal of the Dead. — In the Vedic hymns there is little reference to death. When the seers mention it, they generally express a desire that it should overtake their enemies, while for themselves they wish long life on earth. It is chiefly at funerals that the future life engages their thoughts. Burial and cremation were concurrent. One hymn of the RV. (10, 16) describes a funeral by burning, and part of another (10, 18[10—13])[1], one by burial. The 'house of clay' is also once spoken of (7, 89[1]). Fathers burnt with fire and those not burnt with fire (i. e. buried) are referred to (10, 15[14]; AV. 18, 2[34]). But cremation was the usual way for the dead to reach the next world. The later ritual (cp. AGS. 4, 1) practically knew only this method; for besides the bones and ashes of adults, only young children and ascetics were buried[2].

With the rite of cremation therefore the mythology of the future life was specially connected. Agni takes the corpse to the other world, the fathers, and the gods (10, 16[1—4]. 17[3]). He places the mortal in the highest immortality (1, 31[7]). Through Agni, the divine bird, men go to the highest place of the sun, to the highest heaven, to the world of the righteous, whither the ancient, earliest-born seers have gone (VS. 18, 51—2). Agni Gārhapatya conducts the dead man to the world of righteousness (AV. 6, 120[1]). Agni burns his body and then places him in the world of the righteous (AV. 18, 3[71]). The Agni that devours the body (*kravyād*) is distinguished from the Agni that takes the offering to the gods (10, 16[9]). Agni is besought to preserve the corpse intact and to burn the goat (*aja*)[3] which is his portion (10, 16[4]). A goat is also immolated with the sacrificial horse to go before, as the first portion for Pūṣan, and announce the offering to the gods ere it reaches the highest abode (1, 162[2. 4]. 163[12. 13]). In the ritual (AGS. 4. 2; KSS. 25, 7[19]) the corpse is laid on the skin of a black goat, and when an animal is sacrificed, it is a cow or a goat[5]. During the cremation Agni and Soma are also prayed to heal any injury that bird, beast, ant, or serpent may have inflicted on it (10, 16[6]).

The dead man was supposed to go with the smoke to the heavenly world (AGS. 4, 4[7])[6]. The way thither is a distant path on which Pūṣan protects and Savitṛ conducts the dead (10, 17[4]). The sacrificial goat which precedes and announces the deceased to the fathers, passes through a gulf of thick darkness before reaching the third vault of heaven (AV. 9, 5[1. 3]; cp. 8, 1[8]).

The dead man was provided with ornaments and clothing for use in the next life, the object of the custom being still understood in the Veda (AV. 18, 4[31]). Traces even survive (RV. 10, 18[8. 9]) which indicate that his widow and his weapons were once burnt with the body of the husband[7]. A bundle of faggots (*kūḍī*) was attached to the corpse of the departed to wipe out his track and thus to hinder death from finding its way back to the world of the living (AV. 5, 19[12] cp. RV. 10, 18[2]. 97[16])[8].

1 ROTH, ZDMG. 8, 467—75; cp. BRI. 23—4; v. SCHROEDER, WZKM. 9, 112—3; HOPKINS, PAOS. 1894, p. CLIIII; CALAND, Die altindischen Todten- und Bestattungs-

gebräuche, Amsterdam 1896, § 49—50. — [2] ROTH, ZDMG. 9, 471; MAX MÜLLER, ibid. I—LXXXII; HRI. 271—3. — [3] *Aja* is by some taken to mean the 'unborn' (*a-ja*) part. — [4] HILLEBRANDT, ZDMG. 37, 521. — [5] MM., ZDMG. 9, IV. V. XXX. XXXII. — [6] Cp. Chānd. Up. 5, 10[3]; Bṛhadār. Up. 6, 1[19]. — [7] WEBER, IStr. 1, 66; HILLEBRANDT, ZDMG. 40, 711; ORV. 586—7. — [8] ROTH, FaB. 98—9; BLOOMFIELD, AJP. 11, 355; 12, 416.

§ 72. The Soul. — Fire or the grave are believed to destroy the body only. But the real personality of the deceased is regarded as imperishable. This Vedic conception is based on the primitive belief that the soul was capable of separation from the body, even during unconsciousness, and of continued existence after death. Thus in a whole hymn (10, 58), the soul (*manas*) of one who is lying apparently dead is besought to return from the distance where it is wandering. There is no indication in the Vedas of the later doctrine of transmigration; but in a Brāhmaṇa the statement occurs that those who do not perform rites with correct knowledge, are born again after their decease and repeatedly become the food of death (ŚB. 10, 4, 3[10]). Besides *prāṇa*, 'respiration', and *ātman*, 'breath' (several times the express parallel of *vāta*, 'wind'), the usual terms denoting the animating principle are *asu*, 'spirit', expressing physical vitality (1, 113[16]. 140[8]), even of animals (AB. 2, 6), and *manas*, 'soul', as the seat of thought and emotion, which already in the RV. (8, 89[5]) seems to be regarded as dwelling in the heart (*hṛd*)[1]. Many passages, especially in the AV., show that life and death depend on the continuance or departure of *asu* or *manas*; and the terms *asunīti*, *asunīta*, 'spirit-leading' refer to the conduct by Agni of the souls of the dead on the path between this and the other world (10, 15[4]. 16[2])[2]. Funeral ritual texts never invoke the *asu* or *manas* of the deceased, but only the individual himself as 'father', 'grandfather', and so forth. Hence the soul is not a mere shadow, but is regarded as retaining its personal identity. Though men obtain immortality only after parting from the body (ŚB. 10, 4, 3[9]), the corpse plays an important part in the myth of the future state, which is corporeal. For the body shares in the existence of the other world (10, 16[5]; AV. 18, 2[26]). A body, however, from which all imperfections are absent (AV. 6, 120[3]), can hardly have been regarded as a gross material body, but rather as one refined by the power of Agni (cp. 10, 16[6]), something like the 'subtile' body of later Indian speculation. An indication of the importance of the corpse in connexion with the future life, is the fact that the loss of a dead man's bones, which according to the Sūtras were collected after cremation, was a severe punishment (ŚB. 11, 6, 3[11]; 14, 6, 9[28]). In one passage of the RV. (10, 16[3]) the eye of the dead man is called upon to go to the sun and his breath (*ātmā*) to the wind. But this notion, occurring in the midst of verses which refer to Agni as conducting the deceased to the other world, can only be an incidental fancy, suggested perhaps by the speculations about Puruṣa (10, 90[13]), where the eye of the latter becomes the sun and his breath the wind. In the same passage (also in 10, 58[7]) the soul is spoken of as going to the waters or the plants, a conception which perhaps contains the germ of the theory of metempsychosis[3].

Proceeding by the path which the fathers trod (10, 14[7]), the spirit of the deceased goes to the realm of eternal light (9, 113[7]), being invested with lustre like that of the gods (AV. 11, 1[37]), in a car or on wings (AV. 4, 34[4]), on the wings with which Agni slays the Rakṣases (VS. 18, 52). Wafted upward by the Maruts, fanned by soft breezes, cooled by showers, he recovers his ancient body in a complete form (AV. 18, 2[21—6]), and glorified meets with the fathers who revel with Yama in the highest heaven (10, 14[8. 10]. 154[4. 5]). This is spoken of as a return home (*astam*: 10, 14[8]). From Yama he

obtains a resting place (10, 14[9]), when recognized by Yama as his own (AV. 18, 2[37]).

According to the ŚB., the ordinary belief is that the dead leaving this world pass between two fires, which burn the wicked but let the good go by[4]. The latter proceed either by the path leading to the Fathers or by that leading to the sun (ŚB. 1, 9, 3[2], &c.)[5]. In the Upaniṣads there are two paths for those who know the Absolute, the one (as a consequence of complete knowledge) leading to Brahma, the other to the world of heaven, whence after the fruit of good works has been exhausted, the spirit returns to earth for rebirth. Those ignorant of the 'Self', on the other hand, go to the dark world of evil spirits or are reborn on earth like the wicked[6].

[1] ORV. 525. — [2] The AV. is already acquainted with the breaths or vital airs familiar to post-Vedic literature: HRI. 153. — [3] BRI. 23. — [4] Cp. KUHN, KZ. 2, 318. — [5] WEBER, ZDMG. 9, 237; IStr. 1, 20—1; OST. 5, 314—5; SVL. 121; HRI. 206. — [6] HRI. 227.

§ 73. Heaven. — The abode where the Fathers and Yama dwell, is situated in the midst of the sky (10, 15[14]), in the highest heaven (10, 14[8]), in the third heaven, the inmost recess of the sky, where is eternal light (9, 113[7—9]). The AV. also speaks of it as the highest (11, 4[11]), luminous world (4, 34[2]), the ridge of the firmament (18, 2[47]), the third firmament (9, 5[1. 8]; 18, 4[3]), and the third heaven (18, 2[48]). In the MS. (1, 10[18]; 2, 3[9]) the abode of the Fathers is said to be the third world[1]. The abode of the Fathers is in the RV. also spoken of as the highest point of the sun (9, 113[9]). The Fathers are united with or guard the sun (10, 107[2]. 154[5]), or are connected with the rays of the sun (1, 109[7]; cp. ŚB. 1, 9, 3[10])[2], and suns shine for them in heaven (1, 125[6]). They are connected with the step of Viṣṇu (10, 15[3]), and pious men are said to rejoice in the dear abode, the highest step of Viṣṇu (1, 154[5]). As Viṣṇu took his three steps to where the gods are exhilerated[3], so the sun follows the Dawn to where pious men offer sacrifice[4].

Stars are also said to be the lights of virtuous men who go to the heavenly world (TS. 5, 4, 1[3]; ŚB. 6, 5, 4[8]), and ancient men, especially the seven Ṛṣis, besides Atri and Agastya, are said to have been raised to the stars (TA. 1, 11, 1[2])[5].

The RV. mentions a tree beside which Yama drinks with the gods (10, 135[1]). This according to the AV. (5, 4[3]) is a fig-tree where the gods abide in the third heaven (no mention being made of Yama).

[1] PVS. 1, 211. — [2] JAOS. 16, 27. — [3] Cp. MACDONELL, JRAS. 27, 172. — [4] WINDISCH, FaB. 118. — [5] WEBER, Nakṣatra 2, 269; KRV. note 286.

§ 74. The most distinct and prominent references to the future life are in the ninth and tenth books of the RV., but it is also sometimes referred to in the first. Heaven is regarded as the reward of those who practise rigorous penance (*tapas*), of heroes who risk their lives in battle (10, 154[2—5]), but above all of those who bestow liberal sacrificial gifts (ib.[3]; 1, 125[5]; 10, 107[2]). The AV. is full of references to the blessings accruing to the latter.

In heaven the deceased enter upon a delectable life (10, 14[8]. 15[14]. 16[2. 5]), in which all desires are fulfilled (9, 113[9. 11]), and which is passed among the gods (10, 14[14]), particularly in the presence of the two kings Yama and Varuṇa (10, 14[7]). There they unswervingly overcome old age (10, 27[21]). Uniting with a glorious body they are dear and welcome to the gods (10, 14[8]. 16[5]. 56[1]). There they see father, mother, and sons (AV. 6, 120[3]), and unite with wives and children (AV. 12, 3[17]). The life is free from imperfections and bodily frailties (10, 14[8]; AV. 6, 120[3]). Sickness is left behind

and limbs are not lame or crooked (AV. 3, 28[5]). It is often said in the AV. and ŚB. that the deceased are in that world complete in body and limbs[1].

The dead are in the RV. often spoken of in general terms (*madanti*, *mādayante*) as enjoying bliss (10, 14[10]. 15[14], &c.). The most detailed account of the joys of the life in heaven is given in RV. 9, 113[7–11]. There are eternal light and swift waters; there movement is unrestrained (cp. TB. 3, 12, 2[9]); there is spirit food and satiety; there joy, glee, gladness, and the fulfilment of all desires. The joys here indefinitely referred to, are later explained to be those of love (TB. 2, 4, 6[6] cp. ŚB. 10, 4, 4[4]); and the AV. (4, 34[2]) states that in the heavenly world there is abundance of sexual gratification. According to the ŚB.[1] the joys of the Blest are a hundred times as great as the highest on earth (14, 7, 1[32–3]). In the heaven of the Blest, the RV. further says, the sound of the flute and of songs is heard (10, 135[7])[2]; Soma, ghee, and honey flow for them (10, 154[1]). There are ponds filled with ghee and streams flowing with milk, honey, and wine (AV. 4, 34[5·6]; ŚB. 11, 5, 6[4]). There are at hand bright, many-coloured cows yielding all desires (*kāma-dughāḥ*: AV. 4, 34[8]). There are neither rich nor poor, neither powerful nor oppressed (AV. 3, 29[3]). To the celestial life of the Blest in the Saṃhitās and Brāhmaṇas corresponds in the Upaniṣads the lower and transient bliss of the heaven of the gods which is followed by rebirth, only those who know the truth attaining to immortality and the changeless joy of unending peace by absorption into the world-soul[3]. Thus the life of the righteous dead in heaven was clearly regarded as one of indolent, material bliss, in which freed from all frailties they were united with the gods, and which was devoted to music, drinking, and sensual joys (such as the gods themselves are occasionally alluded to as indulging in: cp. 3, 53[6]).

Heaven is a glorified world of material joys as pictured by the imagination not of warriors but of priests[4]. It is the world of the righteous (10, 16[4]), where righteous and godly men, familiar with rites (*ṛta*) dwell in bliss[5]. There they are united with what they have sacrificed and given (*iṣṭāpūrta*)[6], especially reaping the reward of their pious gifts to priests (10, 154[3] &c.)[7]. In the Brāhmaṇas it is said that those who sacrifice properly above all attain union and identity of abode with the sun (*āditya*) and with Agni, but also with Vāyu, Indra, Varuṇa, Bṛhaspati, Prajāpati and Brahmā (ŚB. 2, 6, 4[8]; 11, 4, 4[21]. 6, 2[2·3]; TB. 3, 10, 11[6]). A certain sage is described as having through his knowledge become a golden swan, gone to heaven, and obtained union with the sun TB. (3, 10, 9[11]). In the TS. (6, 6, 9[2]) the notion occurs that a man by the performance of certain rites can reach heaven without dying (*jīvan*)[8].

One who reads the Veda in a particular way is said to be freed from dying again and to attain identity of nature (*sātmatā*) with Brahmā (ŚB. 10, 5, 6[9]). As a reward for knowing a certain mystery a man is born again, in this world (ŚB. 1, 5, 3[14]). Thus we have in the ŚB. the beginnings of the doctrine of retribution and transmigration. That doctrine (as well as the doctrine of hell) is not only to be found in the earliest Sūtras[9], but appears fully developed in the later Brāhmaṇa period, that is to say, in the oldest Upaniṣads, the Chāndogya, the Bṛhadāraṇyaka, and especially the Kaṭha Upaniṣad[10]. In the latter Upaniṣad the story is related of Naciketas, who pays a visit to the realm of Death and is told by the latter, that those who have not sufficient merit for heaven and immortality, fall again and again into the power of death and enter upon the cycle of existence (*saṃsāra*), being born again and again with a body or as a stationary object. He who

controls himself reaches Viṣṇu's highest place. On the other hand, there is no hell for those not found worthy[11].

[1] References in OST. 5, 315; cp. AIL. 411; HRI. 205. — [2] At the sacrifice to the Manes music was performed, lutes (*vīṇā*) being played (KS. 84, 8). — [3] HRI. 239. — [4] ORV. 532. — [5] 1, 115[2]. 1545; 10, 151. 174. 154[2–5]; AV. 6, 95[1]. 1203; VS. 15, 50. — [6] WINDISCH, FaB. 115—8. — [7] For references to the same idea in the AV. see OST. 5, 293, note 433; cp. IStr. 1, 20 ff. — [8] WEBER, ZDMG. 9, 237 ff.; OST. 5, 317; HRI. 204. — [9] HRI. 175. — [10] HRI. 145, note 4; cp. v. SCHROEDER, Indiens Litt. u. Kultur 245; GARBE in this encyclopedia 3, 4, p. 15. — [11] Origin of the myth, TB. 3, 11[8]; cp. SVL. 10, n. 1; BRI. 78.

§ 75. Hell. — If in the opinion of the composers of the RV. the virtuous received their reward in the future life, it is natural that they should have believed at least in some kind of abode, if not in future punishment,[1] for the wicked, as is the case in the Avesta[2]. As far as the AV. and the Kaṭha Upaniṣad are concerned, the belief in hell is beyond doubt. The AV. (2, 14[3]; 5, 19[3]) speaks of the house below, the abode of female goblins and sorceresses, called *nāraka loka*[3], in contrast with *svarga loka*, the heavenly world, the realm of Yama (12, 4[36]). To this hell the murderer is consigned (VS. 30, 5). It is in the AV. several times described as 'lowest darkness' (8, 2[24] &c.), as well as 'black darkness' (5, 30[11]) and 'blind darkness' (18, 3[3]). The torments of hell are also once described in the AV. (5, 19) and with greater detail in the ŚB. (11, 6, 1)[4]; for it is not till the period of the Brāhmaṇas that the notion of future punishment appears plainly developed[5]. The same Brāhmaṇa further states that every one is born again after death and is weighed in a balance[6], receiving reward or punishment according as his works are good or bad (ŚB 11, 2, 7[33]; cp. 12, 9, 1[1]). This idea is also Iranian.[7] ROTH[8] favours the view that the religion of the RV. knows nothing of hell, the wicked being supposed to be annihilated by death. Evidence of the belief in some kind of hell is, however, not altogether wanting in the RV. Thus, 'this deep place' is said to have been produced for those who are evil, false, and untrue (4, 5[5]). Indra-Soma are besought to 'dash the evil-doers into the abyss (*vavre*), into bottomless darkness, so that not even one of them may get out' (7, 104[3]); and the poet prays that 'she (the demoness) who malignantly wanders about like an owl concealing herself, may fall into the endless abysses' (ib. [17]), and that the enemy and robber may lie below all the three earths (ib.[11]). But such references are few and the evidence cannot be said to go beyond showing belief in a hell as an underground darkness. The thoughts of the poets of the RV., intent on the happiness of this earth, appear to have rarely dwelt on the joys of the next life, still less on its possible punishments[9]. The doctrine of the Brāhmaṇas is that after death, all, both good and bad, are born again in the next world and are recompensed according to their deeds (ŚB. 6, 2, 2[27]; 10, 6, 3[1]), but nothing is said as to the eternity of reward or punishment[10]. The notion also occurs there that those who do not rightly understand and practise the rites of sacrifice, depart to the next world before the natural term of their terrestrial life (ŚB. 11, 2, 7[33]).

The idea of a formal judgment to which all the dead must submit, seems hardly traceable to the Vedic period. One or two passages of the RV. in which reference to it has been found[11], are too indefinite to justify such an interpretation. In the TA. (6, 5[13]) it is said that the truthful and untruthful are separated before Yama, but that he acts in the capacity of a judge, is not implied[12].

That the belief in a hell goes back even to the Indo-European period, has been argued by WEBER[13] on the strength of the equation Bhṛgu = φλεγύαι[14]

and the fact that the former is described in the ŚB. as sent by his father Varuṇa for pride to see the tortures of hell, and the latter are condemned for pride to undergo severe tortures in hell. But the similarity of the two legends is probably only a coincidence, as belief in the torments of hell seems to be a later development in India[15].

[1] Zimmer and Scherman, but Hopkins considers this conclusion pedantic. — [2] Roth, JAOS. 3, 345; Geldner, FaW. 22, thinks that hell is directly referred to in RV. 10, 10[6] by the word *vīci*. — [3] *Naraka* in AV. and Brāhmaṇas: Whitney, JAOS. 13, civ. — [4] Weber, ZDMG. 9, 240 ff. — [5] HRI. 175. — [6] Weber, ZDMG. 9, 238; OST. 5, 314—5. — [7] Jackson, Trans. of the 10th Or. Congress 2, 67—73. — [8] Roth, JAOS. 3, 329—47; cp. also Weber, ZDMG. 9, 238 f. — [9] Cp. AIL. 418 ff.; Scherman, Romanische Forschungen 5, 569 ff.; SVL. 122 ff.; KRV. n. 287 a; ORV. 538 ff.; HRI. 147. — [10] Weber, ZDMG. 9, 237—43. — [11] SVL. 152—3. — [12] ORV. 541—2. — [13] ZDMG. 9, 242. — [14] KHF. 23; WVB. 1894, p. 3. — [15] Cp. Jaiminīya Br. ed. Burnell 1, 42—4; Oertel, JAOS. 15, 234—8; SVL. 5—8; Spiegel, Eranische Altertumskunde 1, 458; HRI. 206.

§ 76. The Pitṛs. — The blessed dead who dwell in the third heaven are called Pitṛs or Fathers. By this term are generally meant the early or first ancestors (10, 15[8. 10]), who followed the ancient paths, seers who made the paths by which the recent dead go to join them (10, 14[2. 7. 15]). They are connected with the (third) step of Viṣṇu (10, 15[3] cp. 1, 154[5]). Two hymns of the RV. are devoted to their praise (10, 15. 54).

Their different races are mentioned by name as Navagvas, Vairūpas, Aṅgirases, Atharvans, Bhṛgus, Vasiṣṭhas (10, 14[4—6]. 15[8]), the last four being identical with the names of priestly families, to whom tradition attributed the composition of the AV.[1] and of books II and VII of the RV. Among these the Aṅgirases are particularly associated with Yama (10, 14[3. 5]). The Pitṛs are spoken of as lower, higher, and middle, as earlier and later, and though not all known to their descendants, they are known to Agni (10, 15[1. 2. 13]). The AV. speaks of the Pitṛs as inhabiting air, earth, and heaven (AV. 18, 2[49] cp. RV. 10, 15[2]).

The ancient fathers themselves once offered the Soma libation (10, 15[8]). They revel with Yama (10, 14[10] cp. 135[1]; AV. 18, 4[10]), and feast with the gods (7, 76[4]). Leading the same life as the gods, they receive almost divine honours. They come on the same car as Indra and the gods (10, 15[10]). They are fond of Soma (*somya*: 10, 15[1. 5] &c.) and sitting on the sacrificial grass to the south, they drink the pressed draught (ib.[5. 6]). They thirst for the libations prepared for them on earth, and are invited to come with Yama, his father Vivasvat, and Agni, and to eat the offerings along with Yama (ib. [8—11]. 14[4. 5]). Arriving in thousands they range themselves in order on the sacrificial ground (10, 15[10. 11]). When the Pitṛs come to the sacrifice, evil spirits sometimes intrude into their society in the guise of friends according to the AV. (18, 2[28]).

The Fathers receive oblations as their food, which in one passage (10, 14[3]) is referred to with the term *svadhā* as contrasted with *svāhā*, the call to the gods[2]; so too in the later ritual the portion of the gods at the daily pressings was strictly distinguished from that of the Pitṛs (ŚB. 4, 4, 22). They receive worship, are entreated to hear, intercede for and protect their votaries, and invoked not to injure their descendants for any sin humanly committed against them (10, 15[2. 5. 6] cp. 3, 55[2]). Their favour is implored along with that of the dawns, streams, mountains, heaven and earth, Pūṣan and the Ṛbhus (6, 52[4]. 75[10]; 7, 35[12]; 1, 106[3]). They are besought to give riches, offspring, and long life to their sons (10, 15[7. 11]; AV. 18, 3[14]. 4[62]), who desire to be in their good graces (10, 14[6]). The Vasiṣṭhas collec-

tively are called upon to help their descendants (7, 33[1] cp. 10, 15[8]); and individual ancestors, as Turvaśa, Yadu, and Ugrādeva, are invoked (1, 36[18]).

The Fathers are immortal (AV. 6, 41[3]) and are even spoken of as gods (10, 56[4])[3]. In the Aṅgirases and similar groups the divine character is combined with that of ancient priests. Cosmical actions like those of the gods are sometimes attributed to the Fathers. Thus they are said to have adorned the sky with stars and placed darkness in the night and light in the day (10, 68[11]), to have found the hidden light and generated the dawn (7, 76[4] cp. 10, 107[1]), and in concert with Soma to have extended heaven and earth (8, 48[13]).

Just as the corpse-devouring Agni is distinguished from the Agni who wafts the sacrifice to the gods (10, 16[9]), so the path of the Fathers is distinguished from that of the gods (10, 2[7]. 18[1] cp. 88[15])[4]. Similarly in the ŚB. the heavenly world (*svarga loka*) is contrasted with that of the fathers (*pitṛloka*), the door of the former being said to be in the north-east (ŚB. 6, 6, 2[4]), and that of the latter in the south-east (13, 8, 1[5])[5]. The fathers are also spoken of as a class distinct from men, having been created separately (TB. 2, 3, 8[2]).

[1] The attribution of the AV. to fire-priests, the Atharvans and Aṅgirases, is historically justified, as the cult of fire is still associated with the AV. in the epic: cp. WEBER, History of Ind. Lit. 148; HRI. 159. — [2] HAUG, GGA. 1875, 94; SBE. 42, 660; OLDENBERG, SBE. 46, 162. — [3] Otherwise HRI. 145, n. 1. — [4] Cp. Hiraṇyakeśi Pitṛmadhhsūtra, ed. CALAND, Leipzig 1896, p. 55; HRI. 145, n. 4. — [5] The South is in general the quarter of the Manes (ŚB. 1, 2, 5[17]): this is Indo-Iranian, cp. KERN, Buddhismus 1, 359; CALAND, Altindischer Ahnencult, Leiden 1893, p. 178. 180; ORV. 342, n. 2; ZDMG. 49, 471, n. 1; HRI. 190.

§ 77. Yama. — The chief of the blessed dead is Yama. Reflexion on the future life being remote from the thoughts of the poets of the RV., only three hymns (10, 14. 135. 154) are addressed to Yama. There is besides one other (10, 10) consisting of a dialogue between Yama and his sister Yamī. Yama's name occurs about 50 times in the RV. but almost exclusively in the first and (far oftener) in the tenth book.

He revels with the gods (7, 76[4]; 10, 135[1]). Individual gods with whom he is referred to, are Varuṇa (10, 14[7]), Bṛhaspati (10, 13[4]. 14[3]), and especially Agni, who as conductor of the dead would naturally be in close relations with him. Agni is the friend (*kāmya*) of Yama (10, 21[5]) and his priest (10, 52[3]). A god (10, 51[1]) and Yama (who by implication are identical) found the hiding Agni (ib.[3]). Agni, Yama, Mātariśvan are mentioned together as the names of the one being (1, 164[46]). Yama is also mentioned in enumerations of gods including Agni (10, 64[3]. 92[11]).

Thus it is implied that Yama is a god. He is, however, not expressly called a god, but only a king (9, 113[8]; 10, 14 passim), who rules the dead (*yamárājñaḥ*: 10, 16[9]). Yama and god Varuṇa are the two kings whom the dead man sees on reaching heaven (10, 14[7]). Throughout one of the hymns devoted to his praise (10, 14) he is associated with the departed fathers, particularly with the Aṅgirases (vv.[3. 5]). With them he comes to the sacrifice and is exhilerated (vv. [3. 4]. 15[8]). Later texts (TA. 6, 5[2]; Āp. ŚS. 16, 6) make mention of the steeds of Yama, which are described as golden-eyed and iron-hoofed. He is a gatherer of the people (10, 14[1]), gives the dead man a resting place (10, 14[9]; AV. 18, 2[37]) and prepares an abode for him (10, 18[13]).

Yama's dwelling is in the remote recess of the sky (9, 113[8]). Of the three heavens two belong to Savitṛ and one to Yama[1] (1, 35[6] cp. 10, 123[6]), this being the third and highest (cp. § 73). The VS. (12, 63) speaks of

him along with Yamī as being in the highest heaven. In his abode (*sādana*[2]) which is the home of the gods (*devamāna*) Yama is surrounded by songs and the sound of the flute (10, 135[7]).

Soma is pressed for Yama, ghee is offered to him (10, 14[11. 14]), and he is besought to come to the sacrifice and place himself on the seat (10, 14[4]). He is invoked to lead his worshippers to the gods and to prolong life (10, 14[14]).

His father is Vivasvat (10, 14[5]) with whom Saraṇyū is mentioned as his mother (10, 17[1]). He is also several times called by the patronymic Vaivasvata (10, 14[1], &c.). This trait is Indo-Iranian, for in the Avesta Vīvanhvant, as the first man who pressed Soma, is said to have received Yima as a son[3] in reward. In the AV. (18, 2[32] cp. 3[61–2]) Yama is described as superior to Vivasvat, being himself surpassed by none.

In their dialogue in the RV. (10, 10[4]) Yama and Yamī call themselves children of Gandharva and the water nymph (*apyā yoṣā*)[4]. Yamī further speaks of Yama (v. 3) as the 'only mortal'. In another hymn Yama is said to have chosen death and abandoned his body (10, 13[4])[5]. He passed[6] to the other world, finding out the path for many, to where the ancient fathers passed away (10, 14[1. 2]). He was the first of mortals that died (AV. 18, 3[13]). Here 'mortals' can only mean 'men', though later even gods are spoken of as mortal[7]. As first and oldest of the dead he would easily be regarded as the chief of the dead that followed him[8]. He is called 'lord of settlers' (*viśpati*)[9], 'our father' (10, 135[1]). Through Yama men come in later texts to be described as descendants of Vivasvān ādityaḥ[10] (TS. 6, 5, 6[2] cp. ŚB. 3, 1, 3[4]; RV. 1, 105[9]). Even in the RV. Yama seems to be connected with the sun; for the heavenly courser (the sun) 'given by Yama' probably means the solar abode granted by Yama to those who become immortal (1, 163[2] cp. 83[5]).

Death is the path of Yama (1, 38[5]) and once (1, 165[4]; cp. MS. 2, 5[6]; AV. 6, 28[3]. 93[1]) he appears to be identified with death (*mṛtyu*)[11]. Yama's foot-fetter (*paḍbīśa*) is spoken of as parallel to the bond of Varuṇa[12] (10, 97[16]). Owing to such traits and also to his messengers, Yama must to a certain extent have been an object of fear in the RV. But in the AV. and the later mythology Yama, being more closely associated with the terrors of death, came to be the god of death (though even in the Epic his sphere is by no means limited to hell)[13]. In the later Saṃhitās Yama is mentioned beside Antaka, the Ender, Mṛtyu, Death (VS. 39, 13), and Nirṛti, Decease (AV. 6, 29[3]; MS. 2, 5[6]), and Mṛtyu is his messenger (AV. 5, 30[12]; 18, 2[27], &c.). In the AV. Death is said to be the lord of men, Yama of the Manes (AV. 5, 24[13–4]), and Sleep comes from Yama's realm (19, 56[1] &c.).

The word *yamá* has also the appellative meaning of 'twin'[14], in which sense it occurs several times in the RV. (generally in the dual masculine or feminine), while *yáma*, which is found a few times in the RV., means 'rein' or guide'. Yamá actually is a twin with Yamī in the RV. (10, 10)[15]. The sense of 'twin' also seems to belong to Yima in the Avesta (Yasna 30, 3). A sister of Yima is mentioned, not in the Avesta, but in the later literature[16] only, as Yimeh, who with her brother produces the first human couple. At a later period of Indian literature, when Yama had become the god of death who punishes the wicked, the name was understood to be derived from *yam*, 'to restrain'[17], but this derivation is not in keeping with the ideas of the Vedic age.

A bird, either the owl (*ulūka*) or the pigeon (*kapota*), is said to be the messenger (10, 165[4] cp. 123[6])[18] of Yama apparently identified with death. The messenger of Yama and of death would therefore appear to be the

same (AV. 8, 8[11]). Yama's regular messengers, however, of whom a fuller account is given (10, 14[10-12]), are two dogs. They are four-eyed, broad-nosed, brindled (*śabala*), brown (*udumbala*), sons of Saramā (*sārameya*). They are guardians that guard the path (10, 14[11]) or sit on the path (AV. 18, 2[12]). The dead man is exhorted to hasten straight past these two dogs and to join the fathers who rejoice with Yama (10, 14[10]); and Yama is besought to deliver him to them and to grant him welfare and freedom from disease. Delighting in lives (*asutṛp*) they watch men and wander about among the peoples as Yama's messengers. They are entreated to grant continued enjoyment of the light of the sun. Their functions therefore seem to consist in tracking out among men those who are to die, and in keeping guard on the path over those who enter the realm of Yama. In the Avesta a four-eyed yellow-eared dog keeps watch at the head of the Cinvaṭ bridge[19], which leads from this world to the next, and with his barking scares away the fiend from the souls of the holy ones, lest he should drag them to hell[20]. There does not seem to be sufficient evidence for supposing that the two dogs of Yama were regarded as keeping out the souls of the wicked, though it is quite possible that they were so regarded[21]. If, however. RV. 7, 55[2-5] is rightly interpreted by AUFRECHT[22], the object of the dogs was to exclude the wicked. In the AV. the messengers of Yama, sent by him among men, are spoken of both in the plural (AV. 8, 2[11]. 8[11]) and the dual (AV. 5, 30[6]). Of the two dogs one is described as *śabala*, 'brindled' and the other as *śyāma*, 'dark' (AV. 8, 1[9]). The word *śabala* has been identified with Κέρβερος[23], but this equation has been called in question[24]. BERGAIGNE (1, 93) thinks the two dogs are simply another form of Yama (as fire) and Yamī; and the trait of the later mythology, which represents Yama as coming to fetch the dead himself, is regarded by him as primary (1, 92). BLOOMFIELD[25] identifies Yama's two dogs with sun and moon[26].

The most probable conclusion to be drawn from all the available evidence seems to be, that Yama represents a mythological type found among the most diverse peoples, that of the chief of the souls of the departed. This would naturally follow from his being the mythical first father of mankind and the first of those that died. The myth of the primeval twins that produced the human race, Yama and Yamī = Yima and Yimeh[27], seems to be Indo-Iranian. The attempt to clear Yama of the guilt of incest in RV. 10, 10, shows that the belief in that incest already existed[28]. Yama himself may have been regarded in the Indo-Iranian period as a king of a golden age, since in the Avesta he is the ruler of an earthly[29], and in RV. that of a heavenly paradise. That Yama was originally conceived as a man, is the view of ROTH and other scholars[30]. E. H. MEYER, thinking Yamī to be a later creation like Indrāṇī and others, believes that Yama, the twin, originally represented the soul as the *alter ego*[31]. A number of other scholars believe that Yama originally represented a phenomenon of nature. Some think he was a form of Agni[32], the sun[33], the parting day[34], or the setting sun and thus god of the dead[35]. HILLEBRANDT[36] thinks Yama is the moon, in which dying is typical, and thus the mortal child of the sun and closely connected with the Manes. He considers him, however, to have been a moon-god in the Indo-Iranian period only, but no longer so in either the Avesta or the Veda, where he is merely king of a terrestrial paradise or of the realm of the Blest.

[1] By LRV. 4, 134 regarded as a hell. — [2] This abode (also AV. 2, 127; 18 2[56]. 3[70]), which seems always to mean the world of Yama or the place of burial TA. 6, 7, 2[6] cp. RV. 10, 18[13]) is understood by PVS. 1, 242 to refer to a 'chapel of Yama'. A *harmya* of Yama, spoken of in AV. 18, 4[55], is understood by EHNI

to mean 'tomb' (cp, SVL. 138). — [3] Cp. Roth, ZDMG. 2, 218. — [4] MM., with Sāyaṇa, regards these two as identical with Vivasvat and Saraṇyū. — [5] The interpretation is doubtful, cp. SVL. 146. — [6] Cp. Roth, Nir. Erl. 138; SVL. 113. — [7] HRI. 128. — [8] KHF. 21; SVL. 137. — [9] *Viśpati* is often said of Agni, once or twice of Indra and Varuṇa. — [10] Cp. Roth, IS. 14, 393. — [11] But the passage may mean 'Yama (and) Death'. — [12] Cp. Bloomfield, AJP. 11, 354—5. — [13] SVL. 155. — [14] Op. cit. 142, note 1. — [15] Yama and Yamī mentioned together as in heaven: TS. 4, 2, 53; VS. 12, 63; ŚB. 7, 2, 1^{10}; TA. 6, 4^2. — [16] Spiegel, Eranische Altertumskunde 1, 527. — [17] This is also the explanation of Grassmann, KZ. 11, 13; Leumann, KZ. 32, 301. — [18] SVL. 130, note 3. — [19] There is no reason to assume such a bridge in RV. 9, 41^2 (cp. SVL. 110) nor a river (Weber, Indische Skizzen 10) in RV. 10, 63^{10} (cp. SVL. 111). — [20] SBE. 4^2, lxxiv. — [21] AIL. 419; SVL. 127. 152; ORV. 538. — [22] IS. 4, 341 ff.; cp. AIL. 421; KRV. note 274. — [23] Benfey, Vedica und Verwandtes 149—64; Kuhn, KZ. 2, 314; Weber, IS. 2, 298; MM., Chips 4^2, 250; LSL. (1891), 2, 595; Selected Essays (1881), 1, 494; KRV. note 274a; van den Gheyn, Cerbère, Brussels 1883. — [24] Cp. Rohde, Psyche 1, 280, note 1. — [25] JAOS. 1893, p. 163—72. — [26] Kāṭh. 37, 14 (MS. p. 101, note 2), Kauṣit. Br. 11, 9 (= day and night); ŚB. 11, 1, 5^1 (moon a heavenly dog); on the dogs of Yama cp. also Rājendralāla Mitra, PRASB. May 1881, pp. 94. 96; Indo-Aryans, Calcutta 1881, 2, 156—65; Sp.AP. 239—40; HVM. 1, 225. 510—1; Casartelli, Dog of Death, BOR. 4, 269 f. — [27] Sp.AP. 246. — [28] Roth, JAOS. 3, 335; Darmesteter, Ormazd et Ahriman 106. — [29] Roth, ZDMG. 4, 420; on traces of Yima having been the first man in the Avesta, cp. SVL. 148 n. 1. — [30] Roth, ZDMG. 4, 425 ff.; IS. 14, 392; Scherman, Festschrift für K. Hofman, Erlangen 1890, p. 573 ff.; Hopkins, PAOS. May 1881. — [31] Indogermanische Mythen 1, 229. 232. — [32] KHF. 208; BRV. 1, 89; cp. Weber, Rājasūya 15, n. 1; YN. 12, 10 (Yama = lightning Agni, Yamī = voice of thunder); SVL. 132, n. 2. — [33] BRI. 22—3; Ehni, Die urspr. Gotth. d. ved. Yama, p. 26 &c. — [34] WVB. 1894, p. 1 (Yamī = night). — [35] MM., LSL. 2, 634—7; India 224; AR. 297—8; Bergaigne, Manuel Védique 283 (sun that has set). — [36] HVM. 1, 394 ff.; IF. 1, 7; also HVBP. 43.

On this chapter cp. also Roth, ZDMG. 4, 417—33; JAOS. 342—5; Whitney, JAOS. 3, 327—8; 13, cIII—VIII; OLS. 1, 46—63; Westergaard, IS. 3, 402—40; OST. 5, 284—335; Donner, Piṇḍapitṛyajña, 10—14. 28; AIL. 408—22; BRV. 1, 85—94; 2, 96; KRV. 69—71; Sp. AP. 243—56; Lanman, Sanskrit Reader 377—85; SVL. 122—61; HVM. 1, 489—513; ZDMG. 48, 421; Ehni, Der vedische Mythus des Yama, Strassburg 1890; Die ursprüngliche Gottheit des vedischen Yama, Leipzig 1896; Hopkins, PAOS. 1891, xciv—v; HRI. 128—50. 204—7; MM., PsR. 177—207; ORV. 524—43; SBE. 46, 29; Jackson, JAOS. 17, 185.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.

AB. = Aitareya Brāhmaṇa.
AF. = Arische Forschungen.
AGS. = Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra.
AIL. = ZIMMER's Altindisches Leben.
AJP. = American Journal of Philology.
Āp. = Āpastamba.
AR. = MAX MÜLLER's Anthropological Religion.
ASL. = MAX MÜLLER's History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature.
AŚS. = Āśvalāyana Śrauta Sūtra.
AV. = Atharvaveda.
BB. = BEZZENBERGER's Beiträge.
BDA. = BRADKE, Dyaus Asura.
BOR. = Babylonian and Oriental Record.
Br. = Brāhmaṇa.
BRV. = BERGAIGNE, La Religion Védique.
Dh. S. = Dharma Sūtra.
DPV. = DEUSSEN, Philosophie des Veda.
FaB. = Festgruss an BÖHTLINGK.
FaR. = Festgruss an ROTH.
FaW. = Festschrift an WEBER (Gurupūjākaumudī).
GGA. = Göttinger Gelehrte Anzeigen.
GGH. = SCHROEDER's Griechische Götter und Heroen.
GKR. = GELDNER, KAEGI, ROTH, Siebenzig Lieder des Rigveda.
GRV. = GRASSMANN's Translation of the Rigveda.
GS. = Gṛhya Sūtra.
GVS. = GELDNER, Vedische Studien.
GW. = GRASSMANN, Worterbuch (Rigveda Lexicon).
HGS. = Hiraṇyakeśi Gṛhya Sūtra.
HRI. = HOPKINS, Religions of India.
HVBP. = HARDY, Vedisch-brahmanische Periode.
HVM. = HILLEBRANDT, Vedische Mythologie.
IF. = Indogermanische Forschungen.
IS. = Indische Studien.
IStr. = Indische Streifen.
JA. = Journal Asiatique.
JAOS. = Journal of the American Oriental Society.
JRAS. = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
Kauś. S. = Kauśika Sūtra.
KHF. = KUHN, Herabkunft des Feuers und des Göttertranks.
KRV. = KAEGI, Der Rigveda (quoted from ARROWSMITH's translation).
KS. = Kauśika Sūtra.
KŚS. = Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra.
KZ. = KUHN's Zeitschrift.
LRF. = LUDWIG, Ueber die neuesten arbeiten auf dem gebiete der Ṛgveda-forschung (1893).
LRV. = LUDWIG, Rigveda Translation.
LSL. = MAX MÜLLER's Lectures on the Science of Language (ed. 1891).
MGS. = Mānava Gṛhya Sūtra.
MM. = MAX MÜLLER.
MS. = Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā.
NR. = MAX MÜLLER's Natural Religion.
Nir. = Nirukta.
OGR. = MAX MÜLLER's Origin and Growth of Religion.
OLS. = WHITNEY's Oriental and Linguistic Studies.
OO. = BENFEY's Orient und Occident.
ORV. = OLDENBERG, Die Religion des Veda.
OST. = MUIR's Original Sanskrit Texts.
PAOS. = Proceedings of the American Oriental Society.
PB. = Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa (= TMB.)
PGS. = Pāraskara Gṛhya Sūtra.
PhR. = MAX MÜLLER's Physical Religion.
Ps.R. = MAX MÜLLER's Psychological Religion.
PRASB. = Proceedings of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.
PVS. = PISCHEL, Vedische Studien.
PW. = Petersburger Wörterbuch (BÖHTLINGK and ROTH's larger Sanskrit Dictionary).
RV. = Rigveda.
ŚB. = Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.
SBE. = Sacred Books of the East.
SP.AP. = SPIEGEL, Die Arische Periode.
SPH. = SCHERMAN, Philosophische Hymnen.
SV. = Sāmaveda.
SVL. = SCHERMAN, Visionslitteratur.
ŚŚS. = Śaṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra.
TA. = Taittirīya Āraṇyaka.
TB. = Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa.
TMB. = Tāṇḍya Mahābrāhmaṇa (= PB).
TS. = Taittirīya Saṃhitā.
Up. = Upaniṣad.
Vāl. = Vālakhilya.
VS. = Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā.
WC. = WALLIS, Cosmology of the Rigveda.
WVB. = WEBER, Vedische Beiträge (Sitzungsberichte der Berliner Akademie).
WZKM. = Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes (Vienna Oriental Journal).
YN. = YĀSKA's Nirukta.
YV. = Yajurveda.
ZDA. = Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum.
ZDMG. = Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.
ZVP. = Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie.

N.B. The figures in parentheses without an added abbreviation refer to the Rigveda.

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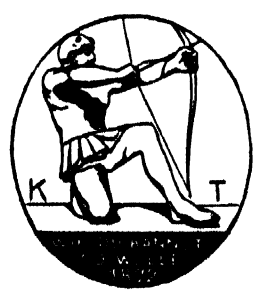
ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA.

P. 1, ast line, *for* Oxford Essays II *read* Oxford Essays, 1856 (= Chips 4², 1—154). — P. 2, l. 1 *add* Contributions to the Science of Mythology, 2 vols. London, 1897. — P. 5, l. 5 from below *for* pove *read* prove. — P. 8, l. 4 *for* Verethragna *read* Verethraghna. — P. 12, l. 7 from below, for *viśvarupa* read *viśvarūpa*; l. 23: on this paradox cp. WC. 41. — P. 15, l. 10 from below *for* Prajanya *read* Parjanya. — P. 17, l. 14 from below *add*: The notion of an infinite number of cosmic ages is already to be found in the AV. (10, 8 39. 40), cp. JACOBI, GGA. 1895, p. 210; GARBE in this Encyclopedia 3, 4 p. 16. — P. 21, note 22 *for* fournished *read* furnished. — P. 22, l. 14 *aśanimat*: cp. PAOS. 1895, p. 138. — P. 28, note 2 *add* but cp. RV. 10, 127 1 and BLOOMFIELD, JAOS. 15, 170; SBE. 42, 391. — P. 29, note 21 *add* JOH. SCHMIDT writes to the effect that till the relation of the Aeolic ὅρανος and ὦρανος to οὐρανός has been determined, it is impossible to say whether Varuṇa is connected with οὐρανός or not. — P. 29, § 13, l. 4 for *bruvānaḥ* read *bruvāṇaḥ*. — P. 33, l. 25 *for* stimultae *read* stimulate. — P. 35, l. 4 *add* BLOOMFIELD, AJP. 14, 493. — P. 37, § 16, last line of notes, *after* PERRY *add* JAOS. 11, 190—1. — P. 39, l. 19 *for* mythology *read* mythology 11. — P. 41, l. 28 *for* IS. XI *read* IS. XII. — P. 42, l. 5, note 4 *add* cp. MACDONELL, GGA. 1897, p. 47—8. — P. 42, l. 17 *add* On Viṣṇu's obscure epithet *sipiviṣṭa* cp. OST. 4, 87 f.; LRV. 1, 162; 4, 153; KRV. note 214. — P. 44, l. 6: On Sūrya and Savitṛ as an Āditya cp. JAOS. 18, 28. — P. 44, l. 21 *for* Adityas *read* Ādityas. — P. 46, note 9 *add* Cp. WURM, Gesch. d. ind. Rel. p. 29. — P. 46, l. 5 *for* feast' *read* feast. — P. 50, *delete* note 9. — P. 54, note 22 *add* cp. JAOS. 16, 21—2; l. 33 *add* HOPKINS, PAOS. 1894, CXLIX—CL. — P. 55, l. 15: On Indra's weapons cp. PERRY, JAOS. 11, 138. 198. — P. 55, l. 21: on *āyasa* cp. OLDENBERG, SBE. 46, 278. — P. 66, note 11 *add* cp. LRF. 142—3; note 33 *add* cp. WINTERNITZ, Hochzeitsrituell 43. 46; OERTEL, JAOS. 18, 26—31; note 3 *add* BRV. 3, 200—7; note 42 *add* cp. ZDMG. 9, 687. — P. 69, note 10 *add* cp. HILLEBRANDT, Vedainterpretation 13. 19; and two lines below before LRV. 3, 355—7 *add* WESTERGAARD, IS. 3, 414—24. — P. 80, l. 9 *for* Marudvṛddhā *read* Marudvṛdhā (also p. 88, note 4). — P. 84, l. 8 from below: On points of resemblance between Indra and Parjanya cp. HOPKINS, PAOS. 1894 (Dec.), 36—9. — P. 85, note 4 *add* JOH. SCHMIDT writes that he regards the equation Parjanya = Perkúnas as quite wrong, since Lith. *ū* can only correspond to Sansk. *ū*. LESKIEN also considers this equation untenable (communication through BÖHTLINGK). It is, however, accepted by WACKERNAGEL, Altindische Grammatik §§ 52. 100 b. — P. 88, note 11 *add* cp. BOLLENSEN, ZDMG. 41, 499. — P. 114 *delete* note 41. — P. 169, note 6 *add* HAUG, GGA. 1875, p. 96.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GRUNDRISS DER INDO-ARISCHEN PHILOLOGIE UND ALTERTUMSKUNDE
(ENCYCLOPEDIA OF INDO-ARYAN RESEARCH)
BEGRÜNDET VON G. BÜHLER, FORTGESETZT VON F. KIELHORN,
HERAUSGEGEBEN VON H. LÜDERS UND J. WACKERNAGEL.

III. BAND, I. HEFT B.

EPIC MYTHOLOGY

BY

E. WASHBURN HOPKINS

STRASSBURG
VERLAG VON KARL J. TRÜBNER
1915

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I. INTRODUCTION.

§ 1. **Date of Epic Poetry.** — The mythology of the two epics of India represents in general the belief of the people of Northern India along the lower Ganges within a few centuries of the Christian era. For the Mahābhārata the time from 300 B. C. to 100 B. C. appears now to be the most probable date, though excellent authorities extend the limits from 400 B. C. to 400 A. D. The Mahābhārata as a whole is later than the Rāmāyaṇa; but R is metrically more advanced, the work of one author, a skilled metrician, who has improved the rougher epic form of the Mahābhārata, as his work represents a life less rude than that depicted in the great popular epic, this being the work of many hands and of different times. Both epics have received long additions. The germ of the Mahābhārata has been referred to the Vedic period and the Rāmāyaṇa has been assigned to pre-Buddhistic times (its germ also recognised as Vedic), but the data, in part negative, oppose the assumption that either epic poem existed before the fourth century B. C. Discussion is futile without a careful definition of the word "germ". That the Rāmāyaṇa was the norm, according to which the Mahābhārata was built, or that the Rāmāyaṇa was completed as it is to-day (barring the first and last books) before the Mahābhārata was begun, are theses impossible to establish. The Rāmāyaṇa has two flagrant additions, books one and seven. The Mahābhārata has been increased by the late addition of the Harivaṃśa (perhaps 200 A. D.), and much of the first book is late. By the fourth century this epic was recognised as a poem of one hundred thousand verses, and it has been argued[1]) that this implies the existence of the Harivaṃśa at that time. Such may be the case,

[1]) For example, by Professor Macdonell, Sanskrit Literature, p. 267. The reasons for assuming an earlier date for both epics than that accepted above are set forth in this chapter of Macdonell's work. In regard to the kernel of the great epic, referred to about 1000 B. C., it may be questioned whether the war between Kurus and Pañcālas is the historical germ of the epic at all. Professor Winternitz, Geschichte der Indischen Literatur, p. 396, arguing from the fact that the Tipiṭaka does not know either epic, though it shows acquaintance with the story of Rāma, assumes the termini 400 B. C. to 400 A. D. for the present Mahābhārata. The Rāmāyaṇa, he thinks, was "made by Vālmīki probably in the fourth or third century B. C." (p. 439), before the Mahābhārata had its present form. Professor Jacobi in his excellent work, Das Rāmāyaṇa, regarding the Mbh. as due to the influence of Vālmīki (p. 78), is inclined to assign a much greater age to the Rāmāyaṇa. The germ of the Mbh. appears, however, to be older than the Rām.; it represents a ruder age as well as a ruder art.

since the (corrected) Northern version contains 84,126 verses, which, with the 16,375(526) verses of the Harivaṃśa, make 100,501(651) verses. But, on the other hand, it might be said, from the off-hand way the Hindus have of assigning a round number of verses to a poem, that they would be quite likely to refer to an epic even approximating one hundred thousand verses as a poem of a lakh of verses. Now the Southern recension, in so far as the recently published text represents it, has twelve thousand more verses than the Northern recension and, without the Harivaṃśa, contains 96,578 verses (or prose equivalents)[1]), not including the circa two hundred extra verses of single manuscripts. It is therefore doubtful whether the attribution of a lakh of verses necessarily implies the existence, as part of the lakh, of the Harivaṃśa. Yet on the whole this is probable, owing to the fact that the expansion in S appears for the most part to be due rather to the inclusion of new material than to the retention of old passages. Important is the fact for the mythologist that the Harivaṃśa is more closely in touch with Purāṇic than with epic mythology. It is in fact a Purāṇa, and "epic mythology" may properly exclude it, as it may exclude the Uttara in the Rāmāyaṇa, though both are valuable here and there to complement epic material. In no case, however, may passages from either of these additions be assumed to represent epic ideas, although of course epic ideas may be contained in them. It is most probable that Śānti and Anuśāsana were books (XII and XIII) added to the original epic, but equally clear that they were included in the Mahābhārata containing a lakh of verses. They may be looked upon in general as later though not modern additions[2]), yet as we know that one portion of Śānti has been enlarged in quite modern times[3]), there should be no hesitation in granting that passages may have been added at any time within the last few centuries. The palpable additions made in the interest of sectarian belief in the Southern recension are merely an indication of what has probably happened in both epics. — Geographically, the Mahābhārata represents the western and the Rāmāyaṇa the eastern districts of Northern India, but only in a limited sense (circa Delhi to Benares). In general it may be said that middle India between the Ganges and Nerbudda was the country most familiar to the poets of both epics. North and South are fabulous but travelled lands. The Punjab is better known but lies remote.

§ 2. **The Concept Deva.** — Epic mythology, however, is fairly consistent. There is no great discrepancy between the character of any one god in Mbh. and that of the same god in R. Nor is the character of gods very different in different parts of Mbh., save for the sectarian tendency to invert the positions of the three highest gods in favor of the sect. There are of course differences, but not such as to imply that we are dealing with totally diverse conceptions or traditions. In both epics the older gods

[1]) In reckoning the verses of the Northern recension, account must be taken of the egregious typographical errors in the Calcutta edition, which in Vana make eleven thousand odd into seventeen thousand odd verses, in Udyoga convert six thousand one hundred into seven thousand, etc. The Bombay Vana has 11,712 verses as contrasted with 12,082 in the Southern (S) recension. The total sum 84,126 is the number for C as corrected by B. As an indication of the difference between S and B-C, Ādi has 11,080 verses in S, 8479 in C.

[2]) Śānti in S has 15,050 and Anuśāsana 11,184 verses, as contrasted with 13,943 and 7,796 in the Northern recension. Holtzmann, Das Mahābhārata, I, 194, argued for a modern epic throughout, but this view has not been substantiated.

[3]) In Śānti, Parv. 342 to 353, S has many more sectarian additions in honor of the Nārāyaṇa lauded in these interpolated chapters.

are reduced in estate, in so far as they represent personifications of nature; in both, new gods are throned above the old. The conception Deva, god, embraces all spiritual characters, as it is said, "the gods beginning with Brahman and ending with Piśācas" (Brahmādayaḥ Piśācāntā yaṃ hi devā upāsate)[1]), but loosely, so that in the very clause thus specifying the host of gods, Śiva, as the greatest god, is set in antithesis to them all as the one being through devotion to whom even Kṛṣṇa-Viṣṇu pervades the universe. Nor is the world of men without close kinship with the gods, who descend to earth and are reborn as mortals. Not Viṣṇu alone but those who worship him become earthly Avatars. Kuśika is permeated with Indra, and Gādhi, son of Kuśika, is in reality son of Indra; in other words, for the purpose of having a son Gādhi, Indra becomes incorporate; Gādhi is Indra on earth (putratvam agamad rājaṃs tasya lokeśvareśvaraḥ, Gādhir nāmā 'bhavat putraḥ Kauśikaḥ Pākaśāsanaḥ, 12, 49, 6).

II. THE LOWER MYTHOLOGY.

§ 3. **Definition.** — It is obvious that a mythology which on the one hand touches upon that of the Purāṇas and on the other reaches back to the Vedic age may best be presented chronologically, and this would be the case were it not that there is an aspect of mythology which does not fit into this scheme. This will be referred to again under the head of General Characteristics. At present it will suffice to say that at all times in India there has been under the higher mythology of gods and great demons a lower mythology of spiritualised matter less remote than the gods of sun, storm, etc., and less remote even than the recognised spirits inhabiting yet not confined to such matter, spirits that receive their proper recognition in the pantheon. Though this lower mythology has various aspects which blend it with the higher, as in the case of the Corn-mother already absorbed into a title of a high goddess, yet in part it stands aloof and may be treated separately, at least in its broad divisions of river- and mountain-mythology, the lesser traits of divine trees and pools being more conveniently discussed under the head of the divinities into whose province the lower spirits have been drawn.

§ 4. **Divine Rivers.** — Water has always had a healing (hence supernatural or divine) power. The epic recognises this, but in conjunction with the act of a god. Thus a god revives the dead with a handful of water, though a divine fiat is sufficient for this purpose, or the use of a magical plant[2]). But as a self-conscious power, aiding the right, water also dries up before a sinful priest, who tries to escape by way of water (as a guard against evil influence; compare the popular notion that evil spirits cannot pass running water). Water is also a divine witness against wrong, for which reason one who curses or takes any oath touches water, as one does in accepting a gift. In fact in any solemn event a sort of bap-

[1]) This inclusion of Piśācas under Devas occurs in the exaltation of Śiva in 13, 14, 4 and verses added in S to 13, 45. Ordinarily the Devas exclude the demons; they are as light to darkness, but (as shown below) all spiritual beings are sons of the Father-god and so all are divine. It is rather the nature of the individual which determines whether he is "god" or "demon", than the class to which he is assigned.

[2]) See the writer's paper on Magic Observances in the Hindu Epic (Am. Philosophical Society, vol. XLIX). In 12, 153, 113, S has pāṇinā for cakṣuṣā. For the other examples, see 3, 136, 9f.; 1, 74, 30; 3, 110, 32; and the cases cited, loc. cit.

tism of water takes place, for water is one of the "three purities". As truth is another "purity", a speaker of the truth can walk over water without sinking [1]). The priestly influence predominant in the epics proclaims (3, 193, 36) the sin-expelling quality of water sprinkled by the hand of a priest, and this is the idea of the Tīrtha, that it has been made effective through an outer influence, priestly or divine, which imparts power to wash away ill-luck and sin or to bestow upon the bather "beauty and fortune" (3, 47, 29:82, 43 f.). But the cult of such powers, though constantly recommended by the less orthodox writers of the epic, is not in conformity with the sacred writings and is not infrequently depreciated as a deśātithi or "cultivator of places" stands opposed to the view that "all rivers are Sarasvatīs" (12, 264, 40), that is, all rivers are holy in themselves; though certainly the modified view, for example that "rivers are hallowed if Rāma bathes in them" (R 2, 48, 9), is normal. This example also shows that rivers and ponds are regarded as living persons, to whom the predicate kṛtapuṇyāḥ (blessed or hallowed) can properly apply. Especially holiness attaches to the Payoṣṇī, because of its relics; to the Cauvery, because of its nymphs; to the Godāvarī, because of its saints and contact with Rāma; to the Ganges, because of Rāma's passage over it; and to any union of river with river or with ocean, because the sacred nature of each is doubled by contact with the other (3, 85, 22 f. and R 4, 41, 15). The Cauvery is "half the Ganges" but at the same time is wife of Jahnu and daughter of Yuvanāśva (H 1421 f.), as all rivers are wives of ocean, though not always so completely anthropomorphised [2]). Offerings are made to rivers and they are invoked for aid as divine beings (R 2, 55, 4 f.; ibid. 4, 40, 9), the offerings when made by Sītā being a thousand cows and a hundred jars of brandy, perhaps intended eventually for the priests. Although over a hundred and sixty divine rivers are mentioned by name (6, 9, 14 f.; ibid. 11, 31 f.; 3, 188, 102 f.; ibid. 222, 22 f.; 13, 166, 19 f.) and the Rāmāyaṇa says that five hundred rivers furnished water for Rāma's consecration (R 6, 131, 53), yet the time-honored designation Five Rivers is still used (Indus being the sixth) to designate a group sometimes also vaguely called the Seven Rivers, this latter group including the Ganges (see below). The Five are named as the (modern) Sutlej, Beas, Ravi, Chinab, and Jhelum (8, 44, 31 f.). As the rivers are recipients of offerings, so in turn they make to Indra an offering of praise but are overawed by the presence of Śiva and, like the birds, when he appears, cease to make a sound (3, 96, 6; 5, 17, 22). Their bestowal of purification may be unconscious, owing to their divine purity, but they consciously save as well. Thus the Beas and Samaṅgā (3, 139, 9 f.; 13, 3, 13) act consciously in saving a man from drowning. All these rivers used to bear gold, but now only Ganges has that bye-product of Śiva's seed (7, 56, 6, etc.). The mental state of rivers is often alluded to as a matter of course. They are troubled in mind, run backward in fear, or cease to flow in mental distress (8, 94, 49; R 5, 16, 4, etc.). Ganges converses with Ocean and explains why huge trees but not slender reeds are carried on her waves (the trees resisting are overwhelmed, the reeds by bending

[1]) Both Pṛthu Vainya and Dilīpa, as "speakers of truth" pass over water without sinking, even in a battle-car (7, 61, 9 f.; 69, 9).

[2]) For further references, see The Sacred Rivers of India in (the Toy volume) Studies in the History of Religions, p. 215. Few rivers are masculine, though male rivers, Indus, Oxus, Lohita, Śoṇa, etc., are representatives of the masculine form (but also Śoṇā, fem.) and Ocean is "lord of rivers male and rivers female" (R 3, 35, 7, etc.).

escape destruction, 12, 113, 2f.); she also explains to Umā the habits of good women (13, 146, 17f.). The river is sometimes a reborn saint, as the Cosy (Kauśikī) is an Avatar of Satyavatī, wife of Viśvāmitra (R 1, 34, 8), as in the Purāṇas Gaurī, wife of Prasenajit, became the river Bāhudā. On the other hand, the Nerbudda (Narmadā) became the wife of the king Purukutsa (15, 20, 13). This river fell in love with a Duryodhana, by whom she had a fair daughter, Sudarśanā, whose son in turn married Oghavatī and "half of her became a river" (13, 2, 18f.). A crooked river, hence evil, may be in effect an evil woman reborn. Thus Ambā remained in life half as a human being and half as a crooked river (5, 186, 41). Sons of rivers are human heroes. Bhīṣma is son of Ganges; Śrutāyudha is son of the river Parṇāśā, by Varuṇa (cf. § 63; 7, 92, 44f.); Duṣyanta is great-great-grandson of the Sarasvatī, whose son was Sārasvata. Śuktimatī was a river who became the mother of a son by a mountain (1, 63, 35f.; ibid. 95, 27; 9, 51, 17f.). As intimated apropos of Ambā, a river may represent sinful power, but the Vaitaraṇī is the only river leading to hell, under the name Puṣpodakā (Vaitaraṇī being a sacred stream of Kalinga as well as the river of hell, 3, 200, 58; 8, 77, 44). The Yamunā (Jumna) is called Kālindī from the mountain Kalinda, and its place of union with the Ganges is celebrated as holy (Bharadvāja's hermitage is there); but it is often omitted from lists where it might be expected to appear, as in 13, 146, 18f., where Ganges is the glorious last of a list of sacred rivers: Vipāśā ca Vitastā ca Candrabhāgā Irāvatī, Śatadrur Devikā Sindhuḥ Kauśikī Gautamī tathā, tathā devanadī ce 'yaṃ sarvatīrthābhisaṃbhṛtā, gaganād gāṃ gatā devī Gaṅgā sarvasaridvarā. Ganges is here apparently derived from her "going" (cf. Sarasvatī and European parallels from roots meaning go or run). She is the most completely personified of all the holy rivers, not only as mother of Bhīṣma, Gāṅgeya, āpagāsuta, āpageya, nadīja, and of Kumāra (Kumārasū, H 1081) but as co-wife with Umā of Śiva, and as assuming human form, to become wife of Śāntanu (1, 98, 5). She is called "daughter of Jahnu" (ibid. 18), Jahnusutā and Jāhnavī, and "daughter of Bhagīratha", by adoption, though her true patronymic it not Bhāgīrathī but Haimavatī (6, 119, 97), as she is the daughter of the Himālaya mountain. Her title among the gods is Alakanandā, and as she is regarded as identified with other streams so she is identified with Puṣpodakā Vaitaraṇī (1, 170, 22). Usually she is spoken of as threefold, three-pathed, as in 6, 6, 28f., where Sarasvatī, Ganges, is said to issue from the world of Brahman and to fall like milk from Mount Meru into the lake of the moon, which her own fall has created, after being upheld for one hundred thousand years on Śiva's head. She is said to be both visible and invisible and is represented as divided into seven streams, the names of which vary but appear in the Mahābhārata as (6, 6, 50) Vasvaukasārā, Nalinī, Pāvanī, Jambūnadī, Sītā, Gaṅgā, and Sindhu. In the Rāmāyaṇa (1, 43, 12) the Hlādinī and Sucakṣu take the place of the first and fourth. She appeared first at Bindusaras (6, 6, 44f.; R 1, 43, 10), when Bhagīratha induced her to come to earth to baptise the bones of Sagara's sons, since till that was done these sons could not attain to heaven (3, 108, 18). The famous story of her descent is told in R 1, 43. As she sank when weary upon the lap of Bhagīratha, she is said to have chosen him for her father (cf. 3, 109, 18f.; and 7, 60, 6f.). The Southern recension says that she was angry at being forced to go to hell and got caught in Śiva's hair (cf. R 1, 43, 5). She is three-fold as the river of

sky, earth, and the lower regions, tripathagā, trilokagā, etc., and her titles incorporated into Tīrthas called Tri-Gaṅga and Sapta-Gaṅga, Sapta-Sārasvata-Tīrtha (3, 84, 29; 13, 25, 6f.) preserve the double account. As the three-pathed Ganges she is called veṇīkṛtajalā (R 2, 50, 16, here "wife of Ocean"), but the post-epical Triveṇi refers to the mystic union of "three-stranded" Ganges with the Yamunā and (lesser) Sarasvatī at Prayāga (Allahābād). At this place the holiness of the river exceeds all bounds. A bath at Prayāga, "the lap of earth", imparts more virtue than do all the Vedas, and Ganges is here "the one Tīrtha of the (Kali) age" (3, 85, 75 and 90). Ganges and Yamunā are invoked together by Sītā (R 2, 52, 82f.). At the entrance to the ocean (it is said, 1, 170, 19f.), Ganges divides into seven streams (cf. 6, 119, 76 and 7, 36, 13) and "one is purified from sin who drinks the waters of Ganges, Yamunā, Sarasvatī (Plakṣajātā), Rathasthā, Sarayū, Gomatī, or Gaṇḍakī." According to R 1, 43, 12f., there is a (later) division into the three Ganges of the East, namely the Hlādinī, Pāvanī, and Nalinī; those of the West, Sucakṣu (Oxus?), Sītā, and Sindhu; and, seventh, "she who became Bhagīratha's daughter". In this epic too the origin of Ganges's title Jāhnavī is explained. Jahnu swallows Ganges because he is disturbed by her flood but lets her out through his ears on condition that she be known as his issue. The same late book of R makes Manoramā (or Menā) the mother of Ganges (R 1, 35, 16). This nymph was daughter of Mount Meru, and wife of Himavat, and bore him two daughters, Gaṅgā and Umā (a Purāṇic legend). Ganges's place of origin (Gaṅgotri), the so-called Gate, Gaṅgādvāra (Hardwar), the place of her union with Yamunā, and, fourth, the place where she "unites with Ocean" (debouches into the gulf of Bengal), have always been the most sacred spots in her course. Gaṅgādvāra (13, 166, 26) and Prayāga are the most famous in the epic. The river has stairs (ghaṭs), gold in her bosom, etc. As a divine being she is "destroyer of sin", identical with Pṛśni ("mother of Viṣṇu") and with Vāc, and renowned as "daughter of Himavat, wife of Śiva, and mother of Skanda". She is also called Viṣṇupadī (coming from Viṣṇu's toe? See 13, 26, a chapter devoted to her, and R 2, 50, 26; VP. 4, 4, 15.) As above, she is also "wife of Ocean" as well as wife of Śiva (3, 99, 32; 187, 19; R 2, 50, 25). Mandākinī is a name she shares with earthly rivers (5, 111, 12, etc.). Ākāśagaṅgā ("of the air") is her heavenly name (3, 142, 11). On the special adoration paid by Skanda's form to Ganges, see Skanda (§ 161). Devanadī and Suranadī, "river of the gods", are common titles in both epics; Lokanadī, river of the world, is found S 1, 186, 2. She is so anthropomorphised that when her son is fighting she appears on his chariot, holding the reins for him and guarding his life, as she previously gives him advice (5, 178, 68; 182, 12f.). There is no epic authority for the belief that children were flung into the Ganges as sacrifices, though jhaṣas abound there (1, 228, 32).

§ 5. **Divine Trees and Groves.** — Many trees are holy from association with the gods. Thus the Śamī is the birth-place of Agni (13, 85, 44) and the Aśvattha, representing the male element in the production of fire, is also tabu (only ascetics live on its fruit), while all the samidhas, wood for sacrificial fires, are sacrosanct, Palāśa as well as Pippala (Aśvattha), and Śamī, and perhaps the tabu-trees, pratiṣiddhānna, the "fruit of which is forbidden", have a previous religious use as the reason for the tabu. These include besides those just mentioned the Vaṭa (ficus indica), Śaṇa (cannabis sativa), Śāka (tectona grandis) and the Udumbara (ficus

glomerata)[1]). The Aśvattha is the chief of trees (it represents the life-tree) and typifies that tree of life which is rooted in God above (6, 34, 26; 39, 1 f.). To revere this tree is to worship God. Viṣṇu is identified with the Nyagrodha and Udumbara and Aśvattha (13, 126, 5 and 149, 101). The famous Nyagrodha of Vṛndāvana (mentioned only in S 2, 53, 8 f.) is called Bhāṇḍīra. Otherwise no local tree except the Akṣaya-Vaṭa of Gaya is noticed in the texts. It is so called because it immortalises the offerings given there to the Manes, marking the spot where the Asura Gaya fell or made sacrifice. It is not interpreted to mean an undying tree[2]). A mound or sacred edifice makes holy the tree upon it and in a village the "one tree" which is conspicuous is said to be caitya arcanīyaḥ supūjitaḥ, that is, revered like a divinity (1, 151, 33, grāma-druma). An unholy tree is the Vibhītaka (entered by Kali; see 3, 66, 41). Trees are sentient beings, able to hear, move, see, feel, as philosophically proved in 12, 184, 10 f. The trees themselves wish to do this or that (S 7, 16, 14), as distinct from the dryads or spirits in the tree, "goddesses born in trees, to be worshipped by those desiring children" (S 3, 231, 16, has Vṛkṣikā as dryad; B Vṛddhikā). The ten Pracetas married a "tree-girl", Vārkṣī (1, 196, 15). Such spirits of trees are revered especially in the Karañja tree (3, 230, 55), where dwells the tree-mother. The "daughter of the Red Sea", Lohitāyanī, the nurse of Skanda, is worshipped under a Kadamba tree (3, 230, 41). Śiva himself is not only the "tree" par excellence (S 7, 203, 32); he is formally identified with the Bakula, sandal-wood, and Chada trees (13, 17, 110). Gods, saints, and demi-gods live in and resort to trees (1, 30, 2; 13, 58, 29). It is, however, not the spirits in trees but the trees themselves that beg boons, enjoy marriage (with human beings), talk (§ 12 c), grant wishes, and, in some favored localities, go about at will.[3]) A lamp is offered to the Karañjaka tree itself, and to cut down trees on the day of the new moon is a sin equal to that of murdering a priest (13, 123, 8 and 127, 3). The moon is here the source of vegetal energy. The five trees of Paradise can be transplanted to earth, and Kṛṣṇa thus robs Indra of the Pārijāta tree (5, 130, 49). The Saṃtānaka tree is found also in the world of cows (13, 81, 23) and in the heavenly hills of the North (5, 111, 13); it is mentioned with the Pārijāta (3, 231, 23). The Pārijāta in H 7168 f., is identified with the Mandāra tree, another heavenly, divya, tree, the flowers of which are offered by the Vidyādharas to the sun (3, 3, 42; all the allusions are late). The trees that grant wishes, Kalpavṛkṣas (1, 219, 3), are either magical or heavenly, but on occasion are to be found on earth (1, 29, 40; cf. kappa-

[1]) See the account in 13, 104, 92, and cf. 12, 40, 11; 13, 14, 58; the Palāśa is butea frondosa and the Pippala is the ficus religiosa. One may not use Palāśa wood to make a seat nor Tindukawood for toothpicks, though sinners do so (7, 73, 38; omitted in C but found in B and S).

[2]) See the writer's Great Epic of India, p. 83, note 2, and the references 3, 84, 83; 87, 11; 95, 14; 7, 66, 20; 13, 88, 14; R 2, 107, 13. In general, all Caitya trees are homes of spirits (12, 69, 41 f.).

[3]) Compare 7, 69, 5 f.; 3, 115, 35 f. Tree-marriages are still practiced (JAOS. 22, pp. 228 and 328) to avoid the evil effect of a marriage with a third human bride (the tree is made to receive the threatened disaster). Trees going about at will (5, 100, 15, etc.) generally produce any kind of fruit or flower, i. e. they are magical trees belonging to some superior region. They are called kāmacārin and kāmapuṣpaphala in Hiraṇyapur (loc. cit.). The dryads are vegetal divinities that eat human flesh and have to be appeased with offerings, though the tree-mother is kind (3, 230, 35 f.), but the sentient trees are usually kindly, as all of them used to be (7, 69, 5 f.). On seeing golden trees, as a sign of death, cf. JAOS. 30, p. 351.

rukkho). The Kālāmra tree is a mango a league high east of Meru (6, 7, 14 f.). Its juice gives immortal youth. Sudarśana is the name of the Jambūvṛkṣa, which grants all desires. It is one thousand and one hundred leagues high, touching the sky, and like the preceding tree (of Bhadrāśva Dvīpa) is frequented by saints and heavenly beings. It bears red gold in its juice which makes a river flowing around Meru to the Uttara (Northern) Kurus (6, 7, 20 f.). The Ganges rises from the root of the great jujube tree on Kailāsa (3, 142, 4 f.; 145, 51).

These individual heavenly trees grow between earth and heaven and it is on the mountains that the divine groves are found. The grove of Deodars (13, 25, 27), the grove of Kadalīs on Mt. Gandhamādana (3, 146, 51 f.) are typical of the vanaṃ divyam or devāraṇyāni (5, 14, 6; 186, 27), which are sacred to the gods and in which the gods perform religious rites. Such a sacred grove is found by Yudhiṣṭhira on his journey (3, 118, 9 f.), where there are altars (shrines) of saints and gods, Vasus, Maruts, (Gaṇas), Aśvins, Yama, Āditya, Kubera, Indra, Viṣṇu, Savitṛ, Bhava, Candra, the maker of day (Sūrya), the lord of waters (Varuṇa), the troops of Sādhyas, Dhātṛ, the Pitṛs, Rudra with his troop, Sarasvatī, the troop of Siddhas, "and whatever immortals there be". These groves are the parallel to the nemus and lucus of the Roman, Teuton, etc.

§ 6. **Divine Mountains.** — Every mountain is a potential divinity, as well as a resort of the gods, Gandharvas, etc. The mountains north of India lend themselves especially well to the notion that snow-clad hills pierce heaven, but as these mountains are invisible from the lower habitat of the epic poets, most of the particular descriptions must have been generalised from hearsay. The range south of the Ganges is treated more familiarly. Here lies, for example, the mountain referred to above, who begot a son on a river (1, 63, 35 f.) and a daughter who became wife of Vasu, Girikā. This mountain, Kolāhala, is expressly "intelligent". Mountains speak (R 5, 1, 111, Maināka in human form; cf. 12, 333, 30 as echo, 334, 25); they revere Śiva and Indra (13, 14, 399; 5, 17, 22); and they are themselves revered (1, 220, 6; 13, 166, 31 f.; 14, 59, 4 f.), as is one in a mahas tasya mahāgireḥ or "feast in honor of the mountain", by the offerings of fruits, flowers, etc. In 2, 21, 20, a hill called Caityaka is revered as the place where a māṃsāda ṛṣabha (minotaur) was slain, the help of the mountain being perhaps implied. Hills bewail Sītā (R 3, 52, 39). The mountain Ariṣṭa wakes at dawn, opens his eyes of metal, stretches his arms of Deodars; yawns with peaks; speaks in waters (R 5, 56, 10 f.). The high place especially favored by the gods as their meeting-ground as well as dwelling-place, is always a hill, the higher the better; hence a preference for the northern mountains as tridaśānāṃ samāgamaḥ, "assembly of gods" (3, 39, 40), where, on the top of Himavat, they sacrificed of old (7, 54, 25), for this is the locality "beloved of gods" (3, 37, 39). "Seven Mountains" (like other sevens) designates the several ancient "doors of heaven", renowned as Kulaparvatas in 6, 9, 11. The Seven are the Orissa chain, the southern part of the Western Ghats, and the northern part (these three beeing called Mahendra, Malaya, and Sahya), the range called Śuktimat (in the east), the Gondwana range called Ṛkṣavat, the (Eastern) Vindhya, and the Northern and Western Vindhya called Pāriyātra; among which Mahendra (from which Hanumat leaps, R 4, 67, 43) is best known to the epic poets as a sacred place (R 5, 43, 5; Mbh. 1, 215, 13; 3, 85, 16, etc.; R 4, 42, 18 f., Pāriyātra as Western). In 14, 43, 3 f., seven trees and twelve

mountains are called "kings", but in calling Arjuna the "eighth mountain" (S 4, 3, 36) the epic reverts to the old phraseology[1]). Legends abound in regard to the mountains as holy beings as well as holy places. Like saints and gods they perform sacrifice (12, 321, 182). "Wingless" (and winged) mountains refers to the legend (R 5, 1, 125) of Indra cutting off the wings (clouds) of mountains and making earth firm (RV. 2, 12, 2; MS. 1, 10, 13), as this expression is used e. g. in 7, 26, 65 and ib. 37; also 7, 103, 6 (at the present day mountains do not move as of old); R 3, 51, 4, etc. Himavat is Śailaguru (9, 51, 34) and his son is Maināka, whose son in turn is Krauñca, who, however, is also called son of Himavat. Maināka alone escaped when Indra cut off the wings of other mountains, and this mountain appears as type of stability (7, 3, 4f.; 9, 12f.), as it stood firm against Nagāri (Indra). It lies north of Kailāsa, beyond Krauñca (R 4, 43, 31); a barrier against Asuras (R 5, 1, 93) and in it Maya deposited, near Bindusaras, a mass of gems. It has a vinaśana (cleft), where Aditi cooked food for the sake of her son of old (3, 135, 3). It escaped Indra's design and Ocean gave it refuge (1, 21, 15). Maināka's son, Krauñca (R 6, 67, 19), is the White Mountain of silver as contrasted with "golden Himavat" (3, 188, 112; 13, 166, 30f.), but also "golden" (R 6, 126, 14). Seven-headed dragons guard it and in it is a golden lake, where the mothers of (Skanda) Kumāra nursed him. Shot at by Skanda, Krauñca fled but returned and was pierced and "fell shrieking" and then again fled (3, 225, 10f.; 9, 46, 84). Though son of Himavat and Menakā it is called "Rudra's seed" (3, 229, 28), that is, it consists in the seed of the god, elsewhere described as the seed of Agni-Rudra cast into Ganges (8, 90, 68; 9, 17, 51; 44, 9; 13, 85, 68). R 7, 104, 6, however, makes all mountains from the bones of Madhu and Kaiṭabha (creation of Rāma-Viṣṇu). Maināka leaps out of ocean to hinder Hanumat (R 5, 1, 92f.; "mountains under the sea", ib. 3, 33, 6). It lies "in the West" according to 3, 89, 11.

The Vindhya legend represents that home of plants and metals (13, 166, 31) as angry with the sun for refusing to walk the deasil around it (as men and gods should "walk the deasil" around a divine mountain, 1, 220, 6) and hence as growing to obstruct the sunlight despite the request of the gods to stop. Agastya persuaded it to let him pass over and not grow till he returned and the Vindhya still awaits the saint's return (3, 103, 16 and 104, 12f.). The belief in a totem-mountain obtains. Balādhi, the saint, desired an immortal son; the gods granted a son whose life should not end till the object in which his life was bound up should perish. The life of the son Medhāvin was therefore bound up in an "indestructible" mountain, but being sinful he provoked Dhanuṣākṣa, a saint who took the form of a buffalo and destroyed the mountain, and therewith Medhāvin also. Dhanuṣākṣa in S transforms himself into the buffalo; other versions make the animals the means used by the saint (S 3, 135, 52f.). Other mountains sacred if not so personally conceived as is the case with Mandara, Krauñca, Maināka, and Himavat, are the mount where the ark landed (3, 187, 50, Naubandhana); the hill Govardhana, upheld by Kṛṣṇa (5, 130,

[1]) The Seven Mountains, known as doors of heaven, appear in Vedic literature (TS. 3, 12, 2, 9; 6, 2, 4, 3). Viṣṇu is here the lord of hills, not Śiva (3, 4, 5, 1). In Śākadvīpa the seven remain in epic descriptions (6, 11, 13). Bhṛgutuṅga, Agastyavaṭa and Mt. Kuñjara, "Vasiṣṭha's mountain", and other peaks show that saints as well as gods live on the hills, the sanctity of which destroys sin, as in the case of Hemakūṭa (Ṛṣabhakūṭa), the "divine grove of Brahman", where silence must be observed, tūṣṇīm āssva (3, 114, 16). Hariv. has Purāṇic additions (Meghagiri, 12846, etc.).

46, etc.); Mahendra, where Rāma lived after extirpating the warriors (7, 70, 21 f.); the beryl-mountain on the Narmadā where Kauśika drank Soma with the Aśvins and Cyavana paralysed Indra (3, 89, 13 and 121, 19); Mandara (R 3, 47, 39), used by the gods to churn the ocean (1, 18, 13; R 1, 45 = 46, 18 f.); Gandhamādana, home of medicinal plants and groves leading to heaven (7, 139, 86, etc.). Mandara lies east of Meru and Gandhamādana and is the home of Kubera and his Yakṣas, hurled to its place in the east by the hand of Viṣṇu (3, 139, 5; 163, 4; 101, 15). Although placed in the north and south as well as the east (5, 111, 12 and 109, 9) and even in the west (ib 110, 9), it is more regularly an eastern hill and is probably the modern Mandaragiri near Bhagalpur. Its "western" location implies that its roots extend to the western ocean, as Himavat does also. Gandhamādana is especially the abode of Kubera, though also of Indra; Kailāsa of Śiva; Meru of Brahman; but all the gods live on occasion on any of these. The gods seeking Śiva find him on Mandara (7, 94, 57), and Brahman receives audience on Gandhamādana (6, 65, 42). Certain mountains, however, are formally assigned to certain gods. The demons also live where gods live. Rākṣasas live on Himavat; Guhyakas on Kailāsa; serpents and Nāgas on Niṣadha; all the gods and Asuras on the White Mountain (Śveta); Gandharvas on Niṣadha; and Brahmarṣis on Nīla, "but the resort of gods is the peaked hill" (6, 6, 51 f.). As the hills are all peaked with three or a hundred peaks assigned to different hills, and only devī Śaṇḍilī, Agni's mother, is ascribed to Mt. Śṛṅgavat (like Meru it has three peaks), a special or general range of peaked hills may be meant.[1]) Mandara has two peaks, is shaped like a bow (R 4, 31, 11; R 5, 22, 27). Himavat is described as "a mine of gems of all sorts, cultivated by saints and singers, called the holy father-in-law of Śaṅkara" (Śiva, R 4, 11, 12 f.; 13, 25, 62). He is father of Ganges and Umā (above) and father of Mt. Abu (3, 82, 55). Kailāsa is the most famous range in Himavat and lies beside the upper Ganges near Mt. Maināka beyond the Northern Kurus (3, 145, 17 f.; S 1, 243, 31). Both Kailāsa and Gandhamādana have the monster jujube; Kṛṣṇa once lived on Kailāsa (3, 12, 43, not S). Later the two are different hills. In 6, 6, 1 f., Gandhamādana lies north of Mālyavat (the "flame-encircled" home of saints who precede Aruṇa, 6, 7, 28), which is north of Niṣadha, which in turn lies west of Kailāsa. Mt. Meru has three peaks, reaches higher than the sun, has rocks and red sides like other mountains (e. g. Citrakūṭa, R 2, 94, 4 f.), is self-luminous, the abode of gods, etc., and is thirty-three thousand leagues in extent and eighty-four thousand high. On its slopes and top sit saints and gods. It lies north of Gandhamādana and is especially the home of Prajāpati and the spiritual sons of Brahman, and there rise and set the seven divine seers. But above its peak is the home of Viṣṇu. The sun and stars revolve around it. Yet it is like other hills, "beaten by rain", and appears to be thought of as one among many northern hills, having a vinaśana like Maināka's (above). Sumeru in Mbh. is not an antithetic mountain but an epithet of Meru itself. Meru forms one of seven ranges running across Jambūdvīpa and is represented by the flag-staff in the gods's allegorical car. Only R Uttara knows Sumeru as the name of an independent mountain (R 7, 35, 19), the home of Kesarin. South and

[1]) Cf. 6, 8, 9 and 13, 123, 2 f. Śiva and Umā live by predilection in the Karṇikāra grove on Meru; Garuḍa lives on Hiraṇmaya; the Gandharvas on Mandara, Meru, etc. Harigiri is in Kuśadvīpa (6, 6, 24 f. to 12, 11).

east of Meru lie the ranges Niṣadha, Hemakūṭa (Kailāsa), and Himavat, the thousand leagues between each making a valley, varṣa; and north and west of it lie Nīla, Śveta, and Śṛṅgavat (on the sea). Kaśyapa (Caspian?) lies farther west and Nāgadvīpa (S, Śāka-) lies south of the whole group (6, 6, 56). The oceans are four or seven (several). The original conception is that of four seas around earth, into which run four rivers from the middle mountain, and round the flanks of Meru lie the four lands Bhadrāśva, Ketumāla, Jambūdvīpa, and the Northern Kurus (Hyperboreans), ib. 12. But the peak of Himavat joins that of Meru (they clash together like Symplegades, 12, 334, 9f.). The epic knows nothing of the seven planetary spheres as such (even 13, 16, 34 and 52 do not imply them), and nothing of Meru as axis of the world.[1]) The addition of Maharloka, Janaloka, Tapoloka, and Satyaloka to the epic three, Bhūrloka, Svarloka, and Bhuvarloka, is Purāṇic; it names the previously (Vedic-Epic) seven bhuvanas or worlds hitherto sufficiently understood as a group. Rām. treats Meru as if one of the mountains of earth (one flying looks down upon Himavat, Vindhya, and Meru from above, R 4, 61, 9), it is "a very big hill", a range "like a snake lying in water" (ib.). Its "three peaks" may be conventional (cf. R 6, 91, 34). Later epic poets (RG 4, 44, 46; H 12853) know a hill Triśṛṅga (perhaps Himavat, cf. R 6, 69, 24). Maināka has a hundred golden peaks (R 5, 1, 105). The Sunrise and Sunset Mountains appear to be unmythological; they are merely where the sun may set and rise (udyadgiri is unique, R 7, 36, 44), unless Parvata Udyanta = Udaya (3, 84, 93) whereon the "track of Sāvitrī" is found. Himavat's "three daughters" are known only in H 940f. Their mother was Menā, spiritual daughter, of the Ṛṣis. One, Aparṇā-Umā, married Śiva (q. v.), one, Ekaparṇā, married Asita Devala, and the last, Ekapāṭalā, married Jaigīṣavya.

§ 7. **Vegetal Divinities.** — The epic poets naturally ignore as separate divinities those of whom they disapprove and those whom they do not understand. Such divinities are sometimes found hidden away in the sacred watering-places and sometimes they remain as titles of gods who have absorbed them; for the process of absorbing divinities into the name and glory of greater divinities began before history and continues to this day. In this manner are concealed both vegetal and animal gods. Of the magic of the Tīrtha tales this is not the place to speak.[2]) They contain, however, traces of many deities lost or ignored. Thus with the Buddhist goddess Śaṅkhinī is to be compared the passage in 3, 83, 51, where a Tīrtha pilgrim is strongly advised to "go to the Śaṅkhinī Tīrtha and bathe in the Tīrtha of the goddess", in order to acquire a beautiful form. Although it is not expressly said that the Devī is Śaṅkhinī, yet the implication is that such is the case, not that Devī is one of the higher goddesses (in masculine form the epithet śaṅkhin is a title of Viṣṇu). Then there is the Tīrtha of the goddess Śākambharī (3, 84, 13), which must be the holy place of the local Corn-mother, utilised or adopted as a title of Durgā (6, 23, 9),

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[1]) See for the details the references in JAOS. 30, 366f. Only S adds to 6, 6, 10 the words of VP. 2, 2, 8, to the effect than the apex of Meru is twice the size of its base. On plants and mountains as the fat and bones of ancient giant demons, see Rākṣasas, § 17. On gold and trees made by Agni, see § 49f. In R 6, 67, 67, Laṅkāmalaya is apparently the trikūṭa (a peak is broken off); ib. 3, 73, 32, Ṛṣyamūka is a mountain in the South where the dreams of the good come true; ib. 4, 37, 2f. has a list of southern hills.

[2]) Compare a paper on this subject in the Proc. Amer. Philosophical Society, vol. XLIX, 1910, p. 24f.

for Devī Śākambharī stands by herself as an independent[1]) goddess, though the narrator knows her only as a form of the great goddess into whom she was absorbed, and tells that the Tīrtha was so named because Durgā lived there on śāka or vegetable produce aud entertained her guests with vegetarian fare (3, 84, 16.) Sītā herself is a Corn-mother. She "rose in the field where the ploughshare brake it, rending the earth" (R 5, 16, 16 and ib. 2, 118, 28). She is represented by the ploughshare, which serves as Śalya's battle-sign and is likened to Sītā for its golden beauty sarvabīja-virūḍhe 'va yathā Sītā śriyā 'vṛtā (7, 105, 20).[2]) To this category belongs also the youngest wife of the great fiend, whose son is Atikāya, the "giant" (R 6, 71, 30). She herself is called Dhānyamālinī, "corn-crowned", and appears in R 5, 22, 39f., as endeavoring to divert her lord from his attention to the Furrow (Sītā). These are but faint traces of a cult of vegetal deities who may be added to the divine trees and tree-spirits already discussed. No one of them quâ goddess is of epical importance, but that is not to be expected in a poem of warring men and higher gods. They are to be considered somewhat in the light of those animal gods who remain in the shadow of the great divinities. But there are no vegetal deities so important as are several independent animal gods. Compare also the bucolic god enshrined in Balarāma (q. v.). Perhaps the use of the tilaka sign may revert to the tila as holy (sesamum-oil is used for embalming the dead, R 2, 66, 14).

§ 8. **Animal Divinities.** — Animals are divinities partly by birth, partly because they are forms of demoniac or divine powers, and partly because they are the life-givers of any community. Human beings, especially saints or others potentially fearful, may also become incorporate as animals and thus make them divinely terrible. Even when no divinity is ascribed to an animal it is often looked upon as a supernatural being and as any man may be cursed to become an animal, this animal-man is looked upon with the reverence which is paid to any superhuman creature. Certain animals also have a quasi divinity or devilry in being potent to bring bad luck. As all animals talk, the gods appear as talking animals in many fables, but this is only one side of the belief that an animal anyway may incorporate a higher power. At the very beginning of the great epic two seers curse each other to become an elephant and a tortoise, respectively (1, 29, 15f.). The later Rāmāyaṇa relates that Saudāsa shot a tiger not knowing that it was a man-tiger, puruṣavyāghra, as Rākṣasa, and that its mate assumed in turn a human form to avenge it (R 7, 65, 10f., a later form of the legend; see Ṛṣis). This man-tiger is a spirit recognised in Vedic literature (a madman is offered to it, VS. 30, 8). All animals have divine creative powers assigned to them as their particular ancestors, but these are for the most part abstract creative energies regarded as daughters

[1]) Śākambharī is from śāka and bhar, "bearer of herbs" (vegetables), as the native commentators admit. There seems to be no reason for confounding this śāka with śaka in śakambhara (an epithet meaning "dung-bearer" obscurely applied to a people or clan in AV. 5, 22, 4), as is done in PW.

[2]) Sītā occasionally is recognised in her human role in Mbh. apart from the formal Rāmakathā. In S 3, 114, 24, an added verse cites her as an example of the faithful wife. In Vedic theology she was wife of Savitṛ or of Indra, TB. 2, 3, 10, 1, Sāvitrī; and Pār. G. 2, 17, 13 (or 9), Indrapatnī. The orthodox Sītāyajña, "sacrifice in honor of Sītā" is recognised in the Harivaṃśa as especially offered by ploughmen (H 3816) in contrast to the "sacrifice in honor of the hill" offerred by cowherds (though, characteristically, Kṛṣṇa became the hill, so that the sacrifice as described was made to him, ib. 3876).

or grand-daughters of Dakṣa and wives of Kaśyapa (see § 139, Creation). Some animals are sons of higher divinities (see Garuḍa) or forms of Viṣṇu (§ 143). Of the abstract generators only Surabhi, "mother of cows", has reality, evinced by dramatic scenes and dialogues in which she appears (see Indra). Independent actors in the epics are the semi-divine apes and bears, of whom only the chief in each class is of mythological importance, the others acting like ordinary demi-god heroes and being content with divine origin. As the bear was created before the ape, he may take precedence here. Jāmbavat or Jāmbava (R) is "king of bears", ṛkṣarāja, the son of Prajāpati Brahman, in appearance like a dark cloud (R 4, 39, 27, etc.). He was born of the yawn of Brahman and hence is called son of gadgada, "stammer" (R 1, 17, 6 and 6, 30, 21). On account of his wisdom he is chief of Vidyādharas (q. v.) and at the bidding of the gods he coursed over earth twenty-one times, collecting herbs from which ambrosia was made (R 4, 66, 31). He once helped Indra, and revered Viṣṇu (q. v.) by walking the deasil around him. His brother is Parjanya-like (R 6, 27, 9) and is called Dhūmra, "smoke-colored", which, however, is a common epithet of bears. Jāmbavat is not prominent as sage or warrior in the great epic, though he leads millions of black bears with white faces into battle (3, 280, 23; ib. 283, 8; ib. 284, 26), to help Rāma. He was brought up beside the Narmadā in the Ṛkṣavat (bear) mountain and is stronger than his brother, but by Rāma's time had become so feeble that he could jump only ninety leagues (R 4, 65, 13 f.). Dazed by Indrajit's blow he sends Hanumat for magic healing herbs (R 6, 74, 21 f.) as soon as he revives. He is the father of Jāmbavatī in Mbh., who was wife of Kṛṣṇa and mother of Sāmba (3, 16, 12; see Viṣṇu). It is curious that he appears as an ape as well as a bear (R 5, 60, 6, harisattama, etc.). Jāmbavatī is called Kapīndraputrī, yet with v. l. Narendraputrī (13, 629 in C=B 14, 41 and S 45, 25); but Kapīndra is also Viṣṇu in 13, 149, 66 (B). The Hariv. tells how Kṛṣṇa overcame Jāmbavat, king of bears, and took away his daughter and the syamantaka jewel (H 2073). In H 6701, Jāmbavatī may be called Rohiṇī, "taking any form" (doubtful). With Jāmbavat's origin from Brahman's yawn may be compared Kṣupa's origin from the same god's sneeze (12, 122, 16 f.), and that of Prajāpati Kardama, born of his shadow (Bh. P. 3, 12, 27; Kardama also as Nāga, 1, 35, 16).

§ 8 b. **Hanumat and the Divine Apes.** — The great epic recognises Hanumat as the ape perched on Arjuna's staff, who fights on the side of Kṛṣṇa-Viṣṇu. The Rām. in both versions makes him one of the efficient aiders of Rāma-Kṛṣṇa. Apart from the Rāmakathā, the Mbh. knows him as "foe of the groves of the lord of Laṅkā" (4, 39, 10, Laṅkeśavanāriketu = Arjuna). Sītā calls him her "son", but this is (conventional) only in showing her grace: "O my son, thy life shall be commensurate with Rāma's glory, and through my grace heavenly enjoyments shall be at thy command" (3, 148, 18 and ib. 291, 45). On Arjuna's standard the ape is no mere figure; it opens its mouth and roars (7, 88, 26). "As Hanumat lifted Gandhamādana", so Bhīma lifted an elephant (7, 129, 139, 86), though the brotherhood of the pair is not here suggested; but it is explained in 3, 146, 65 f., where the Rāma-story is known. He is described here as having a tail like Indra's banner and as making a noise like the bolt of Indra, Śakradhvaja, Indrāśani, with a short thick neck, small lips, red face and ears, sharp white fangs, a moon-like face, and a mane like aśoka-flowers. He is son of Vāyu, the "life of the world" (wind as breath), by the wife

of Kesarin, his strength being so great that Bhīma cannot even move his tail (ib. 147, 24f.). Subsequently he expands his size till he is larger than a mountain. His nature here is not that of a god but of a pious monster, "glorious as the sun" who worships Viṣṇu (as Rāma, 3, 151, 7). He is, however, also a philosopher, lecturing his brother on the character of the four ages, and present-day customs and duties. He says he is to live as long as the story of Rāma will endure (ib. 148, 17), and will roar on the Pāṇḍu's standard (ib. 151, 17). In the later Mbh. Rāma-story, Hanumat crosses the ocean by his father's aid and so burns Laṅkā (3, 282, 59f.). His name appears as Hanūmat when metrically convenient. His mother in R is Añjanā (Puñjikasthalā, q. v.), unknown in Mbh. When new-born he sprang up to eat the rising sun supposing it to be edible. With one jump he can go a thousand times around Mt. Meru, etc. These and other extravagances of R 4, 66 and 67 seem to belong to the Nārāyaṇa period when Viṣṇu was All-god (ib. 67, 3). They are later traits than those of the Mbh., as are the statements that his death depends on his own wish (ib. 66, 28); that his left jaw was broken on a mountain-peak after he had leaped up three hundred leagues and then been prevented by Indra from seizing the sun (ib. 66, 21f.); and that in leaping to Laṅkā he followed the "path of Svāti" (ib. 67, 29). The legend here is that Hanumat was begotten by Vāyu (Māruta) on the Apsaras who had been cursed to become the wife of the ape Kesarin after she was born on earth as daughter of the king-ape Kuñjara; while in R 1, 17, 15 Hanumat is simply one of a lot of monkeys begotten by various gods at Brahman's exhortation. The former account agrees with R 7, 35, which also makes his mother Añjanā wife of Kesarin who lived on Sumeru. As Rāhu alone is entitled to devour the sun, Vāyu here chases Hanumat and it is Rāhu who induces Indra to smite Hanumat (thus injuring his jaw). This latest account describes him as a sort of evil being, who having received a boon of safety acts like any Rākṣasa in like circumstances, till the seers curse him to lose the knowledge of his own power. He is called indifferently Vāyusuta, Māruti, Añjanāsuta, and, as a child touched by Brahman's healing hand, śiśuka, and śiśu, having in fact a resemblance to Śiśu in his leaping and roaring, and being formally likened to him, "roaring like Śiśu on his bed of reeds" (ib. 7, 35, 22; 36, 3 and 33). Owing to his ignorance, he failed to aid Sugrīva against Vālin, but when released from his curse he became a distinguished scholar, astrologer, and grammarian. In leaping from Laṅkā he dashes down Mt. Ariṣṭa on his way back, as Maināka rising from the ocean to give him place to rest was also crushed by him. He takes a human form, as do the other apes, on reaching Ayodhyā (R 6, 128, 19f.; ib. 130, 42). In RG 6, 160, where Hanumat goes to Gandhamādana to collect herbs he releases Gandhakālī, after killing Tālajaṅgha. She had been cursed to be a grahī till Hanumat's arrival, a new phase, shared with Rāma etc., showing a growing cult. He is here called Gandhavahātmaja, Vāsavadūtasunu (son of the messenger-god, R 6, 74, 62 and 77). The other texts have merely the account of the collecting of four healing herbs at Jāmbavat's instance; but all accounts agree in saying that being unable to find the hidden plants he breaks off the hill-top and brings it with him. He is no god here, only a giant ape, under bond of friendship to execute his master's commands; and so in R 4, 41, 2 Sugrīva sends Nīla, Jāmbavat, and Hanumat together to search for Sītā under the command of Aṅgada, though he has particular faith in Anilātmaja, Pavanasuta

(Hanumat), so that Rāma entrusts to him the "recognition-ring"; but an ape he does not cease to be (haripuṅgava, mahākapi) and at most is equal to his father in gait and energy (ib. 44, 3 f.). His incidental exploits are to find the cave of Maya (ib. 51); to evade the mother of serpents by slipping into her mouth, after becoming the size of a thumb; to evade Siṃhikā's attempt to arrest his soul-shadow; and to set fire to Laṅkā (ib. 5, 1 to 57), after getting caught, by magic and having had blazing wool fastened to his tail. In his fighting he resembles Bhīma or Ghaṭotkaca who also smite legions with a club and also expand and reduce their forms. Hanumat thus slays 80,000 fiends at one stroke; kills Akṣa (Rāvaṇa's son), Dhūmrākṣa, Akampana, Nikumbha (R 4, 42 and 47; ib. 6, 52 and 57 and 77), and goes under any form, as he will (R 4, 3, 24) when appearing as an ambassador "learned in grammar". The recognition-ring "marked with the name of Rāma" is another late touch not found in the Mbh. version but found in R 4, 42, 12 and 5, 32, 44 (= C 44, 12 and 36, 2). Hanumat disappears from the scene in Uttara with a necklace given him by Rāma (R 7, 40, 24), as at the end of the real epic Sītā gave him a necklace from her own neck (R 6, 131, 76). Hanumat is likened to Garuḍa (R 4, 66, 4), but he is not distinguished for divinity. He is inviolable because he has received a boon of the gods. He is exhorted to leap as "hero-son of Kesarin and Vāyu, by grace of the seers and Gurus and consent of the elder apes" (R 4, 67, 34). He is like Garuḍa in swiftness, like wind in strength, like a bull, a Nāga, an elephant, the moon (R 4, 67, 28 and ib. 5, 1, 2 f.). He is huge as a mountain or small as a cat or as four fingers (ib. 196 and 2, 49). His father killed Śamba, a demon appearing as an elephant (hereditary antagonism, R 5, 35, 81; ib. 6, 27, 25). All the great apes boast a divine paternity. Suṣeṇa was son of Dharma; Sugrīva's uncle, Dadhimukha, of the Moon; Vālin and Sugrīva, of Ṛkṣarajas (son of Viṣṇu), or they were respectively sons of Indra and Sūrya; Nīla was son of Agni; Dvivida and Mainda, of the Aśvins, etc., though different writers give different fathers (Dharma or Varuṇa as father of Suṣeṇa). In all this there does not seem to be sufficient ground for the ingenious suggestion put forward by Professor Jacobi (Rāmāyaṇa, p. 132) that Hanumat was a village reduction of Indra śipravat. Hanumat has no peculiar Indra-traits, for such as he has he shares with other apes, giants, and fiends. No one knows certainly what śipravat means, but if hanumat means "big-jaw-beat" it is appropriate enough to the ape. Hanumat appears to be merely the typical strong and clever beast in demi-apotheosis standing in this regard with Jāmbavat, Sampāti, Śeṣa, etc. He is not descending but ascending the scale of epic religious beings and appears to have lost nothing. He is not particularly drunken, does not use a bolt, does not reflect Indra in any striking way. He simply skips and throttles (Akṣa) and throws things, and gradually becoming cleverer ends as a priestly grammarian (RS 7, 36, 46 adds: so 'yaṃ navavyākaraṇarthavettā brahmā bhaviṣyaty api). His intelligence is primarily craftiness and cunning, as belongs to an ape, and his village-popularity seems to point to his original habitat as bordering on the forest where apes live. The Mbh. recognises as the great ape (Kapi) Sūrya (q. v. and other sun-gods), which probably reverts to the Vedic Vṛṣākapi.[1])

[1]) In JRAS. April, 1913, p. 398, Mr. F. E. Pargiter proposes to derive Hanumat from āṉ-mandi (Dravidian) = Vṛṣākapi.

§ 9. **The Cow.** — The divinity of the cow rests on the element in totemism which consists in the deification of that class of animals which provides a livelihood. A pastoral people naturally recognises its herds as its means of life and hence as in the case of the classic troglodytes regards them as its "sacred parents", or, as in the case of the Todas, as its divinity. This is brought out very clearly in the speech of the herder who says (H 3808 f.): "We are herdsmen, living in the wood and living on wealth got from cows, we recognise as our divinity cows and hills and woods. The object of one's closest knowledge (with whatever knowledge one is united) that becomes his divinity, supreme, to be revered and worshipped, for that (skill) alone assists him. We herdsmen make sacrifice to the mountain, for it is worthy of sacrifice. We will sacrifice sanctified cattle at a tree or a hill on a holy altar . . the cows shall walk the deasil around this best of hills". Here the hill is an object of worship because the herdsmen live upon it, and the cows themselves are their divinity because the cow-herders life on the wealth which comes from their cattle (vayaṃ godhanajīvinaḥ, gāvo 'smaddaivataṃ viddhi). Thus as early as the Ṛgveda the cow (less often the bull) is aghnyā, "not to be killed". By the time of the epics to kill a cow was worse than murder, excusable only when to do so was to obey a higher law. Such a higher law, says Rāma, is filial obedience, and for this reason, because Kaṇḍu obeyed his father in killing a cow he did not sin (R 2, 21, 30). Doubtless the sage objected to killing a cow even for sacrificial purposes, as the vegetarian substitutes for animal sacrifice were already part of the Viṣṇu cult; for the universal orthodox rule is that cows may be slain only for sacrifice and the epic doubts even this (paśutvād vinirmuktā gāvaḥ, 13, 66, 43). No Brahman may eat beef, cow-flesh being usually implied, though a formal tabu specifies as forbidden food fish, swans, frogs, etc., and anaḍvān (mṛttikā cai 'va, 12, 36, 21 f.; S, anuṣṇā), or bull's flesh. Especially sanctity attaches to a "blue bull", nīlaṣaṇḍa, which is sacred to the Manes (13, 125, 73 f.), though also sacred to Śiva (9. v.). To set loose a nīla vṛṣabha and to sacrifice a horse are equally meritorious (3, 84, 97). Despite the compassion for the suffering of the mother of cows, Surabhi, no blame or remorse is expressed for killing thousands of cows in sacrifice, whose flesh presumably is eaten (only S speaks of the cow as "mother of the world", 3, 131, 6); but the offer of the arghya cow is purely conventional hospitality (3, 295, 6, etc.), and cows are said now to be only for giving (13, 66, 43) to priests. Surabhi lives under earth (earth as cow is a common synonym), but the goloka or world of cows is Viṣṇu's heaven above the three worlds (5, 102, 1 f.; 13, 83, 37). To slay a priest or a cow is equally sinful (12, 145, 9); they are avadhyāḥ, "not to be slain" (5, 36, 66). The later epic has a gomatī vidyā, inculcating the doctrine of giving cows to priests for the sake of certain worlds (see § 23) to be gained by the giver hereafter. Cows had at first no horns but got them from Brahman; Śiva clove the hoofs of the bull; the river Carmaṇvatī is made of the blood of sacrificed cows (8, 34, 104 f.; 13, 66, 38 f.; ib. 78, 22 and 80, 1 f.; ib. 81, 13 and 44). As goddesses, cows are a source of good luck and are not to be struck or kicked; but bullocks may be goaded, for gods use a goad. A sonless man is rescued from his evil state by the gift of three cows (13, 22, 30 f.; ib. 67, 7 f.). Such gifts are to be made especially on the holy eighth day of the moon, when wish-getting ceremonies are performed (Kāmyāṣṭamī, 13, 71, 49). In lieu of the real thing,

one may give cow-cakes made of sesamum or even a water-cow (jaladhenu, 13, 71, 41). Cow-dung is used to smear the house, but it is also to be worshipped as an emblem of the discus of Viṣṇu, as is the yellow pigment from the cow (ib. 146, 48 and ib. 126, 3 f.). Śiva has the bull-standard because he approves of cows, which are the root of prosperity, the food of gods, the support of sacrifice, revered in heaven (13, 51, 27 f.; ib. 126, 38 f.; cf. 3, 133, 6 and ib. 130, 31, on the gift of a kapilā cow).

Though severity is permitted in handling bulls (5, 4, 5), they are not to be castrated nor to have their nostrils pierced (12, 263, 37 and 45 f.). It is not regarded as cruel to kill animals for sacrifice, since it ensures their going to heaven (12, 34, 28). Even a worm is induced by Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana to die for the attainment of bliss (13, 117, 7 f.). Besides the mythical mother-cow, the kāmadhug dhenu Nandinī is extolled as the wonder-cow whose possession by Vasiṣṭha (§ 124) caused a war of caste resulting in Viśvāmitra becoming a priest. Anything desirable, from milk to militia, can be milked out of her. She has all the female beauties and "the six flavors of ambrosia"; her milk rejuvenates for ten thousand years (1, 99, 20 f.). On the magical effect of bull's urine, see Magic Observances in the Hindu epic (op. cit.). On Surabhi and the cow-guardians of space, see § 92, § 139. On cows as born of the Sun, see § 36.

§ 10. **The Elephant.** — There is no myth of a world-upholding elephant. Divine elephants are mythological guardians of the quarters. They were originally four, afterwards, when the quarters became subdivided, they too appear as eight, to embrace the districts between East and South, etc. They are called diggajas, diśāgajas (R 5, 37, 65), diṅnāgas, digvaraṇas; the word nāga, meaning also the serpent, causes confusion between the two sets of beings. The chief elephant is Airāvata, belonging to Indra (§ 66). The four chiefs are called (6, 64, 57 f.) Airāvata (Airāvaṇa), Vāmana, Añjana (cf. R 4, 37, 5 and 20), and Supratīka (also the name of Bhagadatta's elephant), or Sārvabhauma (R 4, 43, 36, etc., ridden by Kubera). But Mahāpadma is also named among these magical "three-fold rutting", four-tusked steeds, which are ridden by demons (6, 64, 57). Supratīka is mentioned in 6, 12, 34; he is especially known as the ancestor of "king Airāvaṇa and of Vāmana, Kumuda, and Añjana" (5, 99, 15). S 4, 3, 26 calls him best of gajendras or chief elephants (as elephant of the North, see Indra). In 7, 121, 25, Añjana, Vāmana, Supratīka, Mahāpadma, and Airāvata appear as progenitors of earthly elephants, though the theory of creation (1, 66, 60 f.) assigns them to Mātaṅgī, Śvetā, and similar powers, Śveta as son of Śvetā being particularly mentioned as guardian of the quarters. Elsewhere Śveta is a name of a Nāga, a demon, etc., but as appellative it describes the white elephant of Indra. Kumuda is known to the epic only as mentioned above; Añjana and his (western) progeny are praised in 7, 112, 23. The name of the elephant later kown as guardian of the North-West, namely Puṣpadanta, appears only as a title of Śiva (R 7, 23, pr. 4, 49) and as the name of one of that god's followers (Mbh. 7, 202, 73). Śiva is "elephant-eared" (12, 285, 77). Both this and Puṇḍarīka are Nāga names (5, 36, 29; cf. Airāvata). R recognises the usual four and Sārvabhauma; but also gives a later technical list (R 1, 6, 25, bhadrair mandrair mṛgaiś cai 'va), and another list, viz. Virūpākṣa in the East, Mahāpadma in the South, Saumanasa in the West, and Bhadra in the North (ib. 24 and 40, 12 f.). The late grouping of the eight is not recognised in either epic, but for convenience may be given here: East, Airāvata; SE., Puṇḍarīka;

South, Vāmana; SW., Kumuda; West, Añjana; NW., Puṣpadanta; North, Sārvabhauma. The space-elephants carry the (§ 91) Lokapālas and are divine; they blow the winds out of their trunks (7, 94, 47; 6, 12, 36); they are described as living in Samā(-land, Sumeria? 6, 12, 32), in Himavat (3, 108, 10), where they have rubbed the mountains bare with their tusks (ib.); and elsewhere on occasion. Morally the protective elephants are always good, fighting against evil demons. In 8, 82, 25, a battle is likened to one between the lord of Daityas and the lords of directions, Digīśvaras (may be gods). Demons take the form of elephants, such as the one whom Indra killed at Benares (3, 173, 50), and there are Dānavanāgas, "demoniac elephants" (8, 18, 6). Elephants weep in battle and show three temporal streams, but Airāvata and Bhagadatta's Supratīka show seven (6, 95, 24 and 33). Other than the divine elephants have four tusks, but they live in Laṅkā (R 5, 9, 5) or in the mythological North (3, 158, 90). Ordinary elephants spurt water in war, throw weapons with the hand (7, 26, 50; 1, 81, 13, but for dvipahastaiḥ S has dvipastaiḥ), and even sing verses (R 6, 16, 6). See also § 51, § 93.

§ 11. **Demoniac Animals.** — Animals "possessed" by demons are common and are to be distinguished from animals which are merely temporary forms of demons, though to make the distinction is not always possible. In 12, 114, 17, manuṣyasālāvṛka is a human jackal but apparently only in a metaphorical sense, a mean man. In 3, 269, 7 f., sālāvṛka = gomāyu, announcing disaster because appearing on the left; ib. 173, 48, sālāvṛkas are demoniac forms in battle, but as these include apes, elephants, and bears, as well as Śarabhas, Bhūruṇḍas, and ghosts, they may be animals. Only in 12, 33, 29 they appear as forms of Brāhmaṇas called Sālāvṛkas because they fought, eighty-eight thousand in number, against the gods. The demons killing Kaca in 1, 76, 29 "gave him to the sālāvṛkas", but here, as in the earlier tale of Indra giving the ascetics to the same beasts, there is no reason to suppose that the animals were other than those in 6, 59, 127; 7, 30, 19 (etc., etc.) or in 10, 9, 5, i. e. real jackals or jackal-forms of demons[1]).

The Śarabha: This animal is represented as one whose roar, garjita, frightens other animals in the forest. In similes, it appears as a fighter and combatants "fight like tigers, hawks, and śarabhas" (7, 127, 41 and 132, 11). The Rām. knows a monkey-chief of that name, easily overthrown by Kumbhakarṇa (R 6, 67). Śarabha is a proper name but also a monster in Mbh., with eight feet, and slays lions (aṣṭapādaḥ śarabhaḥ siṃhaghātī, 3, 134, 15; 7, 1, 28, etc.). Yet it is found on Mt. Krauñca (9, 46, 87), but not as a monster; and on Gandhamādana, with lions, tigers, etc. (5, 158, 40), as if one of the ordinary animals of the wood and mountain. The later epic increases its monstrosity; it has both eight legs and one eye above, ūrdhvanayanaḥ, and eats raw flesh (12, 117, 13 f.), where it has part in the fable of the dog turned into a śarabha. It is, however, listed among edible animals as belonging to mṛgajātis which a gentleman offers his guest for dinner (antelope, śarabha, hare, bear, ruru-deer,

[1]) On the conception of the sālāvṛka as wehrwolf, cf. RV. 10, 95, 15; Brunnhofer, Arische Urzeit, 284 f. (Hyrcanians); and Oertel, JAOS. 19, 123 f., on the Vedic legend concerning Indra and the ascetics. S ed. has s, the Bombay ed. ś. Demons may be born beasts as well as assume temporarily beast-forms. So Bali is reborn as the son of an ass (12, 224, 6). Conversely, horses and cows become gods (3, 181, 13). For the divine horse, see sub Indra (§ 68).

eṇi, pṛṣata, nyaṅku, śambara, gayal, boar, and buffalo meat, 3, 267, 13). Besides being a personal name of heroes (not uncommon), it is one of the names of Viṣṇu (§ 143 f.), as of honored apes, demons, and Nāgas (cf. śarabha as title of Buddha). As an Asura the name said to be equivalent to uṣṭra, also an Asura, may be dialectic for karabha, camel (which suggests Zarathustra). A camel's roar would frighten any beast and on first appearance so queer an animal would be apt to breed queer stories. H 2651 has Uṣṭra as Asura; Śarabha is a Dānava 1, 65, 26, and a Daiteya, reborn as Paurava, in 1, 67, 27. The intimate relation between man, beast, and gods, may be illustrated by the story of Sārameya, son of Saramā, the devaśunī, who herself has a place in Brahman's heaven (2, 11, 40). When the sons of Janamejaya beat Sārameya, he induces his mother to curse the seer and the latter chooses as priest to allay the pāpakṛtyā a young sage whose mother was a snake (sarpī = Nāgī? 1, 3, 1 f.). The mythology of other real animals, except as regards their creation (§ 139 f.) through mediate powers, has to do with them as omens and cause of good luck. To touch a bull brings good fortune. The skin and teeth of others avert demons, Pramathas, etc. The tortoise, cat, and goat, and the skin and teeth of a hyena guard from such evil ("smiting") influence. The color is of importance: "He (say the evil Pramathas) is free from our influence who harbors in his house as rakṣoghnāni a cat or goat, black or brown-yellow" (13, 131, 10 f.). The destruction of the crab by its young, the destruction of the silkworm by its own coils, the rising of the spider from its destroyed web to a new home (life), and the fresh growth of horns in deer and skin in snake, are all genuine or erroneous epic (and pre-epic) observations of natural history utilised for philosophical reflection rather than mythological data, and need not be illustrated here.

§ 12. **Divine and Demoniac Birds.** — a) Many birds can talk, but the effect on the parrot of the curse of Agni (§ 49 f.) introduces myth. Religiously and mythologically the goose, haṃsa, is the most exalted bird, its high flight, loneliness (above other birds), and white color making it an emblem of the pure soul and of God, the supreme bird of a thousand wings (5, 46, 14 f.); yet because of RV. 10, 123, 6 the soul-bird is golden-winged (12, 47, 17 and 45), so geese that talk, qua spiritual beings, are golden (3, 53, 19), but usually the haṃsa is white (3, 304, 17; 7, 132, 29 f.). The goose goes to Meru, lives at lake Mānasa; its form is assumed by Varuṇa (§ 59 f.), etc. It flies high (R 2, 9, 44) and represents the sun (hence golden). The haṃsa separates milk from water (1, 74, 91 and passim), but so do other birds (VS. 19, 73). Not every goose is godly; the kalahaṃsa lacks this distinction (it is grey not white). The haṃsa is the vehicle of Viṣṇu, but also of Kubera (§ 22); its flight is exceeded only by Garuḍa (R 4, 58, 28). Luck in omens is indicated by position and sex of the observer (right side lucky for men), yet in a house, turtle-doves, parrots, sārikās, and cockroaches bring luck; but vultures, pigeons, fire-flies, and bees are unlucky (13, 104, 114 f.). A red-brown owl with green eyes attacking crows (cf. R 6, 17, 26) portends misfortune (10, 1, 37). Yet unlucky birds are used as standard-figures, apparently without thought of danger. Some of Garuḍa's sons are birds (by name), Sārasa, Kapota (5, 101, 11 f.). The first is auspicious, the second inauspicious, for vultures, crows (v. l. cranes), hawks (and especially pigeons) are unlucky, while peacocks, geese, sārasas, cātakas, and jīvaṃjīvakas are very auspicious

(5, 143, 18f.); as are cāṣas, śatapatras, and krauñcas. Herons, hawks, vultures, cranes, crows, though inauspicious, are auspicious (nimittāni dhanyāni) if they precede a warrior into battle (8, 72, 11f.), as these affect not the warrior behind, but the enemy who are advancing against him from the opposite direction. When one starts into battle, the rear is the auspicious position as is the left side. Before starting, the right is the auspicious side; omens which in general are favorable (good birds and agreeable sounds) are better in the rear, because from there they urge the troops on to victory, while in front they obstruct success (12, 102, 10f.). Red-footed birds and pigeons are particularly inauspicious (5, 143, 18f. and R 7, 6, 56). In R 6, 108, 21, a gṛdhracakram circles over the doomed man and follows wherever he goes (also gṛdhrakulam, "flock of vultures"). The pigeon is most feared, which made Śibi especially courageous in harboring this (Vedic) death-messenger, for it is a "horrible portent" if a pigeon alights on one (ghoraṃ kapotasya nipātam āhuḥ, 3, 197, 5; cf. R 2, 12, 43; ib. 14, 4, etc.; the tale is told in four different forms in the epic). Other birds are typical rather than ominous, cātakas typifying thirst; cakravākas the longing of love; the peacock, shameless, dances in joy of rain, etc. There is a tabu against eating the flesh of goats, parrots, and peacocks (13, 104, 93; on the indecency of the peacock, see 5, 73, 10 and 12, 114, 10), but peacocks, deer, goats, and boars are provided as a feast for Rāma (which shocks the scholiast, R 2, 91, 69, who says that they were not for Rāma to eat personally, but for the low-caste men, Niṣādas). The later interpretation of the cakora as a betrayer of blood is not mentioned by epic writers, who regard it as a red-eyed but pleasant singing bird (7, 126, 40; cf. 3, 158, 86 and 13, 54, 11). The curlew inspires Vālmīki (R 1, 2, 29f.). See also bird-forms assumed by the gods (Indra, etc.), and on Viṣṇu as sun-bird see § 143.

b) Of quite different character is the Bhāruṇḍa bird. It is the function of this bird to bury the Hyperboreans, when these near-immortals die (like Rāma they live ten thousand and ten hundred years, 6, 7, 12). Bhāruṇḍas have strong beaks and bodies and take up the corpses of the Northern Kurus and "bury them in caves". But along with the sālāvṛkas, etc., which appear with ghosts and demons in the tumult of battle, are certain Bhuruṇḍas (3, 173, 48) and probably these are the same as the Bhāruṇḍas, as soul-seizers, sirens or harpies (cf. 3, 207, 36, bheruṇḍa). The ruṇḍa is a mangled headless corpse, a late equivalent of the epic kabandha, a torso which dances on the battle-field. Like sirens, the Bhāruṇḍas sing (in the western and northern wilds) and have human faces, their songs being described as "exceedingly pleasant". They are here associated with the Bhūliṅga-bird, which cries "beware" while picking the lion's teeth (2, 41, 18; ib. 44, 28; 12, 169, 10). S omits Bhūliṅgas (in Śānti), thus ascribing human traits and sweet song only to the Bhāruṇḍas. Birds that talk are not mythological, as parrots, crows, sārikās, jīvajīvakas, etc. are kept in cages and mimic all sounds and talk. Compare in Mbh. the story of Pūjanī (12, 139, 4f.), and in R the tale of the talking crow (R 2, 95, pra. 13), for late exaggerations of the theme (R 2, 35, 18). Demons take bird-forms (Śuka, etc.), to act as spies (R 6, 20, 35, etc.). The birds tell a saint all that is going on (vāyasī vidyā, 12, 92, 7f.). The talkative vulture who lived a thousand years belongs to fable rather than to myth (12, 153, 54).

c) The lord of the feathered race is the mythological "fair bird", called Garutmat Suparṇa, the form Garuḍa being, however, the common one in the epics. "Garutmat carries off the ambrosia" (R 3, 30, 5) and, at the conclusion of the same rape of ambrosia in Mbh. 1, 33, 16, taṃ vavre vāhanaṃ Viṣṇur Garutmantaṃ mahābalam. Compare 3, 12, 90, Vainateyo yathā pakṣī Garutmān patatāṃ varaḥ (also 5, 105, 19). In such passages Garuḍa is formally identified with the (Vedic) Garutmat. He is brother of Aruṇa, the foregoer of the Sun-god (§ 38), and may have been originally a form of the sun (as bird), but the epic shows no other distinguishing solar traits in the character of Garuḍa. He is the egg-born son of Vinatā, hatched after a thousand years, the younger brother of Aruṇa, created, according to a late tradition, because the Vālakhilya saints, angry with Indra for insulting them, wished a rival "king of birds" to humiliate the god. Garuḍa is always son of Kaśyapa, and an Āditya, though called Vainateya from his mother (1, 16, 24; R 3, 14, 31), swift as wind or thought (1, 31, 13f.; 3, 155, 19; R 6, 34, 4, etc.), and especially distinguished as a rending, tearing, snake-devouring monster (1, 102, 46, etc.). The fulsome hymn in Ādi, in which he is called the sun, tapanaḥ sūryaḥ (1, 23, 9f. and 16), calls him also creator, destroyer, fire, Dakṣa, Brahman, Viṣṇu, etc, and is no index of the usual epic conception, which it marvellously exaggerates. This conception is that of a giant bird, whose most persistent traits are those expressed by the epithets bhujagāri, pannagāśana, etc., and suparṇa, that is, "a bird of beautiful feathers that eats snakes" (2, 24, 24, Garutmān pannagāśanaḥ; 1, 16, 24, pannagabhojanaḥ). The peacock is the only bird recognised by the epic as bhujagāśana (12, 120, 4, yathā barhāṇi citrāṇi bibharti bhujagāśanaḥ; N. mayūraḥ), and sarpāśana (sarpabhuj) is a later name for peacock[1]). The peacock is Garuḍa's gift to Skanda, "his dear son, the fair-feathered peacock" (the fighting cock being Aruṇa's gift, 9, 46, 51). Garuḍa may mean "devourer". But the epic makes a typical roc out of him. He frightens all, as he falls out of the sky, with claws extended, and the rush of his "double wings", which are like double gates of a city (1, 207, 32; 22, 227, 21), beats down forests (8, 76, 37; R 3, 25, 28), and even the sea is stirred by him (Tārkṣya, 7, 14, 60). His shape gives a name to a weapon, an army-formation, a fire-altar, etc. (R 6, 193, 21; ib. 1, 14, 27; Mbh. 6, 25, 2f.). He is best of birds or "the bird" (2, 19, 8; 5, 113, 2; vihaṅgama, pataga, also the sun, 1, 173, 23; 6, 12, 45). The eyes of the race of Vinatā are remarked upon by Sampāti, who says he can see a hundred leagues because he comes from that stock (R 4, 58, 29). Epic etymology connects his name with guru, "load", because (1, 30, 7) he carries a branch of the talking tree, heavy as earth, and an elephant and tortoise as big as mountains. In H 10775f., he fights with Mayūra dīptatejas. His great feat was to carry off ambrosia, of which however he did not eat, so that he remains mortal, but he won Viṣṇu's favor, who made him his vehicle (1, 23, 5f.; R 3, 35, 27f.). He is here called Tārkṣya as well as Vainateya (Aruṇa also has the last title, R 4, 58, 28). The epic formally distinguishes as

[1]) On Garuḍa and Viṣṇu, see § 143. The peacock as sun-bird (cf. Johansson, Solfågeln i Indien, p. 77f., referring to Jāt. 2, 33 and 4, 332f.) is the connecting link between the sun-bird, reflected in Garutmat-Garuḍa, and the epic roc that devours (Nāgas and other) snakes. The theft of Soma by Garuḍa is thus the oldest epic trait, parallel to that of the eagle (sun) Viṣṇu (Johansson).

Vainateyas, "Tārkṣya, Ariṣṭanemi, Garuḍa, Aruṇa, Āruṇi, and Vāruṇi" (1, 65, 40; cf. 5, 71, 5; H 12468), yet distinction is lost when Garuḍa-dhvaja = Tārkṣya-ketana (2, 45, 61), and "Tārkṣya" is the vehicle of Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa (13, 14, 43), as is Garuḍa (2, 24, 23). "As the ass cannot equal the speed of the horse, so no bird can equal the speed of Tārkṣya" (R 2, 105, 6; S 12, 117, 24 says that gāruḍaṃ balam may be given to other birds by divine power). Also in 5, 105, 18f. Garutmat = Tārkṣya, and so generally. The tārkṣyas are birds (as a race "Tārkṣyas" in 2, 52, 15, with Persians, may be Turks; it is a late insertion, not in S). Only S has the proverb preserved in Pañc. 1, 474: "Men honor not Tārkṣya, who kills snakes, but the snakes" (S 3, 28, 16; see Ind. Spr. 39), that is, they honor those they fear; but it brings out the chief function of Garuḍa (Tārkṣya). Tārkṣya as "antidote to poison" (in later use) suggests garuḍa as for garāda = viṣād. The emerald is elsewhere a "foe of poison" and "stone of Garuḍa" (garalāri, garuḍāśman), the first reminding one of bhujagāri as Vainateya (S 5, 94, 16). Garuḍa becomes the vehicle of Viṣṇu only after a struggle, in which the greater god showed that the great bird could not even move his arm (5, 105, 10f.), though in Ādi this happens as the result of Garuḍa's complaisance (1, 33). Garuḍa helps Viṣṇu by carrying him and even by fighting for him (R 7, 8, 19f.). Garuḍa makes friends with Indra by respecting the bones of his bolt (1, 33, 17f.). He shares with Hanumat the glory of sitting on a flag-staff of Kṛṣṇa (2, 24, 23). In Rām. he is not active except as the "vehicle of Viṣṇu" and type of speed and robber of ambrosia, save that he frightens away the snake-arrows of Indrajit and cures Rāma and his brother (R 6, 50, 33f.). Brahman's shaft is feathered with his lovely feathers (R 6, 111, 12). The blessing at Mbh. 1, 28, 14 is referred to in R 2, 25, 33, and Vainateya is said to have told Sagara how his sons might be revived, as he was the brother of Sagara's second wife Sumati (R 1, 38, 14). The Mbh. gives a series of his adventures, on the journey with Gālava (5, 107, 16f.), in which Garuḍa loses his wings, owing to his evil designs on Śāṇḍilī (ib. 113, 1f.). In the later epic he brings Uparicara to heaven at Viṣṇu's command (12, 333, 32f.). Already in 7, 143, 48, Kṛṣṇa bids Bhūriśravas go to heaven on the back of Garuḍa, but the warrior does not seem to have availed himself of the bird as psychopomp. Viṣṇu having kicked on to Garuḍa's breast the Nāga Sumukha, whom Garuḍa was going to eat, "since then Garuḍa lives at peace with Sumukha" (5, 104—5). In 6, 6, 14, Sumukha is a son of Garuḍa, the eldest of six (5, 101, 2), sires of all snake-eating birds: Sumukha, Sunāman, Sunetra, Suvarcas, Suruc, and Subala; though in the line, vaṃśa, of Kapila, and family, kula, of Vinatā there are thousands, all with the śrīvatsa sign, and all worshippers of Viṣṇu; all are Kṣatriyas also, but, because they destroy their "kindred" (by eating snakes), they cannot become Brahmans. The names are partly sun-, fire-, and Viṣṇu-names with many others, Vālmīki, Niśākara, Divākara, etc. The plural Garuḍas and Garutmats are demoniac forms of battle (3, 173, 48), or birds of prey (R 6, 131, 51; ib. 105, 22). Garuḍī = Suparṇī = Svāhā (3, 225, 9f.; see § 161 f.). The Vainateyas live either in the sixth (upper) world (R 4, 58, 28) or, usually, in Pātāla (5, 101, 6f.) or south of the Niṣadhas in the Golden Valley (varṣa, 6, 8, 6), or on Himavat (12, 328, 7, "which Garuḍa regularly occupies"). In R 4, 40, 38, however, Viśvakarman builds "the house of Vainateya" beside the Red Sea. Both Mbh. 1, 66, 69; 3, 279, 1, and R 3, 14, 31 derive Jaṭāyus and Sampāti from

Aruṇa and Śyenī, which makes the two brothers solar birds, nephews of Garuḍa. Sampāti, the elder, protects the younger when flying to the sun, but the sun burns him and he falls wingless upon Malaya (3, 282, 47f.) or Vindhya (R 4, 58, 1f.). This happened "after Vṛtra's death". The two are "vultures" (R 4, 60, 19), but monstrous, changing shape at will. In R 7, 5, 44, Sampāti is a demon. Those fleeing with Vibhīṣaṇa include Sampāti, seven in all, appearing as men or birds in battle (R 3, 37, 7f.). Sampāti's son, who brought him food, is Supārśva (R 4, 59, 8f.). The wings of these monster birds, who are all like rocs, are red, and two or more in number (ib. 63, 8f.). Jaṭāyus, who helps Sītā, converses learnedly on genealogy (R 3, 14), contends with Rāvaṇa (ib. 51), tells his own story and then dies (ib. 67f.). The brothers, Sampāti and Jaṭāyus, seem like under-studies of Garuḍa and Aruṇa (next generation, sons of Aruṇa), but the generalised birds called "warriors", Garuḍas and Tārkṣyas may conceivably have been human chieftains of the western coast, though mythologically they are all ātmajas of Garuḍa and scarcely present as strong a claim to euhemeristic interpretation as do their natural foes the Nāgas. The remaining members of the direct family of Vinatā, Ariṣṭanemi, Vāruṇi, and Āruṇi, are reckoned conventionally as belonging to the same bird-race, but each of them is a well-known seer of the epic, or rather, a well-known seer is called Āruṇi, etc. Ariṣṭanemi alone, however, is (Vedic) Tārkṣya (3, 184, 3f.; ib. 186, 1f.; 12, 289, 2f.) and may be equivalent to Garuḍa in RG 5, 2, 10; but the v. l. putro for bhrātā (R 4, 66, 4, and B) makes the exact bearing of this passage uncertain. In R 1, 38, 4 and 14, he is father of Sumati, "sister of Suparṇa", and appears also in Jaṭāyus' genealogy (R 3, 14) as a Prajāpati. He is the brother of Pṛthu in Hariv. 1921. Garuḍa is also name of a son of Kṛṣṇa by the same late authority (H 9196).

§ 13. **Serpents.** — All serpents are of divine extraction, since one of Kaśyapa's eight wives was Tāmrā, whose daughter Śukī was mother of Natā and thus grandmother of Vinatā, and Vinatā was mother of Surasā, who bore the Nāgas, and of Kadrū, who bore serpents (pannagas; R 3, 14, 28f., Mbh. 1, 66, 70). The distinction between Nāgas and serpents here indicated is lost, however, when Kadrū herself, as sister of Vinatā, is called the mother of the Nāga or Nāgas and Vinatā is mother of Garuḍa and Aruṇa (§ 12). The general abode of these divine serpents is below earth; and here is usually to be found Śeṣa, the Nāga of a thousand mouths, who "supports earth from beneath" (5, 103, 2f.; 7, 94, 48, adhastād dharaṇīm..sadā dhārayate). He is here conceived as an inhabitant of Bhogavatī, where he is "best of serpents", pannagas, rather than as upholding or entwining Viṣṇu. It is the "endless serpent lying upon the waters" that gets the name Ananta (bhogavat) and is regarded by later writers (R 7, 104, 5) as a creation of Viṣṇu's illusion, udakeśaya, "lying on the water", like Viṣṇu himself as Nārāyaṇa. In R 3, 14, 7, he is said to be one of the Prajāpatis. But this Nāga Śeṣa is called also an inferior Deva, moon-faced, of a thousand heads, who encircles the world and eventually curls himself over Viṣṇu; one of his titles being dharaṇīdhara (R 4, 40, 49; H 3027). He is described also as lying in the eastern district of the northern world on the top of Mt. Jātarūpa (thirteen leagues from Jaloda, where the Vaḍavāmukha is found), beneath a three-headed golden palm-tree; he has eyes as large as a lotus-leaf and is worshipped by all beings. The name Ananta (endless) is explained in particular as anan-

tabhoga (R 6, 14, 18, anantabhogena sahasramūrdhnā nāgena as Rāma-Viṣṇu). Nīl. interprets anaṇtabhogo bhujagaḥ krīḍann iva mahārṇave, in 4, 55, 22, as an allusion to Śeṣa. In Bhogavatī, Śeṣa appears like the White Mountain adorned with gems, having a thousand heads and fiery tongues (5, 103, 3). The later epic identifies Śeṣa with Kṛṣṇa and Viṣṇu and (Hariv.) even says that he was born of Śiva (H 7595); it also represents him as hanging from a tree in ascetic fervor for a thousand years, distilling kālakūṭa poison from his mouth and thus "burning the world" (H 12076). He is usually represented as associated with Viṣṇu rather than with Śiva. He comes from Balarāma's mouth (snake as incorporating a soul) and enters earth, being welcomed home by the other serpents after his Avatar in Baladeva (1, 67, 152; 16, 4, 13; list of serpents, ib. 15; cf. 18, 5, 23). Viṣṇu is Śeṣātman, but Śeṣa appears as an independent cobra coiled over the god (12, 47, 48, phaṇāsahasra), though still upholding the world (ib. 75). In the laud of Śiva, the "chief Nāga called Śeṣa" serves as the axis of his divine car (Nāgendra, 7, 202, 72). According to 1, 65, 41, Śeṣa, Ananta, Vāsuki, and Takṣaka are separate sons of Kadrū, but this distinction is ignored and vāsuki = pannaga (R 6, 51, 17). Ananta is Śeṣa, as Ananta dwells under earth, adho bhūmau, alone supporting earth, at the order of Brahman and he is "Śeṣa by name" (1, 36, 24 and ib. 21 f.). He is bhujaṃgamottama, best of snakes, and, as sustainer, Dharma (dhārayate), and appears to have got his position and influence through ascetic practices as a travelling Muni (ib. 7), thus winning the favor of Brahman who appoints him to his office; after which Śeṣa crawls under the earth through a hole and from below upholds it. The chief serpents (given in the preceding section) are Śeṣa, oldest and best, then Vāsuki, Airāvata, Takṣaka, Karkoṭaka, Dhanaṃjaya (also Vāmana, Āryaka), etc. some of the names being those of elephants, some referring to color, some to their sustenance, but others being clan-names, names of Kurus, Kauravya, Padma, Dhṛtarāṣṭra; while still other names are those of saints or heroes, Dilīpa, Nahuṣa, Aśvatara, Kapila (3, 84, 32; 5, 103, 15, etc.). Śeṣa seems to be the saved remnant, as there was only one good serpent, a parallel to Vibhīṣaṇa among the Rākṣasas (§ 17), as if the god said jīvatu śeṣaḥ when the others were to perish, "let the remaining one live" (cf. 6, 121, 52). The name nowhere in the epic (as later) appears as that of the world-elephant, which would be analogous to the case of Airāvata and Vāmana. The Nāga-clans embrace human relations, but the epic indicates rather a belief in divine marriage-relations and introduces, e. g., as a prospective son-in-law of Mātali (§ 68), Sumukha, the son of Āryaka's son Cikura, who was of the family of Airāvata and daughter's son of Vāmana (5, 103, 23 f.). The names indicate, however, that the Kurus were regarded as a Nāga-clan, which raises the question whether their enemies' name Krivi, Kraivya (connected with *kipi, kipya, worm?) is not kri-vi = krimi, a worm and a Nāgarāja-name. Perhaps the Pañcālas are five snake-clans (āla "poisoner" = Eng. eel). Dhṛtarāṣṭra, Airāvata, and Dhanaṃjaya are Vedic Nāgas. Cikura may contain the same root (kri, kir, kur) as cikkira, etc., for it means hair as well as snake, from the twisting curling form or movement (cf. Grk. κίρκος and Lat. cirrus). But the account of the snake-sacrifice[1]) in 1, 37, 11 f., shows that any

[1]) Professor Winternitz, Das Schlangenopfer des Mahābhārata, connects the account of this sacrifice with that of other popular legends, describing the destruction of serpents by magic formulas compelling them to cast themselves into the fire. Otherwise

distinction between snakes and Nāga-clans was lost. The snakes are here called indifferently Nāgas, bhujaṃgamas, sarpas, and pannagas. They talk and debate (Vāsuki addresses them and others reply, Nāgāḥ paṇḍitamāninaḥ, and Elāpatra), and they are slain "white, black, and blue, a kos long or a league long". Some have three heads, some seven, some ten. Takṣaka bites the king and Vāsuki intrigues by giving his sister Jaratkārū to bear Āstīka (a confused account, 1, 38, 1 f; ib. 57, 4 f.). In 1, 123, 70, the chief Nāgas are named in a list of divine beings as Karkoṭaka (sarpa), Vāsuki (bhujaṃgama), Kacchapa, Kuṇḍa, Takṣaka (mahoragas). In 1, 171, 38, a bhogavatī = sarpī is linked with devī, asurī, etc., as a type of female beauty (Bhogavatī is also the name of a female devil in Skanda's train, 9, 46, 8); cf. nāgakanyopamā śubhā, 6, 104, 30 etc. Any name implies any snake (gandharvoragarakṣasām, 1, 67, 146, etc., cf. Nala, 1, 29), except for certain special amphisbaena, scorpions, etc., whose nature is doubtful. Thus the ḍuṇḍubha and eṇīpada are mentioned in omens as different from sarpas ("the king will perish if a frog swallows eṇīpadas, or sarpas, or ḍuṇḍubhas", S 2, 69, 35). In 1, 9, 21 f., the ḍuṇḍubha is a metamorphosed seer who had been cursed to become a bhujaga, but (he says), "Bhujagas that bite men are of other sort; do not hurt the ḍuṇḍubhas, they only smack of snakes" (ahigandhena, ib. 10, 2 f.). Kālasarpa is especially the cobra (S 3, 158, 48), a rare epic word, usually kṛṣṇasarpa or kṛṣṇoraga, whose breathing, panting, is often referred to, as well as its double tongue (3, 268, 8). The double tongue in 1, 34, 23, comes from tasting ambrosia. Rāma's kingdom was free of all pests, including snakes and all creeping things, adaṃśamaśakā deśā naṣṭavyālasarīsṛpāḥ (7, 59, 16). Mantras can control snakes and make them harmless (vyālādīni, 5, 61, 16). Snakes "controlled in a circle", or overcome, "by Mantras and drugs" are referred to in R 2, 12, 4 and ib. 3, 29, 28. In 8, 40, 33, hataṃ vṛścika te viṣam is a reference to AV. 10, 4, 9 and 5, 13, 4. The evil in the eye of (man or) a snake is called the poison, netraviṣa, dṛṣṭiviṣa (2, 64, 20; R 6, 101, 54); and in regard to this poison there is, as was to be expected, a mixture of fact and myth. Nārada curses Karkoṭaka to be immobile till raised by Nala, and the Nāga bites him for the hero's own good (3, 66, 44 f.); the poison here changes his form. The fact that Āryaka was the grandfather of Kuntī's father, dauhitradauhitra, made this Nāga give Bhīma, when the hero fell into the river, some of his own power by letting him drink "snake essence" (1, 128, 60 f.; the Pāṇḍu as Kuru is thus of Nāga stock). An offering eaten at Maṇināga Tīrtha is an antidote for snake-poison (3, 84, 107; cf. Maṇināga in Magadha, 2, 21, 9; Sarpadevī in 3, 83, 14 is another Nāga Tīrtha). The maṇi called saṃjīvana cures snake-bite and even revitalises dead snakes (14, 80, 42). The distinction between the poison-snake, āśīviṣa, as "best of sarpas" and Dhṛtarāṣṭra as "best of Nāgas" (4, 2, 15 f.) does not imply that the Nāga is of human clan, as might be thought (S here has dṛṣṭiviṣa ivā 'hīnām). The priest,

Professor Jacobi, who regards the story as the historical reflex of change of habitat, as a result of which serpents were slain by the monsoon (IS. 14, 149). On Kadrū and Vinatā (Suparṇī), see the Suparṇādhyāya (Hertel, WZKM, 23, 273 and 320 f.). The epic Suparṇī is Garuḍī (3, 225, 10) as a general name for bird, not as mother of Garuḍa. In JRAS. 1898, p. 147, Professor Winternitz gives an account of the Grantha version of the sacrifice, according to which "Brahman gave the power of destroying snake poison to Kaśyapa (sic), and Kārkoṭaka, troubled about Kadrū's curse, promises to do his mother's bidding and turn himself into black hair."

it is said in 13, 104, 78 f., is superior to the poison-snake inasmuch as the snake destroys only as far as it can see, while the priest destroys as far as he can think, as well as destroys as far as he can see (cf. also Magic Observances, p. 35). The seer Nahuṣa always has the poison-look (5, 16, 26 and 32), and it is he who, as the ajagara or boa in the tale of 3, 180, 4 f., seizes the Pāṇḍus and will not let them go till his conundrums are answered (cf. dṛṣṭiviṣa, ghoradṛṣṭi, and ghorarūpa of Nahuṣa in 5, 16, 30 and 17, 17). His ascendency and exaltation as the king who lowered Indra and the gods may reflect Nāga power along the Ganges. Serpents with seven heads and poison-looks guard the White Mountain (3, 225, 11), and the same mountain is noted as containing gūḍhapādas, which are viṣolbaṇa, "strongly poisonous" (as in 1, 52, 10). But gūḍhapāda is a late snake-word, and the scene is late. Incidentally, pīṭha-sarpa in 3, 35, 22 is another late word, applied to the immovable boa (cf. the ājagara-vrata of the immovable Muni, 12, 179, 2 f., and 25), not to a "crippled" snake (as in PW.; in R 6, 31, 29, panasa, serpent, as in Suśruta, is used with punning reference to Panasa). Poison of the snakes neutralising vegetable(?) poison (kālakūṭa) is referred to in 1, 128, 57. Other references to the snake's poison are chiefly proverbial: the serpent unnoticed in one's clothing; the folly of removing the fang of a poisonous snake; of kicking a cobra; of playing with snakes; of feeding or waking a snake, etc. Myth appears when it is said that snakes lose their poison when Garuḍa appears (R 3, 56, 6); that they live on air (12, 299, 29); and in the implication that snakes have invisible legs ("only a snake can see a snake's legs", 12, 203, 13 = R 5, 42, 9). They are hard to track (12, 132, 20) and they steal jewels left upon the ground (but Yakṣas steal them from the impure and gods from sleepers, 14, 57, 23; cf. 1, 3, 128 f.). An Airāvata Nāga stole the famous ear-rings (14, 58, 25 f.), when Indra clove a way underground to recover them with Agni's help as a steed. The casting of a snake's skin is often used in epic as, less freely, in Vedic literature, to illustrate how one may free himself from sin, from grief, or even from a girl (cf. 5, 40, 2 and ib. 175, 19). That "everybody kills snakes" shows no great dread of their divinity (5, 73, 27) or strained ahiṃsā feeling.

The Nāgas live underground where Sunda goes to slay them (1, 210, 8) and the Nāgaloka described when Mātali seeks a son-in-law is entered by "descending into earth", avagāhya bhūmim (5, 98, 6; cf. praviveśa mahītalam, ib. 97, 21). But it must be remembered that "under earth" is water, a part of Varuṇa's domain. "The navel of the Nāgaloka is called Pātāla because water falls there sufficiently" (pātāla from patanti alam), and water-creatures called timis live there on the light of the moon in the water; also the Mare's Head and creatures slain by sunlight and demons of darkness (ib. 99, 1 f.). This city must not be confounded with the Nāgāhvayaṃ puram (S Nāgahrado mahān) in the Naimiṣa forest, where a Nāga is good enough to drag the sun's car for a month (12, 356, 2 and 358, 8); it is said here that Nāgas are to be revered as givers of boons, vandanīyā varadāḥ (ib. 361, 4). The water-habitat of the Nāgas is indirectly indicated in many passages. Kardama is father of Varuṇa (§ 59). Ulūpī, the daughter-in-law of Airāvata, who subsequently gave her (as widow) to Arjuna, lives in the water, and, when all is over for her, enters the Ganges again. She is addressed as devī, but this is conventional. She is Nāgarājasnuṣā and daughter of Kauravya, also sister of Vāsuki and mother of the human hero Irāvat, who is tardily but fully explained and

extolled in 6, 90, 7f. (cf. 1, 214, 18 and 14, 91, 22; it is she who fetches the reviving jewel). Nāgarāja is a common epithet and is used of Karkoṭaka, Vāsuki, Dhṛtarāṣṭra, etc., as well as of Airāvata. According to 4, 2, 14, Arjuna carried Ulūpī off, hṛtavān, but the scholiast, who remembers the tale of 1, 214, says that this means captivated, not captured. Ulūpī is evidently connected with ulupin = dolphin. She is called also the "mother" of Babhruvāhana, the son of Citrāṅgadā, and creeps out of the earth in 14, 79, 8f., as "offspring of the snake", pannagātmajā, uragātmajā, Citrāṅgadā being also Kauravyaduhitṛ, as Ulūpī is Kauravyakulanandinī, that is, daughter of Kauravya (14, 81, 1 and 23; cf. ib. 5, tam uvāco 'ragapater duhitā prahasann iva, i.e. Ulūpī; S prahasanty atha). The food of the Nāgas is sudhārasa, as ambrosia is only for the gods (svadhā for the seers), and this may be milk rather than nectar, as the passages where the statement occurs are late (R 7, 7, 35 and 13, 26, 49), when the word had this meaning, and milk, as is well known, is a favorite food of the cobra. The Nāgas, cursed by their mother, go to dwell samudrakukṣau (1, 20, 7 and 25, 4), that is, in the swampy lands at the mouth of the Ganges, though they are represented as carried to the island called Rāmaṇīyaka (1, 26, 8). If Citrāṅgadā is of Kauravya descent, Maṇipur must have been one of the strongholds of the Nāga clan or race. As mythological beings or as historical factors they are represented, however, as living not only along the Ganges (and in it) but as inhabitants of the Punjab and the northern mountains, while as purely mythological they appear on occasion in heaven and the sky. The "great serpents" are usually Nāgas and they live on Gandhamādana and other hills of the North along with other snakes (3, 159, 19; 6, 92, 4); but they are especially associated with a lake in the mountains, and yield themselves up there, when the Śatarudriya is recited (7, 81, 14f.), to form Śiva's pāśupatyaṃ divyam, snake-weapon, namely the bow and arrows of Śiva. The fact that arrows are likened to flying snakes leads to the conversion of serpents into arrows. So in R 6, 103, 18, when Rāma's arrows become birds, Rāvaṇa's become real snakes. The Nāga Aśvasena, son of Takṣaka, had a quarrel with Arjuna dating from Khāṇḍava and went underground, but when that hero fought with Karṇa, the Nāga "became an arrow" in Karṇa's quiver and swept off Arjuna's diadem (given him by Indra), yet, being cursed to be "without base", that is of no account (1, 227, 5), he did not succeed in killing the hero, who slew him (8, 90, 12f., and ib. 54). In 8, 89, 89f., serpents as arrows enter earth and then, having taken a bath, return to fight (needing contact with their native environment to strengthen themselves, like Antaeus). For gold-guarding serpents in the mountains (7, 93, 34, etc.), see Kubera (§ 83—90).

The king of "lovely Bhogavatī" (1, 207, 31; ib. 51; 3, 57, 5, etc.) is Vāsuki (5, 186, 27), who has a Tīrtha at Prayāga (3, 85, 86), called Bhogavatī, and, if the text is right, those who visit the Godāvarī obtain his world (ib. 34, Vāsuker lokam, v. l. Vāyulokaṃ ca). His abode in 9, 37, 30 is Nāgadhanvan on the Bhogavatī or the Sarasvatī (cf. 3, 24, 20), where Vāsuki appears as king of pannagas and "there is no fear of snakes there" (ib. 33). It was here he was consecrated king and at the Tīrtha there live 14,000 seers. Nāgadvīpa (6, 6, 55) is one "ear of the hare", whose other ear is Kāśyapa-land (see § 6). Like Dhanaṃjaya and Kumārī live Vāsuki and his wife Śataśīrṣā, ruling over Bhogavatī in the South, which he guards (5, 117, 17f.; ib. 103, 9; ib. 109, 19), and with

him live Takṣaka, Airāvata, and other "sons of Surasā", Nāgas marked with gems, gourds, discus, and svastika (cf. H 3934), having three, seven, ten, one hundred, five hundred, or even a thousand heads (Śeṣa himself lives there), great bhogas, coils, and great bodies, and they are called in general "sons of Kaśyapa" (5, 103, 5f.). Surasā is called Nāgamātṛ and lives in the ocean, whence she rose in demoniac shape (persuaded by the gods to interfere with Hanumat!); she is called Dākṣāyaṇī (R 5, 1, 145f. and ib. 58, 21). Like Citrāṅgadā she has the name of an Apsaras. Vāsuki is especially associated with Śeṣa in the churning of the ocean, where he acts as cord of the churn, his mouth being held by the Asuras and his tail by the gods (1, 18, 7f.; cf. R 1, 45, 18). He is himself revered like a god and has a shrine in the asylum of Agastya (§ 20).

Vālmīki speaks of "serpents having the form of gods", devakalpāḥ pannagāḥ (R 5, 1, 6), as associates of Yakṣas, etc., on Mt. Mahendra; and in Mbh. hero-praising hosts and rows, nāgavīthi, of serpents fill the cars of saints in heaven (13, 107, 57; cf. 7, 145, 78).

R recognises the same leading Nāgas as does Mbh. Vāsuki, Takṣaka, (R 3, 32, 13), Śaṅkha, and Jaṭin (new) are conquered by Rāvaṇa (R 6, 7, 9). Their power is admitted (R 3, 38, 1) and the beauty of their females (R 5, 12, 21, captured; R 7, 88, 14, na devīṣu na nāgīṣu . . dṛṣṭapūrvā). Vālmīki (R 4, 41, 37) also places Bhogavatī far to the south (near Agastya's hermitage!) and calls Vāsuki its sarparāja. Historically important is Nāgāhvaya city (above) as the place where the Dharmacakra started, on the banks of the Gomatī, and the same as a title of Buddha on the one hand and of the Kuru or Pāṇḍu city (Nāgāhva = Hāstinapura) on the other. Also the appearance in the great war of serpents, uragas as Nāgas, acting as chariot-warriors, just like human heroes, is remarkable. The form and ornaments of Nāgas are those of heroes idealised (5, 169, 17 and 2, 9, 11). The "many-headed" Nāgas start with the comparison of a snake with an arm. The arm ends in five fingers, and is first said to be like a fat, smooth snake, then like a five-headed (the fingers) snake. It is for this reason that the five heads (mouths) are commoner than three or any other number (cf. 3, 157, 67, saṃhṛtya muṣṭiṃ pañcaśīrṣam ivo 'ragam, where the fist is the five-headed snake). Apart from this notion, the Nāgas carry banners, etc. in battle and wear svastikas, particularly the Māgadha Nāgas; a Nāga called Svastika lives in that district. In the domain of mythology, the great snake of the deep of an older period appears to have become an idle name, Ahi Budhnya, except for his connection with the finding of treasure, where he appears as the archetype of "treasure keeping" serpents (§ 83), and his reappearance as a Rudra (§ 113) or name of Śiva, the god wreathed in serpents. The Nāgas are anyway bhūmiśaya (7, 201, 24) and living underground have naturally charge of its metallic wealth.

The superstition of snake-birth may also be mentioned as of mythological value. The seizer, grahī, Kadrū, takes a subtile form and enters a pregnant woman, who then gives birth to a snake (3, 230, 37). There seems to be no reason to separate this fiend from the daughter of Prajāpati and Vinatā (1, 16 and 21f.). Historically the most important Nāga is undoubtedly Takṣaka. He takes the side of Arjuna in battle, as do Vāsuki, Citrasena, Maṇika, and all the Kādraveya serpents, as well as the Airāvatas, Saurabheyas, and Vaiśāleyas (bhoginaḥ, 8, 87, 43f.). Here S has Takṣaka and Upatakṣaka. Vaiśāleya (AV. 8, 10, 29; Śāṅkh. GS. 4, 18, 1)

is an old patronymic of Takṣaka and probably is to be taken so here. Takṣaka is still the venomous, viṣolbaṇa, Nāga (6, 107, 15), according to S 4, 3, 28, the foremost of serpents, but his name, the "builder", and his especial glory (8, 79, 94, "glorious as Takṣakabhoja") show or indicate an historical character. He does not live in Māgadha, as do Arbuda and Svastika, but in the West, as Khāṇḍava is represented to be the ālayaḥ pannagendrasya Takṣakasya mahātmanaḥ (S 1, 248, 23), or, "he used to live in Khāṇḍava and Kurukṣetra" (1, 3, 139; 223, 7), where he was the especial friend of Indra, to whose heaven he went, though suspended in air through Āstīka's crying to him (1, 53, 18; 58, 2). By slaying Janamejaya's father he caused the eventual overthrow of the Nāgas (1, 3, 141 f.), an act committed ostensibly because of the king's despite of Brahmanic priests (1, 41), but really in revenge. He is Nāgarāja as well as bhujagottama (1, 227, 4; 228, 16). When it is said that he lives in Kashmir, it must be remembered that the Kāśmīramaṇḍala extends to Kurukṣetra (3, 82, 90). Upatakṣaka is mentioned only above (v. l. S 8, 91, 45) and R 7, 23, pra. 5, 23 (with Karkoṭaka, Kambala, Aśvatara, Dhanaṃjaya, Airāvata, Śeṣa, and Vāsuki). It was Janamejaya who conquered Takṣaśilā (1, 3, 20). R distinguishes between Takṣaka, whose wife was carried off by Rāvaṇa (R 3, 32, 14; ib. 6, 7, 9) and Takṣa (R 7, 101, 11) as "son of Bharata" and founder of Takṣaśilā in Gandharva-land as opposed to Gāndhāra-land, the other side of the Indus. The fate of all lower animals is supposed to be like that of men. Even fishes go to heaven (13, 51, 39 f., "go to heaven with your fishes . . on this the Niṣādas went to heaven with the fishes", saha matsyair divaṃ yayuḥ); cf. also under horses, elephants, etc. The change of a nymph into a fish is not extraordinary (see Apsarasas, § 87). The Fish-Avatar is discussed in § 142. For other animal Avatars, see § 148. The Tortoise is not an Avatar in 1, 18, where it upholds the mountain Mandara at the churning of ocean, but it becomes an Avatar of Hari in R pra. 1, 45 (VP. 1, 9), originally of (Brahman) Prajāpati (ŚB. 7, 4, 3, 5), perhaps still earlier a totem of the Bharatas.

III. SPIRITS.

§ 14. **Pretas.** — Through all periods from the Vedic age onward spirits known as ghosts, beings, and Fathers have been the object of a pious regard, expressed by both fear and devotion. They may be said to be spirits indifferently good or bad. The Pretas are embryonic Pitṛs (Fathers). The newly dead is a Preta or Pareta ("departed") ghost; the one long dead is a Pitṛ (Father divinity). The Pitṛs are the divinities even of gods. Only Pitṛs are divided into formal classes. The Pretas, as they are simpler and logically precede, may be discussed first. In both epics Preta is the usual form, but R uses also Pareta (2, 63, 15; cf. paretakāle, "at the time of dying", R 3, 51, 31), and Paretarāj is later use for Pretarāj (Pretakalpa is like gatāyus, used of men almost dead, R 3, 41, 20; pretyabhāva is death, R 4, 22, 18, etc.). Yama is lord not only of the Pitṛs but of the Pretas; Pretarāḍviṣayaṃ gata = Yamalokagata (R 6, 79, 14). Pretaloka is the antithesis of jīvaloka (7, 39, 24, etc.), the world of dead and that of the living. But the Preta though not alive is lively enough, and even the long dead Pitṛ is an active element in the living world. After Daśaratha has been dead for years, he appears in the sight of man, raised by Maheśvara, and stands dressed in bright garments, devoid of

dust, and says he will never forgive Kaikeyī. Then be changes his mind, forgives her, and blesses Rāma, whom he embraces, and finally goes back to Indra's heaven (R 6, 122, 10f.). To return really from death to life is possible if a god permits, or one can give a part of one's life to another who is dead and so revive the dead. Indra gives back to life even the monkeys slain for Rāma (ib. 123, 10f.) and all the Pretas rise not only in vision but in reality when divine power exerts itself (15, 33, 1f.; see also § 4 on the saṃjīvana). But usually the Pretas appear in ghastly battle-scenes (3, 173, 48, etc.) as demoniac forms dancing with Piśācas and Bhūts (§ 16—17) amid carnage (7, 146, 36); nor are they silent. The noise of a tumult is "like that of shrieking ghosts", pretānāṃ krandatām iva (7, 171, 9). They are, however, described as senseless, though perhaps stupid is the real meaning: those suffering in battle cry to the heroes, "as the witless dead shriek to their king", Arjunaṃ krośanti pretarājapure yadvat pretarājaṃ vicetasaḥ (8, 64, 59; cf. 10, 5, 13, pretā iva vicetasaḥ, sc. svapanti, sleep "like the senseless dead"). The voices of the wounded are like those of the dead (Pretas): "dreadful voices of those who shriek in battle like those who are dead" (in hell? 6, 46, 19). Those who are killed are said to be "gone (led) into the power of the Pretas", gatā (nītā) pretavaśam (3, 313, 29; S 1, 171, 64), but probably the apparent implication of power in the ghosts is due to this being a shortened form of expression for the usual phrase, pretarājavaśam ("dead" is pretībhūta, pretaga, °gata, 7, 19, 37; 5, 40, 16; R 4, 30, 22, pretagataṃ Yamakṣaye; saṃpretya in 13, 1980 is not in B, 58, 11, nor S 93, 11, but parāṃ gatim asaṃpretya, 5, 65, 3, is "while still alive"). The Pretas are, in a word, not honored by the poets. In the course of time, if honored by their relations with burial of the corpse and offerings to the ghost, they become honored by all as divine Fathers, but till then they belong neither to gods nor men, and so are like outcasts, cyutā devamanuṣyebhyo yathā pretās tathai 'va te (sinners and outcasts are "cast out from gods and men like Pretas", 12, 109, 25). Hence they must be offered food, pretabhāvānugaṃ vasu (S pretyabhāva); food "reaching the dead" is given by a man for his sons (15, 8, 9). Compare pretyabhāvikam īhante aihalaukikam eva ca (14, 37, 17) as "after death and here", and in S 12, 32, 36, rakṣa svadharmaṃ, Kaunteya, śreyān yaḥ pretyabhāvikaḥ (B 33, 48, has pretya, Bhārata). The Pretas do not appear as individuals so much as hosts or troops. The identity of Pretas and Pitṛs (in the end) may be shown by such a remark as that of Bhīma (4, 22, 4), when he says that he will kill the Kīcaka and expresses himself thus: "I will cause him to see his grandsires dead of old" (pūrvapretān pitāmahān). Pretarājapuram as the city of Yama is a commonplace, as the bourne from which there is no return (7, 93, 19; durdarśam, ib. 132, 33; but ib. 135, 14, "one might return from that city but not from this antagonist", in extravagant laud). Yama's city is "full of ghosts" (1, 173, 43, abhavat Pretarājasya puraṃ pretair ivā 'vṛtam). To perform the Pretakṛtyāni (°kārya, °karman) or ceremonies for the dead, renders one impure (tabu). After the funeral one becomes pure again (7, 52, 30). As objects of worship the Pretas are low down in the religious scale, being classed with the Bhūts. The men of purest soul worship gods; those of middle sort (passionate) worship Yakṣas and Rākṣasas; those of the lowest sort, whose souls are in darkness, worship Pretas and bands of Bhūts (6, 41, 4). Together with Bhūts,

Pretas are often associated with Piśācas and other "wanderers by night". They are conjoined with the Pitṛs in the phrase pitṛrajanicarāḥ (7, 73, 48), where the group is opposed to gods and Asuras, etc.; but when the saint says that he sees in Viṣṇu's stomach "Guhyakas and Pitṛs", paśyāmi Guhyakān pitaras tathā (3, 188, 119), he makes a similar connection as loose as his grammar, for in fact the Pitṛs have about as little to do with the one as with the other. The Pretas dance with Bhūts and Piśācas not only on battle-fields but in burial-grounds; yet the burial-ground is not called theirs but the "grove of the Pitṛs". As the gods have their Devavana, so the Fathers have their Pitṛvana (pretavana is a later word), and it is said, sarve pitṛvanaṃ prāptāḥ svapanti vigatajvarāḥ, "after life's (fitful) fever they sleep well, who reach the Fathers' grove" (11, 3, 5; and C 119 = 4, 16; B and S have °tvacāḥ), to render it almost literally in Shakespeare's words. Certain inconsistencies in belief are to be found, as with all people who believe in both ghost and soul. Thus it is absurd to suppose that the Preta within a few days of death and before the funeral has already "gone to the third heaven", as is asserted in 11, 9, 17. Compare ib. 17, 32: "This hero has already gained the worlds won by prowess, if tradition and revelation are true" (āgamāḥ and śrutayaḥ). The supposition that a hero is instantly carried up to heaven is, however, if not orthodox, at least a common idea. So the wife, already jealous of her dead husband who still lies unburied, cries (11, 20, 25 f.): "Whom dost thou now speak to, as if to me, after going to the Pitṛ-world? Wilt thou now in heaven disturb the hearts of the nymphs (Apsarasas) with thy beauty, gaining the world of the nymphs and righteous and associating with nymphs?" (idānīm and nūnam). It is after this that the "priests with matted locks pile the mound and light the fires and sing the three Sāmans while they lament" (at the funeral, 11, 23, 38 f.). Yudhiṣṭhira says (ib. 26, 12): "Those who have sacrificed their bodies (in battle) have obtained worlds like those of Devarāj . . or have gone to the Gandharvas . . or, even if cowardly, have gone to the Guhyakas, or have gone to the Uttara Kurus" (Hyperboreans), that is, before the Pitṛmedhas (of 26, 39) were performed, when "the noise of Sāmans and Ṛcas and of women weeping caused consternation in all beings" (sarvabhūtānām, ib. 40), after which the kriyās were performed, that is, the water-ceremonies, which are called particularly the salilakriyāḥ (27, 4) or udakakarman (ib. 27), this last immediately preceding the Pretakṛtya (ib. 28) or Śrāddha (see below).

§ 15. **The Pitṛs.** — The Fathers are divided into separate classes, but the classes are not fixed. By analogy with other hebdomads there are seven Pitṛvaṃśas (13, 91, 28), described as associating with the All-gods (who in Vedic literature include them; viśve devāś ca ye nityaṃ Pitṛbhiḥ saha gocarāḥ, ib. 24). They are also regarded as Pitāmahas, the seven beginning with Brahman (in connection with the Śrāddha, 13, 92, 22; pitāmaha for pitṛ also 1, 214, 12, etc.). By means of the Śrāddha feast "the Pretas are released", that is the ghosts become raised to the rank of Pitṛs. The feast begins with an offering to Fire (Agni), who saves the Fathers from indigestion (13, 92, 11). When water is brought, one offering is made to the water-god Varuṇa, and at the same time one to Soma, as the god of the Fathers. This differs slightly from Manu, 3, 211, where the offerings are to Agni, Soma, and Yama (food-details as in the law-books). The Fathers are worshipped not only by men but even by

gods, demons, serpents, Piśācas, Kiṃnaras, etc. (ib. 87, 5), not after but before the gods (monthly, before the new moon becomes visible, the gods after it becomes visible), the afternoon being the right time, to agree with the after-half of the month (dark half). But every day is appropriate in the light half of the month except the deadly fourteenth day (13, 87, 6, and 18f. and Manu 3, 123). Demons (Asuras) and the Asurendra get all the worshipper eats when facing south; Yātudhānas and Piśācas get the feast if no sesame is given, or if it is performed by a Krodhavaśa (ib. 90, 19f.; this is "Yama's rule"). Atri first taught Nimi to give a feast to the Fathers instead of offering it "to the soul of his son" (ib. 91, 20). The cakes are offered first to one's father, then to one's grandfather, then to one's great-grandfather, and the Sāvitrī verse should be recited over each cake. A verse is said also to Soma as to the Pitṛmat god (ib. 92, 15, Somāye 'ti ca vaktavyaṃ tathā pitṛmate 'ti ca). Monthly Śrāddhas and daily offerings are made to the Fathers, and whenever one is in danger, as when one crosses water in an ox-cart (13, 92, 16f.). In this case the offering may be a handful of water, presented first to one's ancestors and then to those of friends and relations (the aupahārikam offering is that of Manu 3, 273f., in 13, 126, 35). These offerings are known as Śrāddha, Pitṛyajña, Pitṛmedha, and Aupahārika. The special god of the Fathers is Yama Pitṛpati and Pitṛrāja or Soma Pitṛmat. Only an atheist would disregard the Fathers. Compare R 2, 108, 14f. Jābāli, in regard to the aṣṭakā- (Manu 4, 150) pitṛdaivatyam, says that the dead cannot eat, yet he is an unbeliever. But the Mokṣa doctrine also ignores the cult of the Fathers (12, 289, 22f.). Elsewhere the Fathers are regarded as objects of reverence and proper recipients of prayers and sacrifice. Their wish is law, even in details. One must not chew a tooth-pick on the new moon's day because the Fathers do not like one to do so, since it hurts the new moon (13, 127, 4f.). Most of the Śrāddha rules concern themselves, however, with the persons who may take part in the feast, not with the Fathers' wishes. These persons include the proper relations and proper people; excluded are diseased persons, "women with their ears cut off", etc., the rules being referred to the Fathers as authority (sermon by the Pitṛs, 13, 125, 18f.). Much is old legal material but no one need fear to admit that much of this is also new and foisted upon the Pitṛs, who serve as stalking-horses, like gods and demons, for the writers of the later epic to impress trite morality but also to bring in new rules. For example, in 13, 129, 2: "An adulterer and a thief are not conversible to the Pitṛs and neither they nor gods will accept the offerings of such sinners" (asaṃbhāṣyā bhavanty ete Pitṝṇām, etc.) is a perfectly good old rule in new form; but in 13, 125, 73f. the statement that the Pitṛs are so delighted with the freeing of a blue bull (cf. 3, 2, 57f.) and with offerings of water and sesame and with the lighting of lamps that one thereby frees himself of all debts to his ancestors, even startles Vṛddha Gārgya so that his hair rises on his head and he asks, "What is the use of setting free blue bulls?" and is only quieted by the direct statement on the part of the Pitṛs themselves that they rejoice for sixty thousand years if their descendant sets free a blue bull which urinates. The talk of the Pitṛs here begins with a question of connubial intercourse on Śrāddha days and is carried on with a messenger of the physician gods (the Aśvins). It also takes up the disposition of rice-cakes at a Śrāddha. The first cake is cast into water and goes to the moon; the second is given to the wife

of the deceased; and the third is cast into fire (ib. 19f.). The rice-cake of the Moon pleases the god and then (so) pleases the Pitṛs; that eaten by the wife causes the Pitāmahas (= Pitṛs) to give a son to one who wishes offspring; that cast into fire makes the Pitṛs happy, so that they grant wishes, etc. The Ṛtvij of a sacrificer becomes his Pitṛ (pitṛtvam anugacchati) and hence he must avoid connubial intercourse on that day (etc., etc.; the S text adds a mass of matter on these "gods of gods" and their feast). Offerings of grain, etc., to the Pitṛs are purificatory and apart from special cases they are made to the Pitṛs on the eighth day (aṣṭakā) after the full moon; especially at the beginning of winter or "when autumn is over and men desire more, and clothe themselves in skins, and set out on expeditions, and Himavat is really the home of snow, the sun having lingered long in the southern declension" (R 3, 16, 6f., navāgra yaṇapūjābhir abhyarcya pitṛdevatāḥ, etc., sevamāne dṛḍham sūrye diśam Antaka-(v. l. Agastya-)sevitām). In the special case where the king's body has been burned, after being embalmed in oil, ten days of mourning pass and the funeral feast is offered on the twelfth, with rich gifts to the priests as an aurdhvadaihikam of the departed (to make him happy), and on the thirteenth day is performed the śodhana or collection of his bones (purification), as described in R 2, 77, 1—5 (see below). As to the food offered, the same general rule obtains (yadannāḥ) as is applied in the case of the gods: "What a man eats, his gods eat" (R 2, 102, 30, etc.).

Allusion has been made above to the seven families of Fathers, divided according to the seers. In 3, 3, 43, seven gaṇas or troops of Pitṛs probably refer to the distinction made between the kinds mentioned as living at the court of Brahman, where are to be found "Agniṣvāttas, Phenapas, Ūṣmapas, Sudhāvatas, Barhiṣadas, and others incorporate". Compare 2, 11, 44f.: "Fathers swift as thought, in seven gaṇas, four being mūrtimantas (embodied) and three aśarīriṇas" (having no body; but S with B, śarīriṇaḥ). The Agniṣvāttas and Somasadas in Manu are the Pitṛs of the gods and the Sādhyas, respectively, while the Barhiṣadas are the Pitṛs of the Daityas, Dānavas (etc., Manu 3, 195f.) and are here also declared to be the sons of the seers, Marīci, Atri, etc. The three epic aśarīriṇas are Vairājas, Agniṣvāttas, and Gārhapatyas (= Barhiṣadas), who are all nākacaras, i. e. "they wander in the vault of heaven", and worship Brahman. The four mūrtimantas are Somapas, Ekaśṛṅgas (Unicorns), Caturvedas, and Kalas, who are worshipped among the four castes and with the others form part of the court of Prajāpati: "when these are satisfied (filled), then divine Soma is also filled" (etair āpyāyitaiḥ pūrvaṃ Somaś cā 'pyāyyate punaḥ, ib. 48). This division is also recognised in H 936, where it is said that the gods revere the Vairāja Pitṛs; but otherwise no such formal division is recognised, only the various classes are mentioned on occasion as Somapas, etc. The gaṇas here described appear to belong to the later epic, the Unicorns, Four-Veda Pitṛs, and Kalas being known only from this passage, perhaps an extension of the older groups, called Somavantas, Barhiṣadas, and Agniṣvāttas, as they are in ŚB. 2, 6, 1, 4f., where the Pitṛs are identified with the seasons. The six seasons and seven families are then equated with groups of Pitṛs. But even in the ordered account of Manu there are different and confusing systems involved and in the epic it is quite impossible to get any consistent grouping. Thus in 12, 270, 15, Pitṛs who "approve of Mantras for

the dead" are cited as Arciṣmantas, Barhiṣadas, and Kravyādas, by whom the Mokṣa doctrine is contradicted (inferentially). The Ūṣmapas appear to be one with the Somapas, but the latter title is also applied to any who drink Soma (thus kings are Somapas, 5, 152, 18). The Phenapas, "foam-drinkers" are said to be those "excellent Munis" who live on the froth of the Ocean of Milk and are feared by the gods (5, 102, 6); but in 13, 141, 97f., the Phenapas are Ṛṣis who drink foam left over from ambrosia drunk by Brahman at sacrifices. One class often represents the Fathers in general, as when Ūṣmapas are grouped as worshippers of Viṣṇu with Rudras, Ādityas, Vasus, Sādhyas, All-gods, Aśvins, Maruts, Gandharvas, Yakṣas, Asuras, and Siddhas (6, 35, 22f.). In 5, 109, 2, they are assigned to the South (the general region of the Pitṛs), as opposed to the Dhūmapas of the East, and are called Devas, the Dhūmapas being Munis (ib. 108, 14). With Ūṣmapas and Dhūmapas are grouped Kṣīrapas (13, 14, 56), but they are merely ascetic priests (see §§ 118—126). In the later epic any number of these "drinkers" (cf. Ghṛtapas, etc., below) are predicated as heavenly beings. The Pitṛs are called "divinities even of the gods" in 9, 44, 32f., where the Pitṛs visit Skanda (cf. Yāmas and Dhāmas under Yama). Manu's Sukālins (M 3, 197) are the Sukālas of H 985 (ib. 932, the seven gaṇas are as above, four mūrtimantas and three amūrtimantas).

The Fathers, whose very existence depends upon descendants (1, 179, 14f.), are naturally opposed to too much asceticism. They advise against suicide (ib.) and anxiously ask: "Will our son or grandson give us food?" (13, 63, 20). This of course refers to the ordinary Fathers, not those who "exist on froth", etc. One feeds them with svadhā, as gods with Soma (12, 29, 116). It is their main preoccupation to get something to eat, but they continue to show an interest in the affairs of their family and occasionally come to help their descendants. Thus eight Fathers in the shape of birds (souls in bird-shape) hold up the fainting Bhīṣma. On different occasions they resemble planets in glory, hold one up, give him water to drink; give Bhīṣma advice as to the best weapon to use, reconsider the matter and advise him not to do as they had advised, etc. Pitṛs appear in battle or as a vision at night, and are called svadhābhujas, Fathers, Munis, and Vipramukhyas. They are not only "like planets", grahas, they are stars; but the souls of saints appear as stars, falling stars when their merit is exhausted (5, 182, 14f.; 6, 119, 97; 3, 42, 35, etc.). Their usual appearance is "in the form of mortals", martyamūrtidharāḥ (3, 41, 9), but glorified. A Pitṛgraha, however, is a "Father-demon" who attacks people and makes them go mad (3, 230, 48), as contrasted with similar fiends called Devagraha, Gāndharvagraha, etc.; here the Pitṛ is acting as a fiend. The Pitṛs of the South are associated with the All-gods, Pitṛlokarṣis, Devarṣis, and Rājarṣis (5, 109, 5). The "course pursued by Pitṛs, Paitāmahas, and Rājarṣis" is the course of moral conduct for man to follow. The "favorite district of the Fathers" is the South (pitṛjuṣṭā dik, 7, 17, 37); pitṛsādana = Yamasādana (8, 77, 44); cf. pitṛrājāśritā dik (2, 46, 15) and dik pitṝṇām aśivā (5, 66, 14). The chief Father is the eponymous hero Aryaman (6, 34, 29). The intimate relation existing between the Fathers and descendants may be shown by the fact that the Fathers become hysterical when a child is born, wondering if he will bring good or ill to the Fathers (3, 159, 13; "the Fathers in the world of Fathers grieve and laugh", that is become hysterical). Agastya sees his Fathers hanging upside down in a pit because he has given them no

descendants, and converses with them (3, 96, 14). Similar is the tale of Jaratkāru (1, 13, 18). Mandapāla lacking children could not stay in Pitṛ-loka and became a bird (1, 229, 5 f.).

The Fathers are called lokabhāvanas, "world-creators" (3, 41, 9), as they are among the creative forces by virtue of being ancestors of the gods, pūrvadevas. The special path, as distinguished from that of the gods, followed by the Pitṛs (Pitṛyāna) is (morally) one attained by sacrifices and practical duties (3, 2, 75 f.; ib. 41, 9). All duties are arranged in two groups, sacrifice, study, liberality, austerity in one, and truth, forgiveness, self-restraint, and lack of greed in the other. The first group is said in 3, 2, 75 to be Pitṛyāne sthitaḥ (but elsewhere in the epic, as in Hit. 2, 1, 7, the first group is dambhārtham, 5, 35, 57). As 3, 2 = 12, 7 is late, this Pitṛyāna interpretation is probably secondary, though the general idea is old (cf. TS. 5, 7, 2, 3 and Chānd. Up. 5, 10, 1 f.). Physical interpretation of the "Path of the Fathers" is more common. This is the path leading to the Moon (13, 16, 45), but also the path to the South, as that is where the Fathers live; but this is interpreted as the sun's dakṣiṇāpatha or dakṣiṇāyana (southern course, summer-time to winter). The northern path is followed by those who live a life of renunciation or quietism; that by the South, dakṣiṇena, is for those who follow the life of active religion, moral but not philosophic. It is also a "glorious" course, leading to the Moon and aiding priests, all of whom are supported by men of action (12, 19, 13 f.). The South is the path of Aryaman, of acts, and ceremonies; the North is the path of Pūrvavids and Yogins (12, 26, 9 f.). Among the Pitṛs appear also the Ṛṣis (§ 118), and they cannot always be distinguished from Pitṛs. Thus the Vaikhānasas are Pitṛs and Ṛṣis, and "Father Ṛṣis who have gone to heaven by means of study" are the Ajas, Pṛśnis, Sikatas, Aruṇas, and Ketus, who belong to the Vaikhānasa school (12, 26, 7 f.). The Sikatas and Pṛśnis appear again with Somapas, Ghṛtapas, Vālakhilyas, Prabhāsas, Vaiśvānaras, and Marīcipas, as families of Ṛṣis (12, 166, 24; also in 7, 190, 34, as Maharṣis). See also Yama, "king of Pretas", "king of Pitṛs", etc., and Ṛṣis (§ 54 f.; § 118 f.).

It is in all likelihood owing to the old-time identification of the Pitṛs with the seasons that the Ṛbhus (in 12, 208, 22 mentioned with the Maruts, but otherwise well-nigh ignored in epic poetry) are in 3, 261, 19 f. exalted as the highest divinities. Their earlier names are lost to the epic, though Vāja appears as son of a Manu in the Hariv. 465, and even as a group they are conspicuously absent from epical groupings of gods. But in this passage of Vana they appear as inhabitants of Brahman's heaven and "even divinities revere them", for "they are the divinities even of the gods", devānām api devatāḥ, and their self-moving world, self-illuminated, is one of wholly supersensuous beings. In their heaven is no "woman-made woe", no greed of world-lordship, no hunger, thirst, grief, sweat of toil, evil smell or bad air, nor other disagreeable things. No dust is there, and their garlands, as of gods, never fade; for their heaven is above the heaven where "those who are about to fall perceive their flowers wither", in the pure region of Meru, and thirty-three thousand leagues in extent. The Ṛbhus are also thirty-three according to the B text, but this is impossible and the S text has for ime devāḥ, which should be the Ṛbhus (trayastriṃśad ime devā yeṣāṃ lokā manīṣibhir gamyante), trayastriṃśad ime lokāḥ śeṣā lokāḥ, etc. (that is, "the worlds are thirty-three; the remaining worlds are attainable by the wise"). These

Ṛbhus "have no oblation, drink no ambrosia, have heavenly bodies, and are invisible (vigrahamūrtayaḥ); they seek no joy in joy; they are the eternal gods of gods (devadevāḥ sanātanāḥ), who change not as the æons change, know neither age not death, weal nor woe, possessing a lot desired even of the gods; since it is unattainable to those subject to desire, but attainable to those who have cast off desire and are become truly wise". This extraordinary exaltation of the Ṛbhus treats them as a group of beings who, for no apparent reason, have become the highest exponents of spiritual life. The Hariv. 436 f., makes the Ṛbhus one of five devagaṇas of the Cākṣuṣa Manu (in the sixth Manvantara), a list which, as the Lekhas show, is post-epical: Apyāḥ Prabhūtā Ṛbhavaḥ Pṛthukāś ca divaukasaḥ, Lekhā nāma. Every group here is handed down in other forms, but the Lekhas have a doubtful individuality as beings set beside Yakṣas and Apsarasas (forms of parts of the personal incorporate Viṣṇu, Hariv. 14269) and regarded as Father-gods or gods who are also Pitṛs (13, 18, 74, with Somapas and Ūṣmapas as a group of gods, but with v. l. lokā for Lekhā). In VP. 3, 1, 27, the Ṛbhus are replaced by Bhavyas (Ādyas, Prasṛtas, Bhavyas, Pṛthagas, Lekhas (sic B, for Prastutas and Pṛthugas; here numbered with eight members to the group). It appears as if the Ṛbhus thus exalted must be Pitṛs; in which case the old equation of Pitṛs and seasons must have been in the mind of the poet, for the Ṛbhus represent the (originally) three seasons as creative forces. At least there seems to be no other reason for this late and sudden eulogium on beings so epically inconspicuous as the Ṛbhus, and the expression "gods of gods" used of a group (for devadeva is singly applied to several gods) can apply only to Pitṛs (cf. above where Pitṛs are revered by gods, and Manu's group of Pitṛs as "Pitṛs of gods"). The complete identification, as ekībhūta, of gods (Devas) and Pitṛs is rather a late touch made by Agni (1, 7, 9), who himself distinguishes them as two classes worshipped respectively at the new and full moon.

§ 16. **The Bhūts.** — The Bhūtas (or Bhūtāni) are indistinct to the epic poets, who have not yet arranged the genealogy of spirits so as to make the Bhūts derive from Krodhā, as is done in H 11554; nor, as in VP. 1, 5, 44, from Brahman kruddha (ib. 1, 21, 25, they and Piśācas come from Krodhā). They are not yet clearly ghosts, but they lie between ghosts and other Piśitāśinas ("eaters of raw flesh"). Evil Bhūts are closely associated with ghosts in the epic and in modern times Bhūts are identified with Pretas, the concept including imps, ghosts, and goblins. In the epics, apart from such use as appears in Bhūtakṛt and Bhūtakarman (names of the creator), Bhūtadhāman (a son of Indra, 1, 197, 29), Bhūtadharā (as earth, RG 4, 44, 129, but with v. l.), the Bhūt as a spiritual being is not so much an imp as he is a great fiend. In general, Bhūt is any creature, Kālaḥ pacati bhūtāni (11, 2, 24 = Mait. Up. 6, 15), but as a malicious demon its nearest parallel is found in Sattva, "being" and spirit, good or bad, but with a tendency toward evil. Thus in R 2, 33, 8 f., the people press about to see the exiles, "Sītā whom not even the Bhūts going in space have seen", and they exclaim, "Daśaratha speaks as if possessed by a Sattva" (sattvam āviśya, S; sattvenāviṣṭacetanaḥ, G; ib. 10 = Mbh. S 2, 101, 10, satyam! This whole section is stolen from R with required changes in names!). Compare R 2, 58, 34, Bhūtopahatacitte 'va, of a woman. Bhūts are ākāśaga, but especially are they night-wanderers, naiśāni, going with Yakṣas, Rākṣasas, etc., in troops, all described as

raudrāḥ, piśitāśanāḥ (R 1, 34, 17 f.). People think a Bhūt or Rakṣas committed the "more than human" act of killing Dṛṣṭadyumna horribly at night (10, 8, 26 and 32). Man's mountain foes are hidden Bhūts and Rākṣasas (3, 140, 1 and 12). The Bhūts are "huge and very strong" and are countered by austerity and fire-lauds (see Agni). A traveller is apt to suffer from them (1, 143, 18). Sattvas and Bhūta-grāmas follow an army desiring blood (R 7, 100, 23). At home, they are the recipients of offerings, bali, coming regularly after gods and between guests and Pitṛs in the order of distribution (3, 193, 32; in 13, 93, 15, the saṃśritas, servants of the house, are fed first and Bhūts are omitted). In the wilds, Sītā begins with a bali to Bhūts (agram pradāya Bhūtebhyaḥ, R 2, 95, 36, Prakṣip.); cf. Manu, 3, 90, etc. Bhūtasaṅghas applaud heroes in battle (7, 122, 68) and Bhūtāni call bravo (R 3, 51, 21). Bhūts of the air may be any beings, as khecara, khacara, is applied to gods, Gandharvas, and Rākṣasas, as well as to Bhūts (1, 210, 7), and even Siddhas are Bhūtāni khacarāṇi (R 4, 59, 18—19). They are usually called naktaṃcaras, niśācaras, expressions applied, however, more often to their companion Rākṣasas (R 5, 5, 9, naktaṃcarāḥ "extraordinarily cruel", atyadbhutaraudravṛttāḥ; cf. ib. 7, 37, Prak. 5, 28, kṣaṇadācaras, night-going fiends), as in 3, 155, 33, praseduḥ kṣaṇadācarāḥ, of the Krodhavaśa Rākṣasas. A wise man "bows his head to Pitṛs, gods, and night-wandering Bhūts", before going to bed (5, 183, 1 f.). Bhūts are thus of three categories, the indifferent (abhayaṃ yasya bhūtebhyaḥ sarveṣām abhayaṃ yataḥ . . sarvabhūtahito maitraḥ, 5, 63, 19 f., "[wise is he] who fears no beings and none fears him"), the hostile, and the kind. All the night-wandering demoniac Bhūts belong among the hostiles, and the groups under Śiva Bhūtapati (3, 38, 32), dangerous demons of the mountains (cf. 2, 3, 14 and R 6, 71, 13, arciṣmadbhir vṛto bhāti Bhūtair iva Maheśvaraḥ). Like the "play-ground of Rudra" appears a field of corpses filled with Bhūts, Piśācas, Rakṣas, and other flesh-eating night-wanderers (11, 6, 12, and often). Kindly Bhūts honor a hero (7, 37, 37) and guard him or lament his fall (R 3, 52, 41; ib. 6, 91, 62), and these are included when one offers a bali with that to the gods and Pitṛs, as beings potentially evil but probably disinclined to injure the householder who shows them respect (cf. VS. 1, 11). As such they are very likely confused with the Pretas or ghosts. The mahābhūtam as "element" may be replaced by bhūtam, and, conversely, both bhūtam mahat and mahābhūtam may mean no more than a big Bhūt. Thus in S 3, 313, 43, praharanto mahābhūtaṃ śaptās tenā 'tha te 'patan means "have they fallen because they were cursed by some big Bhūt whom they attacked?", and has a parallel in B ib. 21 (S 314, 19) bhūtaṃ mahad idaṃ manye bhrātaro yena me hatāḥ, "it must have been a big Bhūt that felled my brothers". The form is indifferently masculine and neuter, generally neuter, but with a tendency to regard the neuter as personified, so that a masculine adjective may agree with it, as in R 6, 79, 35, sādhu sādhv iti Bhūtāni vyāharanti nabhogatāḥ (ib. 71, 66, Bhūtā Devāḥ, "Bhūts and gods"). To sum up the epic Bhūtas, as mythologically restricted, they designate beings of a rather vicious disposition, small and great, and very likely included at first as subdivisions the particular groups known by special names as cannibalistic night-wanderers. But as ghosts are also by predilection malicious, the term Bhūt had a tendency to interchange with Preta, till the modern equivalence, Bhūta

= Preta, became thoroughly established. The tendency to restrict the broad general meaning to a certain class is seen in the literature immediately following the epic (Hariv. and Purāṇas), in which Bhūtas are assigned their proper parentage (that is are restricted to a class) in the divine genealogies.

§ 17. **Rākṣasas, Yātudhānas, and Piśācas.** — The close connection between the various classes of evil demons and spiritual powers not exactly evil yet not divine enough to be regarded as gods will often be a subject of special remark. This is sufficiently illustrated by the interchange of the same name among various groups. Thus in Mbh. the Rāksaṣa Maṇimat is a friend of Kubera (§ 83), and Maṇimat is also a name of a Yakṣa, of a Nāga, and of a king who is reborn as such after existing as Vṛtra, while Maṇimatī designates a Daitya-town (in both epics Maṇimat is a mountain). It seems that certain characters stood out more as individuals than as fixed members of a group and that such individuals are sometimes considered as belonging to one and sometimes to another group. But beyond this, the interrelation of different groups is so close that marriage connections constantly occur between these different social, if spiritual, groups, so that the offspring are, in terms of social life, half-breeds. No group, again, is wholly evil or wholly good. All that can be said is that each is prevailingly good or bad. The same in regard to appearance. Thus the following facts are applicable to individual or to limited groups of Rākṣasas, who are on the whole prevailingly evil. They help the gods; they fight against the gods. They are beautiful; they are hideous. They are weaker than gods or Gandharvas; they overcome the gods with ease. They protect; they injure. They are different from Yakṣas; but they are so much like Yakṣas that the same terms are applied to both. The facts as thus stated will be illustrated in the course of this paragraph with the exception of the last. It will suffice to say here that the Rākṣasas duplicate in part the qualities of Yakṣas because, according to one tradition, the two species are born of the same mother, Khaśā (H 234 and 11552; VP. 1, 21, 24, Khasā), who is a daughter of Dakṣa (H 169). Red eyes and dark bodies characterise the Yakṣas who guard Kubera; the Rākṣasas are always red-eyed and those guarding Kubera are like fiery smoke in color (H 13132). Here the function of the Rākṣasa is to guard. Whether, in India, the injurer became the guardian, or the "guardian" (of treasure) became the injurer, is still debated (rakṣ means injure and guard); but the application and growth of the words would favor the first interpretation. Rakṣas (Rākṣasa) was at first one of the many harmful spirits, a nocturnal power, a demon of darkness, and therefore evil. But as injurer of those opposing it, the Rakṣas is also protector of what it values, so that rakṣin, etc., become words exclusively indicating protector; yet the demon-group, when once formed as injurious, seldom passes over into the opposed conception. This happens most naturally when their own chieftain appoints them as guards, as above. So too in 3, 153, 11, it is said that "the Rākṣasas called Krodhavaśas, at command of their king, guard this (paradise and treasure) by thousands, with encircling weapons". But occasionally the Rakṣas becomes a more general guardian, as when one "guards the Sun" (§ 38), or, again, when the Sun-god appoints a Rākṣasa to "guard" Draupadī (4, 16, 11). This genesis is also what is to be expected from the point of view of other protecting spirits, like the Assyrian bulls representing powers of evil converted to good use. Native data strengthen this view further, inasmuch

as the Rākṣasa is most closely connected with other powers of evil, so that he is often confounded with the Daitya, Dānava (or Asura), and is most intimate (even interchanging) with the Piśāca fiend. The Mbh. makes the Rākṣasas less human than does the Rām. Their king is here rich but not, as in R, beautiful; only his raiment is fine, but he himself, despite rich dress and adornment, is more "like a tree in a crematorium than a kalpa-tree" (3, 281, 5). The demons are here expressly of two classes, fierce and friendly, raudrā maitrāś ca (ib. 139, 10). They will cook and eat a man, after slaying him (3, 154, 16; 159, 25). They live in caves and in trees. Their presence portends blood, and when they are seen to "fall from space" (the sky), it is a sign of battle (5, 48, 104, and loc. cit. below). Even in the Rāma-tale of Mbh., Rāvaṇa, the chief Rākṣasa, is less royal-human than in Vālmīki's version, and apart from this episode the prominent Rākṣasas of the Mbh. are typical ogres, whereas in R of the chief fiends only Kumbhakarṇa is of this lower and popular type, the others being, so to speak, too gentlemanly for that class. The chief Mbh. Rākṣasas in independent tales are Jaṭāsura, i. e. Asura, and Baka, called Asurarāj (1, 160, 4), whose name and title again show the close connection between Rākṣasas and other evil spirits; also Alāyudha, Alambuṣa, and Kirmīra, relatives of these ogres, and Hiḍimba, father of the half-human Ghaṭotkaca; and later, the virtuous Virūpākṣa. Hiḍimbā is a female counterpart of her brother Hiḍimba. Bhīma kills the male and marries the female, who thus becomes mother of Ghaṭotkaca. The last is thus only half Rākṣasa, but he has the nature of his maternal kin and is accompanied into battle with the recognised classes of Rākṣasas, called Paulastyas and Yātudhānas, who ride indifferently on cars, horses, or elephants, and appear in any shape they choose, as elephants, tigers, etc., the whole troop of them having the name of "Nairṛti army" (7, 156, 113 f.; ib. 135 f.). They carry divine and human weapons, have long tongues, and in particular Ghaṭotkaca's chariot is drawn by gajanibhas, creatures "looking like elephants" (Piśācas, N; see below; ib. 156, 59). Hiḍimbā's son is described in a repetitive section (7, 175, 4 f.). He has pointed ears, stiff hair, sunken belly, red eyes, thick nose, a copper-colored face and long reddish tongue, four fangs, a mouth stretching from ear to ear, etc., etc.; he carries brass armor, a gold crown and earrings, and rides in an eight-wheel car. The strength of all these monsters increases greatly at or after midnight (ib. 175, 39). They shower stones, hurl trees, and are either mountainous in size or small as a thumb, as they momentarily choose (ib. 52 and 63). Their forte is illusion, which is "born with them" and they commence to grow stronger the moment the evening gloaming begins (6, 90, 65; 7, 156, 69 and 77). Ghaṭotkaca is at last (7, 179, 58) slain by the dart kept by Karṇa to kill Arjuna. His mother's brother Hiḍimba is like other Rākṣasas, a puruṣādin, narāśana, cannibal. He lives in a Śāla-tree and has eight fangs, pointed ears, red hair, is very strong and is much pleased with the smell of man (1, 152, 1 f.; 153, 1; 163, 7). His sister Hiḍimbā takes human form, can fly through the air, knows the past and future (S), and is accustomed to eat man and then dance with her brother to various measures after dinner (1, 152, 14). Her savagery is softened in S by the assertion that she is virtuous and wise although a Rākṣasī (S 167, 27 f.). Virūpākṣa is an ordinary epithet applied to Rākṣasas and other spirits in both epics, but as a name designates a "virtuous" demon of this class, called Rākṣasādhipati of Meruvraja. He is devout and gives

liberally to priests at Kārttika days, etc., posing as friend of the holy crane in one of the moral dialogues of the later epic, another illustration of the tendency to convert the fiend into a guardian of virtue. The same epithet may be the name of Ghaṭotkaca's charioteer in 7, 175, 15; in RG 3, 7, 6 = 2, 5, it interchanges with gabhīrākṣa as epithet of Virādha. Baka, the Asurarāj Rākṣasa, lives in a cave; he too is red-haired and has pointed ears. He gets one human being daily to eat, from a village where Bhīma stays, who kills him (1, 163, 7 f.), and his relatives seek during the ensuing war to take revenge. Alāyudha is his brother (probably) and, as described, is an understudy of Ghaṭotkaca, but "lovelier"; and his "elephant-like" coursers bray like asses. Even the vultures on the car are imitated from the description of the greater demon (7, 176, 1 f. and 19). He too is a lord of Rākṣasas and a friend of Hiḍimba and Kirmīra. His steeds bray (are kharasvanāḥ), while those of Ghaṭotkaca have Piśāca-faces (7, 175, 93 and 176, 16). He is at last slain by Bhīma, after the two have fought "like Vālin and Sugrīva" (7, 178, 29 and 33, Bakajñāti). The fighting of all these ogres resembles, either with each other or with the epic heroes, that of Indrajit, Rāvaṇa, the Asuras and gods (6, 100, 51 f.; 7, 96, 23; ib. 108, 13). The first simile is stereotyped. Compare the fight of Bhīma and Jaṭāsura in 3, 157, 60, tad vṛkṣayuddham . . Vāli-Sugrīvayor bhrātroḥ purā strīkāṅkṣiṇor yathā. This Jaṭāsura is defied by Bhīma "by his good deeds and sacrifices", i. e. as Bhīma was good and Jaṭāsura evil, the victory was sure. Jaṭāsura had been a guest disguised as a priest and then, watching his opportunity, had tried to run away with the Pāṇḍus and Draupadī (ib. 1 f.). Jaṭāsura's son is Alambuṣa, brother of Baka, also called son or descendant of Ṛṣyaśṛṅga, Ārṣyaśṛṅgi (6, 90, 49 and 69; 7, 108, 24 and 176, 15), who as Rākṣasendra has the best chariot of the Rākṣasa army opposed to the Pāṇḍus (also drawn by "horse-faced Piśācas", 7, 167, 38). He is ranked as a Mahāratha, is called a descendant of kings (pārthivaputrapautra, 7, 140, 19; cf. 5, 167, 33), and fights because of his ancient grudge (pūrvavairam anusmaran, Udyog. ib.). Though apparently of human ancestry in part, he is a true Rākṣasa, descending into earth, rising into the air again, and having any form at will; he is eventually killed by Sātyaki (7, 108, 27 f.; ib. 140, 18). Alambuṣā is the name of an Apsaras and the wife of Ikṣvāku (9, 51, 5, etc.; R 1, 47, 11, as wife of Ikṣ. and mother of Viśāla). Kirmīra, the "brother of Baka", is less important. He is mentioned in 3, 10, 23 (cf. 7, 176, 4) with Hiḍimba and Baka as a foe of the gods, but though he is tall as a mountain and even has eight fangs and employs illusion, he is finally throttled by Bhīma ("as deer by lion slain"). His illusion (3, 11, 58) is dispelled by Mantras that kill Rākṣasas. Oddly enough, he carries a firebrand, ulmuka, the very thing (see § 49 f.) used to dispel such creatures (3, 11, 6). He appears however like a lightning-charged thunder-cloud. He lives by eating men and says that even after death Baka is still gratified with blood (3, 11, 34), probably as a libation, since Jaṭāsura also cries out to Bhīma, "I will make a libation of your blood to the Rākṣasas you have already killed", teṣām adya kariṣyāmi tavā 'sreṇo 'dakakriyām (3, 157, 49). He lives in the Kāmyaka woods; Baka in the Vaitrakīya forest. Whether "brother of Baka" is to be taken literally or only as indicating that Kirmīra like Alambuṣa is a brother fiend, is perhaps of no importance. The Rākṣasas of Mbh., apart from the war and the family-feud with Bhīma, appear as dwellers in mountain-wilds, rough places, disturbing holy places,

by their "beauty" destroying the meditations of saints (3, 113, 1 f.). Yātudhānas are Rākṣasas formed by Ghaṭotkaca to fight, illusive forms (7, 179, 39). The female Rākṣasī bears as soon as she conceives and her children are born adult in power (1, 155, 35 f.). When attacked by Nāgas, a Rākṣasa turns into the form of Garuḍa and devours them (6, 90, 75). As an illustration of the possible transference of function in the nature of Rākṣasas may be taken the case of Jarā, a female Rākṣasi living on meat and blood, appointed, however, by Brahman to destroy evil Dānavas. Her image must be painted on the wall of a pious man's house to bring him good luck, that is to keep all evil from him. As such she then is known as the Gṛhadevī, "goddess of the house" (2, 17, 39; 18, 1 f.); yet she is still so much of a Rakṣas that she collects raw flesh at cross-roads at night (ib.). One of the common evil deeds of Rākṣasas is to carry off women. In 1, 6, 1 f., an unnamed Rākṣasa who has been promised a bride subsequently married to a human saint (Bhṛgu) carries her off, but he drops dead, burned to ashes, when the saint's son is born, apparently, however, because the son was sun-like, and the fiends are coerced by luminaries (taṃ dṛṣṭvā . . ādityavarcasam, tad Rakṣo bhasmasād bhūtaṃ papāta). Rāma slew Rakṣas (rakṣāṃsi) because they had destroyed the sacrifices, and he thus gave back to the Manes and gods their wonted offerings (7, 59, 18). Kṛṣṇa slew Ogha (5, 48, 83, associated with Naraka and Mura), a Rakṣas.

Rākṣasas are sons of Pulastya, fourth son of Brahman, so that even Rāvaṇa when described as "thief of sacrifice and robber of girls" is still Pāulastyanandana (R 3, 32, 23; ib. 6, 114, 53 f.). According to the great epic, all Rākṣasas are sons of Pulastya; but those called Nairṛtas are in particular sons of Nirṛti (Destruction), the wife of Adharma, and also the mother of Fear, Terror, and Death (1, 66, 7; ib. 54 f.). The sons of the wicked king in this epic are incarnations of these Rākṣasas and of other evil beings; as sons of Pulastya the Rākṣasas are brothers of the Yakṣas (ib. 67, 89). The later Rām. recognises this origin of Rākṣasas but proposes another, according to which Brahman himself created creatures to guard the waters he had previously created and some of these creatures cried rakṣāmaḥ, "let us guard", while others cried yakṣāmaḥ, "let us gobble" (S jakṣāmah, VP. khādāmaḥ), so guards and goblins they became (R 7, 4, 4 and 12; VP. 1, 5, 41). The genealogy of the family of Rāvaṇa is uncertain. In Mbh., the mother of Rāvaṇa and Kumbhakarṇa was Puṣpotkaṭā; the mother of Vibhīṣaṇa was Mālinī; and the mother of the twins was Rākā, sent to Viśravas by Vaiśravaṇa (3, 275, 5 f.). The Rām. derives Rāvaṇa, Kumbhakarṇa, Vibhīṣaṇa, and one of the twins, Śūrpaṇakhā, from Kaikasī, daughter of Sumālin and wife of Viśravas, Sumālin being son of Devavatī, the daughter of the Gandharva Grāmaṇī, by Sukeśa, grandson of Fear, Bhayā, who was the sister of Yama (Kāla), by Heti, the last together with the ascetic Praheti being original royal Rākṣasas. Sukeśa was a favorite of Śiva and received special boons from him and Umā (R 7, 4, 31; ib. 5, 1 f.; ib. 9, 19). This genealogy is valuable only as showing how close is the connection mythologically between Rakṣas and Gandharva and Yakṣa on the one hand and, religiously, between Śiva (called Kumbhakarṇa) and the Rākṣasa host. It is even closer, for the grandson of the Gandharva married Ketumatī, a Gandharvī, and his brothers Mālin and Mālyavat married her two sisters (Vasudhā and Sundarī). Incidentally it may be remarked that Khasā or Khaśā (above) may be confused (cf. Kaṣāputra)

with the Nikaṣā of the scholiast at RG 7, 76, as explaining the "mother of Rākṣasas"; the name is not epic (see note to p. 46, below).

It is to be remembered that the Viśravas mentioned above is also father of Kubera by another wife, Devavarṇinī, daughter of Bharadvāja. His nature is contrasted with that of the pure Rākṣasas, but, in this family also, a saintly Rāksaṣa is known, Vibhīṣaṇa, whose family and councillors are all good. An attempt is made to derive badness from precedent goodness in the case of all the Rākṣasas by insinuating that Kaikasī came at an "evil" hour to her husband and so her sons became evil; but this is artificial and the Rām. itself distinguishes between prākṛta Rākṣasas (the common lot) and these aristocrats or princes of evil (R 3, 29, 16f.) It is impossible here to go into the further details of the marriages and genealogy of these royal Rākṣasas. Suffices to say that Rāvaṇa's wife is Maya's daughter; Kumbhakarṇa's wife is Vairocana's daughter: and Vibhīṣaṇa's wife is Saramā, daughter of the Gandharva Śailūṣa. Vibhīṣaṇa's virtue is reckoned as one part of a boon given him by Brahman! The tragedy of the Rāma epic begins with "the root of woe", Śūrpaṇakhā whose husband is slain by her brother Rāvaṇa and who is sent with Khara nephew or brother of Rāvaṇa, to rule over Daṇḍaka, where, met and scorned by Rāma, her miseries incite her royal brother to war. Khara is an Ass in name and in sound (R 3, 22, 26, kharasvanaḥ). As the ass is not a mythological animal, it has not been included in the list (§ 8), but its relation to evil may be worth noticing. Above it was shown that ass-like braying creatures drag Rākṣasas' chariots. The sound of the ass portends evil; Duryodhana brays, like Khara, when born, and asses, vultures, jackals, and crows echo the evil omen (1, 115, 28). In the ritual, the ass is chiefly employed as a means of expiating sexual sins, inchastity, violating a woman, etc., either as a sacrificial victim or as a vehicle of dishonor. Besides Vibhīṣaṇa, the epics present Avindhya as a moral Rākṣasa, who advises Rāvaṇa not to slay Sītā (3, 280, 56f.; 289, 28f.; R 5, 37, 11f.); his daughter Kalā is also kind, as is the Rākṣasī Trijaṭā. The northerners, in distinction from this whole southern group, are represented as obstructive creatures, bahūni vighnarūpāṇi kariṣyanti (RG, 6, 82, 57). Though Rāvaṇa has ten heads and ten or twenty arms (Daśagrīva, daśakandhara; the arms vary, R 7, 16 and 103, 34), he sometimes has but two arms and in other respects is beautiful (despite the snakes in his hair and his hanging tusks, preserved as the inherited signs of his race). Hanumat on seeing him exclaims: aho rūpam aho dhairyam aho sattvam aho dyutiḥ, aho Rākṣasarājasya sarvalakṣaṇayuktatā, ("O the beauty, firmness, goodness, glory, and union of all marks of distinction, in this king of Rākṣasas"), and adds, "If he were not lawless, he would be a rakṣitṛ (rather than Rākṣasa) of heaven". But as it is, he is lokarāvaṇa, bhūtavirāvin (R 5, 49, 17f.; ib. 50, 1). Yet Rāma calls him pious and learned in the Veda (R 6, 112, 24). His piety was so great that Brahman gave him the boon of immunity from all spirits but not from men, because Rāvaṇa despised men; yet being cursed by one of the women he had injured, he was destroyed through a woman (R 7, 24, 1f.). He was cursed by so many that it is doubtful whose curse effected his downfall, whether Rambhā, or Vedavatī (Sītā), Umā, or Puñjikasthalā. Nandīśvara also cursed Rāvaṇa because he called Nandīśvara a "monkey" (R 6, 60, 7f.). Rāvaṇa's car is drawn by asses (also horses). His chief exploits are to carry off Sītā and stop the sun; he conquered the gods, overran Bhogavatī; forced

Madhu the Dānava to marry his sister, and Maya to give him his daughter as wife; stole Soma; and conquered Jaṭāyus, who tore off his arms is vain as they grew again (R 6, 7 and ib. 7, 1—23, etc.). The latest addition to R makes Viṣṇu's laugh send Rāvaṇa back to the underworld (Prakṣipta, 7, 23). Rāvaṇa is finally slain by "Brahman's weapon". His son and the other lesser demons are not so strong, but have the other traits of Rāvaṇa. Indrajit, his second son, overcomes Indra (hence his name and titles, Vāsavanirjetṛ, Śakrajetṛ, etc.) and is carried by tigers, dowered with divine boons, dattavara (the weakness of the gods mentally continually leads to their giving boons to their cunning foes), and is described in terms used to signalise Yakṣas, namely "black, with red eyes". He is described also as a Dānava in H 199, where no difference is maintained between these classes. Another son, Triśiras, is killed twice over, like a Homeric combatant (R 3, 27 and 6, 70). The monstrosity of the fiends is not emphasised except in the few cases where the name demands it in the case of the royal family, but elsewhere Triśiras' three heads are matched by the four heads and eight eyes of Kālanemi. The figure of Kumbhakarṇa is more popular. He has enormous hunger and sleeps six months at a time. As soon as he was born he devoured a thousand creatures and swallowed his foes "as Garuḍa swallows snakes" (R 6, 60, 13 f. and ib. 61 and 65). He really sleeps thirty or thirty-four months (ib. 6, 60, 16). The later epic makes him an ascetic living in a cave (R 7, 7 and 10), perhaps because in R 6, 60, 24 he sleeps in a cave. Like other Rākṣasas are the lesser demon-nobles, that is, they are deceitful fighters, devoted to injury, delighting in slaying saints and kings, and are all by predilection "wanderers by night", niśācaras, rātriṃcaras (R 3, 42, 1 f.; ib. 43, 5; ib. 45, 19; kūṭayodhinaḥ, ib. 60, 53). When the Rākṣasas are themselves divided, the man-eaters and Piśācas side with Daśānana Rāvaṇa, while Gandharvas, Kiṃpuruṣas, and Rakṣāṃsi stand for Vibhīṣaṇa and Kubera (3. 275, 33 and 38); but this distinction is not maintained (3, 281, 11). As said above, man-eating demons begin to have power when the night comes, and they are incapable of defeat at night (3, 1, 45 and 11, 4), for which reason fires are lighted at night to keep them off; since they fly from light and fire (13, 92, 13). Just between midnight and dawn their power is strongest (1, 154, 22; 7, 173, 57). Meteorological origin of some of the Rākṣasas seems assured by the fact that the "man-eating Lavaṇa", who is an understudy of Rāvaṇa (l = r? ralasya na bhedaḥ) in many points, has to be killed by Rāma's brother (with the weapon that killed his father Madhu in Viṣṇu's hand), "at the time when summer's heat is withdrawn and the night of the rainy season has arrived" (R 7, 64, 10). He is here king of Madhurā and nephew of Rāvaṇa; in the later Mbh. he is utilised by Indra to slay Māndhātṛ (1, 27, 2; 13, 14, 268; R 7, 67, 13 f.). But as men are always liable to be turned into Rākṣasas (see Saudāsa, etc.), and as diseases are Rākṣasas, it is clear that the meteorological explanation, which also seems to be favored by the frequent appearance of Rākṣasas as thunder-clouds wielding bolts, etc., is not sufficient. Mārīca is an artificial Rākṣasa, turned into a cannibal fiend, as was Tāḍakā, a Yakṣiṇī, his mother. Men who hate priests become Rākṣasas (9, 43, 22). The female monsters who plague Sītā are simply malformed Rākṣasa devils with faces of animals, resembling the female fiends in Skanda's train. Rākṣasas seem to consist, apart from Dānavas and men metamorphosed into Rākṣasas, in two kinds of spirits. One serves as cloud and bolt and mirage, as a type

of beauty; the other, disgusting, represents disease personified and other mean evils attacking man. Here belong the "seizers", Siṃhikā (see Nāga-mātṛ) Aṅgārakā, who draw out a man's soul (shadow) and fasten on men as incorporate diseases. The inward fire which causes digestion keeps away Rakṣasas (= indigestion, 13, 92, 10). In families where evil obtains in consequence of the violation of marriage-laws, or of the wickedness of the king, are born decrepit and idiot children and "evil Rakṣas", pāparakṣāṃsi (12, 90, 93), apparently "bewitched" (i. e. unhealthy) children. When a woman faints, "Rakṣas-slaying Mantras" are said over her; that is, the weakness is itself the disease-devil (3, 144, 16). Putrid matter coming from a sore is spoken of as "a Rākṣasa head" sticking to the sore place (9, 39, 10—13). The so-called Brahma-Rākṣasa "sins involuntarily" and the evil of this creature comes from "woman's evil and the evil produced by the womb" (9, 43, 21). These creatures drink Sarasvatī's blood but excuse themselves on the ground that absence of religious teaching, evil acts, and sexual faults have caused their nature. If fire be there, Brahma-Rākṣasas do not hurt the sacrifice (13, 92, 12; N. as "priests reborn as Rākṣasas"; cf. R 1, 8, and 12, 17). Another class of Rākṣasas is that of the Pramathas (cf. Pramāthin as name, sub Apsaras). They appear in connection with Citragupta, who is unknown to the early epic, but they are fully described in the later epic, as attendants of Śiva (who in 12, 285, 87 is Pramathanātha). As invisible spooks they plague at night such people as sleep at the foot of a tree, eat unholy food, lie in the wrong direction, pollute water, or do not purify themselves after sexual connection. Such people have apertures which give admission to these "smiters" (pramathas); but good people and those who carry about with them gorocanā or orris-root or keep at home the skin or claws of a hyena or a hill-tortoise or a cat or a black or tawny goat, or keep up the sacrificial fire, are not troubled by them, as all these things are counteractants, pratighātas (13, 131, 1 f.; 125, 6; also 13, 14, 389 and H 8146). Diti was destroyed through neglecting one of these rules (but by Indra, who thus acted as a Pramatha), when she slept with her feet at her head (i. e. where her head should be; R 1, 46, 16).

Piśācas are smaller demons associated with Rākṣasas and occasionally identified with them, as are Yātudhānas (R 6, 67, 68, etc.). As sons of Yadu the Yātudhānas differ from other Rākṣasas (R 7, 58, 7 f.), but Rāvaṇa is Yātudhānasya dauhitraḥ (R 6, 114, 81), i. e. they are identical; though the Rākṣasī Hiḍimbā protests that she is "not a Yātudhānī" (S 1, 167, 17). But again a Rākṣasī made by an incantation is called a Yātudhānī (13, 93, 78), and Yātudhānas guard Kubera's mountain with Rākṣasas and appear as demons in battle, being raised by fire-mantras to slay seers (3, 139, 9; ib. 173, 51; 13, 93, 56 f.). They are grouped (5, 100, 5; cf. H 11785 f.) with Nairṛtas, as "born from the foot of Brahman". Śiva is a Yātudhāna of two forms (see Śiva) and Yātudhānas and Rakṣāṃsi are interchangeable terms for the servants of the Rākṣasa king (12, 172, 14 = S 171, 15). Those travelling in the mountains have to protect themselves against the "many Rākṣasas huge as hills (which are) Yātudhānas" (3, 92, 7; possibly distinct, sc. "and"). One sort of Rākṣasas is called Mandehas, who hang upon rocks and fall into water at sunrise, dying daily in fighting the sun (R 4, 40, 39; VP. 2, 8, 49). As Siṃhikā is a Rākṣasī, her son Rāhu, who devours sun and moon (eclipse), should belong to this category; but he is regarded as an Asura or Dānava (āsuraṃ tamas is Rāhu, R 2, 63, 2), or strictly as

a Kabandha (1, 19, 4f.) = Svarbhānu (5, 110, 11; 182, 22; 6, 101, 36). Kubera takes with him (to Laṅkā) Nairṛta Rākṣasas with others whom he "creates". They come, in this legend, from the North, but belong in the South (cf. 12, 165, 51 or R 3, 64, 22, where Nairṛtī diś is South). Kubera is lord of the Nairṛtas (9, 47, 31). Rāvaṇa himself is a Nairṛta Rākṣasa, Nairṛta-rāja, etc. (R 4, 62, 6; 5, 18, 18). The Krodhavaśas are northern Rākṣasas (3, 154, 20; 5, 50, 24), slain by Bhīma, but also called Yakṣas (3, 155, 24 and 31). They take away the merit of those who own dogs (17, 3, 10). The feminine form, Krodhavaśā, designates a daughter of Dakṣa (§ 139). A Rākṣasa (born a Dānava and reborn a Rākṣasa) is called Kabandha (R 3, 69, 26f.; Mahāsura in G ib. 75, 7). Among deformed humans such as Karṇapravaraṇas and Puruṣādas are mentioned Kalamukhas or Lohamukhas or Ghoralohamukhas (RG 4, 40, 29 with v. l.), known to Mbh. as "monkeys" (3, 292, 12), or Asitamukhas = golāṅgulas (ib. RG 6, 3, 35), a curious confusion of men and monkeys, possibly involving Rākṣasas, though these are always kravyāda (13, 115, 27). Dancing and drinking of blood are traits connecting Rākṣasas and Piśācas, who are usually little demons of the same sort, only meaner (7, 50, 9f.; 167, 38; and above; cf. R 3, 35, 6). In 12, 262, 7, Jājali is "seen by Rākṣasas", who must be identical with the Piśācas of the preceding account. S has "he was seen by Rakṣas and they (Piśācas) addressed him", but in B an "invisible voice" takes the place of the Piśāca in reproving Jājali, ib. 42). In R 3, 54, 14 and 17 and Mbh. 3, 280, 47, Piśācī = Rākṣasī. The Piśāca marriage-form, however, is lower than the Rākṣasa marriage-form (1, 73, 12). The Piśāca is the Dasyu's god and typical of cruelty (12, 278, 33 and 268, 22 in S, v. l. dasyuḥ . . ādatte Piśācāṃś cai 'va daivatam). Piśācas come from the mundane egg but are not said to be born of Brahman (1, 1, 35). The only reputable Piśācas are those that have ceased to be piśitāśana (= Piśāca, R 6, 61, 10, etc.) and act as guards of the White Mountain, a troop devoted to Skanda (3, 225, 11). These become vegetarian and "abandoning their usual diet live on the fruit of the tree (called Mahāśaṅkha) which grows there", on the Sarasvatī (9, 37, 22). But as this is a wonder-tree, "tall as Meru", the fruit was probably unique. There is also a worthy female Piśācī who wore pestle ornaments and gave advice as to holy watering-places to the wife of a priest (3, 129, 8), whether as indicating that Piśācas are human or that Tīrthas are not of much account, may be questioned. Another Piśācī is the guardian of a Tīrtha, Tīrthapālikā, and prevents the impure who do not love Kṛṣṇa from approaching it. After the baptism of a Brahman woman in the name of Hari she turns into an Apsaras (S 12, 336, 34f.). The Kiṃkara Rākṣasas, "born of mind", who serve Rāvaṇa are "like him", but the name means only servants of Yama (q. v.), or of Rāma (here called Muditas, R 7, 37, 18), or of Śiva (14, 65, 6), or of Maya, whose wealth is guarded by Kiṃkara Rākṣasas (rakṣanti . . Kiṃkarā nāma Rākṣasāḥ, 2, 3, 28; cf. 19). When Rākṣasas are called good, it is often flattery (3, 157, 13f.), or the merit of "protecting Rākṣasas" is united with that of protecting gods and priests; as the true protecting ruler (here Nahuṣa) guards all his realm (1, 75, 27). This view is really logical enough. One of the arguments against excessive taxation is that, if too heavily taxed, merchants will leave the country, and on the wealth given by them (to priests) "gods . . and Rākṣasas support themselves" (12, 89, 25; cf. 3, 157, 16f., "if men prosper, the Rākṣasas prosper"). To feed the fiends is to protect oneself, for it satisfies them and prevents them from injuring. The share given to

them is small and mean, but they get a share regularly on holy days (R 2, 43, 5). Gifts are made to them, as their bhāga (share), of remnants of food, food sneezed upon or stepped upon, food leaped over, mixed with hair, insects, or tears, food seen or licked by a dog, or food not consecrated with Mantras (9, 43, 26; 13, 23, 3 f., at Śrāddhas). In the later moral epic the Rākṣasa resembles the medieval devil, to be overcome by virtue, with book and bell, or the equivalent Mantras, though in the narrative portion Rākṣasas annoy and slay pious priests without fear of Mantras or of virtue. Kings (in the Mārkaṇḍeya addition and in the pseudo-epic) are exhorted to have no dread of them: "The cruel planets favor the pure priest . . and cruel piśitāśanas, though huge and horrible, cannot hurt him" (3, 200, 85 f.). "I am not afraid", says a king who has been possessed by a cruel Rakṣas, rakṣo dāruṇam, "for I protect my people and cows; all my priests are learned men, and I constantly strive for virtue". And the Rākṣasa replies: "Because you are virtuous I leave you in peace. Kings who protect cows and priests need fear naught from Rākṣasas" (12, 77, 8—30). In the main, these demons scorn gods and goodness and overcome all powers of men except the power of the epic heroes vaunted by the poets. A close resemblance may be observed between the three- (or more) headed gigantic ogres of the popular belief and the three-headed Norwegian trolls, who were also originally gigantic. On the whole, the type shown in the Mbh. reveals the Rākṣasas as brutal and stupid gluttons of the wilds, but the term includes also a set of kṣudrā Rākṣasāḥ, mean little devils, like Piśācas, often conceived as disease-devils; and almost all nocturnal terrors are embodied as Rākṣasas. In R, the royal Rākṣasas are nobler and more like Asuras, though the close connection with the Piśācas is still kept and one Rākṣasa even has the name "Piśāca" (R 5, 59, 18). The Hariv. finally incorporates Piśācas into Brahman's creation as sons of Krodhā (H 11 554), a Purāṇic addition (see also under Asuras). Traces remain (above, and see note) of the (historical) Piśāca people, whose finale as devils is comparable with that of the Dasyus of an olden time; while the Dasyu descent to "robbers" is paralleled by that of the Nāgas as respects treasure and that of the Rākṣasas as respects women, though the country Rākṣasas are not represented as thieves but rather as cruel boors. Yet "Dasyu" is also applied to Asuras (q. v.)[1]).

§ 18. **The Asuras.** — To the epic poets the Asuras were in general the a-suras, the "ungodly". They included accordingly all the sinful demons, both the sons of Diti (called Ditija, Daitya, or Daiteya) and of Danu (called Dānava or Dānaveya), who are the chief opponents of the A-daiteyas or gods (cf. a-sura), and various special groups, such as the Kāleyas (Kālakeyas, Kālakañjas) and other "children of darkness", who upheld the great serpent-demon Vṛtra in his battles with the children of light, and are regarded as corporations, gaṇas, of Dānavas and Daityas. The typical leaders of the Asuras are Hiraṇyakaśipu, Bali, Jambha, etc.,

[1]) The question whether the Piśācas were originally uncivilised tribes or whether the demoniac name has been transferred to cannibalistic tribes has been discussed by Sir George Grierson, ZDMG. 66, 67 f., who has collected the passages referring to the Piśācas as human beings, inhabiting the N. W. (for the names of the Beas Piśācakas, Bāhlīkā and Hīka, 8, 44 = S 37, see my Sacred Rivers, p. 217), and concludes that the Piśācas were a tribe of omophagoi closely connected with the Khaśas, Nāgas, and Yakṣas (see Khaśā p. 41—42). Noteworthy is the absence in the epics of the Veṭāla demons. A Vetālajananī is named in 9, 46, 13 among the late "mothers" ascribed to Skanda and various kinds of Vetālas are known to the Harivaṃśa, but the genus is not otherwise recognised.

demons slaughtered by Indra, Agastya, etc., or by Viṣṇu (2, 100—102), together with other groups of demons slaughtered en masse by Arjuna and other heroes and known as Khalins, Kīcakas, and Nivātakavacas ("Daityas, haters of the gods" 1, 123, 45). The sire of all these demons was Kaśyapa, who by various wives, for the most part daughters of Dakṣa (§ 139), became father of the Paulomas, as they are called after his demoniac wife Pulomā (7, 51, 17). But among the Asuras are often included (as already observed in the preceding section) the giant fiends known as Rākṣasas (really a sort of Asura in Vedic times), who in turn are sometimes confused with Piśācas; so that, as Asura exchanges with Rākṣasa and Rākṣasa with Piśāca, there is no clear line of demarcation between the groups, though the Piśācas are too mean and low to be confused with demons of the highest type (cf. 3, 285, 1, Piśācakṣudrarakṣasas commingling as one group). An Asura called Daṃśa (12, 3, 15 f.) is cursed by a saint to be reborn in the hellish state of a blood-drinking octopod. On being released from the curse he appears not as an "Asura" but as a red Rākṣasa riding on a cloud (Alarka, as he is called when a "pig-shaped worm with eight feet", is the name of a mad king of Benares, 3, 25, 13; 14, 30, 2). The Nāgas, though distinct from Asuras, are as a group affiliated, living with them and fighting on their side. The "roaring Asuras" are thus found in battle beside the Rākṣasas and Nāgas as opposed to the orthodox side of Kṛṣṇa and the Fire-god at Khāṇḍava (1, 227, 24 f.; see also below), and generally the Asuras and Nāgas belong together, though numerous exceptions occur in the case of the Nāgas (§ 13). Between the groups of Asuras the poets did not distinguish very carefully. Thus Danur nāma Diteḥ putraḥ describes the Kabandha of R 4, 4, 15, who, again (ib. 3, 70, 5 and 10) is Rākṣasa as well as Asura. Whether, like the Nāgas mentioned as kings (2, 8, 24) and the Piśācas mentioned as a tribe, with Kaliṅgas, etc. (6, 87, 8), the Asuras are euhemerised native races, must be left, from epic evidence, undetermined (see below). To the poets they are great spirits. They do not roam about battle-fields gorging themselves with blood and fat, as do the Piśācas (and Rākṣasas, e. g. 6, 86, 45). They are "elder brothers of the Devas" (§ 19) and are sometimes as generous and valorous as the gods. They are invoked in benedictions with the gods (R 2, 25, 16, tavā 'dityāś ca Daityāś ca bhavantu sukhadāḥ sadā). The Dānava Asuras were originally pious and moral, according to epic legend (12, 229, 27 f.), though when it is said here that they "worshipped the gods", credulity is strained. Pride made them sinful and so they were driven out of their celestial abodes, losing Happiness (personified), who forsook them, as she does all sinners. The moral is too obvious to permit belief that this legend in detail reflects tradition. Nevertheless, Asuras are represented as associating with the gods, and, with the Nāgas, as worshipping Varuṇa in his own palace, probably because Varuṇa's place is their home (see below). Moreover some of the Daityas and Dānavas are "beautiful" and their names, Sumati, Sumanas, etc. mean "kind-hearted" (2, 9, 7 f.). On the whole the Dānavas are more god-like than the Daityas and of course than the Asura Rākṣasas. The Asuras Madhu and Kaiṭabha, who "never told a lie", are Dānavas, and the "Ārya Asuras" of the tale of Happiness (above) are called Dānavas by Śrī herself; only the stupid Indra, who is hearing the story for the first time (!), alludes to them interrogatively as Daityas. This may be the implication of the fact that only rarely does a Daitya-female serve as a typical beauty, as Dānava-females do constantly. The foremost Dānava

is the "very clever" Vipracitti, who with the other Dānavas is born of Danu, in antithesis to the "Asuras all born of Diti" (a late distinction, 12, 207, 27f.), as if the Dānavas were not Asuras at all. The later epic calls Vipracitti Daitya and Dānava indifferently (12, 98, 49f.; H 13884 and 13894f.). Both groups of Asuras are said to be strong, but poetic necessity disposes of them as if they were weaklings, when it is said that Dānavas fall from their cars and are eaten by fishes and Daityas are routed by the Wind (-god; 3, 20, 31, and under Vāyu § 47). They were driven from heaven at the end of the Kṛta age (1, 64, 28) and took refuge in the caves beside the sea, in mountains, in forests (the Dānavas and Rākṣasas together, 1, 228, 1), under earth, but chiefly in the ocean (1, 21, 7f.). They appear, however, on occasion in the air and in the sky, as if belonging there, as of old. The combined hosts of Daityas and Dānavas, on losing the ambrosia got from the ocean and on being defeated by the gods, first appear as mountain-hurling gods and then flee into earth and sea (1, 18, 46; 29, 25). Instead of mountainous shapes they often appear like animals, but, as here, fall finally into sea or earth. They are incorporate in the shape of animals and kings of the great war, to which fate they were doomed in consequence of their desire for power. They are opposed to the caste-system, the seers, and the Brahmanic power (1, 64, 32 and 36; ib. 30, Kravyādas). To the demons enumerated in general as Dānavas, Rākṣasas, Gandharvas, and Serpents (pannagas), and cannibals (puruṣādāni sattvāni, 1, 65, 5) are opposed the incorporate gods. Thus Kaṃsa is Kālanemi and the kings of Kaliṅga are the Asuras called Krodhavaśas. Aśvapati Kaikeya, Bāṇa, et al., are Asuras, slain by gods or heroes (the later legend regarding Bāṇa, H 9910, etc., to the effect that his daughter Uṣā loved Aniruddha, is not given in the epic proper). A number of inconsistencies are found in the great epic. Hiraṇyakaśipu is the only son of Diti; Hiraṇyākṣa is a later addition. Kumbha and Nikumbha are Rākṣasas in R; sons of Prahlāda and grandsons of Hiraṇyakaśipu, Asuras, in Mbh. They are brothers of Virocana, father of Bali and grandson of the above-mentioned "great Asura" Bāṇa, who was slain by Kṛṣṇa-Viṣṇu in one tale and by Skanda in another (5, 62, 11; 9, 46, 82). So too Danu has "forty" sons and forty-four are mentioned by name (1, 65, 21f.). This prolific demon's most famous offspring are Śambara, Namuci, Puloman, Keśin, Svarbhānu, Aśva (who is reborn as Aśoka), Virūpākṣa, Naraka, Vātāpin (but Ilvala is a "son of Diti", 3, 96, 5). The Asura called Mayūra is omitted from the genealogical list, and the Sun and Moon mentioned as Asuras are said to be other than the sun and moon of the gods; moreover, the descendants of Danu are "without number" (1, 65, 21—30). The great Asura Vṛtra is listed as son of Danāyus, along with Bala and Vīra. The sons of Kadrū are the Nāgas and the sons of Kalā, Kālakeyas, are "smiters", chiefly moral personifications, Wrath, Destruction, etc. As priest of the Asuras appear not only Śukra but his sons (see § 125, Atri). The Asuras are frequently identified with natural phenomena and get their names in part therefrom, especially cloud-phenomena, to which they are often compared. Opposition to light and goodness, love of and use of māyā, illusion or deception (tricks), a roaring voice, ability to assume any shape (they are three-headed, etc.), or to disappear, are their general characteristics; in which they differ from Rākṣasas not at all and except for the first element not from the gods. The common traits being excluded, there remains as their peculiarity dislike to goodness and light (as goodness).

Not unlike the relation of the Rākṣasas to the Great-Father (god) is that of the Asuras, who also are continually receiving boons from Brahman. So Brahman, for example, gives to Mahiṣa, a "Dānava Asura in the Daitya army", the very power through which he was enabled to defeat the gods in battle, till Skanda cut off his head and made impassable for future use the road leading to the Hyperboreans (3, 231, 105). What distinguishes the pure Asuras from the Asura Rākṣasas is their greater cleverness. Maya the builder is a type of this trait; but also the Khalins, otherwise an undistinguished lot of Asuras, outwit the gods by recuperating and even reviving themselves after being wounded or slain by the gods, whereas the gods know none of these tricks till Vasiṣṭha aids them (13, 156, 17f.). Brahman had given them a boon, but even without this help the Asuras were cleverer than the gods (see § 123 Bṛhaspati). Maya is an architect, builder of palaces combining all "divine, demoniac, and human" designs (2, 1, 13). His chief work is a palace of such beauty as to be "like a god-guarded māyā" (3, 23, 12). Compare the play on māyā as deception: "women are māyā Mayajāḥ" (13, 40, 4; and R 3, 54, 13). It was Maya who built the three cities of the Asuras (below). He is the brother of Namuci, and was spared by Agni; for which reason he made earthly palaces for the god's friends. He was slain by Indra (6, 101, 22; according to R 4, 51, 14, because he violated the Apsaras Hemā), and also by Viṣṇu (7, 174, 36, a later tale). Vālmīki knows him as the great magician architect Dānava who makes a magic cave, the Dānava palace (R 4, 51, 14f.; ib. 43, 31 and ib. 5, 57, 24), and also the fiend's weapons (R 6, 101, 2 and 30). Maya is to the demons what Viśvakarman, the All-maker, is to the gods (2, 1, 6). Hemā is his wife and his daughter Mandodarī is the fair and noble wife of Rāvaṇa and mother of Indrajit; Māyāvin and Dundubhi are his descendants (R 7, 12, 6 and 13f.). Dundubhi in R 4, 9, 4 is said to be the son of Māyāvin; ib. 10, 22 (the scholiast says that son means brother). They are both "Asuras", Dundubhi being a bull-shaped monster who challenges Ocean, the Himālaya, and Vālin (ib. 11, 4f.). His māhiṣaṃ rūpam (buffalo-shape) is said to be like a cloud roaring like a drum (dundubhi, ib. 11, 25f.). He is here also regarded as a Dānava Asura (ib. 46, 9), and his cloud and roar and attack on sea and mountain represent him as a storm, if anything. Weber suggested (IS. 2, 243) that Maya is due to Greek Ptolemaios. The question whether Greeks originated the architectural demon is not settled by such a subtile suggestion, but it is reasonable to suppose that the forms of Aśvapati Kaikeya (Asura) and the Kīcakas (Kāleya Daityas and also sons of Kekaya, the king of Sūtas, by the Apsaras Mālavī; S 4, 21, 22f.) represent races (tribes), although on the other hand the forms of Vṛtra and other Vedic Asuras were purely phenomenal and the later time keeps adding to this sort of Asura. For example, Dhundhu is an Asura son of Madhu and Kaiṭabha (called both Daityas and Dānavas), who were slain by Viṣṇu (3, 203, 17f.). Madhu is the older figure, whose name may lie in (modern) Mathurā. But Dhundhu lives in the earth, concealed in sand, and when he wakes and breathes, he shakes the earth, while the sky is obscured by his breath. When attacked by the intrepid Kuvalāśva (to whom Viṣṇu had promised his energy) for seven days, Dhundhu spits out flames (3, 202, 18f.; ib. 204, 2—40). He thus appears to be as much of a volcano as the Sicilian giant. The Vedic Asuras are chiefly renowned for their contests with Indra and will be discussed under Indra, etc. Śambara still has his thousand tricks, but is slain by Indra

with the help of Daśaratha (R 2, 9, 13 and 45, etc.). New points appear of course. Śambara is Timidhvaja and still later his wife appears as Māyāvatī (H 9213 f., also Māyādevī; not epic), as the characteristic śacī of Indra becomes his wife Śacī at an earlier date (cf. Neria, heroic power, as wife of Mars, etc.). There are other inconsistencies to be expected and actually found. Brahman gives the Asuras all boons except immortality, for immortality is withheld from them; yet Hari, son of Tāraka, obtains a lake (as a boon from the same god) which perpetually restores life to anyone bathing in it (8, 33, 9 and 30). Although described as beautiful and generally noble in appearance, the Dānavas have, as fighting foes of the gods, three heads, four fangs, four arms, etc. (3, 173, 53). Arjuna takes the place of Indra as slayer of demons in the epic, destroying Nivātakavacas, Hiraṇyapur, etc., although in fights waged by the hero Indra appears still as their typical opponent. The Asuras have no father-god except Brahman, for Brahman remains also their "father" and gives them not only boons but good advice (14, 26, 10, etc.). They have no one king, for various Asuras are called Asurarāj and Asurādhipa. Their overlord, in moral harangues, is Pride, the āsura bhāva. Pride, Wrath, and Delusion were king-demons and the chief king, adhipati, was Pride (12, 295, 10 and 20). Another account names, however, as recognised "truest Asuras", those who refused to obey Brahman, owing to wrath and greed and pride, Hiraṇyakaśipu, Hiranyākṣa, Virocana, Śambara, Vipracitti, Prahlāda = Prahrāda, Namuci and Bali (Dānavendrāḥ 12, 166, 26; Asurasattamāḥ, 31). Mada, Intoxication, the most famous personified vice, is a mahāsura but not a regular Asura, being only a phantom born of Cyavana. He was a monster (one jaw on earth and one in the sky, etc.), but Indra dispersed him, so that his power was dissipated and distributed among drink, women, dice, and hunting (3, 124, 19 f.; 13, 157, 33; 14, 9, 33; later accounts make him a son of Danu or even a son of Brahman; cf. JAOS. 26, p. 67, for the Vedic version). Later lists unite Mada with Pramada (H 2289 and 14290). In 1, 66, 52, Surā is sister of Bala, both being children of Varuṇa by Śukra's daughter Devī. The jātis of fiends are united in their underground home in Pātāla. Tāraka is a demon whose name does not appear in the old genealogical lists, but in what may be called the middle period of the epic he appears as claiming a boon from Brahman, though, as elsewhere, the boon is neutralised by a trick, into the account of which is woven the ancient tale of the lost Fire-god, and finally Tāraka is killed by Skanda, by Kṛṣṇa, and by Indra, as accounts differ. This Tāraka got Maya to build for his three sons three cities, of gold, silver, and iron, on sky, air, and earth, which were destroyed by Śiva (7, 202, 64 f.; 8, 33, 16 f.). The city in Pātāla is Hiraṇyapur and was made by the All-maker, Viśvakarman, though invented by Maya (5, 100, 2, nirmitaṃ Viśvakarmaṇā Mayena manasā sṛṣṭam, Pātālatalam āśritam), or, it was made by Brahman himself for the use of the Kālakeyas or Kālakañjas and Paulomas (3, 173, 11). It is also located beyond the sea as the home of the Nivātakavacas (4, 61, 27 and 5, 49, 16). It floats about at will and was destroyed by Śiva's weapon in Arjuna's hands (3, 173, 41 f.). Śiva (§ 155) is thus known as Tripurahan, etc. The Kālakeyas occupy in particular the stone city (R 7, 23, 17). Another city of Asuras is Prāgjyotiṣa, where Naraka Bhauma kept the ear-rings stolen from Aditi by the Nāgas. Both the "stone city on earth", aśmanagara, of the Kālakeyas and this town Prāgjyotiṣa are probably poetic versions of a real city (or cities), as Arjuna slew six

thousand Asuras, Mura, and many Rākṣasas after the gods had sent him to kill the robbers (Dasyus = Asuras), and on getting back the ear-rings he brings back the "Asura women" as wives. Another account represents all three cities as being in the sky (13, 161, 25). Prāgjyotiṣa in 2, 45, 7; 14, 75, 1, etc., is clearly a human city (cf. Uttarajyotiṣa, 2, 32, 11, a western town). Muru (sic) and Pīṭha (Dānava) are associated with Naraka in the downfall of Prāgjyotiṣa at 12, 340, 92 (cf. 7, 11, 5, where Pīṭha, mahāsura, and Muru are slain by Vāsudeva, as was Hayarāja or Keśin, who dwelt beside the Yamunā). The same section speaks of Kṛṣṇa (Pradyumna) as destroying Saubha, a city of Daityas, a kos away in the sky, belonging to king Śālva. This city is at times described as aerial, at times as a human town. Maṇimatī as a Daitya-town (of Ilvala) is mentioned in 3, 96, 4. Both a royal seer and an Asura bear the name Vṛṣaparvan. The "Daitya's" daughter Śarmiṣṭhā Daiteyī married Yayāti (1, 81, 11; 2, 1, 17); and Vṛṣaparvan the Asura (reborn as king Dīrghaprajña, 1, 67, 16; he is wealthy, 2, 3, 3) is thus ancestor of the Kurus and Pāṇḍus through the Asurendrasutā. There is no close family connection among most Asuras as among the great Rākṣasas of the Rām. The best developed family is that of Virocana. Bali is always Vairocana (as earlier). Hiraṇyakaśipu, Prahlāda, Virocana, Bali, and Bāṇa represent five generations of distinguished fiends. Uṣā, the daughter of Bāṇa, marks a sixth generation. Hiraṇyakaśipu, if not Prahlāda (= hrāda), is a later addition to the tale. Prahlāda is an ardent worshipper of Viṣṇu, while his father is an infidel. Sectarian interest centres about this family as if it were a real (human) line. Bali, whom Viṣṇu cheats in his dwarf Avatar, is the oldest member historically. Virocana has the usual unhappy fate of one whose son is more famous than his father and is known chiefly as "father of Bali". Prahlāda appears as deciding a dispute of Virocana with a Muni (Sudhanvan), both claiming superiority and eventually agreeing to refer the matter to Prahlāda, whose natural partiality is modified by some wise words respecting lying uttered by Kaśyapa, so that he admits the superiority of Sudhanvan because his mother is superior to Virocana's (2, 68, 65 f.; details in 5, 35, 5 f.). In S, Prahlāda seems less afraid of lying than of having his head split by Sudhanvan, who threatens him with this and sundry ills if the does not decide "truthfully" in his favor and a holy haṃsa (bird) lectures the Asura on lying (instead of Kaśyapa). Naraka Bhauma is literally "son of earth"; S adds that his father was Nārāyaṇa. This is a "secret" certainly unknown to the genealogist of Ādi (7, 29, 32; 12, 209, 7 as mahāsura). His bones are to be seen at Ganges' Gate (Viṣṇu slays him in his Boar form). Karṇa is Naraka reborn; as expressed in 3, 252, 29: "The soul of slaughtered Naraka was born in Karṇa's form". It is noticeable that the death of the great Asuras is effected by deceit. Viṣṇu in the form of a man-lion thus slays Hiraṇyakaśipu because he was an unbeliever (7, 191, 36; 197, 23). Hiraṇyakaśipu is reborn as Śiśupāla. In his family were born Sunda and Upasunda, mahāsurau, who were brought to destruction through jealousy by means of the nymph Tilottamā. These Asuras enslaved the Nāgas and killed the saints (1, 209, 2 f.).

Despite the many tales of Asuras, most of those named in the epic remain mere names, such as Kapaṭa, or are named only as undistinguished victims of distinguished beings (Indra, Kṛṣṇa, etc.), such as Vegavat and Vivindhya, who appear only to disappear in the battle with Sāmba (3, 16, 12 f.). They fight and die, but others, like Ghaṇābha or Ghaṭābha

and Vikaṭābha (H 12698), are empty names, as is Gaviṣṭha, named in the early genealogy and again named in H, but unknown between. In the same list appears an Asura Ghaṭodara, who is known also as an attendant on Varuṇa and in R is a Rākṣasa. Others who are Nāgas appear as Asuras, e. g. Mūka, who is an Asura, a Rākṣasa, and a Nāga, (1, 57, 9; 3, 39, 7, here B has son of Danu and S son of Diti; ib. 16 and 27f.). An Asura Pāka is made out of Indra's epithet Pākaśāsana. Some Asuras known by name in Mbh. actually do something in R. Thus Anuhlāda, son of Hiraṇyakaśipu, appears in the divine genealogy (1, 65, 19) but only in R 4, 39, 6 does anything (seduces Śacī). In 12, 227, 51f., the list of Daityas and Dānavas, including pūrvadaityendra, contains many names unknown before (Virūpaka, Pratirūpa, etc.), unless Virūpa = Virūpaka (2, 9, 14). Virūpākṣa, Asura and Rākṣasa, was, as a Rudra, made lord of Bhūts and Mothers (see Rudra) by Viṣṇu (12, 207, 34). Some have animal names, some fiery, some are named from deformity (Aśva, Vṛṣan, Ṛṣabha, Varāha; Vahni, Viśvajit; Saṃkoca, Varītākṣa, etc.). Later lists in H (12932f.; 14282f.), beginning with 2281f., separate Varāhāśva into Varāha and Aśva. Hara and Hari in these lists of demons perpetuate the principle of permitting names of gods (Wind, Fire, etc.) to serve as names of demons. Compare the sons of Diti slain by Garuḍa (5, 105, 14), among them Vivasvat as (sun) demon. Perhaps the earlier usage shows that no great difference was felt between gods and demons. When good, a god; when destructive, a demon. Soma rapes Tārā, as if he were a demon, though she is wife of Bṛhaspati (5, 117, 13), thus bringing on the war about Tārā, Tārakāmaya, known to all the epic writers and described in full at H 1340f., in which the heavenly host is divided against itself, as it is divided when Khāṇḍava is burned (another Tārā is raped by Sugrīva in the Rāma-story, 3, 280, 39, etc.). Despite the large number of classes of demons mentioned as such by the epic poets, there were probably others known but not mentioned. The Kumbhāṇḍas (demons) are not known as such, but a Kumbhāṇḍa is minister of the Asura Bāṇa in H 9844f., and Kumbhāṇḍas appear in other literature (for example in the Mahāvaṃśa) as a class of demons (Kuṣmāṇḍī is a name of Śiva's wife, H 10245, and Kuṣ-, or Kūśmāṇḍaka, is name of a Nāga, 1, 35, 11). For the priest of the demons see § 26 and § 118f.

IV. THE GODS.

§ 19. **Origin and General Characteristics of the Gods.** — The chief Hindu gods are phenomenal, Spencer's effort to prove that Indra and Dawn were originally ghosts being only the first of various attempts to distort translucent facts. The language of the early literature is too clear to be misunderstood in this regard. But by the time the epics were composed the phenomenal side was greatly obscured. Anthropomorphism had rendered even Sun and Moon quite human in dress, talk, and action, while Indra was as much of a family-man as Thor became elsewhere. But the base remained not wholly covered and even Viṣṇu and Śiva occasionally reveal their origin. Animism and naturism blend in the unification of spirits and objective matter marked by ancestors worshipped as animals, mountains, stars, etc. But in one regard this chaos of mythology inherited from an older age is augmented rather than decreased by the generalising process conspicuous in the epic. Namely, mythology has been affected by the star-cult, but to how great an extent is hard to say. All the stars

were divine or saintly beings. Aldebaran was, as Rohiṇī (female), the favorite wife of the Moon-god; the Pleiades were the "mothers" of Skanda; the Great Bear was known as the Seven Seers and Arundhatī, the wife of one of them, waited nearby; the "steadfast" dhruva (Pole Star) being less often personified in anthropomorphic form. But Dhruva is son of Nahuṣa, who in turn was born of Svarbhānu's daughter, Svarbhānavī by Āyu(s), the son of Purūravas and Urvaśī. Hence all Nahuṣa's sons, Yati, Yayāti, Saṃyati, Āyāti, and Dhruva, meaning "going", like āyu, or "steadfast", may have been stars, the myth of Yayāti pointing in the same direction (1, 75, 25f.) So the Aśvins are born "in the mouth" of the mare-goddess (§ 110), as asterism (?). Amāvasu (cf. amāvasyā) is also son of Āyu or Purūravas (H 958, 1373). A parallel unconsciousness may be seen when "Vṛtra and Bala smite Indra and (= as) the heat- and rain-months smite the world" (7, 30, 9f.) without thought that nidāgha and Vṛtra are the same (Bala = rain-month, often alone as smitten by Indra, 7, 134, 8; cf. 6, 45, 45; ib. 100, 32); the gharmāṃśavaḥ of Vṛtra and Bala (so B and S) are not distinguished. But most of this is lost in nebulous nomenclature.

Another prolific source of gods is abstractions, constantly personified. There is no limit to a pantheon where hope, hell, and hunger, cows and corn, the west and wisdom, etc. are all called gods. Constantly new images invoke new personifications. Right and Wrong and Gain make an ancient triad regarded as divine beings, and the "wives" of these beings are registered, together with female attendants without number. Memory, Affection, Endurance, Victory, Effort are incorporate forms in the van of Skanda's army, nor can one dismiss them as poetic metaphor when on an equal footing with them stands Lakṣmī, Happiness, the well-known wife of Viṣṇu, and even Effort appears in both epics as an actual being. Some of these abstractions have been raised to high place in the pantheon of active and very real gods. Many of them are Vedic or even pre-Vedic (Anumati, etc.); others are apparently new, yet no one knows how ancient. Natural phenomena thus serve with mental and moral traits to make an endless list of Devas or Daivatas. Night and Light (as son of Day), Dawn, and Twilight go hand in hand with Love, Wrath, Fear, etc. The same word indicates different divinities (so transparent is still the meaning) when Sarasvatī, a "flowing", is the goddess Fluency or Eloquence ("mother of the Vedas") in one place and the Flowing (river goddess) in another. Such abstractions are seen perhaps at their best in the morality-play of the later epic, where ethical and physical elements appear. Thus, after Sāvitrī, also "mother of the Vedas", has formally announced a discussion between Time, Death, and Yama, and the characters have been properly introduced by Sir Right (quite dramatic), Heaven (Svarga), and Desire, and Wrath play their parts, making a formal entrance on the stage:

(Svarga): "Know me, O king, as Heaven, who here arrive
" In person: Come, ascend to heaven with me."

But the king, who has learned to despise the joy hereafter, says:

"For heaven I have no use; depart, O Heaven,
"Go away, Heaven" (gaccha, Svarga! 12, 199, 77).

In 12, 200, 11, among various personifications, such as rivers and mountains, appear, as deified forms, ascetic practices, Yoga-rule, lauds (tapāṃsi, stobhas, etc.) which, bizarre as they seem even here, are really only an extension of the principle that makes a great goddess of Sāvitrī, the laud par excellence, who as a divinity sends her worshippers

to heaven or to hell, and says, for example: "Thou shalt not go to hell where the priests go, but thou shalt go to Brahman's place" (12, 199, 14). How far the personification is felt as real, can be judged from the fact that Wrath and Fear and Diseases are "children of Śiva" (13, 14, 413). All faults are personified demons, as much as disease is a demon, and this is a primitive lasting conception. Yet in the description of the Hall of the Gods, it may be questioned whether the abstractions attending as courtiers are not in part poetical, for in the list of attendants stand divisions of time as well as Time, and the "wheel of right", poems, dramas, the senses, etc., which seem to be personified for the occasion (in the Hall of Brahman, 2, 11, "dramas" a late addition[1]). Rām. has the same sort of personification, natural phenomena and especially abstractions such as appear in the passage where Rāvaṇa asks: "Art thou Hrī, Kīrti, Śrī, Śubhā, Lakṣmī, an Apsaras, Bhūti, or Rati?" (R 3, 46, 16). Neuter words are thus made masculine by implication, as when the personified weapons (neuter) appear to sight as masculines, tathā 'yudhāni te sarve yayuḥ puruṣavigrahāḥ (R 7, 109, 7). Worship is extended to these material things on occasion and the Sikh's pūjā of the sword is anticipated in 12, 166, 87, aseś ca pūjā kartavyā. Ancient too are the personifications as gods of nomina agentis, the Maker, the Creator, the Disposer (Vidhātṛ), etc. Often epithets of gods are particularised as separate divinities (Dhātṛ = Brahman?), or functioning forces become epithets (Savitṛ becomes Sūrya?). The epic does not solve the problem. Prajāpati is sometimes Brahman and sometimes a separate god, etc.

When, as frequently occurs, a list of gods is given, there is no unvarying precedence and often in such lists there are remarkable omissions. In short, they are made arbitrarily, not according to a scheme. Very few of the gods mentioned in the epic are of any importance. Many are grouped gods of the Vedic age existing as a necessary part of a list of gods who give homage to a great god or applaud a hero. For all they do individually, they might as well be non-existent. Others live in a tale or two. A mass consists in the abstractions already referred to. Groups are named as such along with some of the individuals belonging to the groups, as if they were separate entities, as when Skanda is consecrated; but the poet at the end in despair of completeness says that he does not name all the groups of divinities, devatāgaṇas, "because there are too many" (9, 45, 1 f.) But there is a tendency in less exhaustive summaries to embrace the gods under the caption "celestials", opposed to spirits of air and earth, as divine, angelic, and demoniac, the three constituting the trailokyacāriṇaḥ (R 3, 64, 60). So in S 12, 12, 38 sadevāsuragandharvam idaṃ jagat, "the world with gods, Asuras, and Gandharvas" (cf. 5, 57, 11, etc.). The gods and other spirits usually come together for a consultation or to see an exhibition of arms, mingling amicably with saints, and often the spirits, good and bad, consort without evidence of conflict. Thus in R 6, 79, 25, to see a fight, assemble in the space between earth and the sky "gods, Dānavas, Gandharvas, Kiṃnaras, and great serpents". The gods seldom interfere in human conflicts, but occasionally they confuse the forms of the fighters out of partiality (7, 138, 13) or wipe the sweat from a warrior's face, as do Śakra and Sūrya (8, 90, 18), the latter being peculiarly adapted for this office! Except for ancient wars referred to constantly as the "war about Tārā" or the "war of gods and

[1]) See Prof. Winternitz's note JRAS. 1903, p. 572.

demons", the epic gods do little en masse. In connection with the Asuras they get ambrosia from the ocean, out of which rise Dhanvantari, the divine physician, sixty crores of Apsarasas, Surā, Uccaiḥśravas (§ 68), the jewel Kaustubha, and last of all ambrosia. In R 1, 45 and 4, 58, 13 (jānāmi amṛtasya manthanam) the story is well known. In Mbh. (1, 18) the divine king of tortoises of his own consent upholds the mountain; the later Rām. identifies the tortoise with Viṣṇu. Here the moon rises first, followed by Śrī and Surā (Vāruṇī), and the divine physician comes after the others bearing the ambrosia (this too in RG). Mbh. S adds the Pārijāta tree and Surabhi. Śiva in Mbh. drinks the poison at the request of Brahman, and Viṣṇu deceives the Asuras by means of a deceptive female form. In R there are other variations. In 5, 102, Surabhi's birth is given in this form, but in 8, 60, 7, the honor of having stupified the Asuras is given wholly to Indra and Agni (in 5, 107, to Viṣṇu). R 4, 66, 32 ascribes ambrosia to a decoction of herbs collected by Jāmbavat.

§ 20. **The Number of Gods is cited as "Thirty-Three", but is incalculable for reasons already given.** — Eighty-eight thousand Gandharvas are on Mt. Mandara and seven times six thousand Deva-Gandharvas once met on the top of a sacrificial post to dance there (12, 29, 75). Eighty-eight (like eighty-four) is a stereotyped number. In 1, 1, 41, the Devas are counted as "thirty-three thousands, thirty-three hundreds, and thirty-three", a late but very moderate estimate in view of traditional numbers of gods. More important and perhaps indicative of the gods actually revered is the number of shrines in a holy hermitage. Thus when Rāma visits Agastya he finds in the hermitage shrines erected to eighteen gods (including a group as a unit) and these are really the gods most in evidence as active beings, Brahman, Agni, Viṣṇu, Mahendra, Vivasvat, Soma, Bhaga, Kubera, Dhātṛ and Vidhātr, Vāyu, Vāsuki, Ananta (v. l. Garuḍa), Gāyatrī, the Vasus, Varuṇa, Kārtikeya, and Dharma (R 3, 12, 17f.). Nārada, implying that they are the gods he himself worships, advises others to worship Varuṇa, Vāyu, Āditya, Parjanya, Agni, Sthāṇu, Skanda, Lakṣmī, Viṣṇu, Brahman, Vācaspati, Candramas, Water, Earth, and Sarasvatī (13, 31, 6). Probably the poet was right, however, who said that "Men fear and honor the killing gods, not Brahman, Dhātṛ, Pūṣan, but Rudra, Skanda, Śakra, Agni, Varuṇa, Yama, Kāla, Vāyu, Mṛtyu, Vaiśravaṇa, Ravi, the Vasus, Maruts, Sādhyas, and Viśve Devas" (12, 15, 16f.), the general principle being that "without fear no one sacrifices, no one gives" (nā 'bhīto yajate, etc. ib. 13). The conventional number of gods, however, remains fixed as three and thirty, divided into families. Apart from this number, families of gods are everywhere accepted, though the members of a family are not always the same, and again, as sons of one Father-god, an effort is made to include among "families of gods" even the vegetable kingdom. Thus plants and animals are included with the Aśvins as Guhyakas (1, 66, 40). The "Three and Thirty" are reckoned as 12 (Ādityas) + 8 (Vasus) + 11 (Rudras) + 2 (Aśvinau), or as (in place of the two) Prajāpati and Vaṣaṭkāra (so Nīl. at 1, 66, 37), but in truth the distribution is a later product. The poets inherited the Tridaśa group and used it of the greater gods without defining it, till R 3, 14, 14 gives the definition above (the two as Aśvins; versus the Vedic definition of the two, as Indra and Prajāpati, ŚB. 11, 6, 3, 5; Bṛh. Up. 3, 9, 3). Tridaśa also means thirty (1, 113, 21) and is used of gods in general, for example, in 3, 85, 20, where "Brahman with the Tridaśas" has this general meaning, as it has quite frequently (see usage in following sections).

§ 21. **Leaders of the Gods.** — If, as in 3, 186, 30, the gods go to sacrifice, they are led by Agni; if to battle, by Indra, and later by Kārttikeya. But Indra as the war-lord remains the Sureśa, Surapati, king of Devas (1, 86, 8, etc.), and he is even called "the only king of heaven" (5, 45, 6 and 10). But geographical and other factors modify this statement. In his own district each god is supreme, and it is not often that the gods leave their proper places. When they do, it may be that they are led by other gods than the titular leaders. Thus Yama and Kubera lead a host of gods and other spirits going to a Svayaṃvara (1, 187, 6f.). Brahman and Soma head the gods going to see a battle (7, 98, 33). Each group of gods has its natural leader, as when Sūrya is lord of Grahas; Candramas, lord of Nakṣatras; Yama, lord of Pitṛs; Soma, lord of plants; Ocean, of rivers; Varuṇa, of waters; the Maruts, kings of groups; and Indra, king of Maruts; till in descending scale Mahādevī is named as mistress of women devoted to Bhaga (14, 43, 6f.). Here the North is lord of directions, but immediately afterwards the East is first (ib. 44, 13). Despite variations, largely due to sectarian influence, the gods are in general partitioned off into little groups, each under the lordship of one who is called best, either as king or as leader (5, 156, 12f.). When Kumāra (as here) is called leader of the Devas, it must be remembered that in 7, 7, 6 the succession from an older leadership is indicated by the words, "Of old the Suras with Śakra at their head made Skanda their general or commander-in-chief" (compare the list 6, 34, 21f., where Vāsava is best of Devas).

Distinctions between gods rest on general differences, such as that already mentioned between gods that kill and others and between Pitṛs raised to divinity and natural gods. The functions of gods make a distinction between them which is not very marked, as almost any god does what any other can do. An older grouping by pairs prevails to a certain (not marked) extent. In R 6, 12, 36, the speaker thus groups as gods he would dare to contend with Śakra and Vivasvat, Pāvaka and Māruta, Kubera and Varuṇa, adding that his own prowess and power is like that of Sāgara and Māruta (ib. 13, 16). The simplest distinction rests on physical traits, "lord of heat" (Agni), "lord as to sowing seeds" (Earth), "lord as to illumination" (Sun, 1, 88, 13). The geographical distinction coincides in part with this. Yama as lord of the (deadly) South; Agni as lord of the East (full of sacrificial fires); but it extends beyond this. Thus in the war with Garuḍa (1, 32, 16) the defeated celestials fly, the Vasus and Rudras to the South, the Ādityas to the West, the Aśvins to the North, the Sādhyas and Gandharvas to the East. The rules for offerings show geographical and sacrificial distinctions. Earth says that a householder must make an offering of rice and water, or of milk, roots, and water to the Pitṛs, and boiled rice to the Viśve Devas. This is offerred in the open air at morn and eve. Daily offerings are to be made to Agni, Soma, Dhanvantari, and a separate one to the Creator. To Yama the bali must be cast southward; to Varuṇa, westward; to Soma, northward; to Indra, eastward; to Dhanvantari to the north-east (13, 97, 5f.). Physically, Indra is typical of strength, Vāyu of speed; Soma of beauty; Death of anger (3, 141, 21). But in 8, 92, 13 and elsewhere gods typical of strength, bravery, and prowess are Kubera, Yama, and Indra. Prowess is also the mark of Viṣṇu, as beauty is that of the Aśvins, patience that of Earth, etc. (R 7, 37, 4f.). Both Yama and Varuṇa are famed for "control", the first controlling his

just wrath against the sinner, the second controlling the realm and sinner (2, 78, 18f.). Similarly, of the gods, who are all wealthy, four are selected to represent this trait by Vālmīki's follower, when he says "such wealth was never seen before, not of Śakra, of the lord of wealth (Kubera), of Yama, or of Varuṇa" (R 7, 92, 17).

Before the general characteristics of the gods are discussed, it is necessary to remark that the term Devatā is also applied to a gentle host of sylvan deities who do not share the characteristics of the supernal Devas (also called Devatās). There are divinities of house and home and also of the woods, who seem to belong to earth and stay there. The greater and rougher epic has little to do with them, but Rāma's wanderings through the woods give opportunity for the more sentimental poem to exploit them. On occasion, however, they are recognised, as when one says in 1, 154, 3, "Art thou the Devatā of this wood, O thou divinely fair?". The Yakṣas are usually gentle but sometimes unpleasant, and probably Vanadevatās and Yakṣas are regarded as of the same class. The Vanadevatās run away, easily frightened, when any fiend or god appears. On seeing Sītā weep they tremble in every limb (R 3, 52, 43). They are called Sattvas and Daivatāni, and Sītā invokes them (ib. 45, 31; ib. 49, 33f.). The Devatā nagarasya is another earth-goddess, the tutelary divinity of the city (4, 9, 15), i. e. the incorporate city as goddess, lovely as a Kiṃnarī or Vidyādharī (cf. R 5, 3, 27f.). Every home has also its Gṛhadevī (§ 17). In 13, 100, 10, the pious man is told to give pleasure to these gṛhyā devatāḥ with incense and lamps as offerings. They are invoked with other beings as witnesses (R 2, 11, 15). In short, every place has its genius loci, whether grove, mountain, stream, village, or house.

§ 22. **The Signs of the Gods.** — All divine beings are fair. A woman is sufficiently lauded when called devarūpiṇī (1, 153, 11; 3, 65, 73). The One God alone is vidharman, without qualities; other gods have qualities distinguishing them from man, who is first of all mortal and so endowed with mortal qualities, martyadharman. The gods have these conspicuous traits: they are immortal (1, 18, 27); they do not quite touch earth with the feet (opposed to the martya who is padā bhūmim upaspṛśan, 2, 70, 14); they have "divine" beauty, devarūpa; they do not sweat, and have no dust upon their limbs or garlands; they do not wink their eyes; they have no shadow (3, 57, 23f.). Some of these points may be uncertain, as contradicted by other accounts. Thus the garlands of the gods fade when they are frightened (1, 30, 37). Rāma "sees the huge shadows of gods, Gandharvas, and Rakṣas" at a place on the Sarasvatī called Subhūmika (9, 37, 9, chāyāś ca vipulā dṛṣṭvā devagandharvarakṣasām). But S has śayyāḥ (couches) for chāyāḥ. Hanumat asks if Sītā is a goddess and says he thinks she is not, because of her "touching earth", also from her excessive weeping (R 5, 33, 11). The shadow-sign is often ignored; so in R 3, 36, Prak. 17f., where, as signs, are mentioned not touching earth, winkless eyes, dustless garments, and unfaded flowers. Indra as typical of all the gods (R 3, 5, 5f.) has no dust upon his garments or jewels and does not touch earth with his feet. Indra's attendants are ever immortal and beautiful and "appear to be twenty-five years old, for such is ever the age of gods" (R 3, 5, 18, etad dhi kila devānāṃ vayo bhavati nityadā). The voice of the gods is loud (S 3, 105, 1, nirhrādinyā girā . . uvāca Brahmā). Those who are "like gods" are by implication intelligent to a high degree, as put in

1, 183, 11, "they were like gods (that is) endowed with intelligence, prowess and might", buddhi, vīrya, bala. The "immortals" are synonymous with "intelligent", vibudhas = Devas. That gods are not always wise is shown by tales where they are outwitted by the fiends, but the respectful epithet remains as one of their characteristics at all times. An exception in appearance occurs if a god goes disguised. Then, as man, he appears as man, for gods go gūḍharūpāḥ with their true form concealed (and its characteristics). Most of the gods win their best battles by "concealed" form (deceit) and boast of it. The gods turn into animals at will, as evinced by the tales of Dharma as a dog, or the tale of R 7, 18, 2f., where, in fear of Rāvaṇa, Dharma became a crow, Varuṇa a goose, Kubera a lizard, etc. The gods appear and "go as they will" (but so do any spirits).

The gods live in fear of man, partly because of physical reasons, partly on moral grounds. They are dependent on the offerings given by men, and should these fail, they would be in a wretched state. Also the divinity of an epic hero in alliance with the All-god renders the Devas afraid (R 3, 23, 26f. etc.). A god again, if in high station, lives in fear of some mortal gaining merit enough to oust him from his place (3, 193, 23; see § 66).

§ 23. **Habitations of Spiritual Beings.** — When not directly interested in human affairs to the point of descending to earth, either to partake of a sacrifice or to intervene in worldly matters, the gods reside in the sky, where they live in courts of their own "on top of the sky, in the third heaven", or gather at the halls of their colleagues. Brahman's court is the highest of these, except when sectarian influence lowers him below another "highest" god. These residences of the gods are called assembly-halls, parks, cloudlike "vehicles", cities, worlds, and palaces, and it is occasionally impossible to say whether the poet thinks of them as separate or as including one the other, as is true also of the demons, so that, for example, whether Rāvaṇa's "car" is coterminous with his residence is difficult to say. The court or "hall" of Indra is the rendezvous of the other gods and this is called Sudharmā, but most of the halls of the gods appear to have no special name; possibly only the highest gods were regarded as possessing a "hall" at all. Agni, Sun, Moon, Indra, Brahman, Kṛṣṇa, Yama, Varuṇa, and Kubera are particularly named as having renowned and beautiful palaces of this sort. Even Indra's hall is known by name only in Hariv., the Purāṇas, and Rām. and late additions; 2, 3, 27; S 12, 37, 18 (praviveśa sabhāṃ rājā Sudharmāṃ Vāsavo yathā); cf. R 2, 56, 36, sabhāṃ yathā devagaṇāḥ Sudharmām . . viviśuḥ)[1].

The general heaven called Triviṣṭapa is a name of the sun, as is Svargadvāra (door of heaven, 3, 3, 26). It is synonymous with Amarāvatī and Indra-loka (1, 207, 36 and 210, 7). It is the general synagogue of the gods (2, 60, 4), but is especially Indra's (3, 24, 21, as lord of Triviṣṭapa) and is typical of any very beautiful place (3, 100, 18). Mortals who sin

[1]) This verse is found in both the Bombay and Kumbakonam (sic) texts, but it is not in G. Yet RB 2, 81, 10 and G 82, 9 both have Sudharmā as the hall where Bṛhaspati and Indra go with their troop (of gods), evidently the same Sabhā as that of Mbh. 2, 3, 27. As these are the only passages where Sudharmā occurs as a hall, common in Hariv. and the Purāṇas, it is probably an indication that the "Halls" are a late description, a supposition favored by other evidence of the same character regarding their inhabitants (perhaps a loan from the Jains, who have a heaven and gods called Saudharma). Sudharmā in Mbh. is the wife of Mātali (see under Indra). In H 6565f., Vāyu takes the hall Sudharmā to Dvārakā.

cannot see Indra's city (3, 43, 1 f.), sinners being defined as those who do not sacrifice nor bathe in Tīrthas, and who do eat meat and get drunk. Indra is lord of the whole world, and his "hall" Puṣkaramālinī (2, 7, 30) is the abode of other gods, half-gods, etc., as well as of the Seven Seers. There is no use in mentioning all the gods resident there; it suffices to point out that although Agni and the Sun are said to have their own halls, that of Indra seems often to be their abode. "Like clouds" describes the "home of the gods" (2, 3, 25) and, without exaggerating natural phenomena as a base, there is probably something in that. The massed clouds suggest palaces and every god like every rāj has his palace or "assembly-hall", but the smaller chiefs live mostly at the court of the emperor, and Indra is described here after the emperor-idea is naturalised. Human conditions are reflected in divine. So the gods have their "play-grounds" as well as palaces, generally on the summit of mountains, some of these earthly resorts being still "marked with their feet" (devānām ākrīḍaṃ caraṇāṅkitam, 3, 139, 4; cf. ib. 158, 83, devākrīḍas, masc. or neut.) The favorite play-grounds of the gods are the mountains Meru, Kailāsa, and Maināka (1, 120, 11), where "a man who is even a little rash" is set upon by Rākṣasas and killed for his daring, since (ib.) it is the vihāro devānām amānuṣagatis tu sā, "gods' sporting-ground where man is not admitted". To be noticed is the fact, here expressed, that Rākṣasas are employed by the gods to guard their privacy. Not angels but devils guard the celestial city. Moreover, Kailāsa (the especial udyāna or park of Śiva), where only gods and the highest saints and divine seers can come, is also the home of Dānavas. It is, however, as much the home of Kubera as of Śiva. Kubera sits at ease on Gandhamādana and listens to the music of Tumburu on holy days (3, 159, 28). The palaces of earth are compared with such homes of the gods (not temples) when one wishes to exalt the human display of marble, jewels, gold, etc. In these palaces the gods are represented as feasting and lying on couches, living a life of drunken ease. "Drunk as gods" describes the condition of Raukmiṇeya and Sāmba at a festival (1, 219, 9; cf. 8, 10, 7 for the "comfortable couches"). Beyond and over these mountains of the North goes the Devayāna, "beyond Kailāsa"; this is the Devalokasya mārgaḥ and divyo devapathaḥ found by the mortal who might not go upon it (3, 148, 22). The home of Kubera is on the top of the mountain and beyond it stretches the divine path leading to the heavenly world, a "terrible uneven path only wide enough for one" (like a bridge to paradise). The path of the gods, devapatha, is, however, often the path by which the gods go (apparently) from any starting point, leaving its trail in the sky to this day. For example, by this path ascended Rudra to heaven after abandoning the sacrificial animal, and "it appears visibly to whoso touches water and sings to Rudra a Gāthā (hymn, 3, 114, 6—10); the spot from which he ascended being in the Kaliṅga country north of the (earthly) Vaitaraṇī river. Metaphorically the path of the gods is virtue and bravery[1]). The visible road may be the Milky Way. The Devapur is literally a stronghold in the third heaven (diva interchanges with Tri-

[1]) The Devapathas of the city mentioned in R 2, 17, 16 may be roads to temples or royal roads, catuṣpathān devapathāṃś caityāny āyatanāni ca pradakṣiṇaṃ pariharaṅ jagāma (B caityān). Devamārga as apānadvāra (!) appears in R 5, 62, 15—16 (G 61, 4). For the metaphorical use mentioned above, cf. 5, 27, 27: mā gās tvaṃ vai devayānāt patho 'dya; and 9, 5, 39 (of bravery).

viṣṭapa). The "three worlds" are those of sky, atmosphere and earth (trināka = tridiva; nāka interchanges both with vyoman and with diva). Another term is vīraloka, where dead heroes go, equivalent to the world of the blest or the highest course (7, 77, 15; ib. 195, 7). The worlds of the blest are many, opposed to the bad worlds, kṛcchrā lokāḥ, of sinners. Both are variously interpreted. Those who sacrifice go to other worlds than those of saints or of philosophers, and according to Kāśyapa, the worlds of the patient are the highest; the bad worlds being hells or worlds in the sense of rebirth in low forms (7, 125, 76; 3, 29, 39 and ib. 181, 9). The "three worlds" is chiefly proverbial (3, 134, 10) and becomes a mere formula, "famous in the three worlds", etc., though probably at first intended to cover the worlds of gods, Asuras, and men (cf. 7, 62, 1; R 7, 5, 11, etc.). Trilokanātha and Trailoka are epithets of Indra as lord of these worlds, called loka and bhuvana (5, 10, 3 and 6; R 6, 114, 18). With this interchanges another antique phrase "seven worlds" (3, 3, 45 and 52; 1, 179, 12 and 22; RG 1, 14, 41, sapta lokāḥ). These worlds are supported on earth or on water (4, 50, 3 and 1, 180, 17). Śiva is identified with the seven worlds he creates (13, 16, 34) "beginning with earth" (ib. 52, bhuvanāḥ sapta). They are personified (12, 187, 26) as sentient and talking beings (R 6, 101, 56). But in R 6, 119, 31 f. ("the three worlds see Sītā enter fire"), gods, Gandharvas, and Dānavas are meant (ib. 120, 24). The gods and their worlds are not kept strictly apart, nor men and their world, the material being sensible. So Rāma "can destroy worlds" and again create "people", the two being thought of as one (R 3, 31, 26). The Purāṇic worlds beyond worlds has scarcely affected the epic, which in this regard as in many others shows its priority (9, 47, 14; 13, 14, 211). But the later writers influenced by Buddhism are not content with a few worlds and proceed to pile worlds on worlds as homes of the blest and the gods, worlds which even Indra cannot see; visionary worlds (svapna-bhūtā lokāḥ), beyond Time (13, 73, 2 f.; ib. 81, 18 f.). So, in this view, the Maruts live no longer with Indra but have a world of their own, as do other gods, where men live blessed with millions or billions of years. A peculiar description in R 7, 23, pr. 4, 1 f. enumerates different worlds as wind-paths, the first being that of the goose, haṃsa, the second that of three kinds of clouds, the fourth that of sanctified saints and singers (Siddhas and Cāraṇas), the fourth of pious beings, the fifth of aerial Ganges and Nāgas and elephants (water here becomes snow), the sixth of Garuḍa and his relations (jñātis and bāndhavas), the seventh of the sun and planets and stars (a thousand leagues above the aerial Ganges, upheld by Wind), and finally the world of the Moon. In 13, 102, 14 f., a round dozen of desirable worlds are enumerated, implicitly in the order of preference: the region of Yama, of the aerial Ganges, Mandākinī, and Kubera, of Meru, of Nārada, of the Uttara Kurus, of Soma, of Āditya, of Varuṇa, of Indra, of Prajāpati, of cows, and of Brahman (sadana interchanging with loka). The characteristics of these worlds are not unlike: in the world of the Moon live kind people and no sorrow is there; in the world of the Sun live those who keep their vows; in Indra's world live centenarians, heroes, and scholars, etc. The "shining world of heroes" is really one with Indra's world. When a hero dies in battle, thousands of nymphs and Gandharva-girls vie with each other for the honor of becoming his wife (12, 99, 4 and 98, 46). All the worlds have these nymphs; only later are

worlds, won by those who get the benefit of sons through daughters' sons (1, 157, 36). But in general the epic imagines tier on tier of worlds topped by that of Brahman, Viṣṇu, or Śiva, as sectaries decide. Similarly the worlds of sinners are imagined as separate hells. The later epic delights in placing certain virtuous people, as reward of their virtue, in certain worlds. One who takes his early morning bath and is well read in the Great Epic receives "the worlds of Viṣṇu and the Moon" as his reward (13, 76, 18). Twenty-six or twenty-seven worlds (Buddhistic) may be inferred from the aṣcent of Jaigīṣavya from earth to the point where he disappears in the world of Brahman; though these world are those of saints and ascetics for the most part (after Yama's world and Soma's world), till the worlds of Mitra and Varuṇa, the Ādityas, Rudra, Vasus, Bṛhaspati (Nos. 16 to 20) bring him to the world of cows, "three other worlds", and the world of faithful women (9, 50, 26f.). Descriptions of the assembly-halls of the four Lokapālas and of Brahman describe them in terms of earthly luxury with some strange restrictions of inhabitants. Varuṇa's Hall contains, as was to be expected, Nāgas and waters and Daityas; Kubera's, besides Rākṣasas, Yakṣas, and Guhyakas, contains Gandharvas, Apsarasas, and Śiva ("God of the Bull"); Yama's contains kings; Brahman's, saints and seers; Indra's, gods, Gandharvas, and great seers and Hariścandra, a king-seer (rājarṣi); yet all who die in battle go to Indra's heaven and live happily with him (2, 12, 21) as do all ascetic suicides (ib. 22). Other descriptions allude to worlds without end, flowing with milk and honey, in each of which a favored mortal lives seven days (1, 92, 10 and 15f.). Stars are not only saints but worlds that both live and mourn and serve as future stations for those who live holy lives (1, 210, 36; 3, 42, 32 and 34; 12, 271, 25; 14, 17, 38f.). Opposed to heavens are the hells into which one falls or sinks, i. e. below earth. Below earth are the delightful regions of Rasātala, the seventh layer under earth, where is Bhogavatī, and in several passages no difference is to be seen between this Rasātala and Pātāla, the depth of earth, later resolved into several Pātālas, of which an interpolated verse in S gives a premonition (4, 18, 22), pātāleṣu pataty eṣa vilapan vaḍavāmukhe, "he will fall lamenting into the Mare's mouth in the Pātālas" (implying the fire of the Vaḍavāmukha in the water-world under earth). This under-world is reddened with flames and guarded by demons (R 6, 75, 52 and 41, 34f.), and the inhabitants of Pātāla are in the southern ocean (R 4, 64, 4f.), so that probably, though hell is in Yama's domain in the South, the "falling" and "sinking" were used originally of descent under earth, i. e. into the region known to the epic as the under-world. Neither epic gives the Purāṇic seven (eight) Pātālas (of which one is Rasātala) ascribed to different classes of beings and regents, each region having a depth of ten thousand leagues. But 5, 102, 11 may imply a knowledge of this, as it speaks of the seventh layer under earth as Rasātala and cites the verse which says that no heaven is so blessed a place (cf. VP. 2, 5, 5, which alludes to this). Pātāla as Rasātala is a watery under-world where Vāsuki (§ 13) reigns, but being also the abode of demons and fiends and of underground fires it later became synonymous with hell (see Yama).

§ 24. **Children and Wives of the Gods.** — Umā cursed the gods to have no children, because they had persuaded Śiva to have no son by her, so excepting Agni, who was out of hearing and so out of range of the curse, all the gods became childless (13, 84, 76). Rām. 1, 36, 22 tells

the same tale differently, limiting the curse to the wives of the gods. In fact, the gods have many sons by many mothers, nymphs, Nāga-girls, fairies, etc. (R 1, 17, 9f.). Mbh. says that bears and monkeys were born at Brahman's command as sons of gods, Gandharvas, etc. (3, 276, 6). According to the genealogy of heroes, "part" of a god was born on earth as a hero, or one hero is a unified portion of certain divine powers. Thus Droṇa was a part of Bṛhaspati, but Aśvatthāman was born as the unification of Mahādeva, Death, Desire, and Wrath (ekatvam upapannānāṃ jajñe, 1, 67, 69f.). Yudhiṣṭhira was "son" of Dharma as a part of Dharma (ib. 110 Dharmasyāṃśam . . viddhi Yudhiṣṭhiram). Apparently this does not hold good in the case of evil spirits. Śikhaṇḍin is not born by this sort of fission but is a whole fiend incarnate (ib. 126, Agner bhāgaṃ tu viddhi tvaṃ Dṛṣṭadyumnam . . Śikhaṇḍinam . . . viddhi Rākṣasam), the whole war being in theory a contest of "parts of gods" and complete Rākṣasas (only Duryodhana is "part of Kali") and other demons, such as Aśoka, who was the demon Aśva; Candravarman, king of Kamboja, who was the demon Candra (son of Diti); and Viśva, who was the Mahāsura Mayūra (etc., 1, 67, 14—35). In effect, the detailed description of the greatest heroes shows that the gods were imagined as real fathers, though by reason of their Yoga power they can reproduce themselves divinely, so that Sūrya, the Sun, being called by a Mantra of the Atharvaveda, comes to Pṛthā and "touches" her, whereat she conceives; but "the sun did not pollute her" (3, 307, 28, immaculate conception). The gods have sons in five different ways. They may propagate by thought alone (the "spiritual" sons of Brahman, etc.) or by word, sight, touch, or, finally, by congress (15, 30, 22). Vālin, Sugrīva, Tāra, Gandhamādana, Nala, Nīla, Mainda and Dvivida, Suṣeṇa, and Śarabha, in the story of Rāma, are the respective sons by female animals of Indra, Sūrya, Bṛhaspati, Kubera, Viśvakarman, Pāvaka (Agni), the Aśvins, Varuṇa, and Parjanya; but Hanumat is son of Māruta (Vāyu) by the wife of king Kesarin and she is a nymph reborn on earth (R 1, 17). Heroes are said to be "like sons of gods", Devaputrasamāḥ sarve (6, 103, 21f.) Sītā is "like the daughter of a god", surasutopamā (R 6, 5, 20). The male children of the gods make a special group of celestial beings, grouped with Gandharvas, Apsarasas, etc., as devānāṃ śiśavaḥ, "sons of gods", in the procession of gods honoring Śiva (3, 231, 44). When the nymphs sport on earth, they join in play with the Tridaśānām ātmajāḥ (3, 240, 22), "own sons of the gods" (Three and Thirty). Such sons are identified with the Gandharvas in 4, 14, 50, where they are called "sons of the gods who roam the skies, the smiters" (pramāthinaḥ). Devaśiśur yathā and Devagarbha applied to Abhimanyu (4, 72, 8, etc.) also imply the existence of sons of the gods of one sort or another, as the gods themselves are called Dakṣasutāḥ (R 5, 48, 16). Perhaps Devagandharva itself means son of the gods: Nārada, Kali, and other such Devagandharvas are in fact (1, 65, 44) Mauneyas, grandchildren of Brahman by Muni, daughter of Dakṣa, a metronymic of the Apsarasas also (H 12473). The nymphs themselves are "girls of the gods" (Devakanyās sporting with Gandharvas, 11, 19, 18, implies this). The Devakanyā turned into a doe by Brahman is an Apsaras (3, 110, 37). The term is used in the same way in the tale of Ṛṣyaśṛṅga and in 13, 14, 38 and RG 5, 15, 16 stands in contrast to Devapatnī and Devamātṛ (wife and mother of gods). Probably after the term became current, it bred a belief in the special existence of a group thus called, for it sometimes seems

to stand in contrast also with the Apsarasas themselves, Gandharvā Devakanyāś ca sarve cā 'psarasāṃ gaṇāḥ (5, 17, 22; 13, 166, 14). But "girl" is ambiguous and in such instances seems rather to indicate a krīḍānārī (play-girl) than a daughter of gods. In many cases the bliss of heaven is augmented by Devakanyās (e. g. 13, 107, 35f.) = Apsarasas. The kanyās of various special gods are here mentioned (just as Devayoṣitas occurs elsewhere to designate dancing nymphs, crowned with lotuses and golden-hued) and described as black, brunette and blonde Deva- and Daivatakanyās. These Surayoṣitas play on vīṇās and vallakīs (lutes) and are adorned with nūpuras (anklets), having eyes of doe or of cat, fair waists, and brilliant smiles. The Devastriyaḥ may be seen climbing up Mt. Meru, but these are the gods' wives (1, 134, 16; 13, 79, 25f.). The wife is always sharer of the honor of her divine husband, although he is rarely faithful to her. The wives differ from these gay girls and women, kanyās, yoṣitas, and kumāryas, or concubines of the gods, in dignity and in being accepted everywhere as the one wife, each being hidden from the eyes of the world, as queens are hid on earth: "What man may behold the (one) wife of Soma, of Indra, of Viṣṇu, of Varuṇa, in his house (concealed)?" (1, 82, 12, kaḥ . . striyaṃ draṣṭum arhati). Such a wife is the patnī (queen) and devī (as queen, devī is used of an earthly king's wife). Even when physical phenomena require that the Moon-god recognise twenty-seven "wives" (lunar stations, stars of the lunar zodiac) and each is called patnī, Rohiṇī is really the queen among them (1, 66, 16). As typical of conjugal bliss, divine pairs are strung together by the poets, who thus give us the names of most of these queens of the gods, though they do not always agree. For example, one list ascribes Yama's wife to Mārkaṇḍeya (saints and their wives are often included in the lists). Some of the names are of Vedic type, Rudra and Rudrāṇī, Indra and Śacī, Purūravas and Urvaśī, etc.; others are new creations and not so firmly fixed. Śiva himself gives such a list at 13, 146, 4f.: Sāvitrī is the good wife, sādhvī, of Brahman; Śacī, of Kauśika (Indra); Dhūmorṇā of Mārkaṇḍeya; Ṛddhi, of Kubera (Vaiśravaṇa); Gaurī, of Varuṇa; Suvarcalā, of Sūrya; Rohiṇī, of Śaśin (Soma); Svāhā, of Agni (Vibhāvasu); and Aditi, of Kaśyapa. These wives are all patidevatāḥ, "hold their husbands as their god". Dhūmorṇā in 5, 117, 8f. (in S), also in S 13, 166, 11, is paired with Yama in a similar list, in which Prabhāvatī and Ravi represent Prabhā (§ 84) or Suvarcalā and Sūrya (etc.) with a few additions, Nārāyaṇa and Lakṣmī, Udadhi and Jāhnavī (Ocean and Ganges), Pitāmaha and Vedī; though Kauśika here is Viśvāmitra (and Haimavatī). Bṛhaspati here pairs with Tārā; Śukra with Śataparvā; Dharma with Dhṛti; Vāsuki with Śataśīrṣā; Janārdana (Kṛṣṇa) with Rukmiṇī, etc. Vedī cannot be Sāvitrī, another instance of discrepancy. Dhṛti is also an All-god (masculine). Devasenā is added in some lists as wife of Skanda (3, 224, 1f.; S 4, 22, 9f.: Lakṣmī is here wife of Damodara, Śacī of Indra, Rudrāṇī of Śaṅkara, Sāvitrī of Brahman, and Devasenā of Guha). R has a similar list (R 5, 24, 10f.), embracing heroes, Keśinī and Sagara, Nala and Damayantī, Sāvitrī and Satyavat. The social structure suggested is not carried to its logical conclusion. Some gods belong to one caste, some to another; yet the Aśvins, though they are Śūdras (12, 208, 24), are warrior-gods, and as such receive offerings and sacrifice (see § 110). Bṛhaspati is a priest (god). Indra is a warrior. But no god is representative of the third estate and Indra is no more a Vanir-like trading-god; still less are there outcaste gods. All that

is permitted here is the almost exclusive devotion of Parjanya as rain-god to the agricultural caste and the practically outcaste (outcast) condition of the Dānavas, etc. There are too no Mleccha barbarian gods, though the episode of the White Island, common to the pseudo-epic of both poems, recognises a barbarian God. The "sacrifice-stealing" gods are not said to be foreign, though they may be so. The later epic is very catholic. Bṛhaspati, the priest-god, says: "A black man who acts white is recognised by the gods as a Brahman, even if he be of the lowest caste. A virtuous and pure Mleccha is better than a Brahman who does evil" (S 12, 118 after B ib. 6; cf. also on the Śūdra-nature of an evil priest, 3, 216, 14f.).

§ 25. **Men as Gods.** — The first men were devakalpa ("god-like") saints who never did wrong, pure vehicles of virtue (dharmatantrāṇi). They all had the true nature of Brahman, went to heaven and returned again as they liked along with the gods, and being god-like died only when they wished. These were those now called Siddhas and Siddhārthas, the blest ("they attained their aim", 2, 183, 63f.; 3, 135, 11). But after thousands of years men became less virtuous; then they lost their power of going to heaven and "walked only on earth and sank sinning to hell". The Karma doctrine sealed this theory and emplasised euhemerism: "The lights of heaven, the Three and Thirty (gods), Nāgas and Yakṣas, Moon and Sun and Wind (god), all got to godhead from the human state through manly action" (13, 6, 3f.). But the Fathers of old remain in memory as men who become so godlike that they are all, even the later Pitṛs, called a kind of god, and philosophy, identifying functions of man with gods and his soul as one with God, while his body is the home of gods, reduces the distinction still more. Yet apart from philosophy, certain men are gods on earth. Whether this honor came first to priest, king[1]), or husband, the epic recognises fully that the priest as well as the king is divine, and that to every wife her husband is or should be her divinity. A distinction is made in the terms describing the first two classes. A king or prince or a royal seer is called naradeva; a priest is bhūmideva, "earth-god". It is only as a god that a king may accept a gift (he is Indra, Varuṇa, Kubera, and Yama incorporate, R 7, 76, 31f.); it is as a divinity that the priest is entitled to his superior position. The king has the high title naradevadeva (5, 30, 1). He incorporates many gods, Dharma, Bṛhaspati, Prajāpati, and even Bhava and Babhru (Śiva and Viṣṇu, 3, 185, 28). He is the Creator in earthly form and in proverbial language represents regularly five divinities (R 3, 40, 12, etc.). His touch is divinely healing (15, 3, 68). Modifications are due to conduct. If not kingly, he is no king, therefore no god; and as such may be slain like a mad dog (R 2, 196, 11; ib. 3, 33, 16). Hence, as he has "something human", being only "one quarter Indra" (ib. 7, 59, pr. 3; ib. 3, 1, 18f.), he is said to "obtain divinity" on dying (i. e. complete divinity); whereas, no matter how evil a priest may be, he remains an "earth-god" (bhūsura, S 12, 141, 92), created god on earth by the Creator above (13, 141, 62). This differs from the philosophical speculation that merely recognises as anybody's "going" a manifestation of Viṣṇu, power as Śakra, Agni in digestion, and Sarasvatī in hearing (12, 240, 8), and even makes deva mean sense, "the gods in the senses"

[1]) E. Kuhn, Zu den Arischen Anschauungen vom Königtum, p. 216, cites R 2, 102 (101), 4, devatve saṃmato mama to illustrate king as deva (ib. kṣitidevatā of priests, 13, 141, 62) by consent (cf. Mahāsaṃmata). The vs. represents rather the usual view (king is human) offset by the new view of the speaker ("in my opinion, divine"). G limits to the individual case, devatvaṃ for devatve (111, 4).

(certain in 12, 314, 1f. = 14, 42, 24; ib. 43, 30f.; uncertain in 12, 175, 25). The identification is rather implied also in the theory that when a man dies and his soul escapes through his feet, it gets to Viṣṇu, through the crown to Brahman, through the eyes to Agni (etc. 12, 302, 20f.; 314, 1f.; 318, 1f.). The theory that the husband is the wife's divinity is a parallel to that which makes the parents the child's divinity. Neither (so common are both) needs illustration; but the underlying sense is totemic in that it establishes as a "god" that power on which one is dependent (see above, § 9). Woman herself is (poetically) a divinity, Śrīḥ strī (13, 46, 15). The theory of the "gods of gods" (above, § 15) is illustrated by R 2, 34, 52, pitā hi daivataṃ tāta devatānām api smṛtam (for the others, see e. g. bhartā daivatam, ib. 24, 21; 12, 267, 39; of both parents, etau maddaivataṃ param, 3, 214, 19f.).

§ 26. **Religion and Morals of the Gods.** — The priest of the gods, Bṛhaspati, exercises the usual functions of a priest, that is, the gods are a religious body and have their own "divine service". Curiously enough, the priest himself is no more of an authority than the priest of the demons (12, 58, 1f.). In sectarian chapters of the epics all the gods worship Viṣṇu or Śiva, but their priest was not for this purpose, rather to obtain and retain for them the magical powers obtained by the sacrifice. For the same reason the gods perform austerities. Yet their pūjā is not of great import; any hero or saint is "honored" by the civil deities. They even dance and sing in honor of a royal saint like Śibi, who was "besung and bedanced by the gods" in admiration (nṛttaś cai 'vo 'pagītaś ca pitāmaha iva prabhuḥ, by nymphs, angels, and gods, 13, 32, 32)[1]). The gods meditate, perform penances, offer sacrifices, etc., and the places where of old were the fires of their sacrifices are still shown on earth. All the gods took part in the building of the fires at Viśākhayūpa, for example, and Maruts, Aśvins, and Sādhyas also muttered their prayers, and saints and seers sang hymns at Gaṅgādvāra, where Śiva received the Ganges (āhnikaṃ japate and sāma sma gāyanti sāmagāḥ, 3, 142, 6f.; cf. 3, 90, 15; 12, 12, 3). The gods' festival, however, is not on earth, but at Indra's city. It is a pūjā but not religious, consisting in drinking, song, and dance; in fact, it resembles a human festival, as divine religious exercises resemble their human models. The gods come and take their seats in "due order" as the spectators of the dance, which is an essential part of the feast of heaven, svargasya utsavaḥ. Mahendra, being host, dismisses his guests after they have enjoyed themselves sufficiently; the festival being a musical exhibition given by the Gandharvas and Apsarasas (3, 46, 27f.). The human utsava is a samāja in honor of a god (1, 143, 9), but the divine utsava is to do honor to a human heroic son of Indra. The Soma of the gods' sacrifice mingled with the river Payoṣṇī and is still mixed with it (3, 120, 32f.). That Indra drank Soma with the Aśvins on the Narmadā river is referred to elsewhere (§§ 4 and 110).

If ethics be part of religion, the divine religion is moral. All in all, as light to darkness, so is the religion approved of the gods as compared with that of the demons. The demons are false and eat meat; the gods

[1]) This use of nṛtta = upanṛtta is perhaps proleptic, as upagīta follows. The normal use occurs in 5, 123, 4, upagītopanṛttaś ca (of Yayāti on entering heaven). Dance is a common token of honor and worship, but "fore-dancing", pra-nart may indicate insult (= prati-nart) as well as honor; pranṛtta is used not of the recipient of the honor but of the dancing person (see s. v. P. W.).

are true and drink nectar. Apparently they eat flesh at sacrifices, but they do not eat bloody flesh, only the essence of sacrifice. Despite the many sins of the king of the gods, who is famous as an adulterer, deceiver, and drinker, the epic moralist attributes repentance to him. Dissent from the belief that the gods love truth appears only in the splenetic utterance of an impatient king who says that "now-a-days even the gods lie", Devā 'pi nūnam anṛtaṃ vadanti (8, 68, 15). Opposed is a mass of testimony: "Sun, Fire, Wind, all gods, all creation, depend on truth; truth is equal to a thousand horse-sacrifices; it pleases the gods and Pitṛs; it is man's highest duty" (13, 75, 29). Banal morality, however, is to be tempered by common sense. Not to injure animals is a moral law, but Balāka won heaven by killing a blind beast; and Kauśika went to hell for telling an inopportune truth (8, 69, 39f.; 12, 109, 7). To deceive one's friend is wrong; to deceive one's enemy is right, etc. All the greatest victories of the gods were won by deception of which they boast with pride. The gods cause the fall of the sinner (or slay him, devatāḥ pātayanti, v. l. ghātayanti, 12, 132, 18). So the gods are appealed to as arbiters: "To the Thirty-three thy act of violence is hateful" (3, 161, 11; S ib. 162, 13, v. l. "even to the gods"). The gods "seek wisdom and love purity; they will not accept an offering from a man without faith" (3, 186, 18f.). Faith means to "revere all the gods and obey all their laws" (12, 110, 18). But Indra as the god of valor demands of his worshippers virtue in the Roman sense; his warriors lacking bravery fail to go to his heaven and not lacking bravery but dying face to the foe they attain bliss, irrespective of their moral state otherwise. Those who desert their friends in battle are to be burned alive, for "Indra and the other gods whom he heads give over to misfortune (asvasti tebhyaḥ kurvanti) those who, deserting their friends, come home unwounded from war" (12, 97, 21). Such a deserter "sinks to the hell Raurava in a sea of woe without a boat" (S after 6, 77, 35). Indra is god of guests; so hospitality is another means of winning Indra's heaven; as Brahman's heaven is won by treating well the Brahman priest (as teacher), and Prajāpati's heaven is won by obedience to one's father. Hence the saying: "The guest has power over Indra's world". In other words, the appropriate god must be propitiated by observing his own way of morality. That is the reason why "the heaven of the All-gods is won by those who are kind to their maternal and paternal relations" (as they are Pitṛ-gods; all in 12, 244, 17f.; maternal and paternal probably represent the distinction in jāmis and jñātis). The order of the state is also regarded, as an ethical matter, by the gods. Marriages are made in heaven; "monogamy is the state decreed by the gods for women" (2, 68, 35). The wife is "given by the gods" (1, 157, 31). To see whether a man observe these laws, the gods spy upon him; conversely, they are invoked as witnesses (passim). The chief witnesses are (12, 322, 55) Fire, Sun and Wind; others are Moon, Earth, and Water (as divinities). Later comes the idea of "the inner man" (conscience) and of Dharma, Right or Justice, as witnesses (1, 74, 29f.). Yama, as god and judge of the dead, is also naturally invoked, and the Twilights, as complementary to Day and Night (as divine witnesses ib.). Fire is a witness of the world" (R 6, 119, 24f.; cf. 3, 291, 22f. S makes Yama the sākṣī lokasya karmaṇām)[1].

[1]) The thorough treatment of ethics "approved by the gods" would demand a volume, but mythologically it is unimportant, human terms being simply rendered as divine. Virtuous demons are known and sermons preached by them to the gods are given in the later epic with telling effect, the stupid and rather boorish Indra being here set against the urbane demon (see Indra). Compare above, pp. 39—40, on virtuous demons.

§ 27. **Relation between Gods and Men. Worship.** — As shown above (§§ 4 and 19) the gods help men in battle. When propitiated by penances or satiated with offerings, they bestow in return largesse after their kind, or by means of heavenly messengers they give good advice. One thing only they commonly refuse, immortality, but even this is given by special gods (see Brahman, etc.). The gods live in Agastya's hermitage and wait upon the saint, the spot being so sanctified by austerity that in it the gods, when properly propitiated, ārādhitāḥ, "bestow upon pure creatures spirithood and immortality and kingdoms various" (R 3, 11, 94: yakṣatvam amaratvaṃ ca .. atra devā prayacchanti; G 17, 32 has "wealth" also as one of the gifts, but the donor is here one god, narāṇām atra bhagavān vidadhe tapasā vibhuḥ). The free gift of yakṣatva as well as that of immortality, whether made by one or more gods, naturally sets aside the Karma doctrine, according to which "gods and saints get heaven by their acts" (12, 332, 45; cf. 13, 6, 14). Other gifts are regarded as due to merit and possibly immortality or the condition of a Yakṣa (spirit) might be roughly thought of as based on the same cause, but as expressed the two theories are incompatible. Otherwise the gods assist men by proxy. A demon (see Rākṣasas) is sent to interfere with a good woman's seducer; a woman (see Tilottamā) is created to help Viṣṇu and man, etc. The "bodiless voice", so often heard from the sky, is always the voice of gods or their proxy (messenger), uttered to warn or advise, even when it is not expressly stated to whom the voice belongs. In 3, 156, 13, a voice aśarīriṇī divyā ākāśāt, "incorporate, heavenly, from space", gives advice as to the royal pilgrim's route through the mountains. A messenger may be sent, taking any form, so that Hanumat is thought to be "sent either by Vāsava or by Vaiśravaṇa" as messenger (R 5, 42, 15; cf. ib. 50, 10, where he is thought to be sent by Viṣṇu as Rāma or as having assumed the "lovely form" of Kubera, etc.). Dhṛtarāṣṭra is supposed to have been born on earth as a Gandharva (messenger of Indra), to help the cause of right (15, 31, 8!), an involuntary Avatar, though he is perhaps only on a par with other spirits born for the purpose at the will of Brahman (in 1, 67, 3f. and 84 he is "Haṃsa, a lord of Gandharvas, son of Ariṣṭā"). As a voice the Devadūta informs Ruru that life may be restored in return for life if Yama wills, a "means provided by the gods" (1, 9, 7f.). In 3, 260, 30f., a Devadūtaka comes on a car in person to take Mudgala to heaven and tell him of the happiness there (ib. 261). Another, "of terrible form", commanded Yayāti to fall from heaven, saying thrice in a prolonged cry "fall thou" (plutena svareṇa, dhvaṃsa! 1, 89, 20). A voice in space, "of a certain divine messenger", prophecies that the eighth son of Devakī will slay Kaṃsa (S 2, 23, 11). A voice of this sort encourages Bhīṣma to keep on fighting, as this is the "time appointed by the Source of All (Viśvayoni as Brahman) for accomplishing his decrees" (6, 48, 98). Other signs are given for mortal assistance. When Rāvaṇa threatens Sītā, who does not know that he is practically impotent, the Devagandharva maidens, who know all about it, try to signal the truth to her by pouting and winking or averting their eyes (oṣṭhaprakārair aparā vaktrair netrais tathā 'parāḥ, R 5, 22, 11). In combats of men the pleased gods shower flowers (4, 64, 37f.; as is done also by Devayoṣās, 9, 46, 96, on Skanda's victory). Not content with this, the gods lend men their own weapons. The twin brothers of the righteous king thus carry the "bows of Viṣṇu and the Aśvins" (Vaiṣṇava and Aśvija, 7, 23, 92f.).

The gods in the night-battle themselves seize torches and lamps in the sky, when waked by the glare of the battle-field (7, 163, 13f.). Usually they are content to cry sādhu and svasty astu to the heroes (7, 170, 12, etc.). Conversely, the help of the gods is shown by opposition to the favorite's foe. Such opposition is a fatality, a "divine oppression", which may attack a whole city (blest is a city devatābādhavarjitam, "without divine oppression", 1, 207, 35). It is only the philosopher who says that gods give man no physical aid, but help him by making him intelligent. "Gods do not take a stick and guard men like a cowherd; him they wish to guard they gird with knowledge" (5, 35, 40). Another implicit contradiction of the Karma doctrine comes out in the statement that the grace of God is effective (yasya prasādaṃ kurute, etc. 12, 337, 20, Upan. verse and doctrine) and conversely, and materially, a man's personal defects, blindness etc. are not due to acts of a previous birth, but "the gods close the doors" of the deaf and blind (devair apihitadvārāḥ, 12, 263, 13), as it is the gods who give success (5, 191, 15, daivam; S 8, 80, 21, devāḥ sakalaṃ sādhayantu). The very life of a man depends on the grace of the gods (1, 151, 38). The gods help Uparicara because he argues on their side the important question whether seeds may be considered goats for sacrificial purposes (see Vasu). One form of the bestowal of grace is for the gods to give children, particularly sons. It is granted as a reward for austerity, and devatejyās, and laudation, and magical rites (in the list abhicāra comes last, 3, 205, 17f.). It is only the grace of the gods that makes every oblation fruitful (13, 22, 5; see § 31).

The formal worship of the gods consists in austerity, because that is a means of winning their good-will, as much as sacrifice itself, and laudation, vandana, etc. The Vedic cult passes as the usual accepted cult save for the (Viṣṇu) passages which inculcate simpler rites and less bloody offerings. But in the later theory all gifts to the gods are overpassed in value by gifts to the priests (13, 61, etc.), whether of cows, jewels, houses, or land. Lamps, flowers, gold, sandals, etc., every desirable thing, has its reward in heavenly worlds, divine favor, and sensual bliss hereafter. Incense and lights are given to priests and gods alike, the former being for this purpose particularly "gods of earth". The thanksgiving service to the gods, a rite almost lacking in the older cult, is represented as common. Thus on the report of a victory, the gods are worshipped with flowers as offerings (4, 68, 23). Sacrifice itself is divine and a divinity identical with the god Prajāpati. Most gods are sviṣṭakṛtaḥ, "they perfect sacrifice"; only the fifteen Mitra-gods, begotten by Tapas, "steal the sacrifice" (see Proc. Am. Philosoph. Soc. 1910, 24f.). At a hermitage, no attempt is made to please with elaborate rites. Vegetables and water are here the offerings (12, 9, 10, vanya and āpas). There is a difference in flower-offerings. Sharp-scented and thorny flowers and red flowers are for magic, abhicārārtham ("as explained in AV."). Other are the flowers offered to Gandharvas, Nāgas, and Yakṣas; they make glad the heart, hence they are called sumanasas, eumenides. To Bhūts are offered red or black flowers. Owing to their association with demons, one should not wear red flowers but white; yet a red flower may be worn on the head (except the kamala and kuvalaya, lotus and lily, 13, 104, 83f. and ib. 98, 15f.). The gods take the perfume of flowers, Rākṣasas accept their appearance with pleasure, and they please the Nāgas by serving as food (ib. 98, 35). The food of Yakṣas and Rākṣasas, however, must be a mixture of meat

and brandy (any spirituous liquor); that of Bhūts, sesame, sugar, etc. The gods should be offered (by a householder) milk and flowers as a bali; then, being pleased with him, they make him prosper (ib. 60, the discourse of Uśanas with Bali, the Asurendra). The same passage discusses the forms of incense pleasing to the gods. Some are inauspicious, but all dhūpas except the perfume made from sallakī are delightful (to the gods) if of the first class. For there are three classes, niryāsa, sarin, and kṛtrima ("artificial", as opposed to the gum and burning stick-incense); the best of all is guggulu (of the first class) i. e. bdellium; aguru (of the second, sarin, class) is best for Yakṣas, Rākṣasas, and serpents (candana and aguru together, 9, 11, 52; as dhūpa, R 5, 9, 28, etc.). The sallakīya incense, hateful to the gods, is the favorite of the Daitya demons; but gods, Dānavas, and Bhūts are all pleased with the incense made of deodar pine and the vatica robusta (13, 98, 38f.). Women are particularly enjoined to make offerings of flowers, as they are excluded from the elaborate Vedic rites. What they have to do in reference to the gods is explained by Umā to Ganges: "Good women should rise early, clean the house with cow-dung, be devoted to the Fire-cult (Agnikārya), and always, with their husbands, offer flowers to the gods" (13, 146, 49). The conduct of good women, as here explained, touches the gods further in that a chaste woman may not look on Sun or Moon (because they are male), nor at "a tree with a masculine name" (na candrasūryau na taruṃ puṃnāmnā, ib. 43). All the gods should be worshipped by a man in the forenoon; and to get long life (hundred years) one should rise before the sun in the hour of Brahman, brāhme muhūrte, be pure, not break things (this is the sympathetic sum of "not bite's one's nails, nor cut grass, nor break sods"), and not look at the sun when he rises or sets nor at midday nor when eclipsed; but the seers, Ṛṣis, got long life simply by adoring the Twilights. When one worships the gods, one should put on clean clothes and not prepare for oneself the food for the gods (saṃyāva, kṛsara, śaṣkuli; 13, 104, 15f.; 87, 41 and 87). The flesh of goats, cows, gavya, and peacocks (ib. 93) is taboo anyway, whether or not on account of religious associations is not stated. To urinate against the sun, cows, priests, or the road, shortens life (ib. 75; cf. with all this, 12, 193, 13f.). According to 13, 104, 64, the rule against looking at sun, moon, and stars, nakṣatra, is for those sacrificially impure.

§ 28. **The Days of the Gods.** — These are mentioned adventitiously and incompletely in the epic poetry. Kārttikī, the full-moon day of the month Kārttika is spoken of as most holy (3, 182, 16), but Mārgaśīrṣa is the chief month (6, 34, 35). The twelfth of each month is sacred to Kṛṣṇa-Viṣṇu, and he should be adored under a different name every month on that day (13, 109, 3f.). Compared with ib. 106, 17f., this section appears to make the year begin with Mārgaśīrṣa, as the rules for fasting and observance through the year start in each case with Mārgaśīrṣa and end with Kārttika. The fifth and sixth lunar days are for sacrifices to the gods; the eighth and fourteenth of the dark half of the month are propitious for fasting. Rewards of the virtue of fasting once a day for each month are enumerated. Phālguna the spring month, is Bhagadaivata (marriage-month, under god Bhaga). The thirteenth lunar day of any month is lucky (praśastā, 3, 134, 20). The day of the new moon, amāvāsyā, is propitious for fighting, because sacred to Indra (Śakradevatā, 5, 142, 18). Auspicious days are those of the new and full moon, the eighth, and the

thirteenth; also the lunar days (called divinities) represented by the first part of the day of the new and of the full moon and the latter part of the day of the new and full moon, Sinīvālī, Anumati, Kuhū, Rākā (lunar days as divinities, 8, 34, 32). In 3, 275, 5, Rākā is an evil demon. Sinīvālī and Kuhū (new moon) make a pair as opposed to Anumati and Rākā (full moon). Devasenā, Ṣaṣṭhī, Skanda's wife, is called Sinīvālī and Kuhū (see § 161). In 3, 218, 5, Sinīvālī is the third daughter of Brahman's third son, Aṅgiras (father of Bṛhaspati) and, "owing to her excessive thinness she is both visible and invisible". People call her Kapardin's daughter (Rudra = Śiva wears her on his forehead, the crescent moon). Kuhū is also a daughter of Aṅgiras (see Agni). The moon-month was virtually divided by holy days (when one must remain chaste) into weeks, the day of the new moon, that day week ("eighth day"), full-moon day, and the eighth day after the full moon. Kṛṣṇa and Skanda (v. s. v.) have special days in each month. Skanda has by preference the fifth or sixth of the crescent month (moon, Śrīpañcamī and ṣaṣṭhī). Kṛṣṇa has the twelfth, as already remarked, and the Janmāṣṭamī, eighth. The eighth day anyway is half way between new and full and so is a "joint" day (Parvan) and as such very holy and especially adapted for the fulfilment of desires, when offerings are made to the gods (Kāmyāṣṭamī). Sunday is the seventh day of the week, or, as an alternative, the sixth; better is the seventh because the Sun-god has seven steeds (3, 3, 63 and 64, saptamyām atha vā ṣaṣṭhyām). The year itself is a form of the creator-god, Prajāpati or Brahman (q. v.); in its northern course the Sun begins to take pity on man. The northern course belongs to the gods, the southern to the Fathers (passim). See also JAOS. 24, p. 24; and for the year's possible beginning (in spring), Tilak, Orion, p. 23f.

§ 29. **Shrines and Temples of the Gods.** — The usual word for a shrine is āyatana or devāyatana and these words are often translated as temple or chapel (e. g. PW. s. deva° and devatāyatana), probably without special consideration of the architectural value of a "temple". If buildings of any importance are meant by this translation, it must be said that it is inaccurate for most of the epic occurrence. The āyatana ("resting-place" or "support") is originally a mere place for the sacred fire, and a small shrine gives its architectural value for the Mbh. in all except a few doubtful cases. In Rām., where architecture is more modern than in Mbh., the case is different. It strikes the mind at once that in Mbh., although the homes of kings and lesser men are described in detail, with a full account of the palatial homes of the gods in heaven, and even the watering-places are described as having marble steps, no ornate description of a god's earthly home (temple) is to be found. On the contrary, in many descriptions of sylvan hermitages and impromptu settlements, the āyatanāni appear as hastily erected huts or mounds of earth sacred to a god. For example, in 13, 10, 20, a Śūdra leaves a hermitage in the mountains, and going farther into the wilds proceeds to make a little retreat for himself. There he builds himself a vedi, altar, a bhūmi, to sleep on, and devatāyatanāni, which are clearly not of architectural value. When Rāma in the woods builds himself also a hut, a vedi, caityas and "āyatanāni suitable for an asylum" (R 2, 56, 33, caityāny āyatanāni ca āśramasyā 'nurūpāṇi) he builds the same modest shrines, but the modifying expression shows that the writer recognises more ambitious āyatanāni which would not be suitable for an asylum. And, in

fact, as far as Rām. is concerned, in the same book Rāma and Sītā are described as sleeping śrīmaty āyatane Viṣṇoḥ, R 2, 6, 4, which must be a temple large enough for a royal couch; but this is in the city. So too in the same book, R 2, 33, 20, when the "homes" are described as unswept, and "deserted by the divinities", the gods' homes, veśmāni, may be implied, and this would mean temples (doubtful). But at any rate the first case represents something different from the simple sthānaṃ Kauberam, Dharmasthānam, etc., enumerated in the asylums (R 3, 12, 17f.). The Kaccit chapter, which is found in both epics, alludes to devasthāna in R 2, 100, 44, along with tanks, altars, wells, feasts of the gods, caityas (ib. 62), etc., but the expression is not found in the corresponding version of Mbh. (2, 5, 100 has caityā vṛkṣāḥ). But in the late passage where Mārkaṇḍeya describes the end of the age and the evils thereof, the devasthānas and devagṛhas ("god-houses", bethel) are brought into direct contrast with the reliquaries (of the Buddhists) known as eḍūkas (3, 190, 65 and 67; jālūka, v. l.), and in this case, as in many others, one is not able to say whether a god-house means a temple or not. So with the more frequently mentioned devāyatanāni, most of the occurrences in both epics might apply to a simple shrine or to a temple, if they stood by themselves. When, however, a determining factor shows what they mean, it is evident that in Mbh. they are not temples. Neutral in value, for example, are such cases as those in 5, 152, 2, where one is warned against disturbing śmaśānāni, hermitages of the great seers, Tīrthas, devatāyatanāni and āyatanāni, in pitching a camp; since the distinction may apply to shrines of seers, as in Agastya's hermitage, which had shrines to gods and to seers. The same warning is given in 3, 16, 3, to avoid, in pitching a camp, Caitya trees and devatāyatanāni. The devagṛhāṇi burned by Hanumat in RG 5, 49, 16, are not mentioned in the other text (Bomb. and S), but Rāvaṇa's palace is compared to a devagṛha in R 3, 55, 6, and this passage is found in both texts, the simile suggesting that a temple is meant. This must too be the meaning of devāgāra, as used in R 2, 71, 39, where it is said that at the king's death the devāgāras were empty (devāgārāṇi śūnyāni na cā 'bhānti yathāpuram). Here too (ib. 42) reference is made to devāyatana-caityas. In the addition to Rām., 7, 37, 13f., a king is described as going to a temple favored by his family, devāgāraṃ jagāmā 'śu puṇyam Ikṣvākusevitam, after rising and making oblations to the Fire-god, hutahutāśanaḥ, and there honoring the gods, Fathers, and priests; and this devāgāra is described as having an outer court, bāhyakakṣyāntaram, where, after divine service, the king received his ministers. Perhaps the same interpretation may be put upon the word in R 7, 59, pra. 1, 20, where a virtuous dog lectures on propriety and says that dogs are not admitted into devāgāra, nṛpāgāra, dvijaveśma, for Fire, Indra, Sūrya, Vāyu, the divine king (= Dharma in person), and other gods in the person of the king (viz. Soma, Mṛtyu, Dhanada = Kubera, and Varuṇa) are in such places. Although the devāgāra is called puṇya, holy, it is not probable that puṇyagṛhāṇi, to be erected by kings, are temples. They are rather puṇyaśālas or dharmaśālas, rest-houses, giving merit, puṇya, to the erectors. The word occurs only in R 2, 67, 12 (devāgāra is not in Mbh.; devatāgāra, Manu, 9, 280). The negative cases in Mbh. may be illustrated by 6, 112, 11, devatāyatanasthā devatāḥ, images of gods "standing on their shrines". They are the object of pūjā (1, 70, 49;

R 1, 44, 14), but the āyatana of Kaśyapa is mentioned in the first passage (vs. 51) and this is not a temple. So when Bhīma is carried aloft and visits mountain-peaks and devatāyatanas, these are like the tāpasāyatanas of the same account (1, 155, 22 and 29). Such places are holy in either case. They are associated with Tīrthas, are objects of interest to travellers, and, as holy places, form a safe place for criminals to consort (1, 140, 64; ib. 215, 4; ib. 9; and 12, 218, 1, in the West and "beyond Kaliṅga"). All the devatāyatanas are adorned with flowers to show joy (3, 77, 8). Animals howling there are of course an evil omen (devatāyatanacaityeṣu; a common collocation, 2, 80, 30; devāyatanacaityeṣu, R 2, 3, 18). In R 2, 6, 11, "on devatāyatanas and . . . on turrets", aṭṭālakeṣu, refers to the city turrets (common to both epics). The Caitya itself is a temple in R 5, 15, 15 (ib. 43, 3), where it is described as having vedikās, terraces, coral stairs, a thousand pillars, and a high roof. No such Caitya is described in Mbh.; in R it is a palace, prāsāda caitya. Usually the Caitya is a sightly tree, holy as the abode of spirits, not to be cut down, or to be cut only as a tactical exploit in invasion (12, 59, 63). In R 5, 12, 18, vedikāś caityasaṃśrayāḥ, they are trees standing at four corners. They were perhaps originally only trees without buildings, hence caityā vṛkṣāḥ (above), and, when alone, masculine (seldom neuter: in R 4, 19, 24, caityam; but in R 2, 17, 16, Rāma makes pradakṣiṇa around catuṣpathān devapathāṃś caityāny āyatanāni ca, the v. l. is caityāṃś ca; in R 6, 130, 2f.: "Let pure men revere with perfumes and wreaths and music the daivatāni and caityāni of the city"), Mbh. 5, 192, 58, "revering with perfumes and wreaths the devatās, caityas (masc.), and four corners". The word tree, vṛkṣa, druma, is frequently added (3, 16, 3, etc.; R 3, 39, 4; RG 5, 20, 24 śmaśānacaityadrumavat) not as if the tree were not the Caitya; since the Caitya is the tree in other passages. In S 12, 69, 41 +, it is said, apropos of the Caityavṛkṣas: "One should avoid to cut them down, as not even the leaf of a Caitya may be destroyed, for Caityas are the resorts of gods, Yakṣas, Rākṣasas, Nāgas, Piśācas, serpents, Gandharvas, Apsarasas, and cruel Bhūts", where devānām āśrayāḥ must be interpreted by the preceding caityānāṃ sarvathā tyājyam api pātrasya pātanam. But the Caitya is a shrine or a temple when it is "erected", as in the description of Māṃdhātṛ who "got half of Indra's seat" because of his piety as citacaityaḥ, or when it is said that "earth had little room left because of the Caityas raised by Gaya" (3, 121, 13; ib. 126, 38). "Caityas of the Three and thirty" (gods) are mentioned in 3, 125, 17, and all these passages alike imply shrines. In 12, 193, 8, the "goṣṭha of gods" may be shrines or a temple (this vs. corresponds loosely with Manu 4, 39 but has not Manu's idols, daivata). In 12, 121 (see § 124) a Cāṇḍāla temple has images and bells (post-epical).

§ 30. **Idols of the Gods.** — Images of elephants and other animals and statues of men are frequently referred to in the epics, and in like manner images of the gods are found in the Tīrthas. "On seeing Viśveśvara of great glory with Devī at Jeṣṭhila one wins the worlds of Mitra and Varuṇa" (3, 84, 134) means seeing the image, as more clearly expressed in 13, 25, 61, Nandīśvarasya mūrtiṃ tu dṛṣṭvā mucyeta kilbiṣaiḥ ("the sight of Śiva's image frees from sins"). In Dharmaprastha at the Dharma-Tīrtha, where spiritual rewards equal those of a horse-sacrifice, "Dharma sits forever", and one must stroke him, that must be the image, Dharmaṃ tatrā 'bhisaṃspṛśya (perhaps washing the image, 3, 84, 102;

tatra Dharmo nityam āste). At another Tīrtha (3, 88, 8), "a mortal would reach Śiva's city on seeing the horn of the trident-bearer made by (the god Śiva) himself" beside the Payoṣṇī river (it is holy enough to destroy all sin; there Indra got drunk on Soma); but it is not clear what the horn represents; it is "high as heaven and spotless", svargād uttuṅgam amalam viṣāṇam, probably the crest on the head of the image (in this same section is another "visible Dharma", ib. 88, 24, sākṣād devo Dharmaḥ). A fetish-use of the teacher's image is mentioned in 1, 132, 33, where Ekalavya makes a clay image of his teacher and worships it to get instruction refused by the teacher himself. Perhaps the divine Tīrtha images are, like this, mahīmaya, of clay. Yet Bhīma makes an iron image of his pet foe and cudgels it (9, 33, 4; 11, 12, 15, etena hi kṛtā yogyā āyase puruṣe, "he practiced on the iron image"). The images used as battle-standards are of metal and some of these are images of the gods, pratimās of Dharma, Māruta, Śakra, and the Aśvins (7, 23, 88 and ib. 40, 18). So the pratikṛti or image of Hanumat stands on Arjuna's staff (5, 56, 9, etc.). Yet these are not idols in the sense that they were prayed to, but rather effigies (the first, of the heroes' celestial ancestors), carried for encouragement or even adornment, as ib. 105, passim, images of animals. Śalya's standard, ketu, is "a great silver elephant, and adorned with golden peacocks" (ib. 24f.). But the images, devatā-pratimās, tremble, laugh, and vomit blood, as well as sweat, dance, and weep, and fall down from the standards (6, 2, 26 and ib. 112, 11), just as the (temple-) images of Laṅkā in RG 6, 11, 28 tremble, sweat, and laugh, pratimāś ca prakampante svidyanti (khidyanti) ca hasanti ca. The "golden cows" made by Viśvakarman and given away to the priests by Gaya (3, 121, 12) are probably sacred images; compare the golden images of kings and elephants used for the same purpose (7, 69, 29f.). When the beauty of Sāvitrī is likened to "a living image of Śrī", it may be a statue of the goddess' vigrahavatī 'va Śrīḥ, for the people, seeing her, pratimāṃ kāñcanīm iva, "like a golden image", thought that she was a Devakanyā (3, 293, 25f.). Compare the "golden (image of the absent) queen" (in R 7, 91, 25; 99, 8, kāñcanī patnī). In the first tale Satyavat makes images of horses (3, 294, 13; cf. 6, 3, 9; and R 2, 15, 35). The Hariv. speaks of images of metal, clay, wood, butter, and salt (H 7810 and 7812), and shrieking images of all the gods (ib. 12801). Stone images are mentioned in H 7613 and 7813. The devalakas, or people who make or carry about images, are mentioned in Manu and Mbh. (Manu 3, 180, etc.; Mbh. 13, 90, 11, etc.). Manu punishes adultery with a red-hot image, but the epic with an iron bed (Manu 11, 104; Mbh. 12, 165, 65).

§ 31. **The Gods collectively as Fate.** — Out of the great mass of epic literature respecting destiny and free will it is possible here only to select a few passages serving the immediate purpose of this paragraph, which is to show that Fate or destiny is a power developed into individuality out of the general concept of divine power, until it merges with Time = God. Death is diṣṭānta or diṣṭā gatiḥ (R 2, 103; 8), i. e. the end or course "appointed". This diṣṭam, "appointed" is daivam, "the divine", and both are synonyms for Fate, as bhavitavyam, "that which is to be", is personified in bhavitṛ (masc.) in 7, 201, 77. Daivam is the highest power known, daivam eva paraṃ manye (R 1, 58, 23, and passim), and is recognised as such traditionally (daivam atra paraṃ smṛtam, 7, 152, 24). It is one with diṣṭam, for example, in 5, 77, 8f.

man's evil "opposed by Daiva", "inflicted by diṣṭa". This again is daivavidhi = vidhi, as that which is "disposed" (ordered) by the gods or by Vidhātṛ as representing the gods (3, 71, 31; 5, 82, 46). This vidhi is then regarded as personal, Vidhinā saṃpraṇuditaḥ (3, 10, 32), as a man is said to be "in the will (power) of Diṣṭa, because Vidhi is all-powerful" (cf. Diṣṭasya vaśam eṣyati, 5, 32, 19; Vidhiś ca balavān .. Diṣṭasyā 'smi vaśe sthitaḥ, 2, 59, 18). Vālmīki affects the use of Kṛtānta in the same sense (R 2, 24, 5, etc.). The identity of daiva = diṣṭa leads to v. l., daivam, v. l. diṣṭam eva paraṃ manye (2, 47, 38 and 5, 159, 4). This co-operates with Karma and ability (2, 16, 11 f.). Another equivalent of vidhi is niyati, "controlling power" (R 4, 25, 3 f.), personified as a goddess (2, 11, 42, along with Āśā, Saṃvṛtti, Hope and Fulfilment). Niyati operates till one reaches the highest philosophic knowledge (parapratyaya, 12, 217, 23). The relative power of Karma, the divine power (Daivam), and one's own nature is the subject of endless discussion; briefly put in 12, 233, 19, "Those who teach the Karma doctrine preach the efficiency of the act; priests say that the divine (Daiva) is efficient; natural philosophers say that one's own nature" (is the chief thing). That the divine power is sometimes analysed as the power of the stars may be suspected from the antithesis of "natural philosophers" (bhūtacintakāḥ) and daivacintakāḥ as astrologers (12, 121, 46). For a further discussion of the knotty point just stated, cf. above, R 4, 25. Fate again is expressed by bhāgya and bhāgadheya, the "portion" (9, 2, 30 f.) given by the gods (cf. bhaga; see Bhaga). It coincides with Greek moira, as in the refrain, kim anyad bhāgadheyataḥ, "what else than this moira is of avail?" (ib. 43; bhāgya as fate, ib. 47). Heroic characters object to the fatalism of Daiva, not generally because of impiety, but because the concept has already merged into a personal abstraction which stultifies action (R 2, 22, 21 f.; ib. 23, 7 f. and 16). But a consciousness remains of the origin, for pious Rāma yields to Fate as the divine will, while energetic Lakṣmaṇa adds to his repudiation of fatalism the defiant remark that even the gods shall not hinder him (ib. 23, 21). Kāla alone (Time) is weightier than Daiva in Rāma's opinion (R 3, 64, 74; ib. 69, 49 f.), but pure Daiva causes Devī Earth to shake and the sun and moon to be eclipsed (R 3, 66, 11). In 12, 28, 18 f., Daiva, bhavitavya, Kāla, diṣṭa, vidhi, and vidhāna are all synonymous. In R 4, 56, 4, Vidhi is the Fate pursuing a man. As such, "fate" may become death, as in Greek. Fate, Kṛtānta, like Yama, "binds one with a cord and drags one off" (R 5, 37, 3, kṛtānta interchanging with vidhi, as in 9, 65, 16 Kṛtānta is like Yama or Kāla). So the simile daivadaṇḍam ivodyatam (10, 6, 29) makes Daiva personified as Fate in evil sense. It is a mere v. l. whether Daivaṃ nindanti or devaṃ nindanti be read in 8, 91, 1: "Low people blame the god" or "the gods' will", as S has diṣṭam for daivam in the important statement; "This is Daivam (diṣṭam) or bhavyam (to be); as Dhātṛ made it of old, so must it be" (6, 76, 19). Here the fate of an army is "made by (the god) Dhātṛ" and is Daivam (ib. 26). In 1, 89, 9 occurs a proverb, "Fate is the stronger", diṣṭaṃ balīyaḥ, and in vs. 8 this is daivādhīnam. Compare too the supposition expressed in 3, 65, 41, "Perhaps this is owing to the offended divinities", with the preceding, na hy adaivakṛtaṃ kiṃcit, "there is nothing not accomplished by Daiva". Moreover, though what is to be is synonymous in many passages with Daiva, in clearer expression it is said to be not quite synonymous but

conditioned by Daiva: bhavitavyaṃ hi yad bhāvi Daivaṃ ceṣṭayate hi tat, "the divine works out the fate to be" (B has ceṣṭayatī 'va ca); cf. R 6, 113, 23: Daivaṃ ceṣṭayate sarvaṃ, hataṃ Daivena hanyate. It is indeed this divine power, expressed by that "appointed" or that "provided", which is specifically personified as Vidhātṛ to companion Dhātṛ = Brahman. It is or may be considered as a form of Brahman (hence Brahman is both Creator and Disposer), so that victory is "appointed by fate" or "by Dhātṛ" (see Brahman). Hence vihita with Vidhātṛ as the divine: evaṃ Vidhātrā vihitam . . daivaṃ puruṣakāreṇa na śakyam ativartitum . . kṛtāntam anyathā kartuṃ ne 'cchet so 'yam (S 9, 62, 77, after B 61, 68), "So has it been disposed by the Disposer . . the divine cannot be overcome by man's act . . wish not to change Fate" (who can destroy past, present and future). A similar passage in 2, 56, 17 and 57, 4 explains Daivam (regarded as "the highest and hard to overcome") as the power which is expressed in what is appointed by Dhātṛ, Dhātrā diṣṭasya vaśe (sarvam ceṣṭati or tiṣṭhati, ib. 58, 14). Instead of diṣṭasya vaśe appear in 2, 58, 18 the words Dhātuś ca vaśam anveti pāśair iva naraḥ sitaḥ, "as if fastened with thongs a man comes under the will of Dhātṛ" (preceded by "as a falling luminary steals away the sight, so does the divine power, Daivam, steal away a man's intelligence"). Compare further, 3, 173, 15, the destruction of evil demons is nirdiṣṭo Brahmaṇā purā; and 5, 39, 1, anīśvaraḥ . . Dhātrā tu diṣṭasya vaśe kṛto 'yam, "man was made devoid of free will at the Creator's injunction". Here all is appointed by the god (asvatantro hi puruṣaḥ, 5, 159, 14f.). In another passage there is a diatribe against the haṭhadurbuddhi, who, as haṭhavādaka, ignores the fact that the "lord creator", Dhātṛ īśvara, appoints or disposes and apportions (vidhā and vibhajya) according to one's former acts; what a man does is done according to Karma but through Dhātṛ (3, 32, 12—21, and ib. 183, 86f., slightly modified, a man's course is determined in part by Daiva, in part by haṭha, in part by Karma). Haṭha is power, force, fate as necessity, impersonal necessity or accident. Haṭha as opposed to Īśvara appears again in 12, 32, 12f. (in 19, read haṭham for hatam). The personal Daiva is also expressed by Kāla, so that daiverita and Kālahata amount to the same thing (2, 71, 16; cf. daivayogāt, "fatally" and "by chance"). Opposition between the will of individual gods and Daiva may be observed in 3, 236, 23: "What is it save Daiva, if, when the field is sown and the god rains, deve varṣati, there is no crop?". So vidhi makes the gods (as well as men) suffer (5, 8, 52). Indra "recognises fate" (diṣṭam anupaśya) and renounces the attempt to save Khāṇḍava from the flames (1, 228, 22). Here the will of the gods has been converted into a power expressed by the Creator acting above the gods. Śiva takes the Creator's place in sectarian writings: mahādevena diṣṭam (3, 106, 23). Time, Kāla, is vaguely personified as son of Dhruva, the Pole star, a Vasu, who also acts as charioteer of Śiva (1, 66, 21 and s. Śiva), but as personified he is usually identified with Death or Yama, as representing him. But "Kāla, the all-compelling", appears as an old man to summon Rāma secretly to heaven in R 7, 103, 1f.; Kālajñapta, ib. 6, 53, is one with Mṛtyupāśāvapāśita, "fettered by Death's fetters" (ib. 58). As an entity, Time is then subdivided and the four ages, Yuga, emerge as divisions having separate names as the constituents of an aeon, or whatever it may be called, one of the ceaseless revolutions which bring the universe back

to its beginning, the wheel of time conceived by ages. Of these only one is mythologically important. Kṛta, the perfect age, is no more personified than are other time-divisions, nor is the succeeding Tretā age of more mythological worth, while Dvāpara appears on the stage only with Kali, the last of the ages. The first theoretically lasts four thousand years and each succeeding age a thousand less, with the deified Twilight ages between reckoned in corresponding centuries, so that Kali is the bad present age of a thousand years duration (later as years of the gods).

§ 32. Kali thus embodied may well be the finale to the general subject of gods, for under him the gods are neglected in favor of Buddhistic teaching (as above, eḍūka), and again he may be added to the above remarks in regard to Kāla, for he is of like origin. There are two epic Kalis, however, one the musical demi-god son of Muni (1, 65, 44), whose only function is to appear as a chorister with other gods and Gandharvas, to whom he is closely related (1, 123, 57). This Kali (originally Kalí) derives from kal meaning noise (Śiva is the noisy god, Kalakala). But the time-spirit of evil is Káli, who like Kāla derives from kal, drive, press, oppress, so that an oppressive king is called a kali and "Kali catches careless kings" (12, 12, 29 and 31; ib. 91, 28). Any form of Time is personified, so that even Kālarātrī ("fatal night") appears not only "noose in hand", but as an old woman, a black and bloody housewife, kuṭumbinī, scantily clothed (10, 8, 70). She may be Durgā (9, 17, 43). The demon, Dānava, Kālanemi (in Rām. as Rākṣasa) incorporate as Kaṃsa (1, 67, 67), "whose diadem was cut off by Viṣṇu" (S 2, 51, 22), is nothing but the "wheel of time" as a form of fate. Kālī again is the "dark" wife of Śāntanu and mother of Vyāsa (5, 147, 19), but as name of Durgā (q. v.; cf. R 5, 27, 28) she unites the idea of fatal time and dark time (cf. kālāntakopama of Indrajit, etc. R 6, 88, 2). Kali is evil fate, a synonym of alakṣmī: "Lakṣmī came to the gods; alakṣmī to the Asurās", and with alakṣmī enters Kali and destroys them, "pervaded by alakṣmī and smitten by Kali" (3, 94, 9f.). So Kali is plain destruction: "In war there is ever kali and lives are lost" (5, 72, 49). Yet the conception is not that of a permanent being but rather of personified destruction, liable to spring into existence on occasion: "When virtue is destroyed, Kali is born", and Kali thus appears incorporate in all destructive kings, as Dhautamūlaka was the Kali of the Chinese (5, 74, 12f.); Duryodhana was a part of Kali (11, 8, 30); and Subhadrā "was born as Kali and for the destruction of the Vṛṣṇis" (S 1, 245, 19). Vidulā says to her pusillanimous boy: "You have been born my Kali" (5, 133, 30). Kali is the middle one of the triad "virtue, gain, and desire"; gaining is destructive strife (5, 124, 35). From destruction to bad luck is but a step; hence "they say that Kali (bad luck) is in broken vessels" (bhinnabhāṇḍe kaliṃ prāhuḥ; all broken beds and vessels are apraśastāni, inauspicious, as are cocks and dogs and trees in a house, 13, 127, 16). In 13, 23, 4, a kalipūrvam is a gift of food obtained by strife, and, like anything leaped over or licked or kālahīna, is impure and taken by fiends. As the sun represents Time (Kāla), Kali, like the sun, is called sarvamalāśraya (3, 3, 20) in his part as agent of all ills. As the fiend of the dice, Kali is then playing only one part of his general character. In the great gambling scene of the epic he plays no part at all. Only S has a maladroit interpolation stating that Yudhiṣṭhira was penetrated by the power of Fate, daivabalāviṣṭa, and "for a moment entered Kali, and, being entered by Kali, he said 'So be it', and

played" (S 2, 98, 24f.); but this is only in the second game and the confusion between Kalim āviśat and āviṣṭaḥ Kalinā is not happy (probably copied from Nala). In 3, 174, 5, where Arjuna "remembers the kali produced by gambling", kali (as above) is strife or injury. In Nala, Kali enters the king along with Dvāpara (apparently), though the last scarcely appears except as subject to Kali and then disappears (3, 58, 1f.). Here Kali becomes a suitor of Damayantī, converses with Indra, and is cursed for his insolence (S ib. 56, 10 has devābhibhūta, Puṣkara overpowered by the god Kali, as is Nala by Fate, daivāviṣṭa, but B 59, 9 says "Nala entered by Kali"). Kali "went home", after vomiting the Nāga's poison and escaping the "curse-fire" (ib. 72, 43), after the Vibhītaka nut had been forever rendered infamous by his presence in it (ib. 41).

§ 33. After this brief résumé of the general aspects of epic divinities those divinities themselves must be discussed individually. Yet as several of these appear as forms of special gods, the concept rather than the names applied to the forms will best designate the divinities, as far as this is possible. Of all the innumerable gods counted as such only about a dozen have any reality as separate beings. The others are mere names or shadows of gods, and of the dozen not all are of first-rate importance. The older epic pantheon is presided over by Brahman as creator and beneficent ancestor of the other gods, among whom Agni, Yama, Varuṇa, Kubera, and Indra (not least) are the most energetic, most commonly referred to, and invoked. They are, in short, most real to the poets, who regard them as over-gods, guardians of the quarters, though they have not quite systematised the Four Guardians (see § 91). Sectarian influence, affecting this older pantheon, gradually raised Viṣṇu from an inferior position as form of the Sun-god to a predominant position, while the worshippers of Śiva elevated him in the same way to a point where he theoretically surpassed all other gods, till even his son was made to oust Indra. To present all this material it seems best to follow as well as may be (that is, rather roughly) the historical outline, beginning with the earlier Vedic divinities and ending with the Trimūrti or triad which remains till to-day as the three forms of one God. The order in which the gods are discussed will then be, in general, such that after Sky and Earth follow the eight great gods (later) recognised as Guardians of the World; then the minor gods or spirits recognised less as individuals than as hosts; then the divine seers, who are practically gods; and finally the three greatest gods of the trinity. When convenient, however, individuals will be discussed in their proper environment, Kāma immediately after the Apsarasas, and Skanda after Śiva, Parjanya under Indra, etc.

§ 34. **The Sky-god.** — The venerable Dyaus of the Rig-Veda is reduced in the epic period to a mere shadow of his former personality. In the formal scheme of creation he is regarded as a link in the chain of development (1, 1, 29f.) from the mundane egg, and the sons ascribed to him are epithets of the Sun: Bṛhadbhānu, Cakṣus, Ātman, Vibhāvasu, Savitṛ, Ṛcīka, Arka, Bhānu (cf. Bhānu also as son of Prādhā and form of Agni), Āśāvaha, and Ravi, one of whom, however, Ṛcīka, is father of Janamejaya with human descendants (S adds Manu). A Vasu is called Dyaus and Dyunāma (1, 99, 39 and 47), although the formal list of Vasus does not contain this name. He is represented as a thief, afterwards born on earth to expiate his crime. The original sense of Dyaus as "shining" (= vasu) may have led to the name. Dyaus is often feminine: "The (fem.)

Dyaus, sky, was embraced by his head, the earth by his feet" (3, 12, 55); "shone like Dyaus with the stars" (2, 36, 8); "like the autumnal sky, śāradī Dyaus, with the stars" (R 5, 9, 41); "Saramā (fem.) pleased Śītā as Dyaus with water pleases earth", and "Laṅkā with the hero like Dyaus with the sun" (R 6, 34, 1; ib. 73, 15, fem. implied; cf. dyaur iva magnatārakā, R 2, 9, 66). When Sky and Earth appear as witnesses, the former may be male (1, 74, 30), but when presented as a rain-giver (R 4, 28, 3), Dyaus is represented as a female pregnant for nine months and then bearing rain-water conceived of sun-beams. Compare 12, 229, 91: "In the home of the self-existent Great Father the gleaming (fem.) Dyaus poured forth ambrosia and Indra rained upon the crops" (in 2, 45, 29, "Dyaus poured rain", etc., the gender remains at least doubtful). Without personification, dyaus in the form divi, "in the sky", and in the phrase pated dyaus (nipated dyaur mahīm), is the sky conceived of as person no more than are the clouds which, to be sure, are liable to be personified but ordinarily are not (cf. with the simile above, "like nabhas, cloud-land, with the stars", R 5, 10, 34). Dyaus is not "heaven", though the cognates diva and tridiva are synonymous with svarga, the light-world heaven of the gods. Compare "fill dyaus with noise", or "fill tridiva" (mahīm āpūrayāmāsa ghoṣeṇa tridivaṃ tathā, 1, 69, 16). "The god rains", as a parallel to "Indra rains", might imply this god or Dyaus or Parjanya. The citations above show Dyaus in the only activities recognised as his or hers, as progenitor, rain-giver, and witness of wrong, in none of which does Dyaus play the part of a real god. He is a memory only.

§ 35. **Earth.** — Earth is the Great Mother, the Broad Goddess, mahī, pṛthivī, the "mother of all created things", the nursing mother, dhātrī, who is imaged as a divine cow giving milk to all her children (3, 200, 70; 7, 69, 20, as daughter of Pṛthu Vainya and as Virāj; cf. 1, 49, 9 and H 11829f., with H 12019). As the giver of all good, Earth is "father and brother and sons and sky and heaven", the "cow that milks wishes" (fulfills all desires, kāmadhuk, 6, 9, 71 and 76). It is a later idea that she will have no "joy of bearing sons", owing to the curse of Umā (cf. § 24; R 1, 36, 24). Earth is constantly personified, not only as drinking blood, but as approving of priests, and as typical of patient endurance, 1, 68, 14; 3, 26, 14; 51, 40; R 3, 30, 6; R 5, 35, 9; kṣamayā Pṛthivīsamaḥ, 1, 100, 14, etc.). But she is over-burdened; even one person of no account is a "burden upon earth" (3, 35, 7, bhūmivardhana), and a mass of evil creatures or even the normal growth of population renders patient earth very impatient; "I cannot endure these people", she cries (S 2, 51, 45f.), and she complains to Brahman, who creates Death to relieve her of her burden (7, 53, 4f.). Or Viṣṇu assures her that war will relieve her and bids her still "support the worlds" (lokān dhāraya, 11, 8, 25). The form of Death, a lovely woman, as here depicted is not old. Earth is bhārārtā, oppressed (7, 53, 4) and Death is created to relieve the strain, even gods being mortal, sarve devā martyasaṃjnāḥ (ib. 54, 48). The tears of Death seeking to avoid her task become diseases, which kill men, for "Death does not come with a club". H 2939, Earth's address to the gods, derives her from Madhu's marrow. As nurse of all, Earth is helper, medinī, provides wealth, being herself wealthy, vasumatī, and rejoices to give corn to a generous man (3, 200, 41; cf. R 5, 40, 2). In an Aeschylean image, though differently applied, Sītā says, "I shall rejoice to see his dear face even as Earth, the giver of good, vasundharā, rejoices, having

the corn half grown, when she receives the rain" (R 5, 40, 2; cf. ib. 6, 33, 37). In another, when a hero sinks to death, "Earth like a dear mistress embraces him as he sinks upon her breast" (9, 17, 54f.; R 3, 30, 7; R 4, 20, 5 and 23; ib. 6, 32, 16; ib. 114, 85). In general, the dead śerate gāṃ (γῆν) samāśritāḥ (R 6, 54, 9, etc.). Though it is the weight of sinful demons that afflicts Earth (1, 64, 43), yet when Viṣṇu assumes the form of a boar and raises her, it is simply the weight of towns and peoples which sinks her. Here she is an overburdened goddess, "the divine bountiful producer of corn, whose ear-rings are the mountains", śivā devī mahābhāgā sarvasasyaprarohiṇī .. śailakuṇḍalā (3, 142, 45; cf. ib. 32 and 29). In poetic phrase, it is not the earth which holds the mountains, but the mountain which holds earth, jagatīdhara; cf. "he sustained grief as a mountain sustains earth" (1, 176, 43). "As long as earth endures" (R 6, 101, 57, etc.) is a proverbial phrase, but it is recognised that "Earth will come to an end" (12, 206, 30). As a hapless divinity she is adopted (Urvī from ūru) by Kaśyapa and so is called Kāśyapī (12, 49, 71f.); in 13, 155, 6, he pervades her by yoga, taking her post, another late tale. She tells him of new warriors and goes to heaven. To the same epoch belong the tales which utilise Earth as a moralist. Thus she advises Indra to employ priests for the removal of sin (13, 34, 21f., as mātā sarvabhūtānām); yet apart from acting as witness of innocence (R 6, 119, 27) and being invoked for victory with many other divine beings (7, 94, 47), she is not so important as a goddess as she is quâ land, object of the earth-hunger so conspicuous in the later epic. In this guise she sings her own song on the virtue of bhūmidāna, grants of land, and her secret name is Priyadattā (cf. 13, 62, 35, where Bhūmir bhūtir mahādevī is cited in Bṛhaspati's talk with Indra, the Bhūmigītā Gāthās). He who has her has all (yasya bhūmis tasya sarvam, 6, 4, 20), but one should renounce her for his own sake (5, 37, 17; 129, 49). Earth deserts the sinful and treacherous (5, 124, 28). For her son Naraka Bhauma (p. 50) she begs a boon and this is significant, since he is an evil demon, and earth is recognised as the goddess of demons and spirits, Bhūts, although one with Aditi as goddess of the gods. Thus in H 3281, where Aditi is identified with Durgā, it is said that the same goddess is "Aditi to the gods, Sītā to the ploughmen, and Earth, Dharaṇī, to the Bhūts" (on Sītā, cf. § 7). Yet land and earth are so inseparably one that it may be questioned whether even as land divinity does not still inhere in the Great Mother. Thus, as the divine Sun is afflicted by eclipse, so "divine Mother Earth" (jagatāṃ mātā devī lokanamaskṛtā bhūmiḥ, R 3, 66, 9) is afflicted by earthquakes, due to the same cause that produces untoward lightning or rain (some divine power apart from her, 2, 45, 28f.), or to the movement of a demon (see § 18, Dhundhu), or to the shaking of the world-elephant's head (R 1, 40, 14). Even when described as "four-cornered earth" (3, 126, 40; 5, 149, 9; R 5, 31, 5), the ground where Bhūts live and bodies are buried, the "home" below (avani, in 3, 310, 6, "house"; cf. avanīpāla as king, 12, 311, 8; avanīṃ gataḥ, R 6, 54, 33), she is still the goddess. So Śibi is described, ekacchatrāṃ mahīṃ cakre (12, 29, 41), "he put the great (mother) under one umbrella" (sceptre, cf. ib. 132 and 12, 321, 134). Four-cornered by the bye, is rather offset by the epithet samudranemi (3, 26, 14; 4, 8, 11, etc.), implying a round surface like the felly of a wheel, "whose circle is the sea". The conquest of earth includes "her mountains, forests, open spaces, ākāśa,

seas, and valleys, niṣkuṭa, towns, cities, and islands" (3, 254, 31), as parts of her, also divine (see § 4 f.). Metaphorically she is the chariot of gods or of a god-like hero, mountains being the pole, staff, etc. (3, 175, 4, etc.). Earth, vasumatī, is "clothed with seas" and at the same time a goddess, devī, "having mountains, forests, towns, etc." (1, 170, 63; 3, 237, 8 f., forests, mountains, and rivers have no owners, but land otherwise is possessed; "a gift of land saves seven generations", 13, 66, 31 and 36). She has seven seas and islands in R 7, 37, pr. 1, 56 (v. § 6).

§ 36. The later epic regards the earth as belonging to Viṣṇu, and inferentially as born of him: "As gold is born of Fire and cows are born of the Sun (Sūryasutāś ca gāvaḥ), so Earth belongs to Viṣṇu (bhūr Vaiṣṇavī), so that he who gives these three gives the three worlds" (3, 200, 127 f.). At times, mahī is opposed to the mountain, as if only the fruitful earth were the great mother. Thus mahīm āvasa means "descend (from the heavenly hill) to earth" (3, 176, 11). Jagatī is the earth of moving beings opposed to the adri or mountain rock (3, 237, 18; jagatīpāla, -pati is king; Jagatpati is a title of Kāma, Viṣṇu, and Śiva). When Sītā is carried away by the goddess Earth, called Mādhavī Devī and Dharaṇī Devī (as wife of Viṣṇu Mādhava, says the scholiast, R 7, 97, 15 f.), she calls upon Earth three times to hide her, and the divine Earth rose on a seat supported by Nāgas and bore Sītā down to the depths (rasātalam). With this conception of the goddess Earth sinking into earth may be compared the scene where Earth declares that she will give up earthhood, bhūmitvam, and go to heaven, and is then restrained by Kaśyapa (13, 155, 2 f.; cf. also 12, 49, 71 f., where Earth again praviveśa rasātalam). The location of the "navel of earth" at a place in the Himālayas seen by Hanumat (R 6, 74, 60) introduces an old conception in more precise form. The witness of Earth may be implied when the deceived heroes march wrathfully off casting dust and sand about and over themselves, whilst lightnings flash and earth quakes (2, 30, 5 f. and 28), though the act is explained as prognosticating the arrows they would shoot. When wrestlers prepare to contend, they rub earth on their hands (S 4, 15, 33) and when Bhūriśravas is about to die, he "touches earth with his head" (as if in protest against his unfair antagonist), yet both acts may be due to natural causes, for ease in wrestling and from weakness (7, 143, 44). To put to earth the head or grass into the mouth signifies defeat[1]), but there is no other invocation of earth except in the direct and formal phrase "earth may split, the sky fall, Himavat turn" (or "lose its snow"), and "ocean dry up" (e. g. 3, 249, 31 f., with v. l. in S; ib. 278, 38, etc.), i. e. before this thing happen, the impossible will happen. Earth is honored with a laudation at Śrāddhas, after Fire, Moon, Varuṇa, and the Allgods. As such she is called Vaiṣṇavī, Kāśyapī, and akṣayā or eternal (13, 91, 25), as well as Pṛthivī and nivāpasya dhāriṇī or sustainer of crops. H 12076 f. adds a new feature to the figure of earth in representing her first as ruined by the poison of the great serpent and then undergoing penance and sustained by Viṣṇu, whose right arm in upholding her makes a shadow reaching from earth to the moon. Earth

[1]) A man who says "I am thine" in battle is not to be attacked, nor one who proclaims defeat by having his mouth full of grass, tṛṇapūrṇamukha (12, 98, 49). Cf. the modern examples of this in the second edition of Colonel Jacob's Third Handful of Popular Maxims (1911). On prostration with head to earth, cf. 7, 80, 43, jagāma śirasā kṣitim, of Kṛṣṇa abject before Śiva.

is here without means of productivity, aliṅgā, till Viṣṇu supplies the deficiency and makes her fruitful (ib. 12095).

§ 37. **Aditi and the Adityas.** — Aditi is the "mother of gods" (9, 45, 13) and as such heads the list of goddesses, Hrī, Śrī, etc., here differentiated from Pṛthivī, though elsewhere identified with Earth (p. 79). In particular she is mother of the Thirty-three (R 3, 14, 14); also of the winds, Mārutas (12, 329, 53, or Diti, cf. § 48). R regards Dhātṛ as her special son (R 2, 92, 21); Mbh. says, Indra is chief and best-beloved of her sons; when he is away, she yearns for his return, though equal mother of all the gods, called by her name Adityas (1, 65, 11, etc.). As Revatī she appears as a disease-goddess (3, 230, 29) and R makes Aditi's womb a refuge for Rāvaṇa (R 4, 1, 120), but her usual aspect is that of beneficent mother-goddess renowned more for her motherhood than anything else, though known also as having cooked food for the gods' success and as having lost her ear-rings, which were subsequently recovered from Naraka and given to Sūrya (3, 135, 3; ib. 307, 21). She presides over Punarvasu (R 1, 18, 8). As mother of gods she is opposed to Diti, mother of demons; both were wives of Kaśyapa. She is blessed by Brahman for her asceticism (13, 83, 27, called Mahādevī as mother of Viṣṇu). Her sons, the Ādityas, are eleven, twelve, or thirteen in number, according to various lists, but "the wise say, there are twelve of them" (3, 134, 19). S 1, 132, 49 emends B 123, 66 so as to agree with H 12911 f., thus omitting the odd thirteenth, caused by a desire to get Viṣṇu into the list. Elsewhere the later epic and H include others (Jayanta, etc.) as Adityas, and the genealogy calls Bṛhaspati by this title, but the last may be merely a parallel to 13, 62, 46, where good men are Ādityā iva tejasā bhuvi, that is "like gods" in general or "like suns". They are given by pairs (2, 11, 30) and the usual grouping is in conformity with this. Indra is the chief, and Viṣṇu, when mentioned, is "last but not least", ajaghanyo jaghanyajaḥ (H 594; 1, 65, 15 f.)[1]). They all come from the mundane egg in 1, 1, 34. They are all sons of Aditi Dākṣāyaṇī and Kaśyapa Prajāpati Mārīca; in H 11549, Indra heads the list and even Manu is an Āditya. In Śānti, they are said to be of warrior caste and Vivasvat Mārtaṇḍa is eighth (Vedic position) and father of the Aśvins (12, 208, 15 f.: cf. § 110). The names are chiefly those of sun-gods, Bhaga, Mitra, Savitṛ, Vivasvat, Pūṣan, Viṣṇu, together with the clan-god Aryaman, and the creator-god as Dhātṛ, Tvaṣṭṛ; the earliest grouping being: Dhātṛ and Aryaman, Mitra and Varuṇa, Aṃśa and Bhaga, Indra and Vivasvat, Pūṣan and Tvaṣṭṛ, Savitṛ (or Parjanya) and Viṣṇu. Aryaman's importance lies in his being chief of Pitṛs (6, 34, 29). Tvaṣṭṛ is artificer, yielding in dignity to Viśvakarman (with whom he is often confounded). He "made Sītā" and made Vṛtra (q. v. and 3, 274, 9), also Indra's bolt and Śiva's spear (see Indra and Śiva). A v. l. makes him adhirāja of Rudras (for rūpa, forms, 14, 43, 9). Nahuṣa sacrificed a cow to him (12, 269, 5 f.). Dhātṛ interchanges with Vidhātṛ and both with Brahman as creator. The two forms are as Viṣṇu under the titles kartā vikartā ca (3, 188, 19), Vidhātṛ also being treated as an independent Āditya (3, 125, 23). Dhātṛ establishes laws of life and of death, appoints good and ill, becomes Fate (§ 31), the disposer of disposition as of events ("Methinks I shall ever be as Dhātṛ may have disposed me", vidadhīta,

[1]) Here, however, the Ādityas are born direct from the flaming face of Vivasvat Prajāpati (H 593, as sun, Ādityā dvādaśai 've 'ha saṃbhūtā mukhasaṃbhavāḥ), Aditi being ignored altogether; as is the fact that they are thus born from one of themselves!

1, 89, 10). Dhātṛ makes and marks; for example, he makes a mole on a maiden's cheek as sign that she will be happy (3, 69, 7); all creatures are inscribed through their acts by Dhātṛ (abhilikhitāni, 11, 7, 12). In 1, 66, 50, Dhātṛ and Vidhātṛ are "sons of Brahman". Vidhātṛ tests in person a man's piety (see Śibi) and comes disguised to earth (3, 198, 25); generally a power rather than a person. Saṃvidhātṛ (vyadadhāt, 2, 67, 15) adds a new name equivalent to Vidhātṛ, meaning controller (as court-officer, comptroller). Lists of Ādityas will be found also in H 12911 and 14167f.; 13, 150, 14f. (H 12456 has only eleven; in H 11549, Viṣṇu has second place). Soma, śaśin, is Āditya, H 13143f., where "Parjanya" is paired with Mitra, and Tvaṣṭṛ = Viśvakarman. Jayanta in 13, 150, 15 may be Soma. Parjanya as "youngest of the Ādityas" (H 12498) might be Viṣṇu, but, as their "chief" also, is probably Indra. Compare H 175 and 593, and see below for Parjanya (§ 71), Sūrya (§ 38), and Viṣṇu (§ 143). The group of Ādityas crosses that of the Lokapālas (§ 91f.). This later group, as will be shown below, comprises the chief gods outside the triad of highest gods, but these chief gods are not yet recognised as the eight World-protectors of later mythology. In the following, however, they will be discussed in their later order. They differ from the group-gods to be discussed later in that they are individually important and only gradually form a group, whereas the group-gods (gaṇas) start as an organic group without individually important members and gradually develop members with special names and individuality. The Ādityas form the first division of the Thirty-three, whose other divisions will be noticed among the Gaṇa-gods (hosts of spirits by groups, §§ 111 and 112). Before taking up the first of the Lokapālas, who is the Āditya par excellence (the Sun), it will be necessary to say a few words in regard to synonymity in divine groups. Telang in his introduction to the Anugītā (SBE. 8, 219) thinks it doubtful whether, when Soma and Candramas are mentioned as presiding over tongue and mind respectively, they indicate the same god. As far as the epic is concerned, there can be no doubt that Soma = Candramas and Arka = Mitra. The fact that in the same passage Indra is differentiated from Maghavat in the same way shows that the author treats the same god as having different functions, not that he regards Maghavat as another god than Indra or Arka as another god from Mitra. Nor does it show (as the author also contends) that epic mythology is not far removed from Vedic "theogony", because the emancipated soul is identified with Viṣṇu, Mitra, Agni, Varuṇa, and Prajāpati, as gods "held in highest repute at that time". Such groups are casual; they are not carefully selected; they aim only at mentioning a few respectable high gods. The literary rather than scientific value of the phraseology is important. In one passage the first "lord" of lights is Indu; immediately after, the first "beginning" of lights (jyotiṣām in each case) is Āditya (14, 43, 6 and 44, 4). Candramas is here lord of Nakṣatras, but in many other passages this is Soma; while here again Soma is merely "lord of priests" (ib. 43, 10), just as the lord or chief of directions is the North and again is the East (ib. and 44, 13), and Soma again is lord of plants, while the lord of priests is Bṛhaspati. This does not mean that Soma = Bṛhaspati or that North = East, nor does divergence of functions in the same god as a type mean that the two names given represent different gods. All that can be maintained is that different aspects of a god are considered in one case and identical functions are ascribed to different gods in the other case. It is quite possible

that Mitra, Arka, and Sūrya represented different sides of the same god without differentiation sufficient to make these aspects different individuals. So Indra as Puraṃdara may not be taken as a different god but as the same god under a different aspect than that presented by his title Maghavat Indra. A third point remains. Soma is "king Soma", as Varuṇa and Yama are "kings"; but such titles are inherited from a remote past and do not in the least affect the divinity of those to whom such titles are applied.

V. THE EIGHT GREAT DEVAS.

§ 38. **The Sun-God.** — Sūrya (Helios), the Sun, is, as god, known under other names, which are synonymous as far as the epics are concerned. Āditya alone is the sun and one of the commonest designations of the sun-god. To this metronymic the epithet "day-maker" is sometimes added; ādityapatha = Divākarapatha or Bhāskarādhvan. A qualifying "thousand-rayed" or "ray-wreathed" is used alone or added to Āditya (7, 187, 1 f.; R 4, 39, 2, etc.) to designate the luminary (having fewer rays than the moon, q. v.). Pūṣan is recognised as the god kicked by Śiva, who also knocked out his teeth when Pūṣan was eating cakes at Dakṣa's sacrifice (7, 202, 49; ib. 59; 13, 161, 19), and as elder brother of Parjanya, and the lover of Sandhyā (Twilight, RG 5, 25, 27) in distinction from Suvarcalā, wife of Sūrya (ib. 26); but this last passage is not in the alternate text (it also makes Kriyā the wife of Brahman instead of Dharma as in 1, 66, 14, and Dīkṣā wife of Soma). In the former passage, Śiva as Hara Virūpākṣa is also Bhaganetrahara (1, 221, 8) or Bhagaghna (7, 202, 47), that is, Pūṣan is distinguished from Bhaga, as in the formal lists of Ādityas (§ 37) and in maṅgalas (so in 10, 18, 16, Śiva "put out the two eyes of Bhaga and broke the two arms of Savitṛ"). In the extended maṅgalas particularly, Pūṣan, Bhaga, and the Ādityas, are all mentioned separately (e. g. R 2, 25, 8—23), and as the arms of the cosmic giant are Dhātṛ and Vidhātṛ, so are his hands Bhaga and Pūṣan (R 7, 23, pra. 5, 22). But the identity of Pūṣan with the Sun-god remains, for he is the god who "shone in the wars of the gods and Asuras of old" (7, 105, 22) and the god who "goes, having a thousand rays, after warming the earth, to the western mountain at the close of day" (5, 179, 39). Savitṛ "on rising takes away the glory of the stars" (9, 32, 18; R 6, 12, 20 and 24, 21) and "the day-maker on rising takes away the glory of the heavenly lights". Sūrya is gavāṃ pati, and Arka (sun) is united with tejomayair gobhiḥ (R 1, 7, 22; cf. H 2943, gavāṃ guruḥ, and 3, 3, 52, gobhir bhāsayase mahīm), as he is apāṃ pati (cf. gopati of Varuṇa), who is "attacked by Rudra" (babhau Rudrābhipannasya yathā rūpaṃ gavāṃ pateḥ, R 6, 76, 93). The disc of Savitṛ (7, 38, 18) leaves no doubt in regard to the identity of Savitṛ, who "sets in the west" etc. (5, 75, 12; 12, 58, 22). Savitṛ is sarvalokaprabhāvana and vibhāvasu; in the east Savitṛ rises and sings the Sāvitrī, bestowing, as Sūrya, the Yajus-formulas (12, 319, 2 f.). The rising Illuminator destroys the Asuras (of darkness, 5, 108, 3 f.). Vibhāvasu is a common name of the sun (1, 86, 8, etc.). Other synonyms are Vivasvat, Ravi, Tapana (1, 68, 13; 111, 18; 171, 20; 3, 133, 10 f.; 6, 101, 51 f.; 8, 49, 42). Arka, Bhāskara, and Savitṛ are indeed sons of Dyaus (as if separate), but as the first two are epithets, the assertion simply shows how easily epithets become persons. Vivasvat (Savitṛ) is the husband of Tvāṣṭrī (daughter

of Tvaṣṭṛ), who under the form of a mare bore him in mid-air the two Aśvins (1, 66, 35). Ravi, the sun, is guarded by Aṅgiras as Indra is guarded by Dadhīci (3, 92, 6). Śiva, Indra, and the Sun-god all bear the title Deveśvara, "lord of gods" (2, 50, 16, bhāsi divi deveśvaro yathā). These names are also applied to demons and inferior spirits; Sūrya is an evil spirit; Bhaga is a Rudra; Vivasvat and Mitravat are evil demons; Arka is a Dānava. They probably represent a time when evil and good spirits were not absolutely differentiated, as indeed they are not in the epics, otherwise the maṅgala would not entreat "safety from all (other) gods and those that lurk around the path" to harm travellers (R 2, 25, 22). Sūrya is lord of the Grahas or seizing spirits (Arka, of heats, 14, 43, 6 and 8; R 7, 23, pra. 5, 3). Karṇa, son of Sūrya, is Sāvitra (1, 136, 3 and 8). Though formally identified with Sūrya (3, 3, 16), Bhaga is the sun especially as procreative power and as such his constellation, uttarā Phalgunī, is suitable for weddings (1, 8, 16; R 1, 72, 13 and R 7, 5, 34); the means of securing a husband's love and obedience is called yaśasyaṃ Bhagadaivatam (3, 233, 8, v. l. vedanam and vetanam), or Bhagādhānam (H 7013). For Mitra, see below, p. 89.

§ 39. The sub-divided sun includes the myth of Aruṇa, appointed to go before the sun on his rising, thus protecting the world from excessive heat. Brahman thus appoints him, to reassure the seers, but Aruṇa is son of Kaśyapa; he acts as charioteer of the sun (1, 24, 3f.). Hence Aruṇa and Garuḍa, who was brother of Aruṇa, are reckoned among the Ādityas. Aruṇa's wife is Śyenī (but Aruṇā is an Apsaras). Aruṇa is deformed. According to one tale, both brothers were born to avenge the Vālakhilya saints on Indra, who had insulted them (1, 31, 34; see § 12, Garuḍa). For 66000 years Aruṇa is preceded by 66000 saints, who, fallen from Brahman's heaven, go before Aruṇa to guard all creatures, until they enter the disc — of the moon! (6, 7, 30). Aruṇa is "like a red wheel", but the foregoer of the sun, at sight of whom all men begin to pray (7, 186, 3f.). He is father of Jaṭāyus, younger brother of the roc Sampāti (R 1, 1, 52; ib. 3, 14, 31). He, like Garuḍa, is Vainateya (son of Vinatā). Other sub-divisions of the sun amount to multiple suns marking the end of the world. At the time of universal dissolution, the twelve Ādityas appear as twelve suns (the sun is "twelve-souled", 3, 3, 26), of whom only Viṣṇu is eternal (3, 3, 59; 5, 181, 8; 13, 140, 34); though in reality ekaḥ sūryaḥ (3, 134, 8; 12, 352, 10), "the sun is one". Passages (3, 188, 67; ib. 190, 78) colored by Buddhistic thought speak of seven such suns. When it is said that the sun rains (Ādityāj jāyate vṛṣṭiḥ, 12, 264, 11), the process of gathering up the water and letting it out again is meant. The usual function of the sun is to drive away darkness and demons (from the gods in the sky as well as on earth, 3, 185, 30). At sunset he absorbs into himself all the glory of earth, even the light of flashing swords, and then all evil demons appear (6, 48, 114; 7, 50, 3; also 6, 86, 42). Light is goodness and the sun is superlative goodness, as all sinners are darkness (7, 146, 144; 14, 39, 14, Ādityaḥ sattvam udriktaṃ kucarās tu tathā tamaḥ). But there is a "sun of the sun" which supports earth and sky (5, 46, 3), a "sun that eats the sun", sūryādaḥ sūryaḥ, or, an "over-sun" without parts (God; 12, 319, 29; v. l. S 323, 29 and 42, atisūryas tu niṣkalaḥ). Yet this is not myth but philosophy. According to it, a bastard mythology makes sun and moon the eye (sic) of God (the sun lights, and the moon enlightens; as the mystic seems to say, 12, 343, 66). As "eyes of the world" the two

suffer eclipse (R 3, 66, 10). The sun has, besides light, a black part, pāda, or foot (cf. Viṣṇu as ekapād), which is that which absorbs water during eight months: "Vivasvat draws up water"; "eight months he drinks and then pours forth for four" (8, 79, 78; 12, 363, 5f.). In Sūrya, Ravi, Vivasvat, live the saints (Śānti, ib. 9; cf. R 6, 74, 60, sūryanibandhana). Even God is established on some of his rays (yasya tejoviśeṣeṣu svayam ātmā pratiṣṭhitaḥ). Vivasvat extends his two arms when a saint approaches to enter his disc, and reaching out his right hand welcomes him; then the glory of the saint becomes one with the glory of the sun (Śānti, ib. 16). The tapas, heat, of the sun is identified with the ardor of the saint (tasmāt sūryo virājate, 5, 46, 1). But the sun also slays. The warrior kills with arrows, "like Savitṛ" and "like Āditya" (6, 48, 34f.; 106, 78; R 5, 47, 9, and 15f.). To see the sun kabandhāṅka (R 3, 23, 11) i. e. with the appearance of a headless trunk (masses of clouds), is a bad omen. Epithets of the sun are regularly sahasraraśmi ("of a thousand rays") and, less often, gabhastiśatasaṃvṛta (7, 13, 26), probably "having hundreds of hands" (rays), but he eats with these rays as well as protects with them (3, 33, 71). As the twelvefold sun (above), Sūrya has one hundred thousand rays (12, 313, 4). The rays make a wreath about his head, mandamarīcimaṇḍalaḥ (S for mantra-, at 5, 182, 29; cf. mandaraśmiḥ sahasrāṃśuḥ, 7, 148, 24). He drives a monocycle, ekacakram, dragged by seven horses, which grow weary after the day's work (5, 46, 5; 6, 120, 53; 7, 189, 54; R 3, 71, 30). A divine (Viṣṇu) Nāga replaces them on one occasion for a month (12, 358, 8; 363, 1). His steeds carry him ten thousand leagues in half an hour (R 4, 42, 41) or three hundred and sixty-four leagues in one wink (S 1, 189, 19f. after B 173, 17). The sun, even as measured disc, is still called the "exalted bird". The measure of the sun is in accordance with the fact that the eclipse demon (Rāhu) devours sun and moon, so he must be the largest (also as circle) of the three. The circle of the demon is 12,000 leagues (diameter) by 42,000 leagues (circumference); that of the moon (larger than the sun) is 11,000 by 38,900 leagues; and that of the sun is 10,000 by 35,800 leagues (but "to those coming near he seems as large as earth", 6, 12, 40f.; R 4, 61, 13). Both Rāhu and the Sun are Mahāgrahas; Sūrya seizes the light of the moon, etc. Thus he is attacked by "cruel Mahāgrahas" (6, 76, 11), while reckoned as one of these (grahāḥ sūryādayaḥ, 3, 200, 85; cf. 8, 87, 4) evil planets.

§ 40. In all these references to the sun, though disc or bird or horse (see Agni) or bull, he is ever the god, never inanimate. He drinks, goes home, possesses hands, hair, etc., bestows wisdom, makes speeches, acts as a witness, etc. He has quite a family. His wife Suvarcalā (see Sandhyā above, loved by Pūṣan) is mentioned in 13, 146, 5; R 2, 30, 30; R 5, 24, 9, as a type of conjugal affection, his "devoted follower". As Suvarcalā is a plant it may be a sun-flower (heliotropic) myth which she represents. Older is the story of his espousals with Tvāṣṭrī (above). She is called Sureṇu and Saṃjñā, and, according to H 545f., bore to Vivasvat Manu Vaivasvata, Yama and Yamunā, but unable to endure her husband longer created a similar self, her shadow (Savarṇā Chāyā) and commissioned her to act as wife (she bore Sāvarṇa Manu, etc.). This Chāyā of H and the Purāṇas is not known in the epic, but S 1, 203, 34 cites Uṣā as wife of Sūrya (Uṣeva Sūryam, etc.). That Vivasvat became a horse and begot by Tvāṣṭrī the Aśvins is referred to in the epic and told in extenso in H (601, see above). Śanaiścara is said to be his son by Chāyā

in H (loc. cit.) and this legend with that of the future Manu is recognised in 12, 350, 55; cf. VP 3, 2, 4. Śanaiścara is the planet Saturn (the planets which appear to meet the Day-maker and Night-maker with especial pleasure are Śukra and Bṛhaspati, Venus and Jupiter, R 2, 99, 41). Sūrya's daughters are Suprajā, wife of Bhānu (3, 221, 9), and also (?) Śraddhā Vaivasvatī (12, 265, 8, perhaps identical with Sāvitrī, but N. says sāvitrī here is sā avitrī, "guardian and generatrix of pure birth"). The southern seer "Cakradhanus" is also called his son, "born of Sūrya" (5, 109, 17), the South being called the quarter given by Vivasvat as dakṣiṇā (ib. to his Guru, sc. Kaśyapa, ib. 1); the text says: vidur yaṃ Kapilaṃ devam, "whom (Cakradhanus) they know as the divine Kapila" (ib.). Kapila is a name of the sun (3, 3, 24), as well as of Viṣṇu (3, 47, 18), and the Kāpilas (Sāṅkhyas) are a sect especially favored by the sun (below). In R 1, 17, 9; ib. 5, 62, 36, etc., Sugrīva, uncle of Dadhimukha, who has the honey-grove, is "begotten of Tapana", "the son of him of a thousand rays", Sūryātman, "born of Sūrya's self" (R 4, 14, 22) and at death he enters the disc of the Sun (R 7, 110, 22). Other sons of the Sun, who return into their father at death, are the apes Śveta and Jyotirmukha (R 6, 30, 33).

§ 41. Sāvitrī, given in marriage by her father the Sun to Brahman (3, 110, 26; S 4, 22, 11; 13, 169, 9), is the "mother of the Vedas", the recitation of which divine being as verses purifies from sin (3, 200, 83 and 12, 35, 37), a thorough identification of the verse and goddess (japan devīṃ vedamātaram). As goddess she is attendant on Pārvatī (3, 231, 49). She appears to king Aśvapati (who, to get children, had worshipped her for eighteen years with Mantras and ten thousand fire-oblations daily, eating only at the sixth meal-time), and in person, rūpiṇī, promises him a daughter, "glorious Sāvitrī", whose story of devotion to her husband is known to both epics (1, 241, 48; 3, 293, 10f.; R 2, 30, 6 and ib. 118, 10). The goddess intercedes with her husband to have the boon granted; she has "divine ear-rings which she gave for a priest", and so got to heaven (12, 235, 24). She saves from difficulties, durgataraṇī, and as such abides in the palace of Brahman (2, 11, 34). She is both the mother of the Vedas (whom "she does not desert", 3, 81, 5) and the mother of the initiated regenerate (3, 100, 34; cf. Manu 2, 29 and 170). As a dramatic figure she blesses a Paippalādi priest, a Kauśika, and announces a discussion between Time, Death, and Yama, who as "son of the Sun" (12, 196, 6 and 199, 1 f.) is called Sūryaputra and Vaivasvata (the former being applied also to Saturn and the Aśvins). The mark of Sāvitrī's foot is still visible at the Udyanta mountain (where too is the yonidvāra, but the allusion is lost, 3, 84, 93 f.). Sāvitrī, as all knowledge, seems to be differentiated from Gāyatrī: "Sāvitrī is first of knowledges and is all (spoken), as Prajāpati is first of the gods, as Gāyatrī is first of metres" (14, 44, 5 f.).

§ 42. Several stories are told of Sūrya, whose southern limit was set for him by Manu Sāvarṇi and the son of Yavakrīta (5, 109, 11). When Mt. Vindhya is angry with him (see § 6), Sūrya says: "Not by my own will do I revere Meru. My path is laid out for me by those who made the universe" (3, 104, 5). The daughter of the saint Harimedhas, Dhvajavatī, was once estopped from further flight through the western sky by the command of Sūrya, who twice commanded her to "stand still", and she stood still (5, 110, 13). The sun burns Jaṭāyus' feathers (R 4, 58, 4), but it is not said that this is due to anger. In the Anuśāsana, however, Sūrya burns the wife of Jamadagni and being threatened by the saint disguises

himself as a priest and reproaches Jamadagni for trying to shoot the Day-maker, who is a benefactor, providing food by "raining on the seven continents" (13, 95, 18f.). Jamadagni replies that at noon the sun stands still for half a wink and at that instant he is resolved to shoot. His anger is averted by supplication, however, and as a reward for his leniency Sūrya gives Jamadagni shoes and an umbrella, which first introduced this sun-guard to man (ib. 96, 6 and 14). In a late passage, R 7, 23, pra. 2, the sun declines to fight Rāvaṇa. His door-keepers are here (vs. 9) Piṅgala and Daṇḍin, and he is called Āditya, Sūrya, Ravi, Ādideva, lord, Mārtaṇḍa, "witness of the world", "he of the seven steeds", "maker of day" (and of light), and described as adorned with ear-rings and bracelets, smeared with sandal paste, with yawning mouth and a thousand gleaming rays. The reason he gives for not fighting is that he "cannot spare the time" (nā 'haṃ kālakṣipaṃ sahe). As "witness of the world" the Sun sees all that is done and "with his heavenly eye" watches the rape of Sītā, being so shocked that he loses light (R 3, 52, 13). Rāma calls on him to tell where Sītā is gone, addressing him (Āditya bho lokakṛtākṛtajña) as one who knows what is done and not done, witness of actions true and false (R 3, 63, 16). A very late passage called "the mystery of Citragupta" also makes the sun the witness of all man's acts, but as witness the god here recounts it all to the judge of the dead. At Parvan time what a man does goes to the sun, and if he has been generous and given lamps to priests, then, as he goes through hell's darkness, the gods of light, Moon, Sun, and Fire, lend him light to see. The "mystery" ends, not very apropos, with the hearer, who is Vibhāvasu himself, saying: "This is the mystery of Citragupta; the five worst sinners are he who kills a cow, or a priest; an adulterer; an unbeliever; and he who lives on his wife. These five are avoided by gods and Manes and will live in hell on pus" (13, 130, 17f.; see Yama). The sun will not hurt Rāma because he knows him (R 2, 44, 8). He upholds right but, as general benefactor, "Sūrya shines upon the good and the wicked" (12, 73, 24). Like Wind, Fire, and "the mothers of the worlds, the cows, who are deities among men", Sūrya is also said to be born of Brahman ("son of the Self-existent"), and as a divinity he must not be offended; one must not urinate against the sun nor look at him rising, etc. (as in the law-books, 13, 125, 64; cf. ib. 60 and 62, and 12, 193, 17 and 24, na meheta; 13, 104, 17). He who offends thus against Ravi, Bhānumat, lives eighty-six years in hell. In R 2, 75, 21, sūryaṃ ca pratimehatu is a curse, parallel (cf. AV. 13, 1, 56) to "may he kick a sleeping cow". Sūrya comes when called by a magic formula of Kuntī, yellow as honey, great-armed, wearing bracelets and diadem (3, 306, 10) and "making his body twofold, on earth and in the sky" begets Karṇa by mystic Yoga-power, who was born with radiant armor and ear-rings. He visits this son in a vision and gives him advice (3, 300, 6f.). He is here the beneficent god of a thousand rays, Bhānu, conqueror of Rāhu (Svarbhānusūdana, 3, 302, 18 and 20). When Karṇa dies, the sun, bhakta, devoted do him, bathes in the western ocean to purify himself (8, 94, 30). Aditi (§ 37) gives him the ear-rings (3, 307, 18f.). The story of Karṇa forms the basis of some of the strongest scenes in the epic and is often referred to (12, 6, 6 and 15, 30, 9). It is possible that Karṇa himself ("son of the bull") represents the sun. He is called Vaikartana from his cutting off the armor, and to distinguish him from the son of Dhṛtarāṣṭra (1, 67, 95). His death at the hands of (Indra as) Arjuna

might point to a sun and storm myth. His family is the object of special regard on the part of the god, who gives Kuntī a copper dish of inexhaustible food (origin of the grail according to Prof. von Schroeder) and saves Kṛṣṇā from the amorous Kīcaka by giving her a demon guardian, Rakṣo rakṣārtham (3, 3, 72; ib. 262, 2; and 263, 21; 4, 15, 20). The ancestor of the Kurus called Saṃvaraṇa is a devout sun-worshipper, and his name is a personification of the veiling surrounding the sun, while his wife Tapatī is "daughter of Tapana". She is a younger sister of Sāvitrī and is born of Tapana Sūrya (1, 171, 6), and is formally bestowed upon Saṃvaraṇa by Vivasvat (1, 173, 18f.). According to 1, 1, 44f., the Kurus, Yadus, and Bharatas are descendants of the divine beings called (Daśajyoti, etc.) Ten-, Hundred-, and Thousand-light, sons of Subhrāj, son of Devabhrāj and grandson of Sahya (v. l. Manu), the youngest Vivasvat (Dyaus' son). Kuru is son of Tapatī Saurī, hence Tāpatyas as metronymic of the family. At 1, 189, 19, the priest Vasiṣṭha in S goes a niyuta of leagues upward to intercede for Saṃvaraṇa as suitor of Tapatī and here, in a brief hymn to Bhāskara Vivasvat, the god has the (Viṣṇu) epithets sahasracakṣus, trayīmaya, and Viriñcanārāyaṇaśaṅkarātman, a hymn approved by the sun, who said it should be muttered by all the faithful (ib. 24f., japyā bhaktānām). "Thousand-eyed" is an epithet of Viṣṇu and of Indra in other places; it here stands for the usual "Thousand-rayed". Haridaśva and Haryaśva are both sun-names (R 6, 107, 11f.).

§ 43. All the hymns to the sun are late, as shown by internal evidence. They may be due to a recrudescence, perhaps political in origin, of this cult. But even in the older texts mention is made of the ascetic Ūrdhvabāhus, who stand with arms up-stretched (R 2, 95, 7, beside the river Mandākinī), as does Saṃvaraṇa (1, 173, 12, ūrdhvamukhaḥ). The Pāñcarātras derive their doctrines from the sun himself (12, 340, 120), and they number 66,000 or (v. l.) 88,000 (but both numbers are conventional; the larger number in S). In the camp of the Pāṇḍus there were "a thousand and eight others who were Sauras" (7, 82, 16). That many worshipped the sun particularly, may be seen from the names of the Kurus' battle-friends, Sūryadhvaja, Rocamāna, Aṃśumat (etc., 1, 186, 10f.; Sūryadatta, 4, 31, 15). There was also a "secret Veda of the sun" taught to Arvāvasu (3, 138, 18f.). The Bhāgavatas identical with the Kāpilas have a doctrine taught Sarasvatī by the sun (12, 319, 6f.; ib. 302, 54 and 85; ib. 345, 14f.; 349, 3 and 57). R 6, 107 = Bomb. 105 (106) has one of these late hymns, introduced as a hoc signo vinces, but not found in the Bengal text. The sun is here identified with all the gods, including those of the Trimūrti; he is the bird, of a thousand flames, of seven steeds, saptasapti, the golden germ, twelve-souled, maker of all, witness of the world, devadeva, soul of all gods, destroyer and maker of the world. Compare yugāntasūrya for the usual yugāntāgni (R 5, 37, 65). The Mbh. describes the sun on the occasion of the gift of the food-vessel and then cites a hymn, first uttered by Brahman to Indra, and told to Nārada, who gives it to Dhaumya. He first gives the names of the sun, reckoned as one hundred and eight (3, 3, 5f.). In S, the names follow the hymn. The lists of names differ, and in neither text are there the stated numbers (nāmāṣṭaśatam). Here the Sun is Victory, Jaya, and especially the refuge of the Kāpilas (Sāṅkhyas); he illumines with his rays (gobhiḥ) the thirteen continents; he is lord of Manus and of Manvantaras; as twelve suns he dries the ocean; he is Indra, Rudra, Viṣṇu, Prajāpati, Agni,

Brahman, the goose (haṃsa), Vṛṣākapi, Vivasvat, and inter alios Mitra and Mihira. The last (Persian) name gives the approximate period to which the hymn belongs, evidently that of the Pāñcarātras also. The sun is also Bhūtātman (S) and is to be worshipped with loving devotion, bhakti, especially on the sixth or seventh day. His adorers, believing in his love (tvadbhāvabhaktāḥ), will live long. His followers, who clasp his feet, are Māṭhara (3, 3, 68; cf. 12, 293, 8, another late touch), Aruṇa, Daṇḍa (aśanikṣubha, as lightning?), the divine mothers (cf. the Saurā Mātṛs of 9, 46, 38), Maitrī and Kṣubh (Love and Harm?), and the mothers of the Bhūts. Among his noticeable epithets here are alolupa (epithet of Śiva, free from passion), the sacred fig-tree, Kapila, the divine physician Dhanvantari, "door of heaven", and different divisions of time and fire. S has Vaiśravaṇo, v. l. for vai Varuṇo (error for Vaiśvānara?), devakartā for dehakartā, etc. and adds as epithet, maṇiḥ suvarṇaḥ, which refers to the maṇiḥ śuddhaḥ or "pure gem", supposed to drink the rays of the sun (12, 299, 12). It is once referred to under its usual later name sūryakānta (12, 218, 29). Mitra has lost his individuality in the epics except in the late (Uttara) tale of his quarrel with Varuṇa (§ 59f.). The name is that of a Marut in H 11545. Mitrasena, Mitrabāhu, and other Mitra-names appear in Kṛṣṇa's family (H 9186, etc.). Many of the epic data are Vedic tradition, the sun as rain-giver, lord of cows, demon-dispeller, father of Yama, etc., but others are found only in the hymns, the pseudo-epic, Hariv., and Purāṇas. As philosophical adhidaivatam, Mitra and Arka appear differentiated from Sūrya (12, 314, 2 = 14, 42, 26, and 43, 7); also here as neuter, Mitram (14, 21, 4). The perfected saint of the same (perhaps antique) range of thought is identified severally with Viṣṇu, Mitra, Varuṇa, Agni, Prajāpati, Dhātṛ, and Vidhātṛ (ib. 42, 65). Sons "like Mitra and Varuṇa" (1, 105, 41, etc.) are promised a devotee, i. e. sons of special glory. On a group of "Mitra" gods see § 50. For Mitra as war-god, see Varuṇa, § 59.

§ 44. **The Moon-God.** — Never a god of much importance in India, save as it mystically represented the yellow Soma plant whose name it assumed, the epic Moon-god remains much more restricted than its rival luminary, though it is supposed as a heavenly body to be higher (in space), larger, and better endowed with rays (1, 18, 34; R 7, 23, pra. 4, 16). It belongs probably to a lower class than does the Āditya sun, for it is one of the group of eight Vasus (1, 66, 19), three of whom, Moon, Wind, and Fire, are retained in the epic list of these pre-epic deities. Only late lists (§ 37) of Ādityas include Soma. The moon is of course never aught than a god (husband of Dīkṣā, § 38), yet it is generally referred to rather as delighter of eyes and hearts, a gleaming luna candida, Candra, Candramas, than as a god; that is, its gentle beauty and cool light (1, 177, 40) are regarded. It is physical, as in the figures, "the child crying for the moon", (R 3, 47, 41), "hard to touch as the moon", the nocturnal phenomenal body, rajanīcara, rather than the divinity is implied (4, 14, 51; 5, 130, 37f.). Compare 8, 39, 16, where candraṃ jighṛkṣuḥ is parallel to a "frog croaking at a rain-cloud". In this sense also śaśāṅka (marked with a hare) and śaśin is generally used. Thus Karṇa is śaśīva divi (3, 301, 12), "like the moon in a cloudless sky" (Viśākhayor madhyagataḥ), that is, the physical moon shining between two stars with which his ear-rings are compared (cf. 8, 20, 48), describes Karṇa. For Candra, cf. the use in 7, 16, 54, citre rathe . . babhāse nakṣatracitre viyatī 'va candraḥ. So Citrayā Candramā iva (R 3, 17, 4). It is

Candra that is "like a white goose in the blue lake of the sky" (R 5, 2, 58, etc.) When speaking of the sickle of the moon and of the moon increasing in the bright half of the month, this is the word usually employed (Candra, or Śaśin, not Soma), though there are exceptions, and when Somasuta is described, naturally sahasrasomapratimaḥ is preferred (7, 23, 29); also a saumya (gentle) king is likened to Soma (passim). Besides Candra, Śaśāṅka, and Soma, the moon is called Uḍurāj, Uḍupa(ti), "water-lord" (boat?), and Indu = Soma(drop), besides names which are periphrases, Night-wanderer, Water-born, King of Stars, Cool of Ray, etc. In R 5, 16, 31, naikasahasraraśmi is the moon. Soma as a fighting god is almost forgotten. Indeed it is said that though he once had a bow and a war-chariot he gave them away to Indra (1, 225, 4f.). His not very reputable exploit of raping Tārā, the star-wife of Bṛhaspati (Jupiter), brought on the Tārakāmaya war, which is frequently alluded to as an event of the long ago. The son born of this pair was Budha (Mercury). Soma stands here on the side of Uśanas (Venus), the star-priest of demons, of Rudra, and of the demons themselves. As far as the later epic story goes, Budha is son of Soma and Tārā (H 1340), not the son of Rohiṇī (R 3, 49, 16), the favorite wife of Soma. Dakṣa gave the twenty-seven stars of the lunar zodiac (his daughters) to Soma. The remaining twenty-six objected to Soma's partiality for Rohiṇī, and Dakṣa, after warning him three times, cursed him to have yakṣman, consumption, which still causes his monthly consumption, though by bathing in the Sarasvatī (where it joins ocean at Prabhāsa), and by worshipping Deveśa, Soma recovered. Yet he has to keep up the remedy, "drinking there the six essences of Varuṇa", to ensure health. As Soma is "lord of plants" and as the gods depend on vegetable offerings, his decline devastated the world and frightened the gods, so that they interceded for him (1, 66, 17; 9, 35, 43f.). The star-wives are here Yoginīs, engaged "in time and weather". He is called here Soma, Candra, Uḍupati (Uḍurāj in 5, 34, 55). This curse is alluded to in Manu 9, 314, as in the epic 12, 344, 57 ("consumption came upon King Soma through the curse of Dakṣa"). The Moon is lord of lotuses, kumudanātha, and his crescent, the boat (uḍupa), is the type of female loveliness, as the full moon ("the quiver of Love"; cf. the Jain Kalpa-Sūtra, 38) is the image of a beauty (smaraśarāsanapūrṇasamaprabhaḥ, 7, 184, 46f.). Urvaśī (e. g.) is candralekheva (3, 46, 15). The moon has a mark, lakṣman (7, 2, 5), which is jagat, the earth (shadow, see H, below), though "men see it without knowing it" (12, 203, 8). As lord of plants, the Moon restores to them the moisture taken from them by the sun (12, 52, 33). Soma also is the "king of priests" (5, 111, 8; 12, 79, 13), and delights the Fathers with ambrosia in the dark half, the gods in the bright half of the month (12, 47, 39). He is "water-born Soma, and grahagaṇeśvara; without him is nothing produced" (nīrajātena hi vinā na kiṃ cit saṃpravartate, 13, 67, 11f.). As benefactor of men he lives with cows in the world of Brahman (ib. 66, 38). In H 1330, he is ruler of waters.

§ 45. Soma is son of Atri, the seer who had power over the sun, not ineptly selected, though rather late, by the genealogists, who wished to assure equal dignity for the parvenu Moon-race with that long claimed by the solar dynasty. In 7, 144, 4f.; 12, 208, 9, and probably in 13, 155, 12 (by inference), Soma's father is thus made out to be Atri, the line being then confirmed in Hariv. and Purāṇas. But the early epic does not know this derivation, making Soma rise at the churning of the ocean (1, 18, 35)

or appear as son of Prajāpati and Śvāsā (also later of Aditi). The anvavāya, however, is eventually established as Brahman-Atri-Soma-Budha-Aila, etc. In 9, 43, 47, Atri is the hotṛ (priest) of Soma at the god's Tīrtha (cf. his āśraya in 3, 84, 157, which Budha visits), but this may imply what the same expression has in expanded form at H 1311 and 1334: "Soma the Rājarāj (whose car is drawn by a thousand horses) was son of Atri, born of his tears, and Atri was his hotṛ". Yayāti is "sixth from Soma" and Soma alone is called the Prajāpati of the Kurus (5, 149, 3), as if the Atri legend were still unknown. Atri became the moon and sun (to rescue them and the other gods) in the legend of 13, 157, 7f., when they were afflicted by Rāhu. H 8811 has Budha as father of Purūravas and, ib. 629f., gives the story of Budha in relation to Ilā, related also R 7, 87, 3f. Ila was exposed to the female power and became female, but was permitted by Umā to be man one month and woman the next. Budha saw Ilā (as woman) and after turning her female companions into Kiṃpuruṣīs became by her the father of Purūravas (Ilā feminine is Manu's daughter and so of solar origin). Soma's daughter Bhadrā was given by Atri to Utathya and then stolen by Varuṇa (q. v.; 13, 155, 12). His daughter Jyotsnākālī married Varuṇa's son Puṣkara (5, 98, 12). In the Mbh. heroic genealogy, Varcas, part of Soma, becomes Abhimanyu (lives sixteen years, corresponding to the sixteen days of the bright moon); and in Rām. Dadhivaktra or Dadhimukha is begotten by Soma (1, 67, 114f.; 18, 5, 18; R 5, 61, 9f.; ib. 6, 30, 23, saumyaḥ Somātmajaḥ). Soma is identified with Agni (12, 342, 59). With Agni and Vāyu he receives the fruit of Rāma's merit (R 2, 109, 28). See also under Indra. He acts as witness with sun and wind and other gods (see Vāyu and Agni) and unites with Yama in fearing a saint (1, 71, 39), but apart from Yama (here and in Śrāddhas) he is an isolated god, though perfunctorily serving as giver of blessings and hence perhaps having a shrine in a hermitage (R 2, 91, 20; ib. 3, 12, 17f.), since his special business is to prepare food, being "lord of plants" (5, 156, 12; 13, 98, 17, "Soma's self in various ways produced on earth"); whence his peculiar province is taste, as the Sun's is sight and Wind's is touch (rasajñāne, 14, 43, 30; cf. above on the moon's making moisture in plants, and 1, 227, 2, Candramas makes fog). In 3, 57, 37, annarasa as a gift of Yama might revert to the lunar quality of the god. Like other gods the Moon has his earthly place (apart from Tīrthas, above), which appears as a mountain north of the Northern Kurus, "hard even for gods to reach" (Somagiri, R 4, 43, 57f.; perhaps in 13, 166, 33 the same "sunless land beside the northern sea" is meant; H 12413, Saumyagiri, is imitation of the description in R). In R 4, 42, 14, Somagiri (at the mouth of the Indus) has v. l. Hemagiri (S). Somā and Somadā are names of Apsaras and female Gandharvī (§ 93f.). For the moon as a gentle form and as diadem of Śiva, see § 155f. His asterism is Mṛgaśiras (13, 64, 7, gifts according to asterisms). The moon has sixteen parts, only one of which remains intact; the others increasing and decreasing (12, 305, 3, image of jīva, one sixteenth pure soul). All Parvan days are sacred; on days of new and full moon especially one must be chaste (13, 104, 89); the seventh day the moon is very bright (11, 19, 8) and almost consumed on the fourteenth (ib. 21, 13, saptamyām iva; caturdaśāhe, of the dark half, na prītikaraḥ śaśī).

§ 46. The moon disappears but is not lost, and so it is the same soul which reappears with a new body, as the moon reappears encom-

passed with stars (12, 203, 15f., amāvāsyām aliṅgatvān na dṛśyate). As a good god the moon is tamisrahan, and tamo nighnan, destroying darkness, "with the help of Budha and Śukra" (7, 84, 20). Candra Śaśāṅka destroys evil, rising like a horned bull with a hump, like an elephant with a gold-bound tusk, like a haṃsa in a silver cage, etc. (R 5, 5, 1f.). The effect on the ocean of the moon's power is a trite simile (e. g. 6, 58, 32; 7, 172, 35). Gifts at the full moon or on the twelfth day increase "Soma and ocean"; Soma grants all his wishes who gives ghee and grain to the priests (ib. 8); the same increase of Soma and ocean is produced by a bali of rice and honey offered to the rising full moon in a dish of udumbara wood (ib. 134, 6). The moon is lokakānta, beloved, though fading (R 2, 19, 32), but reviving on the day of the new moon after the fourteenth of the dark half (R 6, 93, 65). The moon-stone candrakānta is comparable to the sun-stone and as rarely mentioned (Rāma's face is fair as the candrakānta, R 2, 3, 28, atīvapriyadarśanam). In R 7, 102, 6f., a town is so named. This stone is made of moon-beams. In the bright half of the month Pauṣa, when Rohiṇī is in conjunction, one should bathe and lie in the open, half naked, and drink moon-beams (Somasya raśmayaḥ pītvā, 13, 126, 49). The next section gives rites and prohibitions for different phases of the moon (the rite of the lunar day is taithika, ib. 12). Not to cut a tree or chew a toothpick on the new moon's day benefits Candramas (Soma). The connection with the Pitṛs (§ 15) is here close; it is they who are afflicted by the chewing of the toothpick (ib. 4). The rule, however, is ascribed to the authority of the Sun-god (the Pauṣamāsa rite, to Brahman) and is actually found in the law-book of Viṣṇu (61, 17). The Candravrata or moon-vow (ascribed to Bhīṣma) is not the cāndrāyaṇa of the law-books. It should be undertaken in the month Mārgaśīrṣa, when the moon, candra, is joined with the asterism Mūla: "When his feet are joined with Mūla, Rohiṇī in his calf, his knees in Aśvinī, his thighs in the two Aṣāḍhās, when his rump is Phālgunī, his waist Kṛttikā, his navel in Bhādrapada, the eye-circle in Revatī, back and front in Dhaniṣṭhāḥ and Anurādhā, his arms the Viśākhāḥ, the hands in Hasta, when his fingers are Punarvasu, his nails in Āśleṣā, neck in Jyeṣṭhā, ears in Śravaṇa, mouth in Puṣya, lips (teeth) are Svāti, his laugh Śatabhiṣā, his nose Maghā, his eyes Mṛgaśiras, Mitra in his forehead, his head in Bharaṇī, and his hair is Ārdrā" (13, 110, 3f.). As the moon is full on the night of the full moon, so will he become full-limbed who performs this rite, which assures beauty and good fortune to the performer and also the "luck of knowledge" (ib. 10). The rite consists in gifts to the priest as well as in making the identifications, limb by limb (Mitra in vs. 8, lalāṭe mitram eva ca, is for Citrā). The chief reason for the Moon-god's importance is his influence over the Fathers (see the "Fathers' Path" and Pitṛs and Yama). As a god he has a vehicle drawn by sixteen (perhaps) or a thousand steeds (cf. H 1321, and 12, 37, 33, where a king drawn by sixteen horses is like god Soma mounting his ambrosial car, amṛtamayaṃ ratham . . tārakārājaḥ). R 7, 23, pra. 3 and 4, 29, says that the world of Candramas is above the seven worlds of wind, but the passage is late, describing how Rāvaṇa attacked the world till Brahman intervened, giving Rāvaṇa a Mantra for the hour of death, which he is to mutter as he grasps his rosary, akṣasūtra, yet it is interesting as distinguishing the Somaloka (where Rāvaṇa's father Parvata tells him of the local saints and the fiend fights Māṃdhātṛ) from the world of Can-

dramas above the seven wind-worlds (Soma and Candramas here quite distinct). So 14, 43, 6f. Candramas is lord of Nakṣatras (as Sūrya is of planets) and Soma is lord of plants (Soma is the moon-plant). Soma as ambrosia raped by Garuḍa (§ 12) and as the divine sacrificial plant has its own position as usual. To sell Soma would not be wrong if one had the higher knowledge in reference to it, though usually it would be a sin (tattvaṃ jñātvā tu somasya vikrayaḥ syād adoṣavān, 12, 34, 31). The pūtikā-plant may be substituted for Soma, and so a month or day for a year (3, 35, 33 and 52, 23f.). Pressing of Soma and Soma-sacrifice are assumed as common meritorious actions. The Nakṣatras are both the wives of the god Soma (as Moon) and also the general stars of which he is Nakṣatrarāj (3, 237, 11), and Nakṣatramārga is Suravīthi, perhaps the Milky Way or path by which the dead go (7, 192, 72 and 3, 43, 12). Nakṣatranemi is both Moon and Viṣṇu (who is Nakṣatrin), and the best of Nakṣatras is Śaśin the moon (6, 34, 21). The Nakṣatras are personal attendants of higher beings (Śiva, etc.), suffering and enjoying Karma-fruit like other beings (5, 29, 15). Nakṣatradakṣiṇās offered by Gaya (nakṣatreṣu) were probable given to the special stars of the lunar zodiac (7, 66, 10). Asterisms unsuitable for Śrāddhas are Proṣṭhapadas, Āgneya, that of one's birth, any evil or hostile (dāruṇa, pratyari) asterism, and any forbidden in astrology (jyotiṣe, 13, 104, 127f.). Āgneya is Kṛttikāḥ. The list as given in 13, 64, 5f., is as follows: Kṛttikāḥ (Āgneya), Rohiṇī, Somadaivata (Mṛgaśiras, later the fifth), Ārdrā, Punarvasu, Puṣya (Tiṣya), Āśleṣā, Maghāḥ, Phalgunī (pūrvā, uttarā), Hasta, Citrā (as twelfth, earlier the fourteenth), Svāti, Viśākhā, Anurādhāḥ, Jyeṣṭhā, Mūla, Aṣāḍhāḥ (pūrvāḥ, uttarāḥ), Abhijit, Śravaṇa, Dhaniṣṭhāḥ (earlier Śraviṣṭhā), Śatabhiṣā, Bhādrapadāḥ (pūrvā, uttarāyoga), Revatī, Aśvinī, Bharaṇyaḥ (pl.), as twenty-eighth. Mṛgaśiras is called (ib. 89, 3) Mṛgottama; Śatabhiṣā is called Vāruṇa (ib. 12); Proṣṭha = Bhādrapadāḥ (pūrvāḥ, uttarāḥ, ib. 13); like Bharaṇyaḥ is Aśvinyaḥ (pl.) in vs. 14. One should not point out Nakṣatras nor tell the tithi pakṣasya (13, 104, 38). Excluded inter alios from Śrāddhas are kuśīlava, devalaka, and "he who lives by stars", nakṣatrair yaś ca jīvati (13, 90, 11, an astrologer). Lunar omens are rare. To see the full moon with broken light on the right is unlucky, but the same is true of a lamp, and the broken light is the important factor (portends death, 12, 318, 9). When Soma enters the sun (at the time of new moon), the gods are fighting Asuras (3, 224, 11f.). See Anumati, Rākā, etc., as phases of the moon under Agni (Aṅgiras). For the moon as representing mind, see § 37, Candramas. While the adventures of the Moon are few and unimportant in the real epic, the tale of his rape of Tārā and consumption being almost all told of him as a hero, the Purāṇas give more details of his equipment (ten steeds, three-wheeled car, not in epics) and even Harivaṃśa rather delights to exploit him as a warrior (as well as the calf of sacrifice, H 369, see Kubera), a fact probably not unconnected with the desire of the lunar dynasty to see its progenitor exalted, as Soma even becomes a name of Śiva and Viṣṇu (H 7581 and 2382). Here Soma is dvijeśvara; "his body is marked with the elephant's shadow", gajacchāyā (2476); he is first invoked to fight against the demons (2584f., has lokacchāyāmayaṃ lakṣma), and uses his "weapon of cold" (as Varuṇa aids him with water) against the fire of Maya; also fights against Śambara (13440f.), when Bhaga retires defeated, etc. The most elaborate description of the moon (R 5, 5) is also late, but this is poetical rather than

mythological exaggeration. For Soma and Agni, see § 52. It is possible that Trita may represent the moon. He is cast into a pit and curses his brothers to become wolves, but is rescued by prayer (cf. for interpretation as the moon on the third day of conjunction, Siecke, Drachenkämpfe, p. 21); but the epic version does not reflect any such origin. The three brothers are here sages who report the monotheistic cult of the White Islanders (12, 336). They are "sun-like in glory" and called sons of Gautama (9, 36, 10).

§ 47. **The Wind-God.** — He is called Vāyu, Vāta, Māruta, Anila; or, as purifyer, Pavana; as forceful, Prabhañjana; as bearer of odors, Gandhavaha; as constantly in motion, Satataga and Sadāgati; he has too a venerable title of unknown meaning, Mātariśvan, and as messenger of Indra he is Vāsavadūta. As indicated by the last title, he is closely connected with Indra, whose messenger and servant he is, though in other respects he appears as a mighty independent divinity, associated especially with his friend (son) Agni (see Indra and Agni). Often the names are used as if no divine being were in mind but only the physical phenomenon (if this is ever true), and then vāyu or vāta are preferred, whereas for the god quâ god Māruta is the favorite name. Compare "horses swift as thought or wind" (vāyu, 1, 225, 11); "clouds mixed with wind" (miśravāta, 7, 95, 7); "like a rotten old tree felled by the wind" (vātarugṇa, 3, 16, 20); the whirlwind is viṣvagvāta (7, 46, 10). Yet all the names interchange rather freely. Māruti is in one epic Bhīma, "son of Vāyu" whose "power derives from Mātariśvan" (1, 1, 114; 2, 24, 4), "son of Prabhañjana" and "like Vāta" by nature (1, 67, 111, etc.); in the other, Vāyusuta Hanumat, Vātātmaja, (R 4, 37, 16; R 5, 9, 31 f.; R 6, 28, 10) and Gandhavahātmaja (R 6, 74, 70). Vāta teaches Arjuna the use of arms (1, 165, 12); to Vāta is addressed the wail of Rāma: vāhi Vāta yataḥ kāntā, tāṃ spṛṣṭvā māṃ api spṛśa (R 6, 5, 6). A sportive Vāyu or Māruta may raise the dust and plays with trees (R 3, 23, 12 and 14; ib. 4, 1, 12 f.). As a Marut, Vāyu is the only one to "have great fame" in the sky, the other Maruts being distributed, one in the world of Indra, one with Brahman, and four in the four directions as followers of Indra, probably those in the "army of Maruts surrounding Indra" (R 1, 47, 5 and R 4, 64, 14). As independent gods their blessing is sought with that of other gods (R 2, 25, 8). Vāyu (Vāta) is the friend of Agni and helps him (1, 223, 78; 227, 14; 228, 40). The hosts of Maruts in the story of Maṅkaṇaka, progenitors of the Maruts, are called Vāyuvega (cf. Vātavega, son of Garuḍa), Vāyubala, Vāyuhan, Vāyumaṇḍala, Vāyujvāla, Vāyuretas, and Vāyucakra (9, 38, 36 f.). The Māruta world or "world of the seven Maruts" (13, 107, 111; cf. ib. 80 f.; ib. 95 and 126 f.) and the allusion to the wind "pleasant, cool, and fragrant", which (or who) carries perfected saints to heaven, nabhasaḥ paramāṃ gatim, as the "best of seven Maruts" (12, 302, 75), show that the usual conception is that of seven winds. This agrees with the seven Prāṇas (ib. 27, etc.) in the metaphysical interpretation of breaths (winds), though they are distinguished from "mighty eight-souled Vāyu". This eightfold Vāyu, like the twelve-souled Sun, appears at the general dissolution of the world (12, 313, 10, aṣṭātmako balī), called yugāntavāta (7, 146, 2; cf. 1, 154, 24, balaṃ Vāyor jagataḥ kṣaye), and blows in every direction, so it probably represents the eight directions (cf. § 10, elephant-protectors of the eight directions, blowing out winds). The "paths of Vāyu are seven" (12, 47, 89 = 51, 6), as other

sevens are for several, or to conform to the seven Maruts (which amounts to the same thing); but, as the Prāṇas are also five, so "Vāyu, who moves created beings as their soul, divides himself fivefold and enters the body" (12, 47, 65), namely as devadeva, or lord of the senses (12, 259, 49). Hence Pavana, wind as purifying power (pavanaḥ pavatām asmi, 6, 34, 31) and the deity of touch (12, 314, 10), becomes a numeral "five" in post-epical literature. In the epics, citing revelation, Pavana is the "lord of life" or, as Vāyu, the soul of all, and even is the all: Vāyuḥ sarvam idaṃ jagat (TB. 3, 11, 1, 9; Mbh. 3, 313, 66; R 7, 35, 61; cf. R ib. 55, "without Anila, Pavana, father of Hanumat, lord of life, the body becomes a mere log"). A great wind is the "breath of Viṣṇu", hence the Veda should not be read when a gale is blowing (12, 329, 26f., Vyāsa to Śuka; ib. 55f., Viṣṇor niḥśvāsavātaḥ). The path of gods leads to Viṣṇu, of Pitṛs the path leads downward. There are here seven paths of the winds, Vāyumārgas, and the Prāṇas are explained anthropomorphically. Samāna, son of the Devagaṇāḥ Sādhyāḥ, had a son Udāna, father of Vyāna, father of Apāna, father of Prāṇa, who had no child (ib. 32f.). Cosmically, Samāna is Pravaha, a wind of clouds and thunderstorms. Āvaha is a noisy wind; it makes the moon and other heavenly lights rise and is identical with Udāna (S, however, inverts the first and second names). Udvaha, the third wind, sucks up water for Parjanya to rain. Saṃvaha bears the gods' cars, roars in clouds and rends mountains. The fifth wind is dry, incorporate in the Valāhaka clouds, bringing portents of disaster (but in 6, 91, 13, Valāhaka clouds are rain-clouds, prāvṛṣi), and is called Vivaha. Parivaha, sixth, upholds the atmospheric waters (Ganges, etc.), obstructs the sun, and makes the moon wax. The seventh wind is the death-wind, followed by Death and Yama, which disperses the breath of all beings that breathe; it is called Parāvaha. The seven are then identified with the Mārutas, sons of Diti (or Aditi), which blow everywhere; probably the same as "the seven Vāyus", with whom, as with the seven Agnis, Śiva is, as All-god, also identified (ib. 53 and 13, 14, 410). As material power, Vāyu overthrows trees (agamas, R 6, 97, 19), blowing hardest "at winter's end" (7, 95, 7) and "at the end of the hot season" (4, 65, 1; ghoro mahānilaḥ, 7, 95, 11; cf. uṣṇaparyāye, 7, 98, 31). "At the end of the rains Māruta dispels the rain-clouds" (R 5, 46, 23). Vāyu gives testimony from the air when invoked as witness, with the Sun and Moon (3, 76, 36; R 6, 119, 27). Philosophically, like the Sun, Vāyu is the "life of the world" (jagadāyu, 3, 147, 27) and despite his many forms is but one (eko Vāyur bahudhā vāti loke, 12, 352, 10), the soul of all, on whom all depends (2, 19, 14). In the later epic, he holds windy discourses on castes and kings (12, 72, 2f., with Purūravas). In one of these he says that he is the "messenger of the gods" who speaks from the sky (13, 153, 26; cf. 3, 76, 36). In 13, 154, 3f., he tells how he retreated from Aṅgiras into the Agnihotra and lectures on privileges, Brahman's birth, etc. Usually Vāyu is the messenger not of any god but of Indra. Hanumat is Vāsavadūtasūnu (R 6, 74, 62). Indra treats Vāyu Māruta even as a servant, telling him to raise the dust, for "that is thy work", and Vāyu obeys (1, 32, 8). Indra again bids him help Menakā seduce Viśvāmitra (1, 71, 41 and 72, 1), here as Sadāgati. As Vāyu is a Vasu and Indra is the lord of Vasus (§ 112), this relation is natural from the epic point of view as well as traditional. His friend Agni is also a Vasu, and Vāyu drives Agni's chariot, and helps him burn the forest (12, 229, 86, etc.; cf. Agni as Anilasārathi, Vātasārathi, 1, 15, 1; 1,

228, 40). Agni is also called "son of Wind" (see § 49). Vāyu is typical of freedom, "cannot be bound" (R 3, 55, 24), and serves as type of the freed saint (na vaśe kasya cit tiṣṭhan sadharmā Mātariśvanaḥ, 1, 119, 19). He goes through air, the swiftest of beings; racing horses "drink the wind"; he is the strongest god (12, 154 to 157, stronger than Indra, Death, etc., ib. 155, 10). He has physical power; Indra has fighting ability (8, 31, 14). He alone put to sleep (in death) the demons of the West, though accompanied, as forms of himself, by mahāvātas (5, 110, 5). He is the "smasher" (R 4, 31, 13); hence Arjuna is called Prabhañjanasutānuja (7, 146, 116; but Indra is Vāyubhūta, takes his form if he will). Perhaps because of their freedom the Maruts first instituted the self-choice of a maiden (13, 44, 35). The "troop of Maruts" is said to have begotten several heroes, Sātyaki, Drupada, Kṛtavarman, and Virāṭa (1, 67, 79f.). In 6, 50, 51, B and S have Mārutāḥ as a people.

§ 48. The later epic, like the VP., may imply that the Maruts are seven times seven. In 9, 38, 37, the seven progenitors of the Maruts (above) are seven gaṇas, which may mean seven groups of seven, as the Hariv. and VP., in giving the tale of Indra dividing the embryo of Diti into seven parts and saying mā rudaḥ (H 249, mā rodīḥ, origin of the name, as in R 1, 46—47), also say that the Maruts were forty-nine (VP. 1, 21, 39); but the epic does not openly recognise this number (till H 252). The story of Diti is alluded to again in 5, 110, 8. Indra is Marutpati and king of the Maruts (1, 173, 48, 2, 62, 17; 14, 43, 7), with whom he is identified as their chief (13, 14, 324), and who as his sacivas, socii, laud ever their nāyaka, leader, and with moon and stars and planets add lustre to him (3, 157, 72; R 2, 3, 26; ib. 3, 32, 4; ib. 5, 51, 45; ib. 6, 12, 9). In 6, 34, 21, "Marīci am I among Maruts", the root and the fact that each is of a group of seven helps to put Marīci in this category. The mother of Maruts is Marutvatī (H 145, etc.) or Diti (below), as their father is Dharma (loc. cit.) or Kaśyapa (H 11 849). In 12, 328, 53, the cosmical winds described above are Aditeḥ putrā Mārutāḥ (and so S, but Diteḥ may be right). Speed, strength, and his attribute of "bearing perfumes" are the chief characteristics of Vāyu (Analasakha is iṣṭagandha, sukhasparśa, sarvendriyasukhāvaha, 12, 229, 86), till the later epic emphasises his moral eloquence (above). As the lover of Kuntī he comes riding upon a deer, mṛgārūḍhaḥ (1, 123, 12). The distribution of the special provinces of the winds, Vātaskandhas, is applied to the Mārutas as winds in general (R 1, 47, 5). Vātaskandha (H 13894, v. l. Vāyuskandha) is the name given to regions of winds. In 3, 231, 55, the army-corps of Skanda, which is especially protected by him, is called the saptama Mārutaskandha, referring to its seven constituents. In H 2479, Vāyu supports the three worlds as saptaskandhagata. Vāyu and Agni together wave fans over Skanda (3, 231, 47) while Indra and Śrī march behind the new battle-god. In Rām., as father of Hanumat, Vāyu plays a very active rôle. He comes and speaks to Lakṣmaṇa, advising him to kill Atikāya with Brahman's weapon (R 6, 71, 98). He is Prabhu, Bhagavat, Sarvātman, and Satataga (R 6, 28, 11 and R 5, 13, 63). As Sarvātmaka he attempts to corrupt all the nymph-mothered daughters of Kuśanābha, cursing and deforming the girls who object to his amorous advances (R 1, 32, 10f.). When "penetrated by Love" (Manmatha, R 4, 66, 14f.), Māruta Pavana dallies with the nymph (Añjanā) Puñjikasthalā, and becomes father of Hanumat. Vāyu refused to move when Indra struck Hanumat (§ 86) on

the jaw and so the earth dried up; but the gods soothed the irate father by bestowing gifts on the son (Indra gave him the privilege of dying when he chose and Brahman gave him invulnerability, R 4, 66, 25f.). Hanumat is here called "son of Kesarin", but only as son of his mother's husband. Vāyu's later name Jalakānta is not known, nor is the Purāṇic exploit mentioned of his contest with Garuḍa, in the endeavour to convert the top of Meru into Laṅkā. In Hariv., Vāyu is a great warrior, fighting (H 13176) with Puloman in company with Sāvitra, here and elsewhere in H called "fifth of the Maruts" (ib. 12787, the seven are Āvaha, Pravaha, etc., as above). Vāyu (H 14288) is listed with Namuci, etc., as a Dānava (H 2285 = 14288); but in H 11540, Vāyu is one of the eight Vasus, born of Dharma and Sādhyā. He is lord of "the bodiless Bhūts", as well as of odors and sounds (ib. 265 and 12493). At the assembly of gods, to hear the complaint of Pṛthivī, Vāyu as Prabhañjana, "being urged by Brahman", went through the assembly, calling out Silentium! (mā śabda iti), thus acting as a "masher" among the rude gods (H 2911). His roar in battle terrifies the demons; he is the bhūtam uttamam ("highest being"), and bodiless; the charioteer of Agni (Agner yantṛ); and, as lord of sound, is born in the seven notes of music (H 2480). He joins Agni to subdue Maya, and becomes one with Agni (ib. 2617, so 'nilo 'nalasaṃyuktaḥ so 'nalaś cā 'nilākulaḥ). In 13, 25, 38, Marudgaṇa is the name of a Tīrtha. The host, gaṇa, comes to earth followed by Indra Marutvat and his spouse Śacī (3, 168, 11). Indra "Pākaśāsana conquers his foes with the help of the Maruts" (12, 23, 29). Any Māruta travels through space on a car (R 2, 71, 8), probably a cloud, as in 8, 19, 8, clouds cover Himavat in summer impelled by winds (Marudbhiḥ preritā meghāḥ). The list of (twenty-three) Marutvats or Maruts "born of Marutvatī" (H 11544f.) is unique but noteworthy as including under the title the names of Ādityas and kings as well as names of fire (see § 111).

§ 49. **The Fire-God.** — Agni (ignis) is Anala, son of Anila, the Wind-god (2, 31, 48; RG 5, 50, 14); described as having seven red tongues (also seven red steeds), seven faces, a huge mouth, red neck, tawny eyes (honey-colored), bright gleaming hair, and golden seed, "the first dispeller of darkness created by Brahman". Most of the epithets given him occur passim, but a few, located below, are unique or almost so. For the formal description, cf. 1, 228, 37 and 232, 5 and 19 (saptajihva here = RV. 3, 6, 2; Muṇḍ. Up. 1, 2, 4), and with piṅgākṣa cf. piṅgeśa (2, 31, 44). His right to distinction and many of his attributes are conveyed by these epithets, which fall into three classes, as they describe his appearance, functions, and relations. Thus he is Dahana, burner, Plavaṃga, leaper, Śikhin, pointed, Arka, light, Vibhāvasu, Jvalana, Svargadvāraspṛśa, gleaming to heaven's door, Kṛṣṇavartman, Dhūmaketu, black-tracked and smoke-bannered, Citrabhānu, Timirāpaha (Tamonuda? 3, 217, 14), bright remover of darkness, Pāvaka, Pāvana, purifier, and Śuci, Śukra, pure; also, as all-devouring and especially as eater of oblations, he is Sarvabhuj (-bhakṣa), Havyavah, Havyavāha, -vāhana, Vahni, Hutabhuj, -vaha, Hutāśana, and mouth of the gods (mukhaṃ devānām). As the wise god, he is Kavi, Jātavedas, Pracetas; as maker and lord he is Loka- and Bhūtabhāvana, Dhātṛ, Kartṛ, Bhūtādi, Bhūtapati, Sureśa, Sureśvara; as child of the water he is Apāṃgarbha; as maker of gold, he is Hiraṇyakṛt, Hiraṇyaretas, Vasuretas; as universal, he is Vaiśvānara and Pāñcajanya; as springing

from the fire-stick, he is Śamīgarbha and Araṇīsuta (R 5, 13, 41); and as father of Kumāra, he is Kumārasū (Rudragarbha); while as maker of paths and of Vedas, he is Pathikṛt (pontifex) and Vedakartṛ. On introducing himself to Śibi he says "I am Vaiśvānara Jvalana Dhūmaketu" (3, 197, 25), and to the Pāṇḍus he says "I am Pāvaka Agni" (17, 1, 36f.). His common name, Anala, has already been mentioned under Vāyu, who acts as his charioteer (Anilasārathi, Agner yantṛ, etc.). "Hutāśana Jvalana, mouth of the gods, is ever present at Prabhāsa" (3, 82, 59; Vātasārathi, 12, 172, 1; cf. 1, 15, 1). Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa are Agnimārutakalpau, (R 5, 39, 53); "Lakṣmaṇa is as Anila to Rāma as Pāvaka" (R 3, 31, 17). Many of these epithets are shared with other gods: Varuṇa, the wise; Vāyu the purifyer; the Sun-god, pure and far-shining; Indra and others as creators. Oblations are poured into Agni's mouth (7, 102, 32), who himself is then "mouth of the gods". "Swift as Agni or as Wind" are Indra's horses, and Agni is manogatiḥ, swift as thought (S 3, 270, 6 Agnyanilo-gravegaiḥ for B atyanilo-). Like Sun and Wind, Fire is but one (1, 232, 13; 3, 134, 8), but his forms are many. He is trividha, threefold (in earth, air, and sky), in 1, 229, 24 = 5, 16, 2, and many in his functions (bahutvaṃ karmasu, 3, 217, 3). Always he has seven flames, Saptārcir Jvalanaḥ (1, 225, 35), tongues, or weapons (Saptajihvānana, -anala, -heti, 1, 232, 5 and 10; H 13956). The seven are also interpreted as seven distinct fires, the three sacrificial fires, agnitretā or tretāgnayaḥ (R 4, 13, 23), with which are identified the father with the Gārhapatya fire, the mother with the Dakṣiṇa, and the Guru with the Āhavanīya (12, 108, 7), together with the Sabhya, Āvasathya, Smārta, and Laukika (3, 221, 5 and 13, 14, 410 with N.'s explanation of the seven). Instead of seven flames, Agni has three points, Triśikha (H 12292), perhaps as fires. Metaphorically, five fires are "self and fire" added to the three one has to tend (father, mother, Guru). Other counts have to do with sacrificial fires: five, 3, 134, 12; six, 2, 35, 16; eightfold, 1, 229, 25 (cf. AV. 13, 3, 19); twenty-seven, in Indra's palace (2, 7, 21, yajñavāhāḥ pāvakāḥ, so, not asterisms); thirty (13, 103, 36). Agni divides himself into five as prāṇas (H 13938). The ordinary "five fires" refer to those about an ascetic (13, 90, 26 = Manu 3, 185; cf. 1, 86, 16, and Rāvaṇa as pañcāgni in 3, 275, 16).[1])

Among fires must be reckoned also those which to us are purely metaphorical, the audārya, "belly-fire" (of hunger, extinguished with food, 12, 17, 5), and the head- and navel-fires (3, 213, 3f.; S adds nābhyām agniḥ pratiṣṭhitaḥ), as also the fires of love and wrath. That there may be no doubt as to these being real fires, the poet of 2, 71, 15; 72, 14, says that owing to the hero's "wrath-fire" krodhāgni (kopāgni, 4, 62, 14; 12, 139, 44, etc.) flames burst from his orifices, together with smoke, sparks, and fire, "as if from the holes of a burning tree". The "fire of battle" may be due to sparks from weapons, but "divine weapons" and even elephants' tusks add to this fire (7, 20, 39, etc.). Pure metaphor is "fire of grief, extinguished with water of wisdom" (11, 8, 49), and interesting only on account of the last expression. The "mental fire", mānaso 'gniḥ, is jīva (soul), "like pure fire, like fire of lightning" (12, 187, 31;

[1]) Fausbøll, Indian Mythology, p. 171, refers to "ten sorts of fires"; but the passage he cites gives not ten but seven (13, 1005 = 13, 14, 400, ye vāyavaḥ sapta tathai 'va cā 'gnayaḥ). He perhaps meant 14, 21, 4f., where ten gods are called ten fires (with "ten oblations"), all metaphorical or philosophical, the gods of the senses receiving the fuel of the senses, etc.

ib. 241, 20). There are other fires, of knowledge, jñānāgni (6, 28, 37), of the curse (3, 72, 31), and above all of the eye, which can burn (evil eye). Even Gāndhārī, when she looks at Yudhiṣṭhira, raises a blister on his finger (11, 15, 30). But these and the "foe-fire", the "family-coal" (injurer, 12, 173, 24), must be passed over for the more important "fire of the demons" and the mystic forms of Agni. The normal fire is produced by twirling a fire-stick (araṇīm agnikāmo vā mathnāti 12, 81, 6) or "out-twirling fire" (nirmathiṣyāmi pāvakam, R 3, 68, 27), but the fire of demons comes from the oceanic fire in the underworld and will eventually destroy the world. It is the "water-fire in ocean" (toyāgniḥ sāgare, 12, 139, 44), or Pātālajvalanaḥ (1, 21, 7) and arises from the wrath of the Sun (3, 3, 57) or from the wrath of Aurva Bhārgava materialised (H 2149). It is commonly called Yugāntārka, Saṃvartaka Vahṇi (7, 32, 46 f.; 3, 188, 69). In 6, 7, 28, it is located on the Mālyavat Mountain (Kālāgni), but in 5, 99, 3, it is in Nāgaloka. Apparently the same fire (5, 99, 17) is kept in a resplendent egg sunk in ocean. At the end of the æon the fire will hatch and consume the three worlds; no one knows the origin of this egg (ib. 18). From the ocean is taken the name "Fire of the Mare's mouth". One offers at Vāḍava Tīrtha a cake to Saptārcis, who appears morn and eve on Hemakūṭa, where Vāyu is ever to be seen (3, 82, 92; ib. 110, 5). The supreme deity, in the unitary conception of the universe, as Agni Vaḍavāvaktra, drinks the waters and lets them out again; as Saṃvartaka Vahni he is one with Saṃvartaka Sūrya and Anila; Fire, Sun, and Wind all being saṃvartaka as helping in the final overthrow (3, 189, 12). Thus the demoniac fire is interpreted as divine. Curiously, though fire is divine, no common fire, vṛthāgni, is sacred enough to burn the pious dead. The epic hero blames the Fire-god that he had not been hallowed when he consumed the hero's father (15, 38, 13 f.; 39, 1 dhig Agnim, etc.). The crematory fire is a special form of fire; it is not much respected but is not impure (3, 222, 6; ib. 200, 89; R 3, 33, 3, na bahu manyante śmaśānāgnim). Fire is especially invoked at burial feasts (13, 91, 23 f.). All good people worship fire. The king on rising goes to his bath-room, dresses, prays to the Sun, and then enters the Fire-chamber (agniśaraṇa), where he honors Agni with kindlings and oblations accompanied with Mantras (7, 82, 13). To discover signs of victory, Indrajit lights the fire of vibhītaka wood, and draws omens from the flame, with perfumes, grain, the sacrifice of a black goat, etc. (R 6, 73, 17 f.; ib. 80, 5 f.). The agniśālā or -agāra (-śaraṇa, -gṛha) is also found in the hermitages, and the fear of its igniting the forest, conjoined with the fear of its going out, probably resulted in the erection of these god-houses (cf. R 2, 91, 11, etc., and ib. 99, 12). Fires started by dry bamboos rubbing against each other were dreaded; only Indra could extinguish them. A phrase "igniting fire ignited" pradīpya pradīptāgnim (2, 64, 10) refers to camphor. Fire is the sire of gold (13, 84, 42 and 56) and tests gold (R 3, 29, 20), as Agni tests man's truth. He is the deity presiding over speech (12, 314, 5, etc.) and man's truth is tested by an appeal to Agni, the test consisting in walking through fire (below, Sītā), or in submitting to Agni's action, whether he burns the man's house, etc. So Jātavedas "spares the houses of the good" (3, 134, 27; cf. Manu 8, 108). Dull fires alarm augurs (4, 46, 25); smoking flame implies disaster (R 6, 10, 15). Suttee is recognised by both epics (1, 76, 46; ib. 125, 31; 12, 148, 9 f.; R 2, 66, 12; R 5, 26, 7, the asatī does not die with her husband). In 15, 33, 21, "good women

true to their husbands" perform suttee by drowning. Committing suicide on the pyre of a beloved object is not confined to wives (3, 137, 19).[1]) Agni is witness of the world and as such is invoked by conspirators, doubted wives, etc. (7, 17, 27; R 6, 119, 24f.). In H 13928f., Agni is the son of Śamī and of Śāṇḍilī (cf. H 992), and "witness of the world". In R 4, 5, 15 f., Hanumat "makes a fire", janayāmāsa pāvakam, as preliminary to forming a military alliance and the contracting parties then shake hands (hastaṃ pīḍayāmāsa pāṇinā) and circumambulate the fire as witness (R 4, 5, 13), which is placed between Rāma and Sugrīva and "revered with flowers" (cf. the expressions Agnisākṣikaṃ sakhyam, sāgnikam, etc., R 7, 33, 18; cf. ib. 5, 58, 138). Agni's so-called son Dṛṣṭadyumna is born from a sacrificial fire enkindled to injure the foe. The strength of the foe "is poured upon the fire" (5, 126, 2, medhāgni = saṃgrāmāgni). On the other hand, fire drives away demons (13, 92, 13). On entering a forest, Arjuna swings a torch for protection against evil spirits (1, 170, 4), and priests keep off evil from the king by making him mount an elephant and carrying fire around him (2, 21, 23). Real wifehood implies the presence of fire (ceremony); hence Agni evades the truth in acting as a witness (though he fears a saint's curse more than a lie, 1, 5, 27f.). It is on this occasion that Bhṛgu curses the god to be an "all-eater" (1, 6, 14), but the fulsome laudation of Agni here amounts only to the usual flattery of a god in a hymn or laudation (Brahman calls Agni "lord of the world" and "creator", etc.). Only the hinder rays are his "all-eating form" (1, 7, 20f.).

§ 50. The varied activities of the Fire-god led to the theory of the Adbhuta and other "various Agnis" exploited as historical, genealogical characters in 3, 217f. As descendants of mother rivers the different Agnis appear in the history of Agni hiding in water, Agni being created by Brahman and identified with Aṅgiras, third son of Brahman. Angiras' son by Subhā or Vasud(h)ā was the gods' Guru, Bṛhaspati; his eldest daughter was Bhānumatī (the fairest); next came Rāgā (best loved); next, Sinīvālī (so thin as to be visible only at times), called also "daughter of Kapardin" (Śiva); the fourth and fifth daughters were Arciṣmatī (as masculine, a name of Agni) and Haviṣmatī (S has Kuhū and Arciṣmatī as fourth and fifth); the sixth and seventh were Mahiṣmatī and Mahāmatī (seen at very grand sacrifices), and lastly (but see S above) "the blessed one, whom the people, as they see her, address with the exclamation kuhū! and say that she is without a portion (kuhukuhāyate ekā 'naṃśe 'ti; S, ekānekā). There are thus six or seven lunar days as female forms of Agni. The account continues with the names of seven holy fires as six sons and one daughter of Bṛhaspati by Cāndramasī, his lunar wife, who bore Śaṃyu, Niśayavana, Viśvajit, Viśvabhuj, Vaḍavāgni, Sviṣṭakṛt and the putrikā Manyatī, Svāhā (mother of Kāma, Amogha, and Uktha). Each of these fires has his restricted work. Śaṃyu is occupied with seasonal and horse-sacrifices; his wife Satyā, daughter of Dharma, is mother of Bharad-

[1]) Ascetics may die by fire, though the general epic rule forbids suicide. Compare Holtzmann, Mahābhārata, 1, 26 and 147; also JAOS. 21 (1900), 146f. The possibility of suicide on the part of a wife is recognised in both epics and is approved as the proper thing to do for a Satī; but it is not practised except in the later addition of Mbh. (1, 125), describing the suttee of Mādrī, the wife of Pāṇḍu. That a wife should die with her husband is so common a rule (found in Africa, South America, etc.) as to make it improbable that the idea of suttee is modern. What is (comparatively) modern is enforced suttee by fire.

vāja and Bharata (fire of full-moon sacrifice). Bharadvāja's wife, Vīrā, bore Vīra (Rathaprabhu, Rathādhvāna, Kumbharetas), father of Siddhi (Mithyā) by the Sarayū. Bharata had a son Bhārata and a daughter Bhāratī; he is called "lord of three maidens" (= Puṣṭimati in 221, 1!) The "league-making" fire comes from Niścyavana ("not budging"), and he also "makes good" or cures and hence is called Satya Niṣkṛti, whose son causes wounds and makes people cry, hence Svana Rujaskara. Viśvabhuj (no "children") is the digestive fire and he married Gomatī (this river appears as Gopatī in S). For Manyatī (Svāhā) Manu is also read. Her son Kāma (love-fire) is "more beautiful than any being in the sky", and Amogha is like his brother in that he has a bow and wreath of flowers; but he is the "fire of battle". So, as warrior, Agni has a bow and discus (7, 11, 21; 23, 94, given to the Pāṇḍus) and becomes Śiva's arrow (13, 161, 29). In describing the Pāñcajanya fire, who begot "the awful fire of the Pitṛs and the Bṛhat and Rathantara" (melodies), S makes Hari (Viṣṇu) his son, and both texts make him father ("from the navel") of Śiva (and "born of strength") of Indra, and of Vāyu (S omits the absurd "and of Agni"). He begot also the (two) Anudāttau and viśve bhūtāni (sic), also the five (B as twenty-five) sons of Pitṛs. Śiva as fire is devoted to Śakti (Śaktipūjāparaḥ, 3, 221, 2, S has Śaktipūjāyaniḥ!). Here too belong, as fires, strange groups of gods (§ 27) who "steal sacrifices", arranged in three pentads, one being Mitra gods. There are others, not less vague and mystic, sons of Tapa(s), Purandara, Uṣman, Prajāpati Manu, Śambhu, Āvasathya, the five Urjaskaras, "five gold-like sons of sacrifice", also the "exhausted sun", Gavāmpati Pari-(or Pra-)śrānta, who "created demons, Asuras, and mortals". Aṅgiras's son Bṛhadbhānu had as wife Suprajā, daughter of the Sun (Sūryajā, but S reads Bṛhadbhāsā ca Somajā), and this Bhānu had six (S, four) sons, Balada, Manyumat, Viṣṇu (Dhṛtimat), and Āgrayaṇa ("his oblation unites with that of Indra") and "Agraha and Stubha" (not in S). S adds the account of Niśā, wife of (Bhānu) Manu and her five sons, but omits from her sons "the two Agnīṣomau", and changes her daughter's name from Rohiṇī to Hariṇī (both texts unclear; apparently making this daughter of Manu the wife of Hiraṇyakaśipu). The five Pāvakas (sons of this wife of Manu) include Kapila, "author of the Sāṅkhya-Yoga"; the other four are Vaiśvānara ("honored with Parjanya"), Viśvapati, Saṃnihita (the "fire that evokes speech"), and Agraṇī ("who causes bodily activity"). The Gṛhapati (222, 4) fire is next derived from Saha Āpa, the "power in the water" (husband of Muditā), and is identified with Adbhuta, whose wife is Priyā and whose son is Bharata. This fire fears his descendant Niyata Kratu, the fire that burns the dead, and his history introduces the story of Atharvan (below), at the end of which all fires are said to be mothered by the rivers and to be essentially one; also as mental offspring to be derived through Atri from Brahman (3, 222, 28). Though reeking with mysticism, this account is fairly clear and very instructive, showing that as different distinct fires were conceived the fire of digestion, the fire of love, the fire that hurts and cures, the fire that guards leagues; and that the new-moon fire, etc., are special divinities apart from the moon. This last fire, daughter of Aṅgiras, called Sinīvālī (new moon, also birth-goddess) is differentiated not quite logically from Kuhū. The epic admits four such moon-phases (8, 34, 32), as fastenings of the heavenly car, Sinīvālī, Anumati, Kuhū, and Rākā, the first two being the prior (days of the) new and full moon respectively, and the last two

being the succeeding parts (lunar days) of the new and full moon. But in 3, 229, 50, Devasenā, wife of Skanda, is called Aparājitā (also name of Durgā), the Unconquered, Giver of Good, Lakṣmī (also wife of Viṣṇu), Āsā, (read Āśā, Hope), Ṣaṣṭhī and Sinīvālī and Kuhū, that is, both moon-phases are one with the Ṣaṣṭhī (lucky sixth day after birth). Agni Pathikṛt is adored when one starts on a journey, either in this world or to the next world, with the remainder of the new- and full-moon sacrifices (3, 221, 30; 5, 83, 9; ib. 16, 43). A special service is necessary if sacred fires cross, in honor of the Śuci, Vīti, (cf. AB. 7, 6) and Davāgni (fires). The last is common as a forest-conflagration (da° or dā°). If a woman in her courses touch the oblation-fire, a rite must be performed in honor of the Vasumat fire. If the fire of a woman who is lying in touch the āgnihautrika fire, a rite is ordered (tabu of sūtikā). If cattle die, a rite is performed in honor of the Surabhimat fire, or if one alive is reported to be dead. This Purāṇic analysis of fires is comparable, but not the same, with the "forty-nine fires" recognised in VP. 1, 10, 17, ekonapañcāśad vahnayaḥ.

§ 51. Agni is an actor in several epic scenes. He was cursed by Bhṛgu (above) and disappeared, but was found in the Śamī wood (9, 47, 14 f.). The Saha fire, fearing the funeral fire, made Atharvan his proxy, gave up his body, and hid, but he was betrayed by fishes, whom (Vedic tale) he cursed to be eaters of everything; then (also Vedic) from water he fled into earth and made emeralds, metals, deodars from his bones, iron from his liver, etc. (3, 222, 7 f.). Agni was made sick by eating butter for twelve years and was advised by Brahman to try a change of diet. With Vāyu's help he devoured the Khāṇḍava forest (historical?), though the elephants formed a fire-brigade and seven times thwarted him, till Arjuna helped him (against Indra, 1, 223, 64 f.). Elsewhere Agni coops up elephants as fires surround them (7, 22, 14). Atharvan as a fire appears also in the demoniac ceremony to raise an apparition from fire in secret rites (aupaniṣadāḥ kriyāḥ), performed by means of the Mantras of Bṛhaspati and Uśanas as declared in the Atharvaveda (a karma vaitānasaṃbhavam, 3, 251, 21 f.). There is no doubt that the poets regarded this Veda as a work pertaining to evil magic and to a fire-cult for evil purpose. But the seers are Atharvabhūtāḥ, H 11 520. Agni's disappearance in 1, 37, 9 is described as hiding in a cave. In 13, 85, 8 f., he retreats first to the sea, then to the trees, and is betrayed by frog, elephant, and parrot in turn, each of whom he curses. So the frog loses his taste, the elephant has his tongue turned back, and the parrot loses his voice. But the gods compensate each. Agni is here older than Śiva; he is creator of all, one with Love, father of gold and (by proxy) of Skanda. Other gods being sterile (see § 24), Agni alone is competent to raise a son capable of combating Tāraka. Agni is "father of Skanda" in 2, 31, 44, at which place the god is also exalted and a general prayer is addressed to him and other gods in these words: "May Agni give me energy, and Vāyu give me breath; may Earth bestow upon me power, and Water make me blest" (ib. 42, the "Vedas are born for Agni's sake"). Direct identification of Fire with lightning and Sun (q. v.) is common. Thus when Agni searches for Indra and fears to enter water, he is reminded (in another laud, 5, 16, 6) that he is "clouds and lightnings", and this is probably the threefold fire, namely Agni, Sūrya, and Vidyut, though explained as "maker, sustainer, and destroyer" (ib. 2 = 1, 229, 24; cf. 1, 7, 19 f.: tvaṃ kartā

cā 'nta eva ca, tvaṃ dhārayasi lokāṃs trīn[1]), thus a first Trimūrti). He "whose light is from Brahman" carries the other gods and drags the car of Brahman (8, 46, 38), saptitāṃ gataḥ, perhaps a conscious assimilation to his seven steeds. His own golden car he gave to Arjuna (8, 31, 55). Perhaps this was the "horse-yoked car" (the horses are red, H 13936), which Prajāpati gave offhand to Indrajit to bribe him (R 7, 30, 15). Besides becoming a horse, when disguised, Agni appears as a goat or a pigeon (below); but when he hunts for Indra, he, for obvious reasons, "puts on the garb of a female" in the tale already narrated. He, like Indra, is fond of women and is an adulterer, and for these reasons he is presented as a goat. No maiden may offer libations to Agni; if she does, she goes to hell. He is chāgavaktra as Naigameya Agni (bahuprajaḥ) in which form he amuses Skanda (3, 226, 29; ib. 228, 3 and 5). An oblation poured on a goat's ear (or on gold) is virtually made to Agni. A goat, a ram, and a horse represent, respectively, Agni, Varuṇa, Sūrya (13, 75, 37; 84, 47 and 56; 85, 147 f.). Agni is unscrupulously voracious, burning up the hermitage af Āpava (12, 49, 38 f.), burning a child (3, 127, 2 f.), and accepting other human sacrifices, even accepting for an evil purpose the sacrifice of the ten heads of the fiend (3, 275, 20). The head of a horse is put on the fire-altar in the horse-sacrifice to work ill to one's foes (7, 143, 71), and this or any other fire of destruction is all good to him, is himself; for he is consecrated for progeny-getting and for suicide equally (1, 120, 40; 10, 7, 56). He is "the priest" and as a priest he appears disguised in the Khāṇḍava episode (1, 222, 30 f.; so chasing Maya, ib. 228, 41). In the story of Sudarśanā (daughter of a king Duryodhana and of the river Narmadā), his beloved, he appears as priest to woo her, and gives as śulka his continued presence as Agni in Māhiṣmatī (13, 2, 32)[2]). The son of the god and of the girl is called Sudarśana (name of Agni's discus) as a sort of metronymic (but also Pāvaki). He married Oghavatī, who was raped, in accordance with the guest-right, by a priest, who was Dharma in disguise! Agni supports the guest-right as he is "guest of all creatures" (3, 313, 66). The account in 2, 31, 23 f., says that Nīla, king of Māhiṣmatī, was attacked by Sahadeva after the hero had got tribute from Mainda and Dvivida, sons of the Aśvins (monkeys), who lived near the famous caves of Orissa, but Nīla could not be overcome because Agni helped the king. Sudarśana and his son Agnivarṇa appear in Daśaratha's genealogy (R 1, 70). Agni is represented as an adulterer, pāradārika, who gave a boon to all the women living in that place, that they should wander free and not be restrained (svairiṇyaḥ, aprativāraṇe, 2, 31, 38); but he is lauded by Sahadeva as father of Rudra and destroyer of sin, son of Wind, origin of water, and god of purity, who bestows happiness, and is invoked: "Cleanse me by thy truth and give me, O Agni, contentment, prosperity, learning, and joy" (ib. 50). As protector of the guest-right in another form, the right of the refugee, Agni tests Śibi, under the form of a pigeon. Despite the fact that the pigeon is ominous of death (§ 12), Śibi refuses to give up his unwelcome

[1]) Fausbøll, op. cit. p. 174, compares the three forms with the "explanation" of 1, 7, 19; but it should be said that this is not the explanation of the text. Agni is one of the three horrible forms of Śiva (q. v.) and is identical with sun and lightning also as forms of the same god. In H 7422, conversely, Śiva is lauded as Atharvan = Agni, yajñe hūtaḥ, etc.

[2]) The father of the bride gives a dowry and the bride-groom gives a śulka in this tale.

guest. According to 3, 208, 7, this tale shows that it is right to eat meat! In 1, 197, 29, both Śibi and Viśvabhuj appear as names of former Indras, but here he is son of Uśīnara and Mādhavī, daughter of Yayāti, with whom Śibi and his brothers sport in heaven (1, 86, 6), though also represented as son of Hiraṇyakaśipu (1, 65, 18; 5, 118, 2, 9, and 20). As Sauratheya, Śibi is son of Surathā (an Apsaras, H 14164) and father of Kapotaroman (3, 197, 25 and 28), the "bull of the Saurathas" (so S). A parallel story to the received version, according to which he weighs out his flesh to compensate the hawk (Indra) for the loss of the pigeon (Agni), is to this effect: that Śibi killed and cooked his own son for a priest to eat (3, 198, 2 f.; usual tale in 3, 131, 28), and would have eaten thereof himself, had not the priest, who was Vidhātṛ in disguise, resurrected the son. The same story of the pigeon is told of his son Vṛṣadarbha or Bṛhadgarbha (13, 32, 4 f.), but Agni does not here appear; only Indra with the gods come to see the great act (in this version Śibi actually dies). Agni is "more pleased with the feeding of guests than with offerings of food and flower and paste" (3, 200, 22).

§ 52. Agni's amorousness stops at violating the wives of the great seers. He fell in love with them when they slept, but, though glorious, they were cold and "pure as moon-beams". Becoming the Gārhapatya fire he "as it were, fondled them", but, being unable to rouse their passion, he went to the forest (of all places!) to commit suicide (3, 224, 29 f.; ib. 38). In the meantime Svāhā (1, 199, 5; 5, 104, 8; R 5, 24, 26, devī), daughter of Dakṣa, who loved Agni, assumed the forms of the wives (except that of Arundhatī) and through her instrumentality was born Skanda (Pāvaki, Svāheya), son of the supernatural Adbhuta Agni, who had been engaged in carrying oblations to the Sun's disc (3, 224, 14 and 28), till the sight of the seers' wives induced him to transform himself into the special Gārhapatya form of fire. Svāhā is recognised regularly as Agni's wife (13, 146, 5 and oft). The rest of his family is variously interpreted. A god who is his own father and has as many forms as there are sacrifices, with parents and sons in each form, who is born of Śāṇḍilī, or Araṇī, or water, whose father is Brahman, or Aṅgiras, and who is sire of all the gods as well as sprung from the mouth of Viṣṇu and appears as a form of Rudra and is listed among Pitṛs and among Viśve Devas (above, and 13, 91, 29) and Vasus, is not a god to be genealogically fixed. One recurrent phrase makes him chief of the Vasus (Holtzmann) and this is the only important item (Āpa Saha mentioned above as an Agni, husband of Muditā, is a Vasu in H 152. Cf. 6, 34, 23; 7, 6, 5, etc.). Śāṇḍilī (and Agni Śāṇḍilya) as mother is distinctly later than Araṇī. Besides the Sudarśana of the legend above, Dṛṣṭadyumna is son, i. e. a bhāga or part of Agni; and Agnivcśa was a saintly hero "born of Agni". He learned the use of "fire-arms" (āgneyam astram is used by gods and heroes) from Bharadvāja and taught them to Dṛṣṭadyumna's father (1, 130, 39 f.). The north-eastern mountaineers in general are also born of Agni (7, 112, 31, Kirātā Agniyonayaḥ), perhaps because Agni's district is the East (cf. VS. 9, 35, Agninetrā Devāḥ are in the East), though as world-protector he has the South-east (4, 30, 25, his district is East), but his altar inclines to the North-east (R 2, 99, 24). As sons of Agni, the Rāmāyaṇa adds Nīla (the ape) and "fiery-mouth", Ulkāmukha, also Asaṅga (R 1, 17, 12; ib. 4, 41, 2 f.; ib. 6, 30, 25), and the "very glorious saint" Suprabha is also "son of Agni" (R 7, 96, 4). Agni himself is the ape-sun (3, 3, 61) Vṛṣākapi

(H 12292, etc.), but only as supreme Ātman (Śiva, 7, 202, 136). Agni-kanyāpura is the city of the "girls of Agni", but they are the divine maidens of his harem (13, 25, 43). H 7738 assigns them to Umā's court, though H (73 and 83) also recognises, as real daughters of Agni, Āgneyī and Dhiṣaṇā. The saints called Agniṣvāttas and Agnidagdhas might be called connections of Agni, as they are regarded as Pitṛs, "without fire and with fire", according to VP., where they follow the enumeration of fires (VP. 1, 10, 18); but they are apparently connected only through having been burned by Agni (or eaten) at what the epic calls the Agnicaya or Agnirāśi (RG 4, 60, 17).

The relation between Agni and the other gods has already been shown in part. Kṛṣṇa (q. v.) overcomes him, but he is one with Kṛṣṇa-Viṣṇu, as he is one with Śiva, for whom he "removes difficulties" (12, 343, 23), and with the Sun. He is especial friend of Vāyu and fights against the demons (Asura Bali, 7, 25, 20) on Indra's side, but against Indra in his own interest, to aid the Vālakhilyas in creating Garuḍa, as also against Varuṇa and other gods (Khāṇḍava, 1, 225, 13 f.). The Agniṣṭut, because it praises Agni alone, is disliked by Indra (13, 12, 4 f., Indradviṣṭa). Vāyu is friend and soul of Agni (cf. Vāyu as father of Agni, § 49) and the friendship of the two is as proverbial as that of David and Jonathan (cf. 3, 147, 29, "the love of Agni and Anila"). "Pavana the friend of Anala" lives in the western district (5, 110, 19), but Agni's own district is in the East (above). Together they create the White Mountain and Śaravana, birth-place of Kārttikeya, through Śiva's seed, and with the seed Agni produces gold in the Ganges (R 1, 36, 19; ib. 37, 22); Agni as Vāyusamanvitaḥ; cf. 6, 86, 20, Agner Vāyusahāyasya yathā kakṣaṃ didhakṣataḥ, but whether personification as divinities be intended here may be doubted. Agni and Soma (united above in the late Mārkaṇḍeya episode as forms of fires, Agnīṣomau) are "born from the eyes of Brahman" in the hodge-podge of 12, 343, 9 f., sa Puruṣaḥ prajāḥ sisṛkṣamāṇo netrābhyām Agnīṣomau sasarja; cf. ib. 342, 68, Agniḥ Somena saṃyukta ekayonitvam āgataḥ. An attempt is made here to cast them as priestly and warrior-like into different orders, but it is confused, as Agni is a Brahman and Brahmans are Agnibhūtāḥ (ib. 343, 15), and Agni is also a Kṣatriya: yaḥ Somas tad Brahma yad Brahma te Brāhmaṇā, yo 'gnis tat Kṣatraṃ, Kṣatrād Brahma balavattaram (ib. 9). The Vedic distinction (ŚB. 10, 4, 1, 5) between Agni as the priestly caste and Indra as the warrior (so created) is here lost sight of (cf. Agnīṣomīyaṃ Brahma, 12, 343, 65 f.; the two gods uphold the priestly power). Agni will carry no oblations in a kingless land (12, 67, 5). Soma and Agni, combined in the East, appear as the "two eyes of Dharma", because it is the East which was first made the starting-point of oblations (so at least N. explains cakṣuṣī Dharmasya, 5, 108, 4). Agni is Kumārasū (Skanda is Āgneya, 3, 232, 3; Agnija, R 7, 4, 24), and is Śiva (and Brahman, 13, 85, 147), whose eye he is (13, 14, 324), and general lord of Pitṛs (ib. 313), whom he saves from indigestion, as he does the gods, by keeping off the indigestion devils (12, 92, 10 f.). He is himself in epical and Vedic literature "all the gods" (3, 224, 20, S has agniḥ sarvāś ca devatāḥ). That Agni is all the gods, is called a devasya śāsanam (14, 24, 10, read vedasya?). As father of Kumāra (S 7, 41, 28 calls Kumāra Vahnisuta), Agni gives him a goat, chāga, the vehicle of Agni, with which he is identified (13, 86, 24). The Kṛttikās and Agni constitute the "asterism and divinity of the sword", respectively (12, 166,

82). In 3, 231, 44, Skanda is Kṛttikāsuta and the Kṛttikās are a "seven-headed" asterism (3, 230, 11) of the personified Sword (as Dharma), and (1, 221, 85) they are the nakṣatraṃ Vahnidaivatam, that is, Agni is their divinity, which shows that the Kṛttikās means sword and also that Agni himself was understood as a war-god. He takes upon himself part of the sin of Indra, on condition that he may cast the sin off again upon those who do no not worship him with "seeds, plants, and flowers", but this is a sectarian insertion in favor of bloodless sacrifice (12, 283, 31 f.). Another slight indication of Agni's being a warrior (besides his actual battles) may be found in the comparison introduced when he searches for the lost Indra and fears water, "since fire arose from water as the kingly power arose from the priestly" (each is overcome by its source, 5, 15, 34 = 38, 13). Having found Indra, Agni agrees to help him on the understanding that he shall share in Indra's great ceremony, Mahākratu (Indrāgnyor bhāga ekaḥ, 5, 16, 32). Agni helps Indra's son particularly by giving him (Arjuna) his bow and ape-standard (1, 61, 47 f.). His insatiate greed (5, 26, 6) has the general redeeming feature that "he is unwearied in doing work for man" (5, 29, 10). Agni's beauty is often spoken of, especially at night, and when strengthened by prayer and butter, mantra-hutārcimālī (6, 60, 25). The abhimantrita fire only a boaster pretends to defy (5, 61, 9). Fires as heroes defend Bāṇa's city (H 10458 f.).

§ 53. As the god of ritual, Agni is recognised as approached by the threefold circumambulation. The bird that sacrifices itself in fire "goes thrice around Agni" as a beginning (agniṃ triḥ parikramya, 12, 146, 23), and in the marriage-ceremony this is the rule (R 1, 73, 36, trir agniṃ te parikramya ūhur bhāryāḥ). As upholder of priests, his rule is their model: "the law of Fire is the law of priests" (12, 141, 64; here, in contrast to the aindro dharmaḥ of warriors, the āgniko dharmaḥ gives the right to eat all things: brahma vahnir, mama balam, says Viśvāmitra when hungry enough to eat a dog). As one ceremonially impure may not look at Sun, Moon, or stars, or touch a cow or priest, so he (the ucchiṣṭa, 13, 104, 63) may not touch Fire. Such a man is excommunicated, "Agni accepts not his oblation" (13, 126, 29 f.). Nor can any oblation be made without fire: naṣṭaṃ hutam anagnikam (5, 39, 42). Above it was shown that Agni as pāpahan burns sinners (cf. 12, 68, 42, pāpān dahati, of the king functioning as Agni). But Agni has the same rôle when acting as the Saṃvartaka fire. Compare 5, 48, 65: "Like Agni at the end of the age, introducing a new age, I shall burn all the hosts of robbers, destroying them" (N. yugānte śatrūṇāṃ saṃhāre jāte sati), though it may be forced to assume that here the simile implies Agni pāpahan. Elsewhere, however, the Fire of Destruction is expressly to bring to an end the Kali age and reissue goodness unsullied. As averter of obstacles (above) Agni precedes Gaṇeśa, (§ 145), who appears only as deus ex machina in Ādi, and in this rôle, as well as giver of boons, he is said to have blessed Gaya; he also introduces here the pernicious doctrine of the "grace of the Guru". Thus he grants Gaya the power to know the Vedas without study, simply, as Gaya begs, through "austerity, chastity, observances, vows, and the grace of the Gurus" (7, 66, 2 f.). Gaya concludes: avighnaṃ cā 'stu me nityaṃ dharmakāryeṣu, Pāvaka, "may there never be any obstacle in the performance of my duties", which request the god granted. To honor his own Guru, Bṛhaspati, and Indra, Agni, sent as a messenger by Indra, goes to Marutta and accepts

hospitality, but when Marutta says that he will burn Agni with his (Marutta's) eyes, the Fire-god, "afraid of being burned", trembles and runs away (14, 9, 8f.). In another section of the same book (58, 46), Agni burns fiercely to aid Utaṅka, after first appearing to him in the form of a black horse, and saying that he was his Guru's Guru. So by burning he frightened the Nāgas into giving Utaṅka the stolen ear-rings, as elsewhere (1, 3, 128f.) the ancient Apāmgarbha Vaiśvānara is the horse of Indra (ib. 149; cf. yo 'śvaḥ so 'gniḥ, 167). Usually as horse he is white; his light has power and he is fearless; though like the light of the Sun his light cannot penetrate the "darkness of Death's realm" (in the South, 5, 109, 21, tamaḥ . . abhedyaṃ bhāskareṇā 'pi svayaṃ vā Kṛṣṇavartmana). In H 13928f., Agni is described as general Devadūta (messenger of the gods), whose soul is Wind, whose source is water, as he is the water's source, the red one clothed in blue, chief of gods (devāgryaḥ), the maker of the Vedas (Vedakartṛ, epithet of the Sun), the hara of oblations, and Hari; also Svadhādhipa, Svāhāpati, Devadeva, Rudrātman, etc., where, as warrior, he overthrows the Daityas. Otherwise, Devadūta is not applied to Agni, though it is not an uncommon expression and in 3, 55, 22f. is used of Nala as messenger of Agni himself, inter alios (in 3, 260, 30f., the "messenger of the gods" who converses with Maudgalya is not named). Agni's last appearance in the great epic is as a mountainous obstruction in the path of the heroes who are climbing up to heaven. He bids Arjuna cast into the ocean the bow the god had given him after receiving it himself from Varuṇa, and when the restitution was accomplished, "seven-flamed Pāvaka disappeared" (17, 1, 43). The epic does not ascribe to Agni the later epithets, Abjahasta, Tomaradhara, Rohitāśva, and Chāgaratha, though it suggests all save the first ("lotus in hand").[1]) In H 11360f., the sixteen priests of the fire-cult are enumerated, with many textual errors in C (= 3, 10, 6f.), some of whom, like the Hotṛ, Śamitṛ, and Sāmaga (3, 100, 14) are common enough to be incidentally mentioned in the epic itself; others (Āgnīdhra, Neṣṭṛ, etc.) are too technical to find a place there, though all of course were well known, as were the Agnihotras (3, 82, 36, etc.) and Agniṣṭomas (ib. 83, 88f.) incidentally referred to (with atirātras). Agnyāhitas and Anāhitāgnis (those wo do and do not keep up the sacred fires) are also mentioned in both epics, but these or equivalent terms are found everywhere. An Agni-Tīrtha is mentioned in 3, 84, 46 (Agnidhārāṃ samāsādya triṣu lokeṣu viśrutām, tatrā 'bhiṣekaṃ kurvāṇo hy Agniṣṭomam avāpnuyāt), as being so celebrated that a bath there brings the reward of an Agniṣṭoma. On "hell-fire", see § 54f., and on Soma and Agni, § 45.

§ 54. **Yama.** — Yama is the son of Vivasvat (see Ādityas, § 32). According to 1, 75, 11f., Yama Vaivasvata, son of Vivasvat Mārtāṇḍa, was born after Manu (also son of Vivasvat). Instead of the last statement, S has "and also Yamī was born as daughter of Mārtāṇḍa" (S 1, 69, 15). In H 552, the pair are called Yama and Yamunā. But the twin sister plays no part in the epic as such, being only a relic of the old Vedic myth. As Yama is sometimes identified with Kāla (Time, as the universal destroyer), the scholiast identifies with the sister of Yama the "sister of Kāla", Bhayā Kālabhaginī, who married Heti, the Rākṣasa king, father by her of Vidyutkeśa, who married the daughter of Sandhyā called Sālaka-

[1]) For a very complete monograph on Agni, in the Great Epic, cf. Adolph Holtzmann, Agni nach den Vorstellungen des Mahābhārata (1878).

ṭaṅkaṭā, mother of Sukeśa, whose three sons warred with the gods till, overcome by Viṣṇu and Garuḍa, they abandoned Laṅkā and fled under earth (R 7, 4, 16f., and 23; ib. 8, 49). According to Mbh., S 2, 23, 20f., the event described in VP. 5, 1, 70f., where it is said that the birth of Balarāma was transferred from Devakī to Rohiṇī through the agency of Viṣṇu's power, yoganidrā (cf. H 3306), took place through the activity of Yama by means of yāmyā māyā. The word here means "constraining", with which signification the epic always connects the god's name (6, 34, 29, Yamaḥ saṃyamatām aham, distinct from Kāla, ib. 30). The same notion underlies the raudrāṇi yāmyāni sāmāni, imprecative Mantras (2, 80, 8; or "addressed to Yama"?). Yamālaya is often a paraphrase for death itself (3, 313, 116). In Yamakṣaya there is a play on the double sense, "abode" or "destruction" of Yama (R 2, 60, 3; R 4, 53, 36 and often), and so Vaivasvatakṣaya (3, 96, 9; R 7, 73, 8), though the usual expression is Yamasādana (2, 77, 18; R 3, 22, 4, etc.), or equivalents (yiyāsur Yamalokāya, 7, 84, 28; Yamasya gehābhimukhaṃ hi pāpam [tvāṃ nayāmi], R 7, 68, 20), A vaguer term is viṣaya (9, 53, 20; R 2, 9, 63). Even a boar is addressed: nayāmi daṇḍadhārasya Yamasya sadanam prati (3, 39, 48; cf. ib. 10, netādya Yamasādanam, according to metre), for (see below) animals "go to Yama's abode". It is called the "city of the king of ghosts", Pretarājapura (1, 67, 122) and Dharmarājaniveśana (3, 240, 30, the objective of slain heroes in both cases). No distinction is made between this abode of the King of Justice and Naraka, hell (cf. R 2, 12, 89 and 92). Here "Death" leads one to Yama's abode, but usually the slayer leads (1, 41, 14; ib. 94, 21; ib. 151, 40; ib. 153, 29, gamiṣyāmi tvām adya Yamasādanam, for yātayiṣyāmi or gamayiṣyāmi). Heroes dying in battle are said to increase the realm of the god, Yamarāṣṭravivardhanāḥ (6, 79, 60 and oft); being "dedicated" thereto, Yamarāṣṭrāya mahate paralokāya dīkṣitāḥ (7, 153, 2; cf. pretaloka, ib. 155, 14). Paraloka appears as v. l. of Yamaloka (4, 16, 51 = S 20, 70). On the sacrificial aspect of battle, cf. 5, 58, 12; 12, 20, 12, etc. Yamasya netṛ is applied to Rāma (as Indra) "bringing to Yama" heroes slain (3, 25, 10). The son "leads his father up" out of hell (1, 74, 111). He who dies cannot escape the city of the king of ghosts (1, 118, 31f.); he "comes into the ghost-power" (Pretavaśaṃ gataḥ, S 1, 134, 71f., where Preta implies Pretarāj or Pitṛpati, 7, 50, 14, with v. l.). Besides being Pitṛpati, Yama is Dharmendra, acting as judge; as when he sentences Nṛga, who, after going to the Pitṛ-world of Yama and being ordered back, "falls headlong into a well", evidently from a confusion between the heavenly abode of Pitṛs and the lower home of ghosts (13, 70, 20f.). But the Pitṛs too in the epic live in the South: nayāmi vaḥ..diśam Pitṝṇām aśivām (S 5, 59, 13); "I saw Yama established in the South" (3, 168, 14); "Yama, righteous king and lord of all beings, presides over the South, the course of departed spirits" (3, 163, 8; yāmyā dik = South). The "sacred and marvellous palace of the Pretarāja" is called Saṃyamana (ib. 9). In 7, 142, 10 (not in S) it is called Saṃyamanī, as in 13, 102, 14: "Vaivasvatī saṃyamanī janānām" (the poets love to parody) = Vaivasvatasya sādanam, "where only truth is spoken, and the weak torment the strong" (ib. 16). In 7, 72, 44, Saṃyamanī sadā sukṛtināṃ gatiḥ is the abode of the dead, rendered glorious by the brightness of warrior slain, though Vaivasvata, Varuṇa, Śatakratu (Indra), and Dhaneśa (Kubera) are all represented as receiving him as guest (see Lokapālas). It is called the "royal

residence", rājadhānī Yamasya (7, 83, 27). "Yama's rājadhānī, envelopped in darkness, (lies) beyond the end of earth" (in the South, R 4, 41, 45, as Pitṛloka). To be more exact, as is Mārkaṇḍeya, it lies eighty-six thousand leagues from the world of men (3, 200, 46). All human beings who die have to go to Yama's abode, but the inhabitants of Kurukṣetra do not have to "see the province of Yama", that is, on dying they will go direct to heaven (9, 53, 20, Yamasya viṣayaṃ te tu na drakṣyanti kadācana). Also there are tales of people and animals being taken direct to heaven. Thus in 13, 102, 62, Indra takes a priest and his pet elephant direct to heaven, and in the battle-scenes it is clear that heroes are thought of as being conveyed at once to abodes of bliss, their life-sacrifice exonerating them from all liabilities. Also animals "go to Yama"; he is prajāsaṃyamano Yamaḥ (3, 297, 66), constrainer of all creatures born. Compare 6, 77, 69: "With four arrows he dispatched the four war-horses to the horrible home of Yama (Vaivasvatakṣayaṃ ghoram) and with one arrow sent to death (mṛtyave) the charioteer" (cf. ib. 79, 11, aśvān anayad Yamasādanam). Even battle-cars are sent to the world of Death (Mṛtyulokāya, 7, 28, 30). But here they are conjoined with elephants and horses. Other passages show that not only human beings, but all "living beings" go to Yama's abode. Thus in 3, 200, 40 f., the province and the road to it are described. It is as horrible as a dense jungle, but no trees give shade, as one goes to it. There is no water to drink, no place to rest. By the "messengers of Yama, who do his will" are dragged along the dead, men, women, and all other animate creatures of the earth (anye pṛthivyāṃ jīvasaṃjñitāḥ). But those who have been generous and ascetic find relief. Those who have given lamps have the way lighted; those who have fasted are carried by geese and peacocks. There is a river (§ 4) called Puṣpodakā, which is as pus to those who have done ill, but sweet water to those who have in life given water to others. In general, those who have been generous (to priests) "are free from Yama's words", which seems to be a repetition of what is said ib. vs. 24, namely that they who have been hospitable (to priests, bien entendu) do not go to Yama at all (no 'pasarpanti te Yamam), i. e. as judge. The further statement that one who gives saṃskṛtam annam (cooked food) to the priests (vipreṣu) obtains the world of Brahman, because Prajāpati is food (ib. 38 = Praś. Up. 1, 9, etc.) may also imply the direct ascent. Three persons "go the same", samaṃ yanti, the giver of food, speaker of truth, and he who gives without solicitation (ib. 42). Fear, Terror, and Death are sons of Wrong, Adharma, and Nirṛti Devī, mother of Nairṛtas, who keeps watch and ward over sinners (1, 66, 53 f.; 12, 122, 46). Nirṛti is exit from life and so, as destruction ("he binds destruction, nirṛti, upon his mouth who speaks unkindly", 1, 87, 9) synonymous with niraya (cf. niryāṇa, death) and Naraka, the place of spirits below earth and place of those destroyed. Compare 5, 29, 45, ete vinaṣṭāḥ kṣayaṃ gatā narakaṃ dīrghakālam, like barren sesame seeds, ṣaṇḍhatilāḥ, "they have gone to destruction for the long time" (of thirteen years). They are not dead but banished and so gone to hell (destruction). In the same breath Kaikeyī is addressed as nirayagāmini and told to go to hell (destruction), narakaṃ gaccha, mā ca bhartuḥ salokatām (R 2, 74, 4 and 12); narakaṃ vrajet means "go to destruction". Those who look at Rāma with evil eye are smitten by Yama's rod and go at once to niraya (R 7, 82, 11). Narake and nidhane interchange as v. l.

when it is said that a priest-slayer's family fall to hell (destruction), in answer to a doubt as to whether hell exists, or, as expressed immediately after, "those sinners who do not sacrifice do not get to yonder world (heaven), but meet onslaughts (āpātān, N. narakān), just as savages do" (Pulindas and Śabaras). The explanation of this term (12, 151, 8) is elucidated by the concrete case: "Thou, who art guilty of priest-murder, shalt fall headlong for successive years; there shalt thou be tortured by vultures and peacocks having beaks of iron, and after that thou shalt be reborn on earth in a low form. Thou thinkest, dost thou, that the next world amounts to nothing? Let me tell you that Yama's messengers in Yama's home will remind you of the contrary" (pratismārayitāras tvām, 12, 150, 15 f.). A sinner is "cooked by fire terribly in awful hell" (narake ghore, 3, 128, 12; as narakāgni). He finds woe in the river in Yamakṣaya (12, 302, 31). Dogs, ospreys, crows, with iron beaks, and vultures, all drinkers of blood, enter the body of one who disobeys his Gurus; and in man's destruction, narakadane, and going to hell, paramanirayaga, in hell, mahāniraye (Yāj. 3, 222), after he has sunk into the forest in the province of Pitṛs, Pitṛviṣayavipinam avagāhya, he is pierced with the wood's sharp axes and swords, plunged under hot Vaitaraṇī (§ 4) and comes for judgment before Yama, whose wind blows before him that is about to die (purā 'bhivāti māruto Yamasya yaḥ puraḥsaraḥ, etc., iambics, 12, 322, 29 f.). Here Vaitaraṇī is mahānadī as if one with the Mahānadī river in Kaliṅga, two hundred and fifty miles south-west of Calcutta ("Byeturnee" in Cuttack), where "Dharma once sacrificed and Śiva once seized the sacrifice, upon whose northern bank lies the gods' way, the path to heaven" (3, 114, 4 f.), a river holy enough to remove the sins of those that bathe in it (3, 85, 6). The river of Yama of the same name is also called Mahāvaitaraṇī (6, 59, 127) and is in Yama's southern district, "near the town of Yama", but it is horrible, raudrā ghorā (6, 103, 38; 7, 146, 37; ib. 171, 51), though also, as above, it is represented as in the home of Yama (12, 302, 31). Its heat, uṣṇā Vaitaraṇī, accords with its southern position. Vaitaraṇī is the river of passage filled with vaitaraṇas, passengers (5, 109, 14). The uncertainty as to whether the Vaitaraṇī is in Yama's realm or only leads to it and its double character as a holy river, Mahānadī, and as the river of torture in hell, makes it probable that it is the same river under two aspects. The heat is transcribed by "acid" (heat) below.

§ 55. In hell, cruel men with clubs, lances, and pots of fire torment sinners, who are also tortured by forests of swords, hot sands, thorny trees, and yātanās (torments) of various kinds, until, purified but not yet free, they are reborn as worms, etc. (13, 111, 92 f.). Men slay again here those already slain; a field of carnage, where lie heaps of slain men, horses, and elephants, resembles the realm of Yama (8, 92, 10). Incorporate though the ghosts be, yet these Pretas feel the mutilations to which they are exposed and shriek aloud. Worms gnaw them; dogs (sārameyas) devour them; they are plunged into the river of blood, Vaitaraṇī; they are burned in hot sand, cut by sword-leaf trees, plunged into the hell of roaring, Raurava, and into the river of acids, kṣāranadī (Vaitaraṇī), and cut on razor-blades. They beg in vain for water; they hunger and thirst, and are pale and wretched, appearing, with loosened hair, muddy and rough (R 7, 21, 12 f.). Both the river of acids and the river of pus (above) are elsewhere unknown to either epic, but Jain literature recognises the

acid stream as Vaitaraṇī (Sūtrakṛtāṅga, 1, 5, 1, 8 and Uttarādhyayana 19, 59). In the Rām. scene, Rāvaṇa attacks Yama and sees these horrors as he approaches the realm, defended by Yama (and Vama's anucaras), Kāla, and Mṛtyu, conceived (as in 9, 45, 17) as distinct personalities, though, as already remarked, often identified (cf. 2, 56, 10: "Be happy while you can; neither disease nor Yama = death will wait for you to become happy"). Another passage introduces Yama and Death as one and is further remarkable for its reference to the tree of torture: "Didst not thou (Rāvaṇa) plunge beneath the ocean of Yama's army, whose monster is the rod of Death, (that ocean) adorned with Śālmalī trees, having as its mighty billows the noose of Kāla, and as its serpents the servant (club) of Yama, to win a great victory and repulse Death?" (R 6, 7, 13 f.). The Śālmalī (also -i) is the tree of torture in hell (as hell, cf. Manu 4, 90 and Yāj. 3, 222), known to later literature but not to the early epic. Sītā alludes to it in R 3, 53, 20: "The noose of Kāla noosed about thy neck I see; thou seest golden trees (art about to die); thou lookest upon the horrible Vaitaraṇī rolling down its flood of blood, and the fearful wood whose leaves are swords; and soon shalt thou see the Śālmalī tree, sharp, and loaded with thorns of iron, though its blossoms are of gold and its leaves of beryl". It belongs to the later epic and Purāṇas (cf. the kūṭaśālmali of the Red Sea, R 4, 40, 37; and as torture-tree, 13, 111, 93; 18, 2, 25; ib. 3, 4). As already indicated, Yama's hell is but temporary. A seller of Soma spends thirty (v. l. three hundred) years in the hell Raurava (13, 101, 13) and is then reborn in a low form, where (ib. 24) he may have a memory of former births. A murderer's years in hell equal the number of drops he sheds. Adulterers live in hell as many years as the body has pores (ib. 104, 22 etc.), etc. Hell is a watery place, a lake (3, 58, 2; 10, 5, 14), a muddy hole (R 5, 27, 27). Hells are spoken of as the "lowest worlds" (adhamā lokāḥ, 3, 199, 14) but how many there are is doubtful. Kālasūtra in 3, 157, 45 is not a hell but Fate's line baited for man. Manu and Yājñavalkya (loc. cit. above) recognise twenty-one hells. The Viṣṇu-Purāṇa, naming twenty-eight, adds that there are many others (VP. 2, 6, 28, "hundreds and thousands"), in fact a different hell for every kind of offence or at most for small groups of allied offences. These hells of the later eschatology are really compartments of the general "province of Yama" and are situated in VP. under the seven strata below earth's surface. Many of the later names are those used as descriptive epithets in the epic, such as "sword-leaf forest", somewhat as attributes of gods become special gods. Others are quite new and unknown to either epic, while a few attributives or descriptive terms, already names in the epic, are retained (Raurava, Kāla), although the sinners occupying them are not the same. But the chief interest from the epic point of view lies in the fact that the twenty-one or twenty-eight hells of the later period point to an original seven by first trebling and then quadrupling. As the epic has Rasātala as the seventh stratum (5, 102, 1) below earth's surface and places there the hell to which a liar goes (13, 6, 34), while the evil demons are punished by being confined in Pātāla, and as the worlds are seven (3, 3, 45), it is probable that this sacrosanct number operated to fix the hells, confused with strata, as seven (afterwards increased threefold). A survival of this primitive belief may perhaps be found in 13, 45, 19, which says that verses sung by Yama himself are to the effect that a man who sells his son or his daughter (by accepting a price, śulka, for her) "ob-

tains as his portion urine and excrements in the hell called Kāla", niraye Kālasāhvaye, described as saptāvare mahāghore. Of course, saptāvare should be nominative plural. It usually introduces the statement that "seven earlier and seven later" (ancestors and descendants) suffer for a man's crime (as in 7, 198, 15; or in the form saptā 'varān sapta pūrvān punāti, 3, 186, 16; cf. 3, 85, 92 and 13, 26, 62, etc.); but here as the verb and subject are singular (mūḍhaḥ samaśnute) this in impossible and the author of the gāthā Yamodgītāḥ must have connected saptāvare with the following mahāghore niraye as a locative. A "hell on earth" (narako bhaumaḥ 1, 90, 4f.) is rebirth (also as nom. prop.) and the tormenters here are Rākṣasas (vs. 8), but this is metaphor. To be reborn is hell, and earthly interests are the fiends that plague the soul, preventing it from entering the "seven doors of heaven" (ib. 22, seven moral qualities; N. says the fiends are wives!). That the hells actually are seven in number is asserted by several later authors (Rām. Ved. Sūtra, 3, 1, 15, etc.), both Brahmanic and sectarian, probably first Brahmanic. If in the (Jain) Uttarādhyayana 31, 12, the "fifteen", rather doubtfully recorded by Professor Jacobi according to names, could be fourteen (?), it would be a link between the seven and others (above).

§ 56. Yama as a god of war carries a bow (yāmyaṃ dhanuḥ, 7, 23, 94), which he gives to a mortal hero, and arrows given by him are also mentioned (R 6, 91, 46, Indrajit shoots a Yamadatta against Vibhīṣaṇa, the arrow of the god of justice being used by the fiend against virtue!). Usually Yama carries a rod (of justice) and noose (to catch souls). The battle-club or rod inspires that "fear of the other world" which alone makes men virtuous (12, 15, 5f.; cf. 3, 56, 10). The rod itself is then personified and becomes Daṇḍa, a form of Yama himself (only a Śūdra is nirdaṇḍa, 12, 15, 9f.). Yama and Antaka, "end-maker" (Death), are each daṇḍapāṇi (cf. daṇḍapāṇir ivā 'ntakaḥ or iva kruddhaḥ, standing phrases). Yama is higher. Yama wins the battle and Antaka cuts off the heads (3, 139, 14). He is classed with Kubera, Varuṇa, and Rudra as a warrior (5, 162, 27; 6, 83, 41). Yama uses also the Kāladaṇḍa, while Death and Kāla admire him (R 7, 22, 23f.). The arrows of heroes are like Yama's daṇḍa, as is also Bhīma's great club (3, 154, 17; 6, 85, 33). The image is so conventionalised that one can say (3, 11, 43): "like Indra he let fall his club like Yama's". An unusual image compares an arrow to Yama's tongue or Antaka's tongue (7, 179, 54; 9, 11, 52). One who "has entered Yama's fangs" is virtually dead (7, 110, 19). "The door of Death" (Mṛtyu) opens upon Yama's home (R 4, 6, 25f.). Both Kāla and Mṛtyu bear nooses and on occasion are felt as poetical equivalents of Yama, though, when analysed, Kāla is to Yama as Yama is to Mṛtyu, the superior power. Death's noose, rod, world, place, "the fangs of Death", etc., are all used as of Yama. Even Mṛtyuḥ kiṃkaradaṇḍabhṛt occurs (8, 56, 120) and an arrow is "like Mṛtyu's tongue" (v. l. sister, svasām for jihvām, 6, 116, 3; cf. 7, 116, 54). The servants of Yama are messengers or kiṃkaras, who live in the North as well as elsewhere (R 6, 74, 59). The club is the god's servant, so that a warrior is described as "like Yama with his servant (club) in hand" (9, 32, 42; cf. 50). Kiṃkaras are also a class of Rākṣasas (p. 45). In 13, 62, 27, Mṛtyur Vaikiṃkaraḥ is taken by the scholiast to be a derivative of Vikiṃkara (Kāla), "son of Time" (viparītaṃ karoti); but vai must be a separate word, Kiṃkara being the club of Yama. In 3, 298, 38, since Yama here comes alone

and carries no club, there is a purely conventional force in sakiṃkaraḥ. The messengers, Yamadūtāḥ, are (like) Rākṣasas, having pointed ears, huge mouths, and reddish hair, and being deformed but massive (12, 138, 117). They fetch the dead (3, 297, 14) with exceeding speed (5, 151, 26). Rudras are also attendants on Yama, as Maruts are on Vāsava (3, 237, 11), and a hero is said to be appear like Antaka, rod in hand, like Rudra, and like Yama with the Rudras (6, 102, 36f.). Either Yama or his messengers noose the soul of the dying (11, 4, 11 and 3, 297, 17). In the last passage Yama does the work of his men, puruṣas, and is described as king of Pitṛs, Lord (Bhagavat, Deveśa, Īśvara, etc.), appearing with a diadem and red clothes, shapely, dark, with red eyes, glorious as his father the sun, and bearing a noose in hand. Philosophy sees in failure of the senses the messengers of Yama (R 2, 64, 66) and forms of Time (Kāla), while man's body is Yama's car (11, 7, 12, read vidhayaḥ with S; ib. 19, yāmyam āhū ratham). The tales treat the messengers more mythologically. Yama once said to a certain man clothed in black, who had red eyes and hair and the legs, eyes, and nose of a crow (the bird of death): "Do thou go to Brahman-town and fetch hither a man of the Agastya clan whose name is Śarmin. Don't make a mistake and fetch the wrong man". But Yama's messenger made the mistake and got another man named Śarmin, who on arriving wished to stay. But Yama told him that this was impossible; he did not understand Kāla's orders or he would not ask such a thing. So he was exchanged for the right Śarmin after a lecture from Yama (13, 68, 5 f.). The god also lectures Nāciketa (13, 71, 7f.), when this boy, cursed by his father to "see Yama" (die), fell as if thunderstruck and went to Yama. His father's tears, however, caused life to sprout in him and he returned to consciousness and told his father what he had seen. He said he had found the Vaivasvatā Sabhā or Hall of Yama a very charming place and had seen the worlds of the good where rivers ran milk and mountains were made of butter. In H 4924, Kṛṣṇa makes Ocean and Yama restore the drowned son of Sāṃdīpani.

§ 57. The Sabhā here mentioned is more fully described in 2, 8; it was made by Viśvakarman (All-maker), is more than a hundred leagues in extent, golden and sunny, where wishes are granted, and there is no cold, hunger, sorrow, old age, etc.; but all good things "to lick and chew" are there (all is tasty, rasavat; cf. Yama's gift to Nala, 3, 57, 37, annarasa). This palace contains royal and priestly seers (some found again in the palace of Indra), kings, saints, and heroes (Nala, the two Rāmas, etc.); also Kāla and Mṛtyu, Pitṛs, those who die during the southern course of the sun, etc. They are cheered with dance and song. Besides those mentioned there are also the Wheel of Time and "Yama's men appointed to lead time", that is, to reckon men's lives, as well as many trees and other incorporate objects. The Fire-god is in the Sabhā too, and all revere Dharmarāja (Yama). Late as is this passage, comparatively, it fails to mention at the court of Yama his scribe Citragupta, who belongs in fact entirely to the post-epical period of the pseudo-epic (13, 125, 6 and ib. 130, 14f.). At 5, 109, 6, Nīlakaṇṭha understands Citragupta to be implied by nigadyate (in the South, "Dharma, truth and Karman are reported there, and there is the fruit of action for the dead"), but there is no such implication. Even when Citragupta is mentioned, the Sun, as witness of acts, "reports" them when one dies (13, 130, 17). The late passage 1, 74, 30f., which speaks of Yama punishing sinners, says

only that the witnesses of the evil act are the gods, Sun, Moon, Wind, Fire, Sky, Earth, Water, the heart, and Yama himself. Noticeable also but not unexpected is the fact that Yama's abode is one of bliss. As a god he lives happily and his residence is a heaven of saints and heroes like those of other gods. The antithesis is brought out clearly in several passages. Though he goes with "death and diseases" in a parade (3, 231, 36; Antaka's charioteer is Roga, disease, 12, 322, 42), yet he is master of the diseases, etc., and so can give Hanumat immunity from disease (R 7, 36, 17). As Dhamarāja, king of justice and right, he may even allow an exchange, whereby, if an equitable substitute be offered, one's death may be deferred. Thus Ruru by permission of Dharmarāja gives up half of what remains of his life to restore Pramadvarā to life (1, 9, 31 f.). The parents of the boy killed by Daśaratha will ask Yama as Dharmarāja to take them instead of the boy (R 2, 64, 28 f.). As god of right he is good to the good and bad to the bad (he also has goods, and is renowned as having wealth and happiness, a Plutos as well as a Pluto, R 5, 9, 9; ib. 6, 114, 33). He chastises, but as instructor: anuśāsti .. śivaḥ śivānām aśivo 'śivānām, but as death at his command comes to man as vices and "there is no death but this, though some call Yama death" (5, 42, 6 f.), so, to the pious, death is only a tiger made of grass, having no terrors for the good (ib. 15). There is much of this higher teaching and also allusions to hell as merely low births, as on the other hand there are allusions to hell eternal (3, 183, 70; 5, 132, 20, etc.); but one is a denial of a popular belief and the other is due to extravagance, for no one believes in eternal hell, and few believe in a hell merely mental, or expressed in terms of low birth. But the principle that Yama is not evil to the good leads back to the belief that good people who go to him enjoy themselves. Only the evil mourn in Yama's sādanam (13, 102, 14 f.). He is śubhakarman, "whose acts are noble" (8, 45, 31 f.). The viṣaya or province of Yama contains frightful regions, but also regions worthy of the gods, so that his abode is like that of Brahman (13, 111, 41 f.) On Rāvaṇa's inroad he saw the good rejoicing in song and music; those who had given houses during life now lived in beautiful houses and had gold and gems and radiated glory as they went. Rāvaṇa released the wretched sinners and for a moment they too enjoyed themselves; but then the Pretagopas (ghost-guards) and other Yamayodhas attacked the fiend and being assisted by Yama, Mṛtyu, and Kāla would have overthrown him had not Brahman intervened. Apparently on the appearance of their guards the sinful ghosts return to torment (R 7, 21, 10 f.). Only here is Yama's rod described as having nooses at its sides (Kālapāśas on Kāladaṇḍa, used by Yama). Yama helps that female death whose tears become diseases (R 7, 22, 24 f.; Mbh. 7, 54, 40 = 12, 259, 34 f., a late conception), an awful but beneficent power. In old days, Viṣṇu once assumed the part of Yama, Yamatvaṃ kārayāmāsa, and no one died (3, 142, 35). Then the population of the earth increased to such an extent that earth sank down under the weight and Viṣṇu had to raise her (see Viṣṇu). Possibly this may reflect the view of the Indo-Iranian Yama-Yima.[1]) The tale appears in various forms. In 1, 197, 1 f., Yama becomes Śamitṛ, or cook of the gods, preparing their sacrifice (see above on the rasa), and so men ceased to die. Again it is said that of old there was no fear of Yama as death,

[1]) Compare Jackson JAOS. 17, p. 185. On Yama as cook, cf. § 45 (moon?).

but when they became wicked Viṣṇu made Samavartin (Yama) regulator of sinners and of Pitṛs (12, 207, 35; cf. 122, 27), just as he made Śiva overseer of Bhūts and Mātṛs. The origin of the name is not explained. It may be for samāvartin (cf. Viṣṇu as Samāvarta, 13, 149, 96), but perhaps is better taken as it stands in the sense of "equal-acting", i. e. as a fair judge and punisher (even "of secret sins", 5, 35, 71).

Yama's name has demoniac associations in the name of Yamaśatru, a Rākṣasa (R 6, 44, 20, v. l. Yajñaśatru) and in the names of Rākṣasas in 12, 98, after 13, where S adds Saṃyama, Viyama, Suyama, as sons of Śataśṛṅga (perhaps taken here from Purāṇic sources). The Yāmas and Dhāmas who guard the road to heaven seem to be a sort of Pitṛs, but the text itself says that they are of unknown form (9, 44, 33); they are heavenly beings (3, 261, 6). The followers of Skanda given by Vāyu are called Atiyama and Yama (9, 44, 45), constraining (yam) powers; and so perhaps the Yāmas. Cf. the Yamaratha vow of Yama's wife, H 7941.

§ 58. The family of Yama is more restricted than that of most gods. He is absent from the group of gods who, in R 1, 17, are commissioned to become sires of monkeys and other opponents of Rāvaṇa. Later on this defect is rectified and in the expedition of Śatabali to the North he is accompanied with "the sons of Vaivasvata" (R 4, 43, 3). Still later (R 6, 30, 27), the five sons of Vaivasvata, all "like Kālāntaka", are Gaja, Gavākṣa, Gaveya, Śarabha, and Gandhamādana, of whom in the first book Gandhamādana is sired by Kubera and Śarabha by Parjanya (R 1, 17, 11 and 14). Not Yama, but Dharma is father of Yudhiṣṭhira: "From Dharma was born Yudhiṣṭhira; from Māruta was born Vṛkodara; from Indra was born Arjuna; and from the Aśvins came the yamau (twins) Nakula and Sahadeva" (1, 63, 116). The epic scarcely knows Yama as Dharma, but always calls him Dharmarāja or Dharmendra (7, 6, 6), except in one tale where (1, 108, 8) Aṇīmāṇḍavya, a discontented saint, goes to "the sadana of Dharma" and reproves him for a false judgment and punishment, cursing the god to be reborn (because of that punishment) as Vidura, a scene repeated in 1, 63, 93, but without this complete identification. Dharma in post-epical literature is constantly used for Yama. So in the stage-directions at 3, 128, 13 f., only the extra-metrum title Dharma is applied to Yama. Here a priest is being cooked in hell fire, narakāgni, and his king, also in hell, speaks to "Dharmarāja" in behalf of his Guru. So when Mandapāla goes to the Pitṛ-world he asks the "gods near Dharmarāja" why he gets no reward (1, 229, 8); but when Bhīma is "bound by the noose of Dharma", he is not bound by Yama but only by restrictions imposed by right (2, 70, 16). In 5, 128, 45 and 47, the "nooses of Dharma" may be these, but might be Yama's. Dharmarāja is a title applied both to Yama and to Yudhiṣṭhira, and Yama seems to be on his way to identification with Dharma, but it is as well to observe the distinction (3, 84, 1 Dharmatīrtha, etc.) usually preserved in the text, especially as 1, 108 appears to be later than 1, 63, where "Dharma" is cursed to be born as Vidura, but is not called Dharmarāja and has no sadana, or in other words is not quite Yama. The difference is plain, if one thinks of Yama as father of Yudhiṣṭhira or as husband of the ten daughters of Dakṣa (1, 65, 14), one of whom, Lakṣmī, but only as identical with Śrī, is patnī Dharmasya par excellence (12, 59, 132), while Yama's wife (§ 24) is Dhūmorṇā (5, 117, 9 = 13, 166, 11). "Yama's mother" is mentioned in a simile comparing an arrow to the "night of Fate (Kālarātri), noose in hand",

and to "Yama's mother (or nurse) of horrible form", tāṃ . . Yamasya dhātrīm iva co 'grarūpām (9, 17, 43). In R 7, 20, 31, Yama is identified with Vidhāṭr and Dhāṭr (he is here preceded into battle by Agni, ib. 21, 2). As Dharmarāja he has seven priests, ṛtvijas, in the South, of whom the only prominent one is Agastya (Unmucu, Pramucu, Svastyātreya, Dṛḍhavya, Ūrdhvabāhu, Tṛṇasomāṅgiras, and Agastya), a late attempt to expand the "seven seers" of the North and apply the same groups in other quarters (13, 150, 34). One fifth of the divine energies which make Aśvatthāman is supplied by Yama (in conjunction with Śiva, Antaka, Kāma, and Krodha, ekatvam upapannānāṃ jajñe, 1, 67, 72). Later mythologies give as names of his wife Suśīlā, Vijayā, Hemamālā, which are not epic (in 3, 265, 3, it is intimated that his wife may be wandering about on earth as a beautiful woman). Nothing is made of Yama's relationship with Manu Vaivasvata, and indeed except as Vaivasvata nothing is made of his own relationship with the Sun-god. In the epic, Yama rides on a car or goes afoot; the buffalo (as his vehicle) appears first in H 14826. Yama is said in 13, 89, 1 f. to have taught the Śrāddha observances to king Śaśabindu in accordance with the lunar zodiac (what virtue lies in every star), though ib. 91, 7, the originator of the Śrāddha was Nimi. The usual verba ipsissima of the later morality-plays are ascribed to Yama (one has already been cited). "Yama said that an angry king consumes root and all like fire; but if pleased, he bestows wealth like a divinity" (12, 82, 31). "I cut short his life and deprive of children him who runs, studies, etc., while impure" (13, 104, 72 f.). These gāthā Yamagītāḥ perhaps extend into the following verses, but they are not edifying enough to cite. It is possible that Kṛtānta may mean Yama when it is said that Vasiṣṭha could "bring back his sons from Yama's abode but did not transgress Kṛtānta" (1, 174, 9). Kṛtānta appears "frowning and fiery" (yugāntakāle, 2, 72, 15), but is probably Fate as (pace Nīl.) he is in 3, 183, 79; so he is Fate in 12, 33, 15 and 47; 153, 13, and 50 (also a common name for Fate in Rām).[1]) "Fourfold Death" (Mṛtyu), of whom Viṣṇu made Time the lord, includes according to the scholiast deaths by sword, foe, Yama, and acts, Karman (12, 122, 33). See § 31.

§ 59. **Varuṇa and Ocean.** — Vestiges of his ancient glory and position remain to "king Varuṇa" (16, 4, 16), who is armed with noose and thunderbolt (aśani, 1, 227, 32; cf. ib. 31, mahāśani as Indra's weapon), and once had a conch-shell (see below; 2, 53, 15 is doubtful, cf. ib. 49, 26, kāṃsyam or śaṅkhaṃ Vāruṇam, made of a thousand niṣkas of gold). A warrior in action is "like Varuṇa" (9, 55, 29) and warriors are "children of Varuṇa" or "like sons of Varuṇa" (7, 155, 45; ib. 36; Ambupati and Mitra are here leaders in battle). Varuṇa (Ambupati; Ambupa in R 7, 3, 18) and Mitra accompany Indra in the Tārakā war (7, 84, 21), as subordinate leaders (cf. R 6, 26, 18, "fighting like Varuṇa for Indra"). He performs the Rājasūya sacrifice as victorious king at the Yamunā-Tīrtha, after conquering in war men and gods. He is here "Aditi's very fortunate son, white Varuṇa" (9, 49, 12, sitaprabhaḥ). As a successful warrior, he is linked with Indra (warriors are "like Indra and Varuṇa", 3, 45, 12; in R a stereotyped phrase, e. g. R 3, 37, 3; R 3, 50, 4; R 4, 12, 10; ib. 52, 4), or with Yama (R 5, 40, 6; R 6, 66, 3); successful warriors defy "the bolt of Indra and noose of Salilarāja" (R 6, 71, 34). But only Rāma (Viṣṇu) breaks the bow of "immeasurable Varuṇa" (because this was really Viṣṇu's bow,

[1]) Compare also Kālāntaka-Yama and similar epithets of Fate in the form of Yama.

R 1, 77, 1; R 2, 118, 39f.). Janaka (ib.), however, received bows from him and perhaps other arms (R 2, 31, 27). As one of the "killing gods" he is to be honored (12, 15, 16f.). He inspires kingly control (vāruṇa saṃyama 2, 78, 19). The list of gods of power in 8, 92, 13, Kubera, Vaivasvata, Vāsava, is in S (ib. 99, 14) increased by the addition of Varuṇa. The conch-shell, belonging to Varuṇa because born in ocean, is given, in 3, 174, 5, to Arjuna by Indra, though in 2, 3, 9f., it is brought from Bindusaras (with Bhīma's club) by Maya, who carried off the wealth there (where Bhagīratha dwelt and Indra had made sacrifice), originally hidden by Vṛṣaparvan, and it is here called (Vāruṇa śaṅkha) Devadatta. The bow and arrows (got originally from Soma), Varuṇa, at Agni's bidding, gives to Arjuna (Khāṇḍava scene), as also the club Kaumodakī and the war-car once used by Soma. In the subsequent story Varuṇa devadeva opposes Agni and, armed with his noose, is defeated by the pair he had thus befriended (1, 225, 1 f.; cf. 5, 60, 12). In H 10933, he has shell and bow.

§ 60. All this, however, is no indication of Varuṇa's real epic position. He is no longer a heavenly god, no longer a god rivalling Indra, or having stars as eyes. He is lord of water, Apāmpati, Salilendra, Jalādhipa, Jaleśvara, ambhasāṃ rājā, Vāripa, Udakapati, Ambupati, river-lord, Saritāmpati, and lord of the monsters of the deep (Yādasāmpati and -bhartṛ, 3, 41, 6, as Jaleśvara "with rivers male and female"), hence he is beryl-colored, vaidūryavarṇa (ib.) as well as white (above) and also (ib. 27) "cloud-dark" (jaladharaśyāmo Varuṇo Yādasāṁpatiḥ). The waters are medicinal, curative; hence Varuṇa is lord of the "constellation having a hundred medicines", and "the physician who performs the rite in honor of his ancestors under the asterism of Varuṇa would obtain success" (13, 89, 12, nakṣatre Vāruṇe [= śatabhiṣaji; śrāddham] kurvan bhiṣak siddhim avāpnuyāt). He is also pracetas, the "wise" god (water and wisdom are ever united), and perhaps as such is reckoned the father of the epic poet. Varuṇa is formally consecrated by the gods as lord of rivers and waters (9, 45, 22; 46, 105) and told that his home shall be in ocean, the home of makaras; that Ocean, the Lord of Rivers, shall be under his will, and that his own decline and growth shall agree with the waning and waxing of Soma. There seems to be actually no difference felt here (though expressed) between Ocean and Varuṇa. Varuṇa is Saritāmpati; Ocean is nadīpati; the home of Varuṇa is to be "always (sadā) in ocean"; and the final words can refer only to the tides of ocean, though addressed to Varuṇa (9, 47, 8). A different account (5, 110, 3) makes Kaśyapa appoint Varuṇa to "rule the monsters of the deep and guard the waters", and adds that the moon becomes renewed through drinking the "six flavors of Varuṇa Gopati" (lord of cows as waters, perhaps originally stars). Still another passage identifies Varuṇa and Ocean (3, 102, 1: samudraṃ te [Kāleyāḥ] samāśritya Varuṇaṃ nidhim ambhasaḥ; ib. 101, 23, Varuṇasyālayam). The later epic lets Varuṇa receive office as nātha, refuge, of monsters and owner of water, jaleśvara, from Viṣṇu (12, 207, 36). "All the gods" give him this office in 9, 47, 6. The Vedic identity of wit and water (ŚB. 7, 5, 2, 52) is expressed philosophically by saying that Varuṇa represents knowledge as Prakṛti, while Mitra represents spirit (12, 319, 39: Mitraṃ puruṣam, Varuṇaṃ prakṛtiṃ tathā, jñānaṃ tu prakṛtiṃ prāhuḥ). As Varuṇa lives below and Kubera above (on the mountains), the two are often placed in rhetorical antithesis (e. g. R 5, 21, 34), though joined together as

(also rhetorical) a fighting pair of gods whom a vainglorious warrior would defy (e. g. R 6, 63, 43).

§ 61. As remarked above (§ 43), little is said of Mitra except as Āditya and form (name) of the Sun-god, and as paired with Varuṇa, with whom, however, in one case he appears as a rival. The nymph Urvaśī "belonged to Mitra but loved Varuṇa". Thus, owing to a family jar (so to speak), Mitra having cursed Urvaśī, Varuṇa became father of Vasiṣṭha (retaḥ kumbhe hy apāsṛjat). Yet Mitra claimed to be his father (same tale of Agastya, 12, 343, 51 and 3, 103, 13 f.), whence Vasiṣṭha was called Maitrāvaruṇi (R 7, 56, 4 f.; ib. 21; ib. 57, 6 f.; 9, 42, 29; 12, 303, 10, etc.). Maitrāvaruṇi (3, 104, 17) designates Agastya, as does Vāruṇi alone, and Vasiṣṭha is indifferently Vāruṇi (1, 99, 7) and Maitrāvaruṇi (above and 1, 178, 10). A stereotyped phrase speaks of (giving) "sons like Mitra and Varuṇa" (1, 105, 41; cf. Mitrāvaruṇayoḥ putraḥ = Agastya, 13, 166, 40), meaning heavenly or glorious. Mitra once held Varuṇa's office (because he performed the Rājasūya, R 7, 83, 6 f.) and is sundered from Varuṇa as spectator of battle (R 6, 73, 7, so S, but B has Rudra) and as divinity of utsarga (12, 314, 2; cf. 12, 318, 1 f.); also in 14, 21, 4, Mitram (sic) along with Pṛthvī, Agni, Viṣṇu, appears as one of the agnayo daśa of physiological metaphysics (cf. 14, 42, 26 and above § 43, perhaps Buddhistic), where Varuṇa is not mentioned. Varuṇa has a special world called the "abode of king Varuṇa", to which go those who perform the cāturmāsya sacrifices and the "one hundred and ten sacrifices", which ought to be the eighth upper world (9, 50, 32), but this is distinct from the "worlds of Mitra and Varuṇa" (Maitrāvaruṇayoḥ, ib. 39 and 13, 102, 35 f.).

§ 62. The heavenly world of Varuṇa is another reminiscence of his origin, but it does not offset the universal epic belief that his home is under the western waters, or in the waters under the earth, thought of as reaching westward rather than eastward, in contrast to Ocean whose wife is the Ganges (3, 99, 33 and 187, 19 f.). The Rām. places the home of Varuṇa on the very peak of the western mountains (R 4, 42, 43 and 45) in the general "district guarded by Varuṇa, who has a noose in hand" (as Lokapāla, § 91). Elsewhere he is represented as living in ocean or as occupying both ocean and the mountains (3, 163, 11). Both epics agree that his palace was made by Viśvakarman, the gods' artificer, and is bright or sunlike and white. As Lokapāla his general province is the West (2, 14, 14; 5, 102, 9; R 4, 45, 6, etc.); more narrowly, the land of Yavanas and Barbaras (3, 254, 18). This district is called Varuṇālaya or Varuṇāvāsa, his home, niketana, bhavana, sabhā, etc., being a hall or palace, where the white god sits in white glory, surrounded by reverent Ādityas. It is "undecaying", an epithet of ocean (R 3, 54, 8), and has walls, gateways, etc., being surrounded by trees bearing jewels, where sing beautiful birds; it is neither too hot nor too cold. Varuṇa, dressed in divine garments and gems sits there with Vāruṇī (S says she is Gaurī) and about him are garlanded and perfumed Ādityas, hosts of Daityas, Dānavas, and Nāgas, and the four oceans in person, rivers, lakes, 'tanks', the four personified directions, Diśas, mountains (who converse), aquatic animals, timi, timiṅgila, makara, jhaṣa, kūrma, grāha (these are presented to Skanda by Varuṇa with elephants, probably because gaja = nāga, 13, 86, 25),[1]), all vāruṇāni bhūtāni (not necessarily fishes, cf. 1, 18, 21; 22, 12;

[1]) For other animals, cf. 1, 21, 3 f.; 22, 6 f.; 25, 15. The gift to Skanda (9, 46, 52, a Nāga) appears in S as a chāga, goat.

6, 34, 29, etc.), as Varuṇa is Yādasām amburāj (7, 6, 6). Apsarasas and Gandharvas also revere Varuṇa (Jaleśvara pāśahasta), as does his minister Sunābha (R 7, 23, 51 calls him Prabhāsa), besides "sons and grandsons, Go(-nāman) and Puṣkara" (his son). This account (2, 9, 1 f.) is amplified in S, which adds a few more courtiers, Artha, Dharma, Kāma, Vasu, Kapila, Ananta, Vāsuki, and Garuḍa. Elsewhere it is said (5, 98, 6 f.) that the home of Varuṇa (Udakapati, Gopati) contains a lake of fire and an umbrella-house. From the umbrella (not here a cobra-hood, ābhoga), which is carried by the god's sons, drips cool but invisible water, pure as Soma yet "enclosed in darkness" (cf. H 6920). Here too appears Varuṇa's son Puṣkara and the abode of Vāruṇī (the intoxicating essence churned from water), also many arms made of old by the gods and taken from the demons, and the great bow made to destroy the world, from which bow that of Arjuna was named (Gāṇḍīva). The noose called dharmapāśa is the one carried by Varuṇa, who resembles Yama also in his saṃyama (above) or controlling power, both being gods of punishment, though Yama controls men, and Varuṇa the demons (dharmapāśadhara Deva is Varuṇa, 2, 9, 17). It is perhaps owing to this white color that Varuṇa becomes a white goose when Rāvaṇa scares the gods (R 7, 18, 5), and is sacrificially represented by a (white) sheep (12, 78, 6; 263, 41), or this last is but priestly tradition (VS. 13, 50). The Sabhā account (above) does not locate the palace, and one passage even says that Varuṇa "obtained happiness by entering the under-world, Pātāla, in the East" ("this place", atra, 5, 108, 12). The exact place is defined here as the "gate of day", where the Sun-god gave forth the Yajurveda and "the hundred paths of Om" were born, the pūrvā dik (East). But if Varuṇa started in the East to go to Pātāla, he soon turned West, to which quarter are thrown offerings made to him (13, 97, 11; see also § 91 f.). The demons seen at his court were at first his captives. They were bound by his noose as well as with the "noose of Right" and were kept under guard in ocean. Compare 5, 128, 45 and 47: "Varuṇa the lord of waters, having bound them with his own nooses as well as with the nooses of Dharma, guards them ever intently in ocean" (cf. 1, 21, 7 where "the home of Varuṇa and Nāgas", ocean, is called Asurāṇāṃ bandhanam, v. l. bāndhavam). Vāruṇī (above) is also daughter of Varuṇa, equivalent to Surā, personified intoxicant of the Suras (gods, R 1, 45, 23 f.; on the difference between surā and agryasauvīraka, kañjika, see ib. 3, 47, 45). Vāruṇī as wife (4, 9, 16) is the older Varuṇānī. Suṣeṇa, son of Varuṇa and father of Tārā (R 4, 22, 12), leads the host of the West (R 4, 42, 2 f.). R 7, 23 tells how Rāvaṇa invades Rasātala, guarded by Varuṇa below earth, and full of serpents and Daityas. After overcoming Vāsuki's Nāga city of Bhogavatī, he conquers two demon-cities, Jeweltown and Rocktown, and then reaches Varuṇa's lofty city, "like Kailasa white with clouds", where is Surabhi flowing with the Milk-sea juices (ib. 23, 21; in Mbh. 5, 102, 2, this milk has the six flavors), and, challenging Varuṇa, destroys his family of sons and grandsons led by Go and Puṣkara. Varuṇa's minister, Prabhāsa, says that the god himself is not at home, having gone to Brahman's place to hear a concert, so that Varuṇa is not defeated in person by Rāvaṇa (as he was by Kṛṣṇa, 5, 130, 49; cf. H 9145; 10903 f.). A dead or defeated demon goes to Varuṇālaya as naturally as a dead man goes to Yamasādana (cf. R 7, 61, 20, where the Asura Daitya Madhu on dying, "abandoning this world went to Varuṇa's home"). The "worlds of Varuṇa"

known to Sampāti (R 4, 58, 13) are interpreted as hells even for men. Thus Kaśyapa is asked what "other worlds" are the punishment for a recalcitrant or perjured witness and says in reply that such a sinner fastens upon himself a thousand nooses of Varuṇa, and it takes a year to loosen each (though nothing is said of hell). The later Rām. (7, 59, pra. 3, 36) has the same explanation. Varuṇa is satyasaṃgara (9, 45, 46), upholder of truth. So Bāṇa's cows are held by Varuṇa, H 10970.

§ 63. The descendants of Varuṇa are indefinitely multiplied through the practice of calling all descendants of Bhṛgu (and Aṅgiras and Kavi[1]) Bhārgavas or Vāruṇas, Bhṛgu having been born of Varuṇa's sacrifical fire (1, 5, 7), so that Bhṛgu is a form of Varuṇa as Varuṇa to the later writers is a form of Rudra-Śiva (13, 85, 88 and 125 f.). Agastya and Vasiṣṭha also claim (above) Varuṇa as their sire. Vālmīki is son of "Pracetas", who "guards the western half of the world" (R 6, 24, 19; 7, 111, 11; the Prācetasas are ten sons of Prācīnabarhis, 1, 196, 15; 12, 208, 6 and may revert to the same origin, though Pracetas is also a Prajāpati). R adds (the apes) Suṣeṇa, Hemakūṭa, and the Nāgas (in general) to the "sons of Varuṇa" (R 1, 17, 14; R 6, 7, 12; ib. 30, 33). Puñjikasthalā, the Apsaras mother of Hanumat (p. 14), was his kanyakā (R 6, 60, 11). A passage of S, cited p. 118, calls his wife Gaurī, as explicitly stated in 5, 117, 9. In 12, 301, 59, she is Devī Siddhi; in 13, 146, 5 and 166, 11, she is again Gaurī. The early epic says that Devī, the "eldest wife" of the god is the daughter of Śukra and she bore him a son Bala (also son of Danāyu; Vala?) and a daughter called Surā and Vāruṇī (in Brahman's palace, 2, 11, 42), through whom the gods got joy (intoxication) and godhead (pun on sura, 1, 66, 52; 5, 98, 14). His son Puṣkara, who lives in the palace called Puṣkaramālinī (2, 8, 41) and is "lotus-eyed", is called "son of Gopati" (Varuṇa 5, 98, 11), which calls to mind the connection of "Gopati and Varuṇa", enlisted among the inferior Devagandharvas (cf. Varuṇa as name of a Nāga), as descendants of Muni, the daughter of Dakṣa (1, 65, 42). Another son of Varuṇa was the sage Vandin, who, owing to his paternity, had no fear of drowning and even raised to life another man who had been drowned (3, 134, 31). Finally Śrutāyudha (§ 4), a valiant hero, was son of Varuṇa and of the river Parṇāśā. Parṇāśā, his mother, begged Varuṇa to give him immortality, but the god would only make him invulnerable, avadhya, by means of a divine weapon, not immortal, since "there is no immortality for man" and "who is born must die". This weapon was a "club with a charm said over it", which might not be hurled against a man unless he was fighting, since otherwise it became a boomerang and would return and kill the thrower. Śrutāyudha forgot, threw it at a non-combatant, and was slain, for it returned and smote him "like badly used magic" (7, 92, 44 f.). Similarly, Varuṇa limits the gift of life bestowed upon Hanumat (as grandson?): "He shall not meet death in a million years withal, from my noose (or) even from water", where perhaps water (sickness) is the noose (R 7, 36, 15). Here also may be mentioned the list of Varuṇa's seven seers, acting as sacrificial priests: Dṛḍheyu, Ṛteyu, Parivyādha, Ekata, Dvita, Trita, and Atri's son Sārasvata, "whose soul was virtue" (13, 151, 36 f.). They "belong to the West" (the first two are mentioned only here).

§ 64. Varuṇa's activities, apart from records of fighting and noosing, are not numerous. He was robbed of his "cows" (he is here Ambupati

[1]) Kavi is son of Bhṛgu (son of Brahman in the pseudo-epic) and father of Śukra Uśanas, 1, 66, 42 (13, 85, 106 f.).

as well as Gopati) by Kaśyapa. The cows are Kāmadughās, "giving all desires" (H 3148f.; Kaśyapa's two wives, Aditi and Surabhi, are here born on earth as Devakī and Rohinī). Varuṇa also (§ 45) steals Soma's daughter, Bhadrā, from Utathya (so Dyaus, § 34, becomes a thief). When Nārada reproves him, he tries to throttle the saint (13, 155, 22). Utathya Aṅgiras then drinks up the god's domain and causes a drought, till Sarasvatī loses herself in the desert and earth is nearly dried up, when the god sees his error and restores Bhadrā. As a generous god he gives arms (above) and control of water and fresh garlands to Nala (3, 57, 38), and gives to Ṛcīka, son of Bhṛgu, a thousand "white horses" (each with a black ear), to enable that saint to marry, since such was the dowry demanded (3, 115, 26f.). The horses came from Aśvatīrtha, a place reached "by going first to the residence of Varuṇa" (cf. H 2463). Four hundred of the horses were seized by the Vitastā river while being led across it (saṃtāre hṛtāny āsan Vitastayā, 5, 119, 8; but S has āsann itas tataḥ). Beauty distinguishes all Varuṇa's children and Varuṇātmajā is typical of female loveliness (S 1, 241, 17). Varuṇa himself is typical of prosperity (2, 35, 16). The white horses may be a literal interpretation of white billows ("Neptune's chargers") and the noose of the god may still be interpreted as illness. When a king is addressed, "Let not Varuṇa slay thee with his horrible nooses" (for wronging a priest, 3, 192, 48), it means repent in time, and the implication may be that he will die of disease if he does not repent. This is practically the only weapon Varuṇa uses; with it he marches even in processions (ugrapāśa, 3, 231, 38; 8, 42, 36). A proverb and parody of the holy text seems also to imply dropsy as the noose: "though bound with Varuṇa's nooses one thinks himself immortal; like a puffed out skin", etc. (mahādṛtir ivā 'dhmātaḥ, 12, 95, 20; cf. RV. 7, 89, 2). But for false witnesses the fetters are not loosed with death (above). Varuṇa himself appears as a witness for Sītā (3, 291, 29). In H 13138, three-headed snakes draw his car. See also § 143f.

§ 65. Ocean, Sāgara (Samudra), is personified (above) as subservient to Varuṇa. He is husband of Ganges (above), and is called Aikṣvāka Sāgara (H 2989f. makes him son of Brahman; Śāntanu is his name when born as father of Bhīṣma). As son of Ikṣvāku he grants the boon asked by Rāma (3, 283, 35; R 6, 19, 21f.), and is described as wearing gems, a lotus-wreath, and the Kaustubha jewel (§ 19; cf. H 12161f., date of churning). He persuades Rāma to shoot the Brahmāstra at the Dasyus and Abhīras, who had polluted his streams (R 6, 22, 17—31). Agastya, son of Varuṇa, drinks up ocean, to discover the Kāleyas (3, 104, 22f.). King Sagara excavated Ocean's bed (the king's mother is Kālindī, the Jumna river, R 1, 70, 31; R 2, 110, 18), hence Ocean is called Sāgara (R 1, 38f.). Sāgara exhorted a mountain to rise and help Hanumat (R 5, 1, 89f.). He injured his mother and apparently (scholiast) went to hell for this impiety (R 2, 21, 27). Dundubhi challenged him to fight but he was afraid (R 4, 11, 9f.). Kārtavīrya (q. v.) attacked Ocean (Samudra). Utathya also drank up ocean (above). He was cursed several times, to have sharks, by Bṛhaspati, because his water was unfit for rinsing the god's mouth (12, 343, 27); and by Vaḍavāmukha, the Mare's Mouth, to become salt, because he would not come to Mt. Meru when bidden to do so. Till the divine Mare's Mouth drinks him up he will remain salty (but cf. H 8323!), the sweat of the divine being having given him his salt (12, 343, 60). Hence

(3, 206, 26) it is said that a seer's wrath made ocean salty. Ocean is lord of rivers (above). His resolution not to pass his bounds is often referred to (R 2, 12, 44, etc.). He appears in R as four (R 5, 15, 12) or seven (R 3, 74, 25, etc.); in Mbh., only as four seas, as when he attends the court of Varuṇa (2, 9, 18; 3, 83, 156, etc.). The legend of Sagara, "born in the Ikṣvāku family" (3, 106, 7) implies that there was originally no ocean, nor place for it. He and his sons hollowed out a basin afterwards filled by Ganges. In 12, 289, 2 f., Sagara discusses philosophy with Ariṣṭanemi. Ocean is "lord of rivers"; Varuṇa is "king of waters" (also of rivers), according to 14, 43, 7. Aṃśumat, son of Asamañjas, son of Sagara, recovered the lost horse of Sagara. His grandson brought down the Ganges (3, 107, 39 f.; cf. R 2, 36, 19; Mbh. 12, 57, 9). Keśinī and Sumatī are the two wives of Sagara, the former mother of Asamañjas, the latter sister of Garuḍa and mother of the sixty thousand Sāgaras born in a gourd and preserved in oil till adult (R 1, 38, 3 f.; Ikṣvāku as gourd). Keśinī is in Mbh. the mother of Jahnu (1, 94, 32). H recognises both (797; 1416).

§ 66. **Indra.** — Indra, the favorite son of Aditi, was originally (a priestly) "son of Brahman", but became a warrior through his slaughter of nine nineties of his evil kin, thereby obtaining Indraship (lordship) of the gods (12, 22, 11). He slew them with the bolt made of Dadhīca's bones, whom the god tempted to lose his virtue through sight of Alambuṣā (9, 51, 7). Indra made all kinds of weapons of the sainted monster's bones; whence it is said that "Dadhīca guards Indra as Aṅgiras guards the sun" (3, 92, 6). Another story makes Brahman the originator of the plot to get the bones and has only the thunderbolt made from them (12, 343, 36). In 3, 100, 24 f., the bolt is made by Tvaṣṭṛ. Indra heads the gods in battle (R 3, 59, 15, etc.); hence Indraship as headship (13, 18, 64, etc.). He has yellow eyes and beard, rides in a yellow car with yellow steeds, wears golden chains, red clothes, and has two nymphs to fan him when at peace. A hundred youths surround him, singers chant to him, a white umbrella is over his head, and his garlands are ever free from dust; he is always twenty-five years old in appearance (see § 22; 3, 57, 24; R 3, 5, 5). In his palace, "he sits in beauty indescribable, having a diadem, red bracelets, white robes, and variegated garlands, lord of all the world" (2, 7, 4 f.). The diadem he gives to his son Arjuna kirīṭin (3, 168, 74), as he gives him his conch and car (ib. 85). He is the lord who pierces forts, īśaḥ puraṃdaraḥ (R 4, 51, 14). His district is the East (daśaśatākṣakakubh, 7, 184, 47). His constant epithets are "he of a hundred powers" and "he of a thousand eyes" (also assumed by Viṣṇu), Vāsava (Arjuna is Vāsavi), "lord of the third heaven" (Tridiveśvara), "lord of the thirty(-three) gods" (Tridaśesvara, 1, 34, 10 and 15). He is called also Devādhipa (5, 10, 7), Trilokanātha (R 6, 15, 5), Vṛtraśatru (paravīrahan, 3, 43, 21 f.), and by equivalent titles. Śakra and Maghavat are used like names; so is Pākaśāsana (passim). The last means "ruler of crops" (vegetables) but is understood as ruler or slayer of Pāka (demon); cf. Śambara-Pākahan, Śambara-Vṛtrahan. As equivalent terms to the above are used Devarāja, Sureśvara, Deveśa, Amareśvara, Amareśa, Maheśvara, Surārihan, Asurasūdana, Devendra, Prahlādahan, Vṛtrahantṛ, Valabhid, -han, Namucihan, Mahendra, Vajrin, Harihaya, Harivāhana (having yellow steeds). A favorite epithet is Vala-Vṛtranisūdana or Daitya-Dānavasūdana, -han. The popular epithet "thousand-eyed" appears in several forms, Sahasra-dṛk, -nayana,

-netra, -cakṣus, as well as the usual Sahasrākṣa. This and Hari and Ākhaṇḍala, and Sureśa are also applied to Viṣṇu, as Amareśa and Sarvadeveśa are shared with Śiva. The epithets Tridaśādhipati, Tribhuvaneśvara, Trilokeśa, Devadeveśa add nothing to the sense of those above. Pratāpavat is an epithet Indra shares with Agni. In 9, 49, 1 f., where Indra is Amararāja, it is explained that Śatakratuḥ ("of a hundred powers") means "having sacrificed a hundred times" (ib. 2, īje kratuśatena). Puruhūtapurī is the name of Indra's city Amarāvatī. Less common epithets are Devagaṇeśvara, "lord of hosts of gods" (1, 123, 31), Kauśika (3, 9, 9 and 135, 20), Nagāri "foe of mountains" (4, 39, 10; cf. § 6), Ākhaṇḍala (S 2, 47, 3; 12, 337, 4), Dānavāri (RG 2, 111, 9). In formal hymns, which always exaggerate, Indra is extolled as the final destruction-cloud, as Vāyu, Agni, Viṣṇu, Soma, earth, sky, ocean, etc., as well as Śacīpati, Namucighna, Valasūdana, and "our salvation, as the ship of safety" (1, 25, 7 f.; cf. with plavo bhava and trāṇaṃ the jñānaplava of 12, 238, 1). On hearing these epithets, Indra, as requested, gives rain. He said to the clouds, "rain pure ambrosia" and the clouds "let loose the water". As maker or recreator, by thus raining, Indra is known as Bhūtabhāvana and Bhūtakṛt (1, 67, 144; 3, 310, 15). He actually "creates" the being Ghaṭotkaca (1, 155, 46), but only by imparting a share of his own energy (as the other gods did) to Bhīma's son. Indra's business is to "bestow strength, energy, children, and happiness" (3, 229, 8 f.). He also frustrates the designs of the wicked and instructs (anuśāsti) all men in their duties (ib.). Indra is Vāsava as chief of the Vasus; Marutpati and Marutvat as lord of the Maruts (R 4, 31, 44); Śacīpati and Śacīsahāya as husband of Śacī (his personified power, 3, 168, 12); but the epics do not yet know him by his (later) titles, Pulomajit and Pulomāri. He kills Puloman in H 1174.

§ 67. Indra as a grāmaṇī, leading the gods, is armed with the bolt and a net; he also uses stones in fighting and his bow is often referred to, but is not used (the rainbow, Indracāpa, Śakradhanuḥ). The bolt implies both thunder and lightning, as it roars and kills; when the god is anthropomorphised, it becomes a javelin, returning to the hand (3, 310, 24). The vajra bolt is imagined as a six-sided club (3, 100, 11 f.; 7, 134, 10); also as having a hundred joints (R 3, 71, 10, śataparvan, Vedic); it is a "splitter", sphoṭana, and mahāraudra, "very terrible" (H 13997), and as already explained, it is made of the bones of the (Śivaite) saint Dadhīca (12, 285, 11 f.), whence perhaps it has these Śiva-epithets. It is hard as a diamond and surpassing swift, and is called (interchangeably) vajra, aśani, and vajrāśani (R 6, 59, 103). Indra seizes the aśani and hurls (it), the vajram astram (1, 227, 30), in rather a late scene in which he also hurls stones and rides a white elephant in battle. [As sundry gods are fighting, their weapons as here described may be mentioned together: Yama uses kāladaṇḍa; Kubera, a gadā club; Skanda, a javelin (boomerang in 9, 46, 92); the Aśvins, "gleaming plants"; Dhātṛ, a bow; Jaya (Sūrya?), a musala club; Tvaṣṭṛ, a mountain (so Indra hurls a peak); Aṃśa, a javelin; Death (Mṛtyu) an axe; Aryaman, a parigha club; Mitra, a discus sharp as a razor; Pūṣan, Bhaga, and Savitṛ use bows and swords, and the other gods, "various weapons"][1]). Indra teaches Arjuna to use his conch Devadatta (3, 168, 85) and both his own weapons and those of other gods; he can use any weapon (3, 37, 14), but prefers the bolt to

[1]) The other fighting gods are Rudras, Vasus, Maruts, Viśve Devas, Sādhyas. Jaya is not explained; it may be abstract (Victory), but probably as solar epithet (§ 43) is Sūrya.

smite, and noose to snare (Bali, etc.). He invented sword and armor (5, 29, 30) for use against demons. He addressed his bolt, "Go thou and kill, becoming a tiger", when he would slay a child, and the leopard-bolt slew the child (tiger = leopard, 12, 31, 27 f.). When the weapon, āyudha, of Indra is referred to, however, it is usually his bow that is meant (R 3, 42, 18; cf. 8, 24, 47; Mahendracāpa, 7, 145, 97); but any weapon, particularly arrows, can be converted into the aindram astram by magic. The amoghā śakti or "unfailing javelin" of Indra, made by Tvaṣṭṛ, is kept by the Pāṇḍus and "worshipped with perfumes, garlands, and a seat, drink, and food", a real fetish, evidently a javelin inspired by Mantras into an Indra-astram (9, 17, 44). Another aindram astram is called viśoṣana, the "dryer", another is saṃmoha, "confuser", etc. (all gods give similar names to magic weapons, āgneya, kaubera, vāruṇa, etc.). In R 6, 91, 68, tad aindram astram is actually "the very arrow with which Śakra slew demons", a reversion to an older view according to which the Śakracāpa was a real bow of offence, not merely the beauty of the rainbow (as usual). The case differs from the Mantra-endowed arrow with which, for example, Arjuna shoots down horses galloping a kos ahead (3, 271, 54). A recollection of the battle-bow lies also in the legend of the three divine bows (Śiva's omitted), one made by Brahman and belonging to Soma (moon's crescent?), but given by him to Varuṇa (the Gāṇḍīva, made of gāṇḍī, 5, 98, 19); one called Vijaya, Indra's dhanuḥ; and one of horn belonging to Viṣṇu (śārṅgaṃ vaiṣṇavam, acquired by Arjuna). Of these it is said that Indra's was not used (5, 158, 5 f.), as Rukmin who owned it would not fight. Mahendra is the name of Yudhiṣṭhira's bow (7, 23, 91; but here all the Pāṇḍus have bows called after gods). On the other hand, when the Sun-god envelops his son Karṇa with his rays during the combat with Arjuna (all the gods "take sides"), Indra Harihaya looks lovingly at his son Arjuna and, as he does so, suddenly the Indrāyudha (rainbow) appears in the sky (a sign of good fortune; 1, 136, 24 f.; the weapon is here differentiated from "lightning and thunder" and must as usual be the bow). The "net" of Indra is deceit, a mere term for magical trickery, used by any warrior (3, 245, 17; 5, 160, 55; though ib. 118 in contrast to māyā: na māyā hī 'ndrajālaṃ vā kuhakā vā 'pi bhīṣaṇā, illusion, deception, and jugglery). The remark in 5, 37, 2 (dānavendrasya dhanur anāmyam) on fools who try to bend Indra's bow or smite the air, etc., also shows that the bow is the rainbow (dānava as "clouds", N.; but S has v. l. tān eve 'ndrasya).

§ 68. The car and charioteer of Indra: the car is called jaitra ratha, car of victory, and Mahendravāha, and is like lightning or a meteor; it descends to earth with the noise of thunder; it is decorated with gold, is sunlike, and is drawn by steeds described as golden and peacock-colored, one thousand or ten thousand in number (5, 104, 3; cf. 3, 168, 73; 170, 9); ten thousand peacock-like steeds drag his sunlike car (ib. 172, 23). The car is stored with all arms (including Nāgas), and above it on a yellow pole waves a dark-blue standard called "Victorious" (vaijayanta, 3, 42, 8 and 30). Indra and his queen and son Arjuna and the Aśvins ride in it, but very few can do so; even gods and demons cannot in general, nor can one who is not an adept in asceticism (ib. 17; cf. 7, 84, 18, for the Aśvins). Vaijayanta or -tī is not an uncommon name and is applied to elephant-banners (6, 112, 27); perhaps (so N.) to Indra's palace (2, 22, 19, "death in battle is aindro vaijayantaḥ). On this chariot the

slayer of Namuci slew Bali Vairocana, Śambara, Namuci, Vala and Vṛtra (dual), Prahlāda and Naraka (dual), besides the seven hosts of the sons of Diti (3, 165, 7; ib. 166, 5). Heavenly musicians attend the car, so when it appears music is heard; and Maruts accompany it. On seeing it the wives of the demons of darkness flee wailing like ospreys. Nothing in the epic (but later Śakrāśva = Uccaiḥśravas) suggests that the steed of Indra ("of the yellow steeds") is Uccaiḥśravas (ib. 168, 9f.; ib. 62). On the contrary, Uccaiḥśravas (§ 19) is born from the sea with Indra's elephants but is not taken by Indra, as is the elephant (1, 18 = R 1, 45). He is the divine ever-youthful horse, produced at the churning of ocean, and famous only as the white roaring charger of the sea. What can that be save the roaring breakers? (1, 20, 1f.; cf. 1, 17, 3 and 18, 35f.; as roaring, 7, 196, 30; king of steeds, etc., 5, 102, 12; 6, 34, 27). In 12, 235, 15, "U. should be given to the good", S has "Prahlāda gave U. to Kāśyapa". Even VP. 1, 22, 6, merely says that Uccaiḥśravas is "best of horses". Indra never uses him in either epic. Only his offspring are in the sky and are given away by Indra, in H 8220; 8924. Mātali, the charioteer of Indra, Śakrasārathi, is recognised as the best charioteer in the world, though when he starts the car it lurches so that Indra cannot keep his position, and when the knight occupant fights, the charioteer drops his goad, lets the horses turn around, and gets confused and blinded (3, 168, 41, atiśakram idam; ib. 171, 15f.). In R 7, 28, 23f., Mātali first baffles the demons by his skill in driving and Indra then smites them. Mātali is councillor as well as charioteer (the office is very honorable; Śalya acts for Karṇa, etc.). The Sūta (charioteer) is a minister of the king and so Mātali is "Indra's friend, minister, and car-driver" (5, 104, 2f.). Mātali's wife is Sudharmā, his son Gomukha, his daughter Guṇakeśī, his son-in-law Sumukha, a Nāga. He also acts as adviser of Rāma in battle, after serving him (R 6, 111, 1f.). On Indra's car he takes Arjuna to heaven and back, guiding the ten thousand horses easily (3, 165, 1f.; 170, 9f.). He journeys around the world with Nārada, seeking a son-in-law (5, 97, 11f.; 104, 22f.). The car he drives is "like the sun" (originally the Sun?) when he helps Rāma in battle (3, 290, 12), and so in R 6, 103, 6f., both car and horses are sun-like (here Mātali is wounded and the horses are slain). The combined efforts of Indra, Mātali, and his son Gomukha are sometimes unequal to the task of subduing the demons of Hiraṇyapur (5, 100, 8). Jayanta (H 7470f.), son of Indra, and Gomukha, son of Mātali, attack the son of Rāvaṇa, till Puloman carries off his grandson (R 7, 28, 10). Indra tells Mātali of what sort are the people he likes (S 13, 153, 7f.). Mātali's son serves Gada, H 8872.

§ 69. Indra's dhvaja (ketu) is the chief object in the "feast of Indra" (maha or utsava). Sometimes two are mentioned, weakened by rain and heat (R 2, 77, 25; ib. 9, and R 6, 45, 17). Earth is beautified with these poles (9, 9, 21; cf. ib. 12, 23), which were instituted as the "Indra-poles" (festival) by Uparicara, whom Indra persuaded to give up asceticism and become an aviator, "going through the air like a god" in an aeroplane (ākāśagaṃ vimānam, 1, 63, 13), and gave to him a victor's crown, vaijayantī mālā, of lotus-flowers, which protected him in battle and was called the "Indra-wreath", Uparicara's peculiar sign. Indra gave him a bamboo pole, protective of its worshippers, wherewith to worship him as slayer of Vṛtra. Indra's day comes when the rains are over and the roads are fit for war, and is the new moon's day of Saumya māsa (probably

the end of Sept.; amāvāsyā Śakradevatā, 5, 142, 18). The pole is pulled down earlier than this, on the full moon of Āśvina (Āśvayuksamaye māsi, R 4, 16, 36). But if it is impossible to bring "Indra's day" into connection with Indra's festival, it is at least clear that the festival occurred after the rains had ceased and when New Year's was celebrated, for in its installation it is especially said that the feast takes place at the end of the year (gate saṃvatsare). The banner is only part of the decoration of the pole, which is scented and bedecked with gold cloth, garlands, and ornaments (streamers, etc.). Indra, as īśvara, or lord of the feast, is worshipped under the form of a goose (haṃsarūpeṇa). This festival of Indra Maghavat ("generous one") was afterwards generally adopted by other kings, who followed the example set by Uparicara and celebrated the occasion by royal gifts of jewels, land, etc. (1, 63, 27). The height and gaudiness of the pole are remarked upon in 1, 70, 14f., and elsewhere. Later this feast is shared with Kṛṣṇa, H 3787—4008.

§ 70. Indra's elephant (a cloud) is used as alternative to the vehicle drawn by fallow steeds or geese (the last is implied in S 5, 15, 23: Nahuṣa, to outdo Indra, dismisses the elephants Supratīka and Airāvata, the haṃsayukta vimāna and the hariyukta ratha, and yokes saints instead). The elephant Airāvata, which rose at the churning of the ocean, was seized by Indra (1, 18, 40). The peers of this first and "king" elephant are Añjana (cf. the āñjanaka breed, 7, 112, 17), Vāmana, and Mahāpadma, progenitors of Ayodhyā's stud (R 1, 6, 24). These four guard the cardinal points, as do the gods who mount them (see § 10 and § 91). Indra's elephant guards the East, as that is Indra's direction, or the North, as that is the Airāvatapatha (3, 162, 34, perhaps North-East; see Lokapālas). In many passages Airāvata and Airāvaṇa (e. g. 2, 9, 8) exchange, each form being applied to elephant and Nāga (serpent). In 4, 2, 17, Dhṛtarāṣṭra is best of Nāgas and among elephants Airāvaṇa is the best, but S has Airāvata (ib. 30). Airāvata is imagined as accompanied with two females (1, 114, 9f.). He is called Pauraṃdara (Indra's), as Añjana is the western elephant ridden by Varuṇa, Varuṇopavāhya, and Sārvabhauma, that of the North, by Kubera (R 6, 4, 20); he is Indravāhya: "As Jambha in battle attacked Śakra on Airāvaṇa Indravāhya" (9, 20, 12; ib. 6, Vajradhara Airāvaṇastha; S has both forms ib. 4 = 5 and 12). In 7, 112, 35, B and S both have Airāvaṇa. In 6, 64, 54—6, Airāvaṇa in B; Airāvata in S (S 5, 99, 8 has Airāvata after Airāvaṇa in 7 = 15). Like all the world-elephants, Airāvata has four tusks and three temporal streams; he is large and white (1, 227, 29; 7, 105, 26; S 2, 97, 26 and 38; cf. 5, 143, 37; 6, 64, 61). Indra mounts the king of elephants, gajarājavāhana, on back or shoulder or head, usually on the shoulder (12, 227, 10f.; ib. 117; ib. 223, 12; cf. R 5, 36, 40; ib. 37, 25). The two vaijayantīs, "bells of victory", Indra gave to Skanda and Viśākha (3, 231, 18f.). The epic recognises the elephant as a fighting vehicle, but in the earlier scenes Indra fights from a chariot and uses the elephant more for a quiet journey, as when he peacefully ascends to heaven on the elephant after his trouble with the demons is over (5, 18, 1), or takes a trip round the world (3, 193, 9; 12, 227, 10f.). Seated on his elephant he pours down rain (6, 95, 34). The god and his elephant appear disguised in a magic scene, the latter as a bull (1, 3, 167, Nāgarāj). According to 1, 66, 60 and 63, Airāvata is Devanāga and son of Bhadramanas, one of the nine creative powers, and less fighter than guardian. But in some late scenes, 1, 227, 29, etc., and especially in the

Rām., Airāvata acts as battle-steed. In the Uttara, Indra, "abandoning his car", mounts his elephant to fight (R 7, 29, 27). In H 2453 f., he fights on the elephant and travels in his car. The later phrase "like Airāvata in battle" also shows the war-use of the elephants (in 7, 26, 20, a hero fights on an elephant descended from the one on which Indra fought, omitted in C): Airāvatasamā yudhi (7, 112, 35; R 5, 6, 32; R 6, 4, 19, etc.). In R 6, 67, 107 (late), Indra fights on the elephant, all the gods aiding; and R 6, 15, 6, Indrajit hurls Airāvata to the ground and tears out two tusks, frightening Indra; also ib. 61, 17, Kumbhakarṇa tears out a tusk and smites Indra with it; and Mahodara, another demon, mounts the elephant Sudarśana, "born in the family of Airāvata"; and Aṅgada (son of Vālin) tears out a tusk and fights with it (R 6, 69, 20; ib. 70, 15). Airāvata gouges Rāvaṇa and leaves on his body the marks of his tusks (R 3, 23, 24; ib. 3, 32, 7; ib. 6, 40, 5). Airāvaṇa draws up water from the under-world for Indra to rain (5, 99, 7), evidently from irāvat as the nourishing rain-cloud and its lightning-stroke; whence airāvatas are lightning-clouds, mahāghanāḥ sairāvatāḥ sāśanayaḥ (3, 3, 58); sairāvataśatahradāḥ (7, 98, 31); vidyudairāvatārciṣmad dvitīyendradhanur yathā (R 6, 76, 39; ib. 5, 1, 165, personified; not "rainbow", as in PW.). Cf. H 3894 f. "Airāvata elephants" (R 2, 70, 22) may mean from mount Irāvata. The four tusks of Airāvata are not peculiar to world-elephants. Laṅkā's guarding elephants have three or four tusks and are white (R 5, 9, 5 and R 5, 4, 27) in demoniac imitation of Airāvata, who stands guard at Indra's city, and also is "white, śubhra, with four tusks, huge as Kailāsa, victorious" (3, 42, 39 f., vijayinam as in S, not vaijayinam). In H 8870 f., he is guided by Pravara.

§ 71. **Indra as Benefactor and Rain-God.** — Indra gives his favorites, as already shown, gifts of arms and, even to a chance acquaintance (Nala), imparts the gait of a king and the knowledge how to worship. He is fond of giving jewels, to his son (3, 165, 10, with arms); to the father of Sītā (the cūḍāmaṇi, R 5, 66, 5), when pleased by sacrifice, etc. The god vies with Kubera in wealth, but his gifts go beyond gems and arms; he makes the dead live (R 6, 123, 1 f.) as a favor to the living, and makes things grow out of season for Bharadvāja (R 2, 91, 13). His chief gift consists in the rain he gives to all. He is Ambudeśvara, owning rain. There may be growth "without the bolt-holder raining" (R 2, 12, 107), but artificial irrigation, āseka, is not of much use (5, 79, 2 f.); the land depends on rain and Indra rains, first as slayer of Vṛtra (but the epic has almost forgotten this), then to "protect the people" (1, 64, 16). In return men give the "earthly rain" of soma, which he shares with all the other gods, even at last with the Aśvins (3, 121, 9; cf. § 110). That he is the regular rain-giver is attested by the fact that the phrase "when the god rains" is synonymous with "when Vāsava rains" (cf. S 1, 238, 9, vṛṣṭiṃ varṣati Vāsave, repeated ib. 18), though occasionally others usurp his function, as the Sun (q. v.) and Parjanya (below) also rain and Māṃdhātṛ (cf. Ṛṣyaśṛṅga) once, during a drought, "made rain while Indra was looking on" (miṣato vajrapāṇinaḥ, 3, 126, 42; cf. 123, 23). Indra "drives the clouds together and sends down water" (1, 227, 18 f.), or he "rains stones" (hail, ib. 45). He also rains at any great event (12, 334, 7), and in all blessed places he rains regularly (4, 47, 26); otherwise (in the unblessed, kingless land) come famine, plague and the ītis (distresses) of the farmer (5, 10, 48; ib. 147, 25). "The crop-controller (Pākaśāsana) did not rain", intro-

duces the story of such a famine and how Ṛṣyaśṛṅga forced Indra to rain and become yathartuvarṣin, "duly raining". Cessation of this activity introduces the final destruction (3, 188, 50 and 65), when even grain planted by a river, sarittīrtheṣu, will not grow (ib. 190, 23). This is the nadīmukhaiḥ-grown grain, in antithesis to Indrakṛṣṭa (grain raised by Indra, 2, 51, 11; cf. devamātṛka, 2, 5, 77 and R 2, 100, 46). Constantly the arrows of a hero are shot "like the rain shot by Puraṃdara" (etc. 3, 16, 12; 9, 16, 33; 14, 77, 27; R 6, 56, 11; R 6, 91, 22). Indra "enters the cloud with a mass of water and fills earth with it" (12, 143, 20). So Indra is called Vāsava bhūrivarṣa (7, 30, 36) and is thought of as the god who rains par excellence, whether water or blood be sent (varṣati devaḥ, 3, 110, 4; 12, 73, 15; vavarṣa rudhiraṃ devaḥ, R 6, 96, 35 and ib. 108, 20); he may "rain dust" and so destroy a realm (R 7, 81, 8), as he, Indra Maghavat, rains gold upon a favorite king (12, 29, 25). His rain the gods claim as "our rain" in antithesis to soma: "Our rain goes down and men rain up" (narās tū 'rdhvapravarṣiṇaḥ 12, 59, 26). If the gods are pleased with men, they speak in their behalf to Indra, who then sends rain and so gives food (annaṃ dadāti Śakraś ca, 12, 121, 38), for with this rain he "makes the rice grow in the fields" (R 4, 14, 15), though the same god's "stone rain" beats down the crops (R 3, 34, 8). Why Indra "unwearyingly rains" is explained (1, 124, 11 f.) on the principle that actuates priests who keep on studying though they know the Mantras and that actuates saints to practise ever more austerities, viz., the yearning for glory! Work gives glory, hence the Sun toils ever, and ever blows the Wind, and ever Indra rains, to get glory, to become supreme (5, 29, 8 f.). As rain-god, Indra is identified with Parjanya, from whom he is formally differentiated. Parjanya rains on hill and ploughland (10, 2, 5); Vāsava rains upon the crops in the fields in due time (R 7, 70, 10); Parjanya is vṛṣṭimat, "rainful" (7, 89, 4; 9, 12, 59; R 2, 1, 37; so, significantly, are clouds, R 5, 45, 7); as such, Parjanya too shoots rain-arrows, like Indra (above and R 6, 80, 21). Parjanya is, in short, the rain-form of Indra, though given a distinct personality ("son of Pūṣan", 8, 20, 29, is doubtful; Puṣānuja is v. l. for Pūṣātmaja) as worshipper in parades, etc.; and in R 1, 17, 14, Parjanya is regarded as progenitor of the śarabha. Thus Indra ṛtuvarṣin and kālavarṣin (3, 190, 79) appears as kālavarṣin Parjanya (1, 68, 10; 3, 190, 91; 12, 29, 53 and ib. 91, 1); kāle varṣati Vāsavaḥ (above) stands beside kāle varṣati Parjanyaḥ in the same book (R 7, 99, 13). In 12, 29, 53, P. makes the crops grow and gives enough to eat, like Indra; and so, like Indra, under a good king Parjanya is nikāmavarṣin, "rains as is desirable" and the farmer's six ītis are not known (5, 61, 17). The roar, nāda, of Indra on his car (17, 3, 1 f.; R 6, 99, 25) is the roar, ninada, of thunder or of Parjanya (3, 12, 31; 5, 22, 11). Rāma is like Parjanya, it is said, his car also is like that of Indra ("noisy in the air", R 2, 16, 31). Parjanya is the best of roarers or rainers (4, 2, 16, varṣatāṃ, v. l. nardatāṃ). The same phrases are used of each, gharmānte Maghavān iva (9, 11, 23), Parjanya iva gharmānte nādayan vai diśo daśa (7, 162, 54) and 12, 37, 22 (idem) where "people long for and live on Parjanya" (often; cf. 12, 97, 15). Parjanya is the savior, nātha, of cattle (5, 34, 38). The "people" are especially those mentioned in R 2, 112, 12, "as the ploughmen long for Parjanya" (cf. R 2, 3, 29; ib. 31, 12; ib. 67, 9). In short, Parjanya is the bucolic Indra, chief god of ploughmen; but the greater province remains Indra's. "Created beings live on Parjanya;

on Indra live the gods" (2, 45, 65 f.; 3, 34, 21; 5, 133, 42; 12, 75, 13; 13, 61, 37).[1]) Parjanya (the cloud) is rain itself, being to the crops what ambrosia is to the gods; he brings the crops to completeness (3, 32, 47 and S 1, 77, 3: Parjanya iva sasyānāṃ, devānām amṛtaṃ yathā). Indra also "starts the crops and then ceases to rain" (R 4, 30, 22), but it is only one of his capacities; whereas Parjanya only rains; yet he rains as the thunderer, so that the normal position of the two gods is almost reversed when it is said that "Arjuna shot arrows as Maghavat shoots rain, and as Parjanya hurls lightning" (aśani, 7, 10, 15 f.). In the later epic there is no distinction between Indra quâ rain-giver and Parjanya. Thus in 12, 141, 5 and 15, the story begins avarṣati Parjanye and continues na vavarṣa Sahasrākṣaḥ. So in 3, 110, 43 f., "since the thousand-eyed (Indra) failed to rain . . the king inquired of his priests in regard to Surendra (Indra) raining as to how Parjanya might (be got to) rain". Parjanya "roars mightily in windy confusion", hurling hail (7, 21, 33); he is citravarṣin (= akāle, H 11145) at the aeon's end (cf. 12, 69, 96, kvacid varṣati Parjanyaḥ), but when all is well he sends food (6, 27, 14) and (as Indra, above) "rains gold", "rains all desires", on his favorite (kāmān varṣati Parjanyaḥ, 7, 56, 5). See also Ādityas (§ 37), where Parjanya is perhaps Indra, as in H 10257 (as seer, H 431).

§ 72. **Indra's Battles.** — In 12, 33, 26, the wars between gods and demons are said to have lasted 32000 years. The one greatest (not repeated) battle of the war-god was with Vṛtra who "because of his conduct became the foe of Indra" in the South (5, 109, 13), after the demon had covered the worlds twain (āvṛtya rodasī 3, 101, 1; under protection of the Kālakeya demons), and enveloped the whole movable world (vyāptam, 5, 10, 1). The epic confuses the story of Vṛtra with that of Namuci (below) and has two different accounts of the battle and its origin. Belonging to the pseudo-epic is the account of Vṛtra's conversion to the Viṣṇuites, his experiences after defeat and attainment of Yoginhood, together with the gītam or song composed by the "Daitya Vṛtra"; it astonished even the late pietist (12, 282, 1). Vṛtra is described as five hundred leagues high and three hundred round (ib. 282, 8; as yogin, ib. 281, 59) and as having stupified Indra; the battle between the two becomes typical of all remarkable duels, Vṛtravāsavayor iva (2, 23, 25; R 6, 58, 48; ib. 100, 31, etc.). Vṛtra is one of the four sons of Danāyus (Daitya above, and elsewhere, with the later indifference), Vikṣara, Vala, Vīra, and Vṛtra "the great Asura" (1, 65, 33). The first is incorporated as king Vasumitra (1, 67, 41) but is not known otherwise (except as a title of Kṛṣṇa-Viṣṇu), and even in H merely appears among other Dānavas and Asuras. Vala (written Bala) is the personified fortress or hole which gives Indra his title Valabhid (-sūdana, -hantṛ). Vīra is known otherwise only as an Asura killed by lightning. These appear as kings in the war (7, 25, 53), as does Vṛtra himself, as Maṇimat (ib.), not the Yakṣa of that name (see Kubera) but an earthly king. As Vṛtra is of Brahmanic family, his slaughter is regarded as "priest-murder", and the personification of the crime came out of his dead body wearing a garland of skulls and stuck to Indra "like a spell" (kṛtyā, 12, 283, 13), just as fire came from his mouth and his memory also came out of him in the shape of a jackal (ib. 2). Both Viṣṇu's power

[1]) Fausbøll, Indian Mythology, p. 97, takes Parjanyam as neuter (cloud) in the first passage, but the pāda is connected with the following upajīvanti, not with the preceding pāhi.

and Śiva's feverish energy assisted Indra, the former entering the bolt, the latter making Vṛtra yawn (282, 30; 283, 8), so that Indra could cast the bolt into his open mouth (variant below). Here he is said to have practised Yoga for 60000 years and to have received boons of Brahman, making him strong. He was "made by Tvaṣṭṛ" (like Triśiras) and hence Indra could not overcome him. Śiva gave permission to Tvaṣṭṛ to fashion him (7, 94, 49f.); the Maruts honor Indra on slaying Vṛtra (7, 179, 64) as being the only slayer; the sectarian view is late. Indra is the only foe of the demons (2, 65, 24), but (6, 83, 57, etc.) Viṣṇu is associated with him at an early stage (Indropendrau) before the power enters the bolt, as coequal antagonist "rushing the Daitya host", as Agni also assists him. After Indra had taken off the head of Vṛtra (śiro jahāra, 8, 91, 50), he was disgusted with the demon's foul smells. The later epic says that Indra struck him several times; after each wound Vṛtra retreated into water, light, and air, successively; taking away their qualities (taste, color, sound), and finally into Indra himself, who had to be roused with Vasiṣṭha's melody (rathantara) to kill him (14, 11, 8f.). The story goes back to the combat with Triśiras and begins with the Vedic words: Viśvarūpo hi vai Tvāṣṭraḥ purohito devānām āsit svasrīyo 'surāṇām, "Viśvarūpa, the son of Tvaṣṭṛ, was the family-priest of the gods, a sister's son of the Asuras" (TS. 2, 5, 1, 1; Mbh. 12, 343, 28f.), but instead of continuing with the original ("and had three heads"), the epic proceeds to say that Viśvarūpa gave part of the sacrifice in secret to the Asuras, while in public he served the gods. Then the Asuras, whose chief was Hiraṇyakaśipu, went to the Asura mother of Viśvarūpa and complained that her son, Viśvarūpa Triśiras, was the gods' priest, so that the Asuras grew weak. His mother found him in Nandana (grove) and persuaded him to side with Hiraṇyakaśipu, who made him chaplain after discharging Vasiṣṭha. Vasiṣṭha cursed Hiraṇyakaśipu (who in due time was slain by Viṣṇu as man-lion). Meantime Indra became alarmed at Triśiras's ascetic power and tried to seduce him through a nymph. Triśiras enjoyed the nymph but kept his power and began to drink the gods' soma with one mouth, eat the sacrifice with another, and consume the gods' power with the third mouth. On the advice of Brahman the distracted gods got Dadhīca to give up his bones, wherewith Dhātṛ made a bolt, which Indra shot at Triśiras and decapitated him (the bolt was infused with Viṣṇu-energy). But out of the mangled remains rose another (form of) Triśiras (Vṛtra), and Indra smote that, making two cases of Brahman-cide, which frightened Indra so that he fled and hid in a lotus-stalk. Then the gods made Nahuṣa their chief and with five hundred lights on his brow Nahuṣa guarded the third heaven, but tried to seduce Śacī, who, consulting with Bṛhaspati, had recourse to "boon-granting Rumor" (Upaśruti, an evil spirit in Sūtras). On being prayed to, Upaśruti revealed where Indra lay hid (in lake Mānasa). Indra agreed to return, after advising Śacī how to ruin Nahuṣa by getting him to yoke the saints and so fall under the curse of Agastya, who changed him into a snake. Indra performed a horse-sacrifice in honor of Viṣṇu and was reinstated as king of gods, dividing his sin of Brahman-cide between women, vanitās, fire, trees, and cows. But a black antelope was really used for the horse; Bṛhaspati officiated (ib. 48 and 52f.). Cf. R 4, 24, 14, Indra's sin taken by earth, water, trees, and women (see below). That Triśiras was a holy being is implied when it is said that Indra would not have made sacrifice after slaying "the Muni", if right

had been the same as wrong (R 6, 83, 29). In 12, 283, 28 f., where also a sacrifice frees Indra at the end, the sin is cast upon Agni (created to receive it), who may pass it on to any one that does not make fire-oblations; upon trees and plants (transferred to one who cuts grass or trees on holy days); upon Apsarasas (who may turn it over to men lacking in restraint); and upon water, this last quarter of the sin passing into any defiler of water. In the account in Udyoga, where it is described as a purāvṛtta itihāsa purātana, "an ancient story of an old event" (5, 9, 2 f.), Tvaṣṭṛ created his son expressly to injure Indra, and the son's mouths (faces) were like sun, moon and fire (cf. Śiva's eyes), with which he respectively absorbed soma and Vedas, surā, and space. Indra slew him because he could not be seduced, but was scorched by his radiance, for Triśiras, "though stricken was glorious, and though dead lay as one alive". So Indra bade a carpenter cut off the heads of Brāhmaṇa Triśiras (cf. 5, 9, 34, Brahmahatyā; and on the carpenter, a Vedic trait, see WZKM. 26, 123, with Kāṭhaka ref.), telling the man that he should receive the head of sacrifice thereafter, Indra promising to free himself from sin by asceticism. From the head thus cut off flew out partridges, quails, sparrows, and hawks, as out of Vṛtra's blood came cocks (unclean for food, 12, 283, 60). Then Tvaṣṭṛ, "sipping water, cursed Indra as an ill-souled evil-minded" person, and "making an oblation in fire, produced Vṛtra", and bade him grow great as Indra's foe. So Vṛtra fought and succeeded in whirling Indra into his mouth, but the gods created (the yawn) Jṛmbhikā, as a great being, to destroy Vṛtra, and, Vṛtra yawning, out leaped Indra (but "Jṛmbhikā thereafter became part of breathing"). Indra and the gods retreating to Mandara-peak thought of Viṣṇu, "subduer of Bali, god of gods, who made three strides" (etc.), and Viṣṇu entered the bolt. Thus reinforced, Indra attacked Vṛtra again, after gods and seers had made a contract with Vṛtra, to the effect that he should not be killed with "dry or wet, stone or wood", etc. But Viṣṇu entered foam and Indra smote Vṛtra with it ("dry and wet" thunderbolts are recognised among magic arms, R 1, 27, 9). So Vṛtra was slain by a lie, and Indra, having committed Brahman-cide and being oppressed by the lie as well, feared and hid in water. Earth, losing Indra's rain, suffered; Nahuṣa was made king of gods (etc., as above; 5, 10, 15 f.; 29 f.). The Southern version adds that Śiva's Bhūts also oppressed Indra, yelling "Brahman-murderer" at him. Here (5, 13, 19) the sin is divided fivefold, between rivers, trees, mountains, earth, and women. Bṛhaspati is more prominent than above and a real horse-sacrifice takes place. Upaśruti is introduced after Śacī proposes to invoke "divine Night" (the passage is marked by verbal equivalence with R 7, 85, 18 = 5, 13, 12, rakṣārtham sarvabhūtānām Viṣṇutvam upajagmivān; cf. too ib. 23 = R ib. 86, 4, etc.). This murder of Triśiras appears to be alluded to in 1, 76, 52: "Whom, even Indra, would not Brahman-murder burn?" (Traiśīrṣā Brahmahatyā it is called, 5, 10, 44). Of the new characters in this version, Jṛmbhikā belongs to a class of inferior spirits called Jṛmbhakas accompanying Śiva (3, 231, 34; cf. Jambhakas). Nahuṣa was originally a pious king, son of Āyus, son of Purūravas (1, 75, 26 f.); he kicked Agastya because the latter was heterodox! (5, 17, 1 f.). His own sin of killing a cow was divided into 101 parts and became diseases (12, 263, 48 f.). His evil eye absorbed power from all he saw (13, 99, 17). Gifts to priests gave him power (13, 100, 11 f.). He lauds wealth as a means of such piety (12, 8, 11 f.). His usurpation of

Indra's rank and his fall, with memory of his past, in serpent-form is often an epic theme (3, 179, 13f.; 3, 103, 14; H 8813, etc). Hiraṇyakaśipu was the only son of Diti (1, 65, 17; but see p. 48); he interchanges with Vṛtra-Namuci in the story of the compact (above) but with Kṛṣṇa as the god (H 12622; S 2, 46, 13), as he was the greatest opponent of Viṣṇu (so as Rāvaṇa, R 7, 37, pra. 5, 85f.). The Rām., in its version of this greatest deed of Indra, when the "lord of the immortals slew the great Asura Vṛtra" (R 6, 67, 167), also represents smoke and fire as coming from the dragon's mouth (ib. 93, 19), when struck by the bolt (ib. 111, 22). Sampāti says, "long ago, after the slaughter of Vṛtra" (R 4, 58, 4), removing the action to an indefinite past.

§ 73. The account in R 7, 84, 3f., agrees in general with that of Udyoga. Vṛtra is here so pious that earth thrives under him till he leaves his son to rule in Madhurā and began to torment gods with asceticism. Viṣṇu, appealed to, refuses to kill him on the score of auld lang syne, but agrees to enter (inspire) Indra, the bolt, and earth (divides himself threefold). Indra's sin was removed by a horse-sacrifice, and the sin was divided among rivers for four rain-months, earth, women during three days, and fourth among those who kill harmless priests with a lie (R 7, 86, 16). Another late passage makes Indra's evil (mala, filth) and hunger, after killing Vṛtra, give names to the Maladas and Karūśas (R 1, 24, 17f.). Namuci, son of Danu, also fell beneath Indra (Namucer hantā, 3, 25, 10), who, "bolt in hand and combining with the Maruts slew Vṛtra and Namuci, hard to attack, and the Rākṣasī Dīrghajihvā" (3, 292, 4). Here, as in R 2, 106, 27, the Maruts help ("union is strength" is the expressed moral); or Indra alone is mentioned (8, 26, 21; R 6, 56, 17, etc.). The compact of Indra is here made with Namuci and its breaking is said to be good polity (2, 55, 13 abhimatā ripau vṛttiḥ). The head followed the god crying out at him, but Indra bathed at the confluence of the Aruṇā and Sarasvatī and became pure; the demoniac head fell into the river and the demon, who had first escaped into a sunbeam, went to a world of delight (9, 43, 33f.), while Indra went to heaven. "Foam used on a foggy day" evades the agreement not to kill "with wet or dry by day or night" (ib.). Another version is that Indra was wounded (8, 85, 26f.) when Namuci rushed at him (R 3, 28, 3), and Indra even ran away (6, 83, 40). A simile in 6, 88, 17 would imply that he was shot nine times, but such phrases as Vāsavo Namuciṃ yathā and Maghavān iva Śambaram are used by the poets without much regard to details (9, 7, 35 and 38; ib. 16, 33; ib. 17, 22, etc.). Rāma could slay Namuci or Bali (R 3, 39, 18). Namuci sermonises to Indra in the pseudo-epic, video meliora deteriora sequor (jānāmi śreyo na tu tat karomi, 12, 226, 9, with v. l. of S). His name is like that of the seer Pramuca or Pramucu, associated (§ 58) with Unmuca and Vimuca (also 12, 208, 29), but nothing suggests that it implies "not-freeing" (except the pertinacity of the head). He is son of Vipracitti and brother of Maya (below). The Rām. distinguishes the manner of death of Vṛtra and Namuci: "As Vṛtra (fell smitten) by the vajra (bolt); as Namuci by foam; as Vala by lightning" (R 3, 30, 28).

§ 74. Indra's other battles can be more briefly narrated. He confronted Bali in the great war of gods and Asuras and then worshipped Viṣṇu who defeated Bali (after helping Indra in the combat, 7, 142, 8; 8, 20, 51; ib. 93, 47; Agni assists, 7, 25, 20; cf. R 6, 73, 7). This demon (Mahābali, R 4, 65, 14, v. l.) was only son of Vairocana (hence Vairocana or -ni),

and grandson of Prahlāda, whom Indra slew. Bali himself was father of Bāṇa (R 5, 50, 3 as Mahākāla); "like Indra and Vairocana" is a standard simile of rival fighters (1, 138, 46; R 7, 32, 58, etc., Bali-Vāsavayor iva, 3, 17, 11). He is best of Dānavas, as Indra is best of gods (S 4, 3, 25). His combat with Indra took place in the second age, Tretāyuga (S 2, 47, 1). Bali won wealth and bliss through favoring priests and was lost (for injuring them, 3, 26, 12), since Viṣṇu in dwarf-form bound him (3, 102, 23; 5, 10, 7; H 14312f.) as Balivīryaharo Hariḥ (R 5, 1, 197). The Vedic tale, how Viṣṇu asked for three paces and then cast out and slew the giver of the world, is known (R 1, 29, 5f.). Indra noosed him (R 2, 14, 11); Viṣṇu kept him in a fire in a cave (R 7, 23, pra. 1, 6f.); he was cast out of the three worlds (5, 38, 47). Cited as authoritative (5, 32, 24), he becomes a learned ass in the pseudo-epic (12, 223, 2f.) and instructs Indra in patience and humility after the latter had found him, who had (by magic) been Wind, Varuṇa, Agni, and Water. When Indra insults him, he replies: "You will see me there again when my time comes" (ib. 27 and 225, 30f.; 227, 7f.). His grandfather Prahlāda also (12, 124, 28f.) philosophises (as a saint, ib. 222, 3f.) in the same way, as "Indra of Daityas" (3, 28, 1f.; 6, 34, 30). He was killed by Indra (3, 286, 12; 289, 18; 12, 98, 49f.), though a devotee of Viṣṇu (R 4, 65, 14). Śakra and Prahlāda were rivals for the three worlds (7, 123, 65; 9, 57, 3). He cannot move Skanda's spear (12, 328, 17f.). Verses of his are cited on the "cat's way" (hypocrisy, 5, 160, 13; cf. ib. 33, 103f.). His sons Kumbha and Nikumbha (§ 18) are not important (1, 65, 19), though the latter is a "Daitya-chief" (1, 209, 2f.), father of Sunda and Upasunda and gaṇeśa of Śiva's host, when he slaughtered Saudāsa's army at Benares (S 12, 68, 46). The two in Rām. are fighting fiends, but their father is barely recognised except for the extraordinary allocution (vocative) when Nikumbha distinguishes himself (cf. R 6, 9 and 75) Prahlāda-Bali-Vṛtraghna-Kubera-Varuṇopama! (R 6, 76, 73). It may be remarked that Indra kills another member of this family, Mantharā, daughter of Virocana, "because she tried to destroy earth", an unknightly act (to kill a woman), excused on the score that "Viṣṇu also slew Kāvya's mother, the wife of Bhṛgu, because she sought to deprive the world of sleep" (or of Indra; anindram, v. l. for anidraṃ lokam, R 1, 25, 20f.). Viṣṇu's victim should be Pulomā (1, 5, 13f.), but some other druh anindrā (RV. 4, 23, 7) may be meant. Amid all these victories, the poets admit that "even Indra suffered defeat" (7, 139, 107). Besides the victory of Skanda (3, 226, 17f.), and apart from Śiva himself and Viṣṇu (q. v.), Kumbhakarṇa defeats him (R 6, 61, 9f.) and Indrajit receives his cognomen as conqueror of Indra (3, 288, 2f.; R 6, 45, 22, etc.). Even Atikāya arrests his bolt (R 6, 71, 34), not to speak of the saints who withstand him. He is a great blustering vainglorious boy, as Bali says (12, 224, 28, "childish ever is thy mind, to-day as of old"). But like Bali and the rest, Indra too becomes a preacher, as in 12, 11, 2f., where out of pity "for beardless young fools" he takes the form of a "golden bird" and teaches them how to get to heaven by the "way of the gods", i. e. by rites, not by renunciation (ib. 12, 6). Whether Indra killed Maya is doubtful in Mbh., but not in R. The great epic says that "Maya, Namuci's brother", was guarded by Indra's son from the onslaughts of Kṛṣṇa and Agni (1, 228, 41f.), but that Indra and Maya had a terrible encounter in which Maya was defeated (6, 100, 20; 101, 22; 110, 31; 9, 55, 28); Rām. (4, 51, 14) says that Indra smote the Dānava Maya with his bolt because the demon was fond of the Apsaras Hemā.

§ 75. Indra also slew the demon of a hundred illusions, Śambara (Daśaratha aided the god, R 2, 9, 13; R 5, 16, 8); mashed Danu, son of Śrī, leaving him a headless trunk (kabandha, R 3, 71, 10); and broke Hanumat's jaw, but then gave him "death at will" (R 4, 66, 22 and 27; cf. § 8 f.), his opposition to Hanumat being based on the fact that the ape-god was encroaching on Rāhu's province (R 7, 35, 47 f.; the enemy of the gods defended by their king!). He slew the unborn fruit of Diti's womb, leaving enough alive to make the seven Maruts (R 1, 46 and 47; § 48). Indra is called son of Diti here (46, 21; and 47, 9; see § 37), Indra used to live at the town of Viśāla (son of Ikṣvāku and Alambuṣā) of the same name (ib. 47, 10). Jambha, as "disturber of sacrifice", was slain by Indra (8, 77, 3), later by Kṛṣṇa-Viṣṇu (3, 102, 24; 5, 48, 77; 5, 49, 15, "Nara decapitated Jambha about to swallow him"; 7, 11, 5). Still later, "Indra and Viṣṇu together by permission of Bhava (Śiva) sought to kill Jambha" (7, 81, 25). In the later Rām. he is associated with Vṛtra as typical leader, and father of Sunda (R 1, 25, 7; R 7, 6, 45). But Indra was first mentioned as the slayer: "In the struggle of gods and Asuras of old Indra slew Jambha" (7, 102, 17); "like Jambha deprived of prowess by Vṛtrahan" (9, 12, 63); "as Śakra and Jambha fought of old" (7, 96, 20 and 8, 13, 30). Kṛṣṇa slew a demon named Jambhaka (or king?, 2, 31, 7); cf. Jṛmbhikā, § 72, and the arms and magic powers called by the same names (R 1, 28, 9; RG 1, 31, 4 and 10). Śukra warned the Asuras that Jambha would prove their destruction (2, 62, 12). According to different passages the same transference of glory seems to have taken place in the case of the great demon Vipracitti (reincarnated as Jarāsandha 1, 67, 4), eldest son of Danu and Kaśyapa (1, 65, 22) and (H 213 f.) father by Siṃhikā of Namuci and Rāhu and other great demons. In 6, 94, 39 f., Indra is said to have wounded Vipracitti; in 9, 31, 12 Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa says, "I slew Tāraka and Vipracitti by tricky means". S 6, 94, 32, gives still a third account: "He was conquered by Rudra after being smitten by Mātariśvan" (sa Rudreṇa jitaḥ pūrvaṃ nihato Mātariśvanā). Vipracitti here is described as a demon causing the three worlds to quake and very hard to assail. He is leader of the Vidyādharas (§ 116) as well as an occupant of Varuṇa's home (2, 9, 12), but a fiend once regarded by the immortals as if he were Death himself (6, 108, 39). Indra himself states that he slew most of the demons (as is generally admitted), in explaining that he became chief of the gods through prowess: "He who kills the commander-in-chief of the hostile army does an act equal to the prowess of Viṣṇu; he is equal to Bṛhaspati (as "lord of strength"); if he capture the commander, he will, on dying, come to my world, for my worlds shall be his (tasya lokā yathā mama). Hence they do not mourn, they do not bathe, for one slain in battle; for he is blessed already, and thousands of nymphs receive him into heaven when he falls. I too, even Indra, slew the sons of Diti and Danu, my foes (and so was blessed), Jambha, Vṛtra, Vala, Pāka, Virocana of the hundred illusions, Namuci, Śambara of many illusions, Vipracitti, and Prahlāda" (12, 98, 43—49). S conscientiously omits Jambha and characterises Virocana not as illusive but as monstrous ("having a huge body"). Later pious tradition ignores Prahlāda's death.

§ 76. Indra's victories are depicted in the later epic not as due to power of arm but as resting on character. Thus Śambara, disguised as an ascetic, tells Indra (13, 36, 1 f.) that he owes his position to piety toward priests. Similarly, Prahlāda gets Indra's power from him by character.

Indra then consults with Bṛhaspati, his Guru, and is told that Uśanas knows more; so he goes to him, but Uśanas sends him direct to Prahlāda. Then Indra disguises himself as a pupil and by adroit questions finds that Prahlāda's prosperity is based on character. Winning a boon from Prahlāda, he chooses his character, which at once issues from Prahlāda's mouth like a flame, and after his character, śīla, followed his virtue, dharma, his truth, conduct (acts), power and happiness (12, 124, 19f.). Namuci (who repudiates Karman) reminds Indra of his sins (12, 226, 1f.). Bali teaches him humility: as Time has bound Bali, so will Time bind Indra (in "the noose of Time and noose of Varuṇa", 12, 227, 82 and 111). Śrī herself instructs Indra (12, 228, 2f.) that only character insures success; she used to live with the Dānavas because they were virtuous, but she deserted them when they became immoral. Indra (3, 9, 7f.; R 2, 78, 18) listens respectfully to Surabhi's lament (plea for kindness to cattle). The god's sins are many, besides his acts of violence, murder of a Brahman, lying to Namuci (Vṛtra), and theft (R 1, 61, 6, Indra steals the sacrificial beast of Ambarīṣa, but this is to punish the king, the Śunaḥśepa episode). His adulteries lead to his punishment, especially his violation of Gautama's wife Ahalyā (5, 12, 6f.; ib. 13, 9). By Agni's advice, when, discovered by Gautama, he is unmanned, he is provided with a ram's vṛṣaṇa (R 1, 48, 16f.; ib. 49, 1f.); but according to R 7, 30, 33, he is punished by being defeated by Indrajit. The curse of Gautama turns Indra's beard yellow (12, 343, 23). He is called an habitual adulterer, parastrīkāmacārin. The story of how he tried to seduce Ruci, wife of Devaśarman, exposes only one of his many amours (13, 40, 18f.). In this case the pupil Vipula puts Ruci into a hypnotic state, which prevents her from responding to Indra's advances (under the young priest's influence she speaks Sanskrit, ib. 41, 15). Vipula reproaches Indra with having been cursed by Gautama with a thousand sex-marks which became eyes (ib. 41, 21). In 13, 34, 27, this is cited as proof of priestly power, since Kauśika Gautama was a priest; priests also cured Indra: "Behold, a mark was made on the moon (by a priest); the sea was made salt (by a priest); and great Indra was marked by a thousand sex-signs, who yet by the might of Brāhmaṇas became thousand-eyed" (so that he became sahasranayana, as he is now called). A different account of the origin of the eyes appears in the tale of Tilottamā (§ 100), an Apsaras so beautiful that when Indra looked at her, "large red-edged eyes, a thousand in number, appeared all over his body, before, behind, and on his sides, whence he was called sahasranetra" (1, 211, 27f.; sahasranayana also in R 7, 72, 8). The equivalent (sahasrākṣa) epithet is as old as the Ṛg-Veda, where it probably refers to Indra's flaming bolt, which has a thousand flames, while the same epithet is applied to fire (RV. 1, 23, 3; 79, 12; in PW., explained as stars, Indra's eyes). Indra was paralysed several times, twice at least because of his sins. Cyavana paralysed him when he struck the saint because of the Aśvins' being permitted to drink soma (3, 121, 22; 124, 17; 12, 343, 24f.). On another occasion Śiva, as a child on Umā's lap, paralysed Indra because of his jealous discontent (13, 161, 33). Śiva again paralysed him by a look so that "he stood like a post", as the greater god scoffed at him and finally cast him into a cave, to show him that Śiva was the real lord of the world (1, 197, 16). Indra's sin here is pride and his humiliation is his punishment. His "bolt was stayed", that is, he was practically paralysed by another saint (§ 79); cf. other cases, H 11940f.; 12555f.

§ 77. Owing to Indra's sin, Garuḍa undertook to carry off the soma, as Bṛhaspati says to Indra: "Through thy fault, aparādha, through thy wantonness" is this thing come upon the gods. For Indra, as a giant god, had insulted the thumbkin saints called Vālakhilyas, who were helping him collect wood for Prajāpati's sacrifice (1, 30, 40f.). Indra's inability to hurt Garuḍa is a late feature of the epic (1, 33, 20). Oddly enough, especially in view of Indra as praiser of Śibi (§ 51), no reproach is cast upon the god for his cowardly abandonment of Takṣaka. Although Indra had been friendly with him, and even promised him immunity from fire if he should take refuge with Indra, yet when danger threatened and the frightened serpent was actually "hiding in Indra's upper clothes", the god, afraid that the priests' incantations would draw him into the fire, threw off the suppliant refugee and escaped, leaving Takṣaka to perish (1, 56, 10—14). But it is satisfactory to record that it is only the later epic which makes of Indra a coward and still worse a cad; as when he triumphs brutally over his fallen foe "with vulgar mind" (prākṛtyā buddhyā, 12, 223, 28f.), till the wise ass (Bali) rebukes him: "This is not worthy of thy fame and family" and reminds him that, as Devarāja, he is only one of a long series of Indras, who reign but for a thousand years apiece (ib. 224, 55; 227, 70). In the earlier scene he sees a vision of "other Indras" who have preceded him and are now helpless (1, 197, 20, Viśvabhuj, Bhūtadhāman, Śibi, Śānti, and Tejasvin are the "five earlier Indras", ib. 29). Among Indra's nobler sins may be counted his heterodoxy as to the glory of cows (13, 83, 15f.), an indication of sectarian prejudice in favor of Goloka (Viṣṇu's abode). A more venerable sin is Indra's objection to the Agniṣṭut, a praise offered only to Agni. King (rājarṣi) Bhaṅgāsvana offered it, to get children, and Indra stupified him and made him enter a lake which changed him into a woman. Then Indra made the children got by lauding Agni quarrel, "as the gods and demons of old, children of one Kaśyapa, quarrelled"; so they killed each other. But he restored them to life, when he was himself lauded and so pacified (the king preferred to remain a woman, as a woman has more pleasure in love than a man, 13, 12, 4f.; ib. 20 and 51). Agni's praise is said to be Indra-dviṣṭa (ib. 4). The story is old; or at least it is as old as the late Sūtras.[1]) Indra's loud ridicule of the holiness of Kurukṣetra is only for dramatic effect, as he ends by singing a Gāthā in honor of this holy land (9, 53, 7f.; ib. 21; cf. the Indragītā Gāthāḥ lauding Sahadeva's sacrifice, 3, 90, 6). Indra is not an object of much devotion himself and is naively delighted when the jujube-girl shows Śakrabhakti by intense devotion to him. She was the daughter of Bharadvāja and Ghṛtācī, a nymph, who seduced him. As the girl grew up and was called something of a scholar Śrutāvatī (by name), she preferred the love of god Indra, as Tridaśādhipati, Tribhuvaneśvara. Indra came to her in the disguise of Vasiṣṭha, first testing her hospitality by asking for jujubes, which she cooked for him, using her feet as fuel (being short of wood), and then he made her his wife (bhāryā, 9, 48, 1f.; ib. 62).

§ 78. Disguise is commonly assumed when the god visits men. As above, Indra assumes the form of a saint, but his illusions are manifold and he can appear in any shape of form. His favorite form is that of a priest or seer (so Sūrya disguises himself, 3, 300, 5f.), in which shape he seduces Ahalyā (as her husband) and Ruci (above). Sometimes (says Ruci's husband) Indra appears with bolt or bow or as a Cāṇḍāla or ascetic, of

[1]) Caland, Über das rituelle Sūtra des Baudhāyana.

any shape, of any color or caste, or as a bird or animal or Daitya, even as a fly or gnat, so that "even the All-maker, who made the universe, cannot penetrate his disguise, who (Indra) may be quite invisible or may seem wind" (vāyubhūtaḥ, below and 13, 40, 28 f.). It is as priest that Indra begs Karṇa for his armor (3, 310, 1 f.); so he converses with the good parrot, who was faithful to his blasted tree (13, 5, 12 f.), though both the bird and Karṇa recognise him at once. Indra revives the dead tree with the ambrosia which he seems to have handy at all times, though he would not give it to Utaṅka till Govinda bade him do so, when disguised as a dirty ascetic he offerred it as urine (digvāsas, mātaṅga), that Kṛṣṇa's devotee might reject it, which he did; but Kṛṣṇa in lieu of ambrosia gave Utaṅka the power to call up rain-clouds in the desert, and these clouds are still called "Utaṅka clouds" (14, 55, 15 f.) The dirty naked hunter with his pack of dogs appears to assimilate Indra (here opposed to Govinda) to Śiva, of whom it is said: digvāsāḥ kīrtyate ko 'nyo loke (13, 14, 217). In 1, 3, 131 f., Indra helps Utaṅka chase Takṣaka and is hymned by him; the god being here mystically represented as a man with a horse (ib. 167). With a dog too Indra appears disguised as a beggar, Śunaḥsakhasakhi, in the story of the theft of the lotus-stalks (13, 93, 142; as a dog Dharma tests the hero in 18, 3, 34). Disguised as a priestly pupil, Indra deceives Prahlāda (above, 12, 124, 28 f.); as a priest, he tries to overthrow the power of Viśvāmitra (R 1, 65, 5), after first trying to do so by becoming a cuckoo and conspiring with Rambhā and Kāma (ib. 64, 1 f.). Being tormented by the ascetic torments of Yavakrīta, Indra becomes an old priest and tries to undermine the saint's devotion (3, 135, 16 f.) by showing that one cannot learn Veda by asceticism. In 13, 102, 3 f., Indra discusses hells, disguised as a king, with a saint whose elephant he steals. As wind (vāyubhūtaḥ) he mixes up the clothes of girls who are bathing (1, 78, 4); but as he stopped on his way to war to do this, it is to be laid not to levity but to polity, since he knows in advance the ensuing quarrel and its dire result. As a soldier, bhaṭa, Indra tries to dissuade a saint from becoming too virtuous by enchanting him with the glitter of arms. When the holy man's intelligence "becomes rude" from too much contemplation of the sword, he looses his virtue and Indra has the satisfaction of seeing him go to hell (R 3, 9, 16 f.). According to R 1, 39, 7, Indra takes the shape of a Rākṣasa to drive away the horse of Sagara. The Mbh. says merely that the Sāgaras thought it had been stolen, not that the frightened gods had aught to do with the theft (3, 107, 13). Other disguises assumed by Indra are that of a goose (his goose-form is revered at his festival, above), probably the "golden bird" (above); of a jackal, to inculcate patience and instruct Kāśyapa (12, 180, 4 f.); and of a hawk in the tale of Śibi (omitted in 13, 32, 4 f.; see above, § 51). He also changes the shape of others. When Mataṅga, at Indra's advice, renounces the hope of becoming a priest, the god at the request of the saintly but lowborn man, changes him into a lovely bird honored of women and called "song (his) god"; for such seems to be the meaning of chandodeva (after Mataṅga has requested that he should become a "lovely bird", 13, 29, 22 f.); but the "song" is that of the Vedic verses to the would-be priest.

§ 79. The strength of Indra manifests itself in prowess, mentally and morally; Śakratulyaparākrama, "having Indra-like prowess", is applied to any strong creature, a stereotyped phrase (R 4, 32, 11, etc.). Indra is

"the one hero amid gods" (1, 113, 32); to say "even Indra" could not conquer one, is a tribute to the god (1, 100, 78; 2, 67, 36, etc.), when not pure braggadocio (4, 49, 12). Indra is power: "To Indra he bows who bows to a stronger person" (12, 67, 11). Hence the king is divine power (Indram eva pravṛṇute yad rājānam, 12, 67, 4). A great king is "another Indra" (1, 85, 5, etc.); so "a weak realm with no Indra" (anindram abalam, 12, 67, 2). Hence, too, nṛbījam Indradaivatyam and indriyam, Indra is the divinity of procreative power (12, 214, 23, v. l. tribījam). But Indra is strengthened by the Maruts and by the Vasus (6, 96, 16, they surround him in battle), in fact by all the gods (12, 78, 15). Mental power is his as a seer. He recognises the future greatness of Kurukṣetra (above); he advises the rebuilding of Benares, with a view to the prosperity of Divodāsa Saudeva, whose son Pratardana (born of a sacrifice performed by Bharadvāja, and adult as soon as born) defeated Vītahavya, king of the Haihayas. According to S 1, 95, 12, Indra prophesies the greatness of Cakravartin Duṣyanta (cf. B, Kaṇva, in, 1, 73, 30 f.). Though Indra is weakened by intoxication (his foe is Mada, 14, 9, 33), and delights always in soma (12, 71, 33; he revels in the seven kinds of Soma-sacrifice, 3, 88, 6; 12, 29, 36 f.), yet he is a strict upholder of morality which appeals to him. This is "warrior morality", aindro dharmaḥ (12, 141, 64), and as the king has his physical power, so Indra as a moral power is incorporate in the king (12, 72, 25). Bṛhaspati guides his councils (R 4, 54, 4) and the later epic gives him seven "Seers of the East", modelled after those of the North (13, 150, 29 f.), viz., Yavakrīta, Raibhya, Arvāvasu, Parāvasu, Auśija Kakṣīvat, Bala the son of Aṅgiras, and Kaṇva the son of Medhātithi (Barhiṣada is added; but the seers are seven in seven groups). Indra reveres only moral people (a list of them at S 13, 153, 7 f.). With his bolt he splits into a hundred pieces the head of a false or recalcitrant witness (2, 68, 70); he casts his bolt upon him that gives up a refugee (5, 12, 21). Above all he delights in hospitality; he is himself the guest, a seat for the guest is a seat for Indra (3, 200, 62 and 68; also ib. 123, Parjanyo 'nnānusaṃcaran, in the sense of the scholiast, "who comes as a guest is Indra himself"). Who dies in battle is Indra's guest (also the priyātithi of Yama, Varuṇa, and Kubera, 7, 72, 46, as Lokapālas). Slain warriors are not called dead, but "guests of Indra" (7, 19, 36, Śakrasyā 'tithitāṃ gatāḥ) or "dear guests of Vala's slayer" (7, 27, 8). Those who die facing the foe are his dear guests and enjoy his world of delight (teṣāṃ kāmadughān lokān Indraḥ saṃkalpayiṣyati, 11, 2, 15; cf. 3, 54, 18, etc.), for they rejoice with him and he leads a joyous life (2, 7; 2, 12, 26; R 6, 54, 38). But Indra has his ups and downs (R 3, 66, 12) and it is part of his sagacity rather than an indication of cowardice that he is ever afraid of too much formal virtue. He recognises that merit stored up by the ascetic may become equal to or greater than his own, in which case he may be dethroned. Hence he always seeks to overthrow the asceticism of a too ascetic saint, generally by seducing him. Thus, according to Rām. and Mbh., respectively, he sends Rambhā or Menakā (1, 71, 20 f.) to seduce Viśvāmitra, fearing "lest this man of sunlike glory shake me from my station". Rarely is this sagacious fear united with bodily fear, yet Indra sends Jānapadī (devakanyā) to seduce Śaradvat Gautama, because this great seer "mightily distressed the king of the gods by his skill in archery, dhanurveda, and asceticism" (1, 130, 5). Two men, one an ascetic and one a king,

had power to control Indra. The first was Ṛṣyaśṛṅga, "through fear of whom the slayer of Vala and Vṛtra did rain" (3, 110, 24). The king was Māṃdhātṛ, of the race of Ikṣvāku, who, born by cleaving his father's side, became twelve years old in twelve days, and from being a suckling of Indra whose thumb he sucked, attained to such power that when he died "he got half of Indra's throne" (Śakrasyā 'rdhāsanam, 3, 126, 38) and "half his realm" (R 7, 67, 8). He actually "conquered Indra on the Gomatī at a Nāga-named town" (12, 356, 3) and was father of Mucukunda, being himself born of Saudyumni Yuvanāśva without a mother, conquering the whole earth and possessing Ājagava (Śiva's bow) and other special arms. Indra had to stand and look on while Māṃdhātṛ made rain (3, 126, 42, above, § 71). The Rām. says that when this "lord of the seven Dvīpas" reached heaven and was about to oust Indra from his seat, the wily god persuaded him that he was not a real world-conqueror and sent him back to earth to conquer Lavaṇa, the one foe left unconquered; but Lavaṇa slew him with Rudra's trident (boomerang, R 7, 67, 5 f.; ib. 23, pra. 3, 23 f.). Māṃdhātṛ once slew a sinful ascetic (R 4, 18, 35, here as Rāma's ancestor) and he conquered earth in one night, whereas Janamejaya took three and Nābhāga even seven nights to perform the same feat (12, 29, 81 f.; ib. 124, 16). Kings are sometimes said to have surpassed Indra, but this is usually mere panegyric; it does not mean that the god was actually overcome. It is said, for example, of Marutta (yaḥ spardhayā 'jayac Chakraṃ devarājaṃ puraṃdaram, 12, 29, 20), yet in 14, 10, 11, this Marutta says that a floating cloud shows Indra to be near and escapes as fast as he can. In Buddhistic narrations, the excellence of a very virtuous person "makes hot the throne of Indra", so that the god grows uncomfortable as if sitting upon a hot stove. The epics have no such absurd figure. The saints disturb Indra and shake his throne, but they heat, i. e. torment, only Indra, the gods, or the worlds (tāpayati is not applied to the throne but to the sitter, who is heated, disturbed, "all het up").

§ 80. With other gods except Tvaṣṭṛ (above) Indra's relations are in general those of friendly superiority. As was shown above, he objects to Agni's exclusive praise, and he takes part against him in the matter of the serpents' sacrifice (1, 26) and at Khāṇḍava, to save Takṣaka (1, 223, 7 f.); yet the two are grouped as "the two friends, Indrāgnī" (3, 134, 9), and Agni assists Indra against Bali (7, 25, 20). Indra promises Agni a share in the sacrifice (5, 16, 32) and Agni acts as Indra's messenger (14, 9, 8 f.). Anala (Agni) always conveys the oblation to Indra (R 5, 37, 21). With the Aśvins he was at first in enmity and then makes friends (see Aśvins, § 110). With the Sun-god (§ 38 f.) he is at enmity on account of their respective sons (Arjuna and Karṇa), but "Wind, Indra, and Sun" are allies (1, 1, 187, v. l. Śakrasūryau). With Kubera (§ 83 f.) Indra shares the North(-east) district, so that they have one sadman there (3, 163, 6 f.), and rivals him in wealth (R 1, 6, 3). Both gods possess the grove Nandana (below). With Yama and Varuṇa, Indra is associated as types of power, the former rarely (R 2, 1, 38, "like Yama or Śakra in power"), the latter in a stereotyped phrase, "like great Indra and Varuṇa" (e. g. R 6, 41, 6), a reminiscence of the old fighting power of Varuṇa (cf. a hero "like Indra or Varuṇa", R 6, 64, 18). With Brahman (§ 131 f.) Indra stands in the position of a favored son or is like a younger brother (R 6, 60, 96, by implication). Indra and Prajāpati are both saviors, nātha, to the other gods, though the latter is a father (R 7, 83, 11 f.). With Bṛhaspati Indra

acts as any pupil to a Guru ("takes his feet", etc., R 2, 103, 28 and 30). With the growth of sectarian gods, Indra grows less. But with Viṣṇu (§ 143 f.) Indra is still on equal terms in many passages. Viṣṇu "assists" Indra (6, 59, 80). Arjuna Aindri is "like the younger brother of Indra and like Mahendra" (in power, 6, 49, 16). Śunaḥśepa lauds "Indra and his younger brother" (Viṣṇu, R 1, 62, 25 f.). In the rise of Viṣṇu, however, he as greater god makes Indra the gods' protector (5, 10, 7). Kṛṣṇa as Viṣṇu uses Indra as demiurge and is Indrakarman, that is "works through Indra" (13, 149, 97). But he robs Indra of the Pārijāta tree and opposes him by means of Govardhana (see Kṛṣṇa). Indra and the Maruts say their prayers on Mt. Mandara and here, for Indra, Viṣṇu slew Naraka, son of Diti, when Indra was in mortal fear of the demon and begged abjectly for Viṣṇu's help (3, 142, 7 and 20 f.). On the other hand, Indra begs vainly for Viṣṇu's aid against the fiends (R 7, 27, 14 f.), for the great god has other plans and Indra is made captive by the fiend Meghanāda (Indrajit, ib. ch. 29). Before Śiva too, Indra (as above) is powerless (1, 197), and Indra seeks advice and takes refuge here with Brahman, as usual, when in doubt. For Indra's blazing Śiva with the bolt, see Śiva. With saints and heroes of the epics, Indra is on familiar terms, a humanised god. He visits Śarabhaṅga (R 3, 30, 30) to get Rāma to slay Khara, "as he himself slew Vala", and so he visits other asylums (R 3, 5 and 7) near Nagpur (Rāmagiri). Indra stands beside the lad Daśaratha kills, as the youth goes to heaven in heavenly form (the boy himself goes to heaven but his soul remains in his body for a while, R 2, 64, 19, 48). He takes Lakṣmaṇa to heaven (R 7, 106, 17); gives special trees to the semi-divine monkeys (ib. 4, 33, 15), one of whom is Indrajānu (ib. 39, 32); and grants a boon to Hanumat after breaking his jaw (R 4, 66, 27). Worth noting is Indra's inferiority to the Rākṣasas in Rām., on a par with the despite of the later epic (as noticed above). This is due not so much to a new cult of special Rākṣasas as to the lowered position of Indra, which permits the poet to play with the idea of fiends capable of defeating the king of the gods but defeated by Rāma, an indication of later age or of a place where Indra's cult was much reduced. In general the Rām. Devas are not so authoritative or important as the early Mbh. Devas.

§ 81. The home of Indra as a palace or hall is described at length in the "account of the palaces of the world-protectors". Indra won his as "lord of the universe". It is adorned with lotuses, Puṣkaramālinī, a movable structure "going at will" (of Indra), five leagues high and one hundred and fifty by one hundred leagues in extent; fitted out with divine trees and thrones, where sit Indra and Śacī and Śrī and Lakṣmī with the Maruts as gṛhamedhinaḥ (house-keepers), waiting on him. He is waited upon also by nymphs and other fair women. In 2, 49, 26, the "immortal women" appear (to the scholiast) as plants (Soma, giving Indra to drink). Siddhas, seers, saints, ascetics, sacrifices, heroes, Faith, Fluency (Sarasvatī), Duty, Gain, Pleasure, etc., clouds, winds, the twenty-seven sacrificial fires, Ādityas, planets, stars, Apsarasas, Gandharvas, royal seers, Hariścandra, Marutta (et al.) — all these persons or personifications are to be found perpetually or temporarily in Indra's palace, as also Vālmīki, and (S text) Ekata, Dvita, and Trita (2, 7). Though only one "royal seer" is especially named, yet all kings who perform the Rājasūya live with Indra (2, 12, 6 f.). Indra's city is typical of any marvellous city, Indrapuraprakāśā (R 2, 71, 45, etc.). It is called Amarāvatī and contains a hundred palaces (3,

43, 7). The "residence", bhavana, 3, 15, 18, etc., is either the pura of Mahendra (1, 82, 1) or the city, situated in the third heaven (18, 1, 3). Arjuna visits it and it is described (3, 42, 42 f.) as full of lovely flowers, trees, perfumes, saints, and singers; there is the grove Nandana (1, 85, 9; 3, 79, 3), where gods and saints dwell; but the city (like his car) is invisible to the sinful. The list of occupants is longer than that of the palace and includes many kings (in 7, 54, 53 of S text the grove Nandana is ascribed to Nārada). The road to Amarāvatī is the "path of stars" (Milky Way?), nakṣatramārga, suravīthi (3, 43, 12). Indra's son is received by Indra with a kiss and great love (premṇā, ib. 19 f.), as the god sits under a white umbrella with a gold handle. To "enter Amarāvatī" is euphemistic for dying (7, 77, 19). The later epic speaks more of Indra's world(s) as goal of ascetics: one who dies by fasting, for example, might come to Vāsava-loka after a million years, going there on a car with "Indra's fair girls"; and such an one "might see even the sports of the gods' king" (13, 107, 21 f.). Each god has his own world or place, sthāna, so that Indra's is distinct from that of the Maruts, as it is from that of Varuṇa, etc. (ib. 79 f.). Indrakīla (6, 59, 122?) is a northern mountain sacred to Indra, perhaps Mt. Mandara, Indra's peculiar mountain (3, 37, 42). A "city fair as Indrakīla" (R 2, 80, 18; cf. ib. 20) treats it as if it were Amarāvatī; but Indra's home has various names, Śakrālaya, Vajrālaya, etc. (R 6, 74, 59), Mahendradhāman (R 2, 14, 29, etc.). Indra was consecrated on Mt. Meghavat in the West (R 4, 42, 33). Indra also loves to visit Mahendra mountain (R 4, 37, 2). His palace has too the name Sudarśana (S 4, 43, 1). In 3, 54, 18, Kāmadhuk may be the wish-cow Nandinī, daughter of Surabhi and Kaśyapa, or Indra's world called by the same general name. Indraprastha (Indrapat), also called Śakraprastha (cf. for the formation, 3, 84, 99, Dharmaprastha, "where the god Dharma abides ever"), is the Plain of Indra, as city of the Pāṇḍus, especially of Arjuna = Indra('s son).

§ 82. Indra's wife is called Śacī, sometimes Paulomī, also Indrāṇī (Mahendrāṇyā, C 3, 1677, is in B and S sahe 'ndrāṇyā). Indrasenā (S 1, 241, 17) as elsewhere (4, 21, 11, etc.) is probably Mudgala's wife. As type of conjugal felicity stands "Indrāṇī with Harihaya" (1, 199, 5). Nahuṣa's attempt to seduce her (Indrāṇī, Śacī, 12, 343, 46—50) has already been referred to (§ 72); it is the only story about her except for her escape from the demons prior to her marriage, as "Puloman's daughter" (10, 11, 26; R 3, 40, 22). She is not Śrī (R 6, 50, 25), though Lakṣmī = Śrī appears seated with Indra (12, 228, 89). But Śrī says she is Lakṣmī only (12, 225, 8, Lakṣmī 'ti mām āhuḥ), and as she is divided (ib. 19) and "deserts Bali for Indra" (12, 225, 1 f.; ib. 90, 23), she is best regarded as personified Happiness (not as Śacī). "Like Indra (Mahendra, Maghavat) with Paulomī" is a stereotyped phrase (1, 112, 10; 3, 291, 40; type of loveliness, S 1, 242, 39). Śacī bore Jayanta (1, 114, 4), a son barely mentioned in the epic itself but known later (H 7481, etc.; R 7, 28, 11; Jayantī Indraputrī is a still later growth, not epic). Jayanta as Rudra (q. v.) is known in Śānti. The wifehood of Śrutāvatī (§ 77) is not mentioned again. Indra's son Arjuna fills the great epic; the Rām. makes Indra the father of Vālin, so grandfather of Aṅgada, Indra's naptṛ (R 1, 17, etc.). Aṅgada is Vajrahastātmajātmaja, "son of the son of Indra" (R 6, 67, 43). Both Arjuna and Vālin are called Vāsavi (5, 50, 46, etc.).[1])

[1]) Compare for Indra in the Great Epic, the treatise of Adolf Holtzmann, Indra nach den Vorstellungen des Mahābhārata, ZDMG. 32, p. 290 f. For the Maruts, see § 111. For Indra and mountains, see p. 9; for Sudharmā, p. 58.

§ 83. **Kubera.** — Kubera is called Vaiśravaṇa, as son of Viśravas, a Muni, and of Devavarṇinī, daughter of Bharadvāja (§ 17). He was so austere that Brahman granted him boons. Kubera chose the guardianship of the North and lordship over all treasure (vittarakṣaṇa, nidhīśatva), to which Brahman added the boon of an aerial car called Puṣpaka and also "equality with gods" (R 7, 3, 1 f.). By another wife Viśravas was father of the fiends, Rāvaṇa, etc., all of whom except Vibhīṣaṇa were enemies of the gods. They took from Kubera the car given by Brahman and destroyed Caitraratha, Nalinī, and Nandana. Caitraratha is the grove of Kubera, made for him by Citraratha (according to R 2, 91, 19, it should be in the land of the Northern Kurus). The leaves of this grove are jewels and the fruit are girls of heaven, some twenty thousand of whom Kubera sent to grace his grandfather's magic feast (ib. 43 f.). Kubera lived first at Laṅkā, afterwards in the North; his riches are proverbial, as is his happiness (R 5, 2, 24; ib. 20, 33). He had a gatekeeper Sūryabhānu (slain by Rāvaṇa, R 7, 14, 25 f.). He is represented in the later Rām. as deformed in one eye (ekapiṅga, RG 4, 44, 4, is not in Bomb. or S), which became yellow when he indiscreetly looked at Śiva and Umā (R 7, 13, 31), so that he was called Ekākṣipiṅgala (ib. 36, 17). He is also called (R 3, 32, 14) Naravāhana, "drawn by spirits" (naras, cf. Kiṃnaras;[1]) or, as interpreted by native authority, "drawn by men") and explained by the fact that when Kubera fares anywhere, he is carried by spirits called Guhyakas (also Gandharvas), described as half horse and half bird, though he also, as World-protector, rides an elephant called Sārvabhauma (R 4, 43, 36). Kubera, like Śiva, is called Bhūteśa (R 6, 4, 20). One of his usual titles is "king of kings" (which he shares with his half-brother Rāvaṇa) or "king of the whole world" (R 5, 34, 28), as lord of wealth; his city being Alakā = Viṭapā, type of luxury (ib. 2, 15, 36; ib. 16, 8, etc.).[2]) Among his councillors are Padma and Śaṅkha, personified treasures (R 7, 15, 17).

§ 84. In Mbh., Kubera is called Ailavila (9, 47, 25 f.), Dhanādhipati, and he is represented as gaining his lordship over treasure at the Kaubera Tīrtha. He is Yakṣarājan and in this version obtains several boons of Brahman, lordship over wealth, friendship with Śiva (Rudra), godship, suratvam, the post of world-protector, a son Nalakūbara (ib. 29), the Puṣpaka car (yoked with geese, swift as thought), and finally lordship over the Nairṛta demons. When Indra and Kubera are associated, they "guard the East" (3, 163, 5 f.), but Kubera alone belongs to the North (see §§ 91—92). His residence is Kailāsa (12, 44, 13), where Caitraratha (§ 83) is usually said to be and where he was consecrated as Dhanada, giver of wealth (5, 111, 11; 3, 80, 6). Nandana and the fair retreat called Vasvaukasārā (R 2, 94, 26) belong to both these gods of the North and East. Like Indra too he has as constant resorts Mandara and Gandhamādana, as well as Kailāsa (3, 139, 5 f.), and his udyānāni, or parks, are on Himavat (1, 120, 11), as is his "charming lotus-lake" (Nalinī ramyā Kuberakāntā, 3, 177, 9), guarded by Rākṣasas and Yakṣas, Kiṃnaras (etc., when assaulted by Bhīma). It is the playground of the gods or particurlarly of the Rājarāja (Kubera, 3, 153, 1 f.). Even men may see

[1]) See JAOS. 33, p. 60 f.

[2]) Viṭapā or Viṭapāvatī seems to stand for Alakā in R 5, 3, 4 and R 6, 77, 8. There is no distinction between Kubera and Vaiśravaṇa. The kauberaṃ paramāsanam is a car made by Viśvakarman for Vaiśravaṇa, etc. (R 6, 124, 10 f.).

Vaiśravaṇa sitting on Kailāsa on holy days; he is golden, like a sun (3, 159, 26f.), and united with prosperity (Ṛddhi), which (who) then becomes his wife (cf. 3, 139, 8); as Prabhā to the Sun, Vedī to Brahman (§ 24), so is Ṛddhi to Kubera (5, 117, 9; 13, 146, 4; 166, 11). Kubera is also "united to Lakṣmī" (3, 168, 13), but she is not yet (as later) his wife. In 1, 199, 6, Vaiśravaṇa's consort is Bhadrā (Lakṣmī with Nalakūbara is in Kubera's court, 2, 10, 19). As already stated, and as said in 3, 274, 15, Pitāmaha gave godship, suratvam, amaratvam, to Vaiśravaṇa, because he deserted his father and clove to his grandfather. Pulastya, son of Brahman, had a son born of a (the) cow (not unique, cf. 1, 50, 2, ṛṣeḥ putro gavi jātaḥ), called Vaiśravaṇa, who deserted his father; whereat to revenge himself the father begot of himself another son, Viśravas, "half of himself", born as a priest. Pulastya's son Viśravas (a Muni) disliked Vaiśravaṇa Kubera, lord of Rākṣasas, who was then king of kings in Laṅkā. The latter, to win his favor, sent Viśravas three women, who (§ 17) became mothers of the brother fiends, Rāvaṇa, born of Puṣpotkaṭā (also mother of Kumbhakarṇa); Vibhīṣaṇa, born of Mālinī; Khara and Śūrpanakhā, born of Rākā. They all lived on Gandhamādana till, jealous of Kubera, they defeated him and took away his car; but Rāvaṇa was cursed never to ride in it because he had assaulted his Guru (uncle). Vibhīṣaṇa, pious like Kubera, took sides with Kubera and was made general of his Yakṣa and Rākṣasa armies; but "the cannibalistic Rākṣasas" and Piśācas sided with Rāvaṇa (3, 275, 35f.). In 2, 10, 31, Kubera is half-brother of the fiends (as in Rām.), instead of being the uncle. The metronymic Ailavila makes Ilavilā the mother of Kubera (5, 139, 14), a later view, scarcely found represented before the Purāṇas. Nalakūbara (above) appears in the later parts of the epic and in Harivaṃśa. The description of Kubera's hall mentions him and he is said to have cursed Rāvaṇa because the fiend outraged his wife Rambhā (3, 280, 59; 291, 33). The story is dramatised at H 8695f. In R 7, 26, 32 and 53, Rambhā is represented as wife of Nalakūbara and "daughter-in-law" of Rāvaṇa. Both epics know Rambhā as wife of Virādha or Tumburu (5, 117, 16) or as loved by him and cursed by Kubera (R 3, 4, 16) or as cursed by Viśvāmitra (R 1, 64, 12; though in R 4, 35, 8 it is Ghṛtācī whom he curses) and so in 13, 3, 11 (cf. R 6, 60, 11; ib. 7, 26, 14). The allusion to the "son of Dhaneśvara" (7, 46, 12) probably refers to Nalakūbara. Kubera becomes a lizard (as a hiding spirit), when frightened by Rāvaṇa (R 7, 18, 5).

§ 85. Kubera's attendants are chiefly "horrible Yakṣas" (3, 161, 49f.), though he is overlord of Yakṣas, Rākṣasas, and Gandharvas (5, 111, 11). His floating palace is carried by Guhyakas (2, 10, 3), where he sits clothed in jewels and surrounded by many women. He wears bright ear-rings, is very wealthy, has a heavenly seat and footstool and is refreshed by breezes from Nandana and from (here a lotus-lake) Alakā Nalinī (2, 10, 8). In R 2, 98, 12, Nandana belongs to Kubera (otherwise Indra's grove, or belongs to both). With Kubera at his court are Śiva and Umā, the Vidyādharas with their chief (Cakradharman), Kiṃnaras and Druma, chief of Kiṃpuruṣas, Mahendra, Gandhamādana (Kubera's simian son, R 1, 17, 11), Vibhīṣaṇa, and other Rākṣasas and Piśācas; also Nandīśvara and the "roaring white bull" of Śiva whom Paulastya (Kubera) adored of old and who "became the friend of the wealth-giver". Śaṅkha and Padma, the "lords of wealth", are also there (cf. H 2467, as persons; there are eight of these Nidhis, ib. 6004). Kubera leads Yakṣas to battle; he is the refuge of Rākṣasas

(5, 156, 12; 13, 61, 38). Maṇibhadra or Maṇivara, a Yakṣarāj (Yakṣendra) like Kubera (5, 192, 44 f.), is Kubera's chief attendant. He is called lord of wealth and of treasure (Yakṣapati, -adhipa, Nidhīśa, Dhanapati, Draviṇādhipati, Dhanada; his name also appears as Māṇicāra) and is invoked as patron of merchants with Kubera. The Yakṣa attendants of Kubera (2, 10, 14 f. names some of them) are armed with clubs and this is Kubera's weapon (6, 48, 93); but Śiva's former "sleep-making" weapon he gave to Arjuna (3, 41, 35 f.). As generous giver he is proverbial (8, 39, 2). He (jāmbūnada ib.) has a body made of gold. Like all world-protectors, Kubera has seven seers (5, 111, 14; 13, 151, 38 f.); those of the North are his ṛtvijs or Gurus, Atri, Vasiṣṭha, Kaśyapa, Gautama, Bharadvāja, Viśvāmitra (Kauśika), and Jamadagni. His other attendants are noticeable only in part, from the fact that their names are his own or convey his attributes, Dhanada, Hemanetra, Piṅgala (all as Guhyaka-Yakṣas, 2, 10, 15 f.). Bibhīṣaṇa here is distinguished from Vibhīṣaṇa (S). Amogha, one of them, is a name of Skanda (3, 232, 5) and the Yakṣa Piṅgala is friend of Rudra (ib. 231, 51). The demoniac trees, Yamala and Arjuna, mentioned in R 7, 6, 35, destroyed by Kṛṣṇa, when later identified with Nalakūbara and Maṇibhadra, are called Guhyakas (Bhāg. P. 10, 10, 23 f.), but of this legend the epic has no trace till H 14741. In H, Kubera is fully god, he fights with Keśin (13189) but especially with Anuhrāda (13192 and 13808 f.). He is here Piṅgalākṣa, Dhaneśvara, Vaiśravaṇa (scene copied from R 6, 58).

§ 86. Bhīma's invasion of the North and slaughter of Maṇimat with the consequent defeat of Kubera in battle are regarded as expiation for an insult offered Agastya by Maṇimat, who spat on the head of the saint when he was once accompanying Kubera to a convention of gods at Kuśasthalī with a great host of Yakṣas. The home of Kubera described in this account represents it (sadana, ālaya, āvāsa, pura) as a high-walled town with towers, flags, garlands, girls, sweet breezes, fair trees, gold and crystal houses, inhabited by Kiṃnaras, Nāgas, Munis, Gandharvas, and Rākṣasas; the name Alakā appears to be that of Kubera's city as well as of his lake (3, 160, 36 f.). Another visit to the North implies the explanation of the title "king of kings". Dharmarāja Yudhiṣṭhira visited Ailavila, "under whose command stand all kings as servants" (5, 139, 14) and "received many jewels". Yakṣas and Rākṣasas in the account of the battle (above) are exchangeable terms and the attendants of Kubera are chiefly Yakṣas and Guhyakas rather than the fiercer Rākṣasas of Rāvaṇa's host. He is, however, called indifferently Yakṣādhipati, Rākṣasādhipati, Yakṣarakṣodhipati, Rākṣaseśvara, and Guhyādhipa, the last epithet recalling the fact that he is himself a god of hiding (AV. 8, 10, 28) as well as lord of Rākṣasas (ŚB. 13, 4, 3, 10). His most intimate associates are the Guhyakas, with whom he lives on Kailāsa (6, 6, 41), these being here his only comrades. From Kailāsa he sends by a Guhyaka a magic eye-wash to Rāma, which enables him to see what is hidden (3, 289, 9 f.). Even when he is said to consort on Gandhamādana with Rākṣasas and Gandharvas he is still called Guhyakādhipa (6, 6, 34). Among his "dear friends" he numbers the Rākṣasa Maṇimat and the Gandharva Aṅgāraparṇa (formerly Citraratha), who boasts that he is the very particular friend of Kubera and reproves Arjuna for attacking one who is the "turban" (crown) upon the head of Kubera (1, 170, 13 f.; S 186, 15, v. l.). It is probable that Guhyaka was a general name for all the spirits of concealment, though sometimes made a special class. Thus when Kubera gives advice to Yudhiṣṭhira, he is called

Guhyakādhipa, though accompanied only by Yakṣas and Rākṣasas (in "cars full of cushions", 3, 162, 32f.). Kubera's own car is the swiftest known, swifter than that of the Sun or of Rudra (7, 99, 11), and is drawn by bird-like steeds which gold-wreathed Gandharvas yoke. They "alight like birds" and "neigh at each other". This is the vimāna made by Viśvakarman for Yakṣādhipati Vaiśravaṇa (called Puṣpaka, 3, 161, 15f.; cf. 159, 26 and vājinaḥ in 162, 35). The steeds, which fly, are expressly "horses" (ib. 161, 24 hayottamāḥ; also vimalākṣāḥ, which N. says means "having the ten whorls"!), but are also birds (haṃsayukta, "goose-yoked", describes his car in 9, 47, 31). It is just when he rides on this car that (3, 161, 42, etc.) he is described as Naravāhana, and as he is never described as being carried by men, it is clear that naras are spirits. Thus Arjuna tells how the world-protectors came to him and gave him gifts and says that he saw Indra and the others on cars, among them Naravāhana Kubera (3, 168, 13) and the scene thus described from memory, when actually presented (3, 41, 7), also describes Kubera as on a car. On another occasion a Yakṣa has exchanged his sex and become a female, so that he is ashamed to meet Kubera, who flies over earth above him in a car and is called Naravāhana even as he calls out to "stop the car" (5, 192, 42; the Yakṣa is Sthūṇa or Sthūṇakarṇa; K is called in this passage almost exclusively lord of Yakṣas, Yakṣādhipati, Yakṣapati, Yakṣendra, Deva Yakṣarāja, Kubera Naravāhana, Vaiśravaṇa, Bhagavat, as also Dhanada, Dhanādhigoptṛ). In 3, 231, 33, Bhagavat Dhaneśa with his Guhyakas leads the host of Śiva and is called Naravāhana even as he is stepping into his car, Puṣpaka, which is never dragged by men but always by the bird-horses described above. The Naras are called a special kind of Gandharvas, narā nāma (2, 10, 14), and so in VP. 1, 5, 57, Nara-Kiṃnara-Rakṣāṃsi (cf. Naraka as "place of spirits"; Nārāyaṇa, the place of water or spirits). The word then means a water-spirit particularly (water and vigor uniting in the idea of activity and strength). So the "lord of Gandharvas" is properly Varuṇa, the lord of water. There is no trace in the epic of the belief that Kubera was carried by aught save birds on Yakṣas or his thousand horses (H 13130). Another explanation is possible but not plausible, namely that a "king of kings" ought to be carried in a palanquin, and is therefore given this epithet of "man-carried". The strongest point in favor of this is that the epithet is rare in Rām. but common in Mbh., especially in the later passages (Nalakūbara may belong to the same later period, cf. where he is thus described, in 3, 274, 16, the late word rājadhānī for royal residence), as in later literature (H 2468 has Naravāhana climbing into his battle-car to fight).

§ 87. Kubera's (northern) district is called the "wealthiest" (5, 109, 16). Kubera possesses one quarter of the wealth of the golden mountain Meru and of that quarter gives one sixteenth to men (6, 6, 23). Even his two ministers are called dhaneśvarau (the two jewels). He, his followers, as well as one of Skanda's, are called dhanada (5, 111, 11; 9, 46, 13, etc.). There is a close connection between these followers of Kubera and Skanda. Another of Skanda's is called Vasudā (wealth-giver), another even has Kubera's name, Piṅgākṣī (ib. 5 and 18; cf. Vasudhā, R 7, 5, 41 = S 42; H 4362, Vasuda = Kubera). The Mothers in general are in part Kauberyaḥ and one is called Vittadā (9, 46, 28 and 36), as Kubera, possessed of vaittapālya, is called Vittapāla and Vitteśa (6, 34, 23; R 7, 11, 23 and 26; Manu 5, 96; ib. 7, 4 and 42) or Vittapati (7, 185, 25). These epithets

meaning guardian of wealth fit in with his title as king, so that he is described as "best of kings" in antithesis to Indra, "best of gods" (8, 8, 24 f.). This leads to the later belief that Kubera was a man. In H 259, "Varuṇa lord of water, Vaiśravaṇa lord of kings" (was made), suggests the manuṣyaprakṛti gods accepted as part of the pantheon (cf. GDH., 16, 34 and Āp. 1, 3, 11, 3, with scholiast, Kubera and Nandīśvara as human). The Gṛhya-Sūtras reckon him a god (Hiraṇ. GS. 2, 8, 19, 1). As lord of wealth Kubera shares the rôle of Indra (Dhanadā, Dhanapati, RV. 1, 33, 2 f.; AV. 5, 23, 2), with whom he shares the northern district. In 14, 65, 11, the explorer before digging for treasure in the northern hills "reveres Dhanādhyakṣa and all the Nidhipālas and Śaṅkha and other treasures" as well as the Yakṣendra Kubera and Maṇibhadra, to whom and to the other Yakṣas and "lords of Bhūts" are made offerings (cf. ŚGS. 1, 11, 6) of meat and sesamum seeds, also flowers (partly to Kubera and partly to Rudra-Śiva and their attendants). The treasure is guarded by savage Kiṃnaras (ib. 63, 15). Nidhipa and -pati are titles of Kubera (cf. H 6277, 6922, 12495; and 12, 207, 35, asṛjat Sarvabhūtātmā nidhipaṃ ca Dhaneśvaram). Indra still rains gold in the epic (12, 29, 25 f.) and his wealth is proverbial; he is sometimes especially grouped with Kubera Dhaneśvara as contrasted with other divinities (3, 19, 21). Kubera has śrī, which is material prosperity (a man is said to "become śreyān" or "reach śreyas" not morally but materially, "gets richer"); his son is "brought up in superlative ease" (atyantasukhasaṃvṛddha, 7, 46, 12); "as rich as Croesus" is expressed by śriyā Vaiśravaṇopamaḥ (2, 17, 15). Wealth (śrī) even greater than that of Guhyakādhipati (2, 49, 35) is the last of a series of inferior fortunes belonging to Indra, Yama, and Varuṇa. In short, though others rival him, Kubera has become the norm of exhaustless wealth (2, 58, 3; 12, 124, 13, etc.), as his town gives the standing phrase (e. g. R 1, 77, 15) Kuberabhavanopamam, "like Kubera's residence", in wealth. This wealth is gold, for gold is wealth. It is dug out of the ground with the help of Wind (purified by Vāyu) and Fire (Śukra) and it is given to men when the Fire-god is revered under the double constellation Proṣṭhapādau, for gold in earth is guarded by the regents of this constellation, namely, Ajaikapād and the Serpent of the Depth, Ahi Budhnya (5, 114, 1 f.; Ajaikapād is also a name of Śiva, 13, 17, 103). The scholiast takes the handing over of the gold to Fire to mean "on Friday" (Śukre), but allows Agni to give the gold to Kubera. But in either case, gold (the son of Fire, 3, 200, 128 and passim) is here guarded by the Serpent of the Depth and is dug out and purified and handed over to man through the medium of fire, wind, and Kubera, suggesting a forge, bellows, and guhera (smith), which was very likely a function of the guhya (Kubera). All the gold comes from the North. The gods take that of the Jambū-tree (6, 7, 26) and men get that of the upper Ganges and of the mountains, either by digging, or through the medium of the mountaineers, who bring it down from the hills, after getting it from the ants. There is also a lake at Uśīrabīja (in the North which produces gold and there too are (Jīmūta's) gold-mines of the Himālayas (2, 52, 4; 5, 111, 23; cf. 5, 34, 32). The serpents who steal gold are familiar, as are those who carry off jewels (1, 3, 128; cf. 7, 93, 34). It is the Guhyakas who guard Hāṭaka, north of Druma's land of Kiṃpuruṣas, the source of hāṭaka gold (2, 28, 1 f.). When Soma is the world-protector instead of Kubera, he too guards gold, so that Soma and Agni are reckoned

as joint fathers of gold (Agnīṣomātmakam idaṃ suvarṇaṃ, 13, 84, 46), probably because of the difference between red gold and the whitish gold called mahārajatam (6, 7, 29; jāmbūnada gold is reddish, indragopakasaṃkāśa, ib. 26). This gold may be the "beloved thing of Kubera", which "gives immortality to mortals, makes the blind see, and restores youth to the old" (5, 64, 18). It is kept in a jar, guarded by dragons, like the Golden Fleece, or like the soma stolen by Garuḍa, and it is found in a cave, so hard to reach that those who attempt the climb usually lose life (ib. 22). The application of the famous proverb "he sees the honey but ignores the fall" (5, 51, 26; 11, 1, 37; 12, 310, 7; cf. 7, 51, 11 and ib. 133, 10), is in this case probably to gold, as it is mystically interpreted by Jambhasādhakas. It is "loved by Kubera", and described as madhu pītakamākṣikam.

§ 88. The epic has moral tales about Kubera. Vaiśravaṇa Alakādhipa holds converse with Mucukunda and offers him the earth (5, 132, 8 f.). Mucukunda fights with Kubera and is defeated by Nairṛtas "made by Kubera", after which he teaches Kubera that priest and warrior ought to unite, proving his point by having his priest Vasiṣṭha demolish Kubera's Rakṣas (12, 74, 3 f.). In the last passage, Kubera creates Rākṣasas and is "lord of good and ill"; but only as a subordinate, for Kubera says that he disposes of kingdoms only as he is instructed to do so by a superior power. Kubera is also overpowered by the priest of the demons (12, 290, 8 f.). Uśanas here through Yoga-power enters Kubera and steals his wealth, whereupon Kubera runs to Śiva for help, who tries to pierce Uśanas with his javelin; but Uśanas sits on its point and then jumps down Śiva's throat. Kubera is here king and god and "master of treasure" (N. as "treasurer of Indra", not necessary). Another late story tells how Kubera had a visit from Aṣṭāvakra, received him well, and entertained him with music and dance, a performance carried out by his Gandharvas and Apsarasas for a "divine year", without the guest noticing the lapse of time (13, 19, 33 f.). Kubera admits that "music is captivating", and lets him go. Then the guest departs, saying vṛddhimān ṛddhimān bhava (53), which looks as if Kubera's wife were not yet Ṛddhi. Other late traits of the god are not known to either epic, such as Mīnākṣī as his daughter, his three legs, and deformities of teeth, etc. Negative evidence is strong here, as in the case of other gods. Even in Hariv., he is not three-headed three-legged, or four-armed, as now. There is quite a gap between the epics and Purāṇas, though here and there the Purāṇa may conserve earlier traits than those of the epics.

§ 89. The Guhyakas are generally on earth or in the hills (1, 146, 12 and above). Like the gods and other spirits they did not exist in the first age (3, 149, 13 f.). They appear as luminous forms in heaven (3, 42, 36) and as demoniac forms in battle (3, 173, 50), but such aerial flights do not represent their normal condition, which is that of earth-gnomes, though they are sent on messages or visit battle-fields as spectators (R 6, 67, 163, etc.), being grouped with Suparṇas and other supernatural beings (ib. 71, 66). They "disappear like fata morgana" (1, 126, 34). They are associated with Pitṛs (3, 3, 43) as Sun-worshippers (cf. AV. 8, 8, 15) and may be ghosts but seem rather to be the half-gods such as fairies, gnomes, etc., for which reason, as not being Devas, though of divine origin, the Aśvins and plants and animals are grouped as Guhyakas (1, 66, 40). The character of the chief Guhyaka, Kubera, in being one of productivity, is

similar to that of Śiva, whose phallic tendency may be paralleled in the invocation of Kubera "for the man" at the time Śiva Īśāna is invoked at weddings; the latter's son too is Guha and described as sarvaguhyamaya (1, 137, 13), of unknown origin or hidden. Like Kubera Guhya, this Guha lives on the mountains (R 6, 69, 30, etc.). The world of Guhyakas is for those who die by the sword, not ignobly but not bravely, and is next to the lowest earth-world of Yama (11, 26, 12f.; 13, 102, 14f.). This accords with the fact that Vasudharā is both "earth" and the name of Kubera (Jambhala)'s wife and city in Buddhistic lore[1]). His later title Kāmeśvara has to do with his rôle as marriage-divinity (hence three-legged, as Priapos). Hence too his close connection with the amorous Gandharvas; perhaps also with the (androgynous?[2]) Kiṃpuruṣas (Ailavila may be connected with the androgynous Ila). Kubera's haṃsas are fitting messengers for lovers (3, 53, 19f.).

§ 90. A few words in conclusion regarding Kubera's attendants. The Yakṣas assume any shape (3, 139, 7) and the female, Yakṣī and Yakṣiṇī, may appear as a beautiful woman, so that an unknown beauty is asked if she be goddess of the district or a Yakṣī, and a handsome man is said to look like a Yakṣa or Gandharva (3, 53, 13; 55, 17; 64, 120) or a Guhyaka (3, 147, 24). These females are usually invisible; they sit beside their lords unseen and peep at Bhīma longingly (3, 146, 30). They descend from Pulastya and Pulaha (1, 66, 7f.) or come from the world-egg (1, 1, 35, a later view). Individuals are seldom named (1, 63, 125, Sthūṇa, and above the names of a few at Kubera's court); the nine spirits slain by Garuḍa (1, 32, 19) may be Yakṣas; they are "like clouds". The pretended Yakṣa who asks riddles is really Dharma (3, 314, 1f.). The individual may be kindly (5, 191, 23), but as guardians with Rākṣasas they can fight (7, 94, 36). They are grouped with Nāgas (1. 1, 255), but more often form part of a general group of gods, Gandharvas, Nāgas, etc., as in 1, 212, 2 (robbed by Asuras). They are known as "good people", Puṇyajana, whose peculiar attribute is "disappearance", their mystic "milker" being Kubera, and their "calf" Śiva (7, 69, 24 = H 385, with v. l.), or "Kuberaka" is the calf and their milk is received from mother earth (Virāj). Puṇyajana is also applied to the former sons of Pracetas, who burned away the mighty jungle before man's ancestor was born (1, 75, 4). A Yakṣiṇī at Rājagṛha has a daily service and cult (3, 84, 105). Another Yakṣiṇī shrine is mentioned in 3, 83, 23 as "world-renowned". The number of Yakṣas guarding the northern mountains is three hundred and fifty-two thousand (3, 139, 6), unless the expression caturguṇā Yakṣāḥ means the four classes mentioned as Gandharvas, Kiṃpuruṣas, Yātudhānas, and Rākṣasas "savage and mild". Rajatanābha is the father of Maṇivara (H 382f.; cf. AV. 8, 10, 28). A comparison of the AV. and epic passages shows that the "other people" are identical with the "good people", that is, spirits, perhaps including ghosts; but there is no other indication that epic Yakṣas are (as later) ghosts. Maṇibhadra is apparently meant when Maṇimat is mentioned (1, 2, 179f.), but this is not certain and the name is also applied to a Nāga and a Rākṣasa (2, 9, 9, and above). The connection with the

[1]) Compare A. Foucher, Étude sur l'Iconographie bouddhique de l'Inde.

[2]) Compare the note below on p. 159. Kubera is chthonic in character and home (cf. Mahāvaṃsa, 10, 89, "the banyan-tree of Vessavaṇa" Kubera), and this may be indicated by his especial imps, the Nairṛtas, as gnomes or sons of the underground power Nirṛti (Hell as place or power of destruction).

Nāgas as treasure-hiders appears in the description of the gate-keepers of the Nāga-Tīrtha at Kurukṣetra, viz., Arantuka and Tarantuka on one side and Macakruka (v. l. Macakraka and Maṅkaṇaka) on the other; these are Yakṣa gate-keepers, as well as places bounding the holy land (3, 83, 9 and 52 and 208; S 81, 9).

§ 91. **The World-Protectors.** The eight gods discussed above (§ 38—§ 90) are grouped in later literature as guardians of the four chief and four subsidiary directions, the Sun-god of the South-West, the Moon-god of the North-East, the Wind-god of the North-West, the Fire-god of the South-East, and for cardinal points, Yama of the South, Varuṇa of the West, Kubera of the North, and Indra of the East. The exact district assigned to each is not specified so early as are the names. Thus the eight are found as Lokapālas in Manu 5, 96 (with ib. 7, 4 cf. 12, 68, 41), but without indication of the localities assigned to the individuals. On the other hand some late authorities make Nirṛti the guardian of the South-West, instead of the Sun; and Pṛthivī or Śiva Īśāna the guardian of the North-East, instead of the Moon-god. In the epiç, which knows no such group of eight, the world-protectors are counted as four and only the cardinal points are represented. Sometimes the four appear as a group without express mention of the fact that they are regarded as Lokapālas, as in 7, 72, 45, where Vaivasvata, Varuṇa, Śatakratu, and Dhaneśa are represented as welcoming a dead hero. The fixed positions in the epics are those of Yama and Varuṇa, in the South and West, respectively. The four, however, are not always the same. In 3, 55, 6f., they appear as Indra (Śakra), Agni, Varuṇa, Yama. In 3, 41, 9f., Yama, Indra, Kubera, and Varuṇa, as Lokapālas, give gifts to Arjuna, and Yama stands in the South. Yama, as a form of Fate, is the only one who survives the ages (3, 313, 1 and 27), for here four stricken brothers look "like Lokapālas at the end of the Yuga" and the survivor exclaims: ko 'nyaḥ (imān) pratisamāseta Kālāntakayamād ṛte. The gifts made to Arjuna are alluded to in 3, 91, 13 and 168, 14f., where Yama is in the South and has of course the same coadjutors (Kubera, Varuṇa, and Indra) in their own quarters; only the intervening 3, 161, 8, hints that they belong in heaven as Devavaras, but this is not in the same connection and is only by way of a simile. The fact that Rāvaṇa calls himself the "fifth of world-protectors" shows that four was the regular number (3, 281, 14). They are said to be not only best of gods but swift as thought (3, 41, 48), and they are all war-gods. When they are said to be unable to kill a hero, it is a boast modified by an accompanying "even" into a compliment (9, 61, 65), much as when it is said that "even Yama and Soma" fear Viśvāmitra (1, 71, 39), who conquers all gods, even the strongest. In 8, 45, 31 f. it is said: "The gods living in the East have Agni as their leader; Yama of noble deeds guards the Pitṛs living in the South; the West is guarded by Varuṇa, who also guards other gods; the North is guarded by Bhagavat Soma and the priests". Here, though not expressly called Lokapālas, the protecting gods are evidently thought of as such (diśaṃ dakṣiṇāṃ guptāṃ Yamena . . pratīcīṃ Varuṇaḥ pāti pālayānaḥ surān balī; udīcīṃ bhagavān Somo brāhmaṇaiḥ saha rakṣati). The grouping of Agni, Yama, Varuṇa, and Indra seems older than when Kubera is substituted for Agni (as above). This substitution occurs, and Mahendra (though this is not very significant) stands for Indra, in the list of Lokapālas to whose homes Śakuntalā says she can go if she will (1, 74, 85). Of these

Lokapālas, though Yama is a constant member, only Varuṇa has his numerical position defined as "fourth of the Lokapālas" (1, 225, 3), as if the list began in the North. They are also called Lokapas, as when Yayāti says that the Lokapā Brahmaṇaḥ urge him to fall (1, 92, 7). The fact that Kubera is one of the four whose Sabhās are described (besides Brahman's) rather ranges that section in time with the period indicated by the passages cited above to the same effect. The four Lokapālas who "live on Himavat" (12, 328, 7), like the Diśāmpālas of the North, who cry out morning and evening, "What can we do for anybody?" (kasya kāryaṃ kim, 5, 111, 26), may be the later Purāṇic four saints as Lokapālas (VP. 1, 22, 9f.; ib. 2, 8, 82f.); or, as they are grouped with Garuḍa, may be, like him, temporary visitors. Though each Lokapāla has his Sabhā, they all are found in that of Brahman (2, 11, 28). Inferentially Yama appears in the North as well as in the South (as sacrificing at Bindusaras, etc. 2, 3, 15). But in 13, 159, 31, there are only three Lokapālas. Now as there are three worlds (lokāḥ, ib.), one would expect three Lokapālas, if the protectors bore any relation to the worlds. Despite their title, however, the "world-protectors" are, in reality, Diśāmpālas, guarding the earth and perhaps the regions above and below to East, South, West, and North. Conspicuously so are the two fixtures, Yama in the South but underground rather than above, and Varuṇa in the West and under water (gopati, salilarāja; cf. 5, 110, 3). It may be supposed, however, that originally there were three real world-protectors, in the sense that they protected not the diśaḥ, directions, but the worlds, earth and the worlds below and above. The sophisticated later age, which no longer traces the relation, may think of the four world-protectors and at the same time of the three worlds (R 6, 93, 10 and 42f.). Vālmīki recognises four Lokapālas by inference (R 1, 72, 25) or expressly, as when (R 2, 16, 24) Indra, Yama, Varuṇa, and Kubera guard East, South, West, and North, and these four respectively impart greatness, restraint, beauty, and wealth to the ideal first king (R 7, 76, 41, the king exercises his Yāmya bhāga as punisher, śāsti; cf. Manu 7, 4f.). Four world-protectors appear also in R 6, 131, 64. But in R 2, 91, 13, āhvaye lokapālāṃs trīn devān Śakramukhāṃs tathā, the natural meaning is "I invoke the three world-protecting gods with Indra at their head", not, as the scholiast says, the three and Indra besides. The variability of the fourth member especially may point to the same conclusion. In the great epic there is a confused account telling how Indra was conversing with Bṛhaspati in regard to getting rid of Nahuṣa, whose evil eye they feared, when there came along "the world-protector Kubera, and Yama Vaivasvata, the ancient, and god Soma, and Varuṇa". Then "great Indra addressed these world-protectors", saying that Varuṇa, Yama, and Kubera should be rewarded for their help, and "Indra gave Agni a share in the sacrifice, and Bhagavat made Kubera overlord of Yakṣas, and of wealth; Yama, overlord of Pitṛs; and Varuṇa, overlord of waters". Here Soma comes in first, and is then displaced by Agni, when the time for rewards comes, and Indra is certainly outside of the group he addresses as "world-protectors" (5, 16, 27f.). In the same way Indra is not in the group when it is suggested that it would be a good thing for Arjuna to receive divine gifts from "Indra, Rudra, and also from the world-protectors", after the same idea has been expressed in the words "Indra, Rudra, Varuṇa, Kubera, Yama" (will give; 3, 36, 32 and 34). In Nala, the group Indra, Agni, Varuṇa, Yama (3, 55, 6) excludes

Kubera; and lokapālāś ca sāgnikāḥ (ib. 54, 24) should logically exclude Indra, since here "the world-protectors with Agni came to Indra's presence". But one may not be too logical, and the conclusion of this tale shows that Indra is at once recognised as Lokapāla. In 12, 166, 67, however, "Indra gave Asi to the Lokapālas", he is apart from them. There remains the explicit correlation of three protectors of worlds with three worlds, to point to an earlier group of guardians of the three. Soma still lingers in the epic as one of these; later he rules "above". Yama and Varuṇa may have been the other two. What remains also, however, is the later addition of Kubera, who was not a world-protector or even a god at first, so that when the four were established as guardians of directions rather than of worlds, the first grouping was probably Agni, Yama, Varuṇa, and Soma, the first and last then yielding to Indra and Kubera. Finally, the ejected ones (Soma and Agni, cf. 4, 30, 25) came back as guards of the intermediate points, North-East and South-East, respectively, Indra settling into the East (7, 184, 47), after Kubera had got the North. As a matter of fact, Indra belongs in the North-East, at least according to epic ideas, and epic tradition still recognises that Kubera was raised late to the position of world-protector and added to the group of Yama, Indra, and Varuṇa (R 7, 3, 17 f.). In 3, 163, 3 f., Dhaumya "takes Yudhiṣṭhira by the right hand, looks at the East", and says: "Here is to be seen Mt. Mandara which covers earth to the ocean. It is the district which Indra and Vaiśravaṇa (Kubera) together guard and the seers call it the seat of Mahendra and Vaiśravaṇa; it is where the sun rises. Yama the Dharmajña Rājan, lord of all breathing creatures, occupies the southern district, where dead beings go (pretasattvagati, Saṃyamana; above). Varuṇa protects the Asta (sunset) mountain and the sea. This northern district great Meru illuminates, the auspicious, where go those who know Brahman (Brahmavidāṃ gati); on it is the seat, sadman, of Brahman, and there abides the soul of beings (bhūtātman), Prajāpati, creator of all that moves and is immovable". The northern Lokapāla is not named here; on the contrary, only three "protected" districts are named as such, and Indra and Kubera together are assigned distinctly to the East, where the sun rises. But there is a good reason for this. The interview takes place in the North, so that what is here described as East is North-East from the plains, and that is really the position of Mt. Mandara. Thus Kubera and Indra are strictly guardians of the North and East together, meeting in the North-East. The interview with Kubera, just before this conversation, makes it plain that he is especially in the North (Gandhamādana mountain), where his minions (ib. 162, 12) "protect" the guest, as they have previously protected the country from the foe. Prajāpati is probably not thought of as the guardian of the North here, though Brahman, in the "Sabhākhyāna of Lokapālas", follows Indra, Yama, Varuṇa, and Kubera (2, 11) as if he were Lokapāla. The Vana passage really amounts to describing the Lokapālas in the way they are mentioned in other passages, with Yama and Varuṇa to South and West, respectively, and Kubera and Indra in the North and East, respectively; but it points out that the districts of the two merge in the North-East.

§ 92. In the Harivaṃśa there is a chapter beginning 12487 (= 3, 37, 1), which describes how the Creator distributed power among the gods. He first made Indra the king of the three worlds and then appointed kings over different departments, who were promptly "consecrated by

Indra": Viratha(?) in the East; Yama Dharmarāja in the South; the son of Kaśyapa, the god in the waters, salilāntargata, called amburāja (water-king, Varuṇa), in the West; Pulastya's son, the glorious lord equal to Indra, the one-eyed one, called Piṅgala (Kubera), in the North (saumyāyāṃ diśi). Here the absence of Indra from the group is necessary, as he is already king of the three worlds and consecrates the others to their office. The king of the East in 12509 may be Aruṇa (Langlois), but he is called Viratha: putro 'sya Viratho nāma Kaśyapasya Prajāpateḥ, rājā prācyāṃ diśi tathā Vāsavenā 'bhiṣecitaḥ.

There are then the following groups of epic Lokapālas:

East,	Agni	Kubera	Agni	Kubera	Indra
South,	Yama	Yama	Yama	Yama	Yama
West,	Varuṇa	Varuṇa	Varuṇa	Varuṇa	Varuṇa
North,	Indra	Indra	Soma	Soma	Kubera.

The representatives of South and West are constant. Agni and Kubera and Indra are assigned to the East; Indra, Kubera, and Soma to the North.

The last column to the right represents the Rām. view; in content (not distribution) it is one with the Mbh. view of the second column and period. Neither epic knows of the Purāṇic saints (above) as world-protectors. Both epics recognise elephants ridden by four world-protectors (see § 10). While neither epic has yet settled upon the four gods, both recognise only the group of four; but H 6042, Manu, later law-books, and the Purāṇas have a group of eight Lokapāla gods whose members are fixed.[1]) H 14337 adds Śeṣa below and Soma above to the four.

VI. THE HOSTS OF SPIRITS.

§ 93. **Gandharvas.** — Under Kubera it has been shown that he is lord of Gandharvas and that Gandharvas include Naras and Kiṃnaras. The name is derived from gandha, vapor. The poets take this in the sense of exhalation, or scent; Gandharvas and Apsarasas share the "scent" of the earth-mother in AV. 12, 1, 23. It has been shown also that AV. 8, 10, 27 is copied in the epic and again in the Hariv., and in the first of these passages the epic writer says that Gandharvas and Apsarasas got, in the milking of earth, puṇyagandha as their milk (7, 69, 25). It is probably from association with this idea of being possessed of pure odor that they are derived from the Creator's nose (H 11787), though Kaśyapa is also said to be their sire (ib. 11850). Their mothers are daughters of Dakṣa, Muni, Prādhā, Kapilā, and Ariṣṭā (1, 65, 42 f., H 234 and 11553). They have several chiefs or kings. Thus Viśvāvasu is a Gandharvarāja (1, 8, 6), both ascetic and skilled in the dance and instrumental music and song; he has a Tīrtha on the Sarasvatī (9, 37, 10 f.). The Gītā authoritatively makes Citraratha foremost of the Gandharvas (6,

[1]) It may be added that the four Mahārājas of the Buddhists combine the Lokapāla gods and the elephants of the directions (Vessavaṇa and Dhataraṭṭha) with other un-Brahmanic features (Virūḷhaka and Virūpakkha). The late passage above in the Hariv., which speaks of the guardians as Rājans may reflect this view. Compare Viṣṇu's epithet, cāturmahārājika (§ 155). The idea of space-protectors gives rise even to a theory of holy cows as guardians of the four quarters, but this does not appear to have become popular; it is probably a theoretical extension of the notion of a wonder-cow, one of the four being, in fact, called Sarvakāmadughā, "granter of every desire" (cf. § 139). On the sublimated forms of Lokapālas known as Nara, Nārāyaṇa, Hari, and Kṛṣṇa, see § 152.

34, 26) but refers to Nārada as a devarṣi (not a Gandharva as below). All Gandharvas have sweet voices, valguvādinaḥ, and are radiant as the sun, sūryavarcasaḥ; they sing on Meru, Mandara, Gandhamādana, or other mountains (1, 17, 6; 5, 109, 9; 7, 60, 7), though they are heard in the sky and frequent the woods (below). The lists of the Gandharvas do not give prominence to their various "kings"; probably out of the countless hosts of these beings (in Gandhamādana alone there are three millions of fighting Gandharvas under the kings Hāhā-Hūhū, RB 6, 82, 50), only kings are mentioned, though many of the names are of unimportant members apparently, some of them being of uncertain form (due to varied readings of the same list and metrical change). Sūryavarcas (above) is both epithet of all and name of one (in AV., as son of Citraratha). Deva-Gandharvas and Gandharvas are not as spirits differentiated; but as gandharvas are also human minstrels (1, 219, 7 f.; 7, 82, 28), the distinction may be merely between the minstrels of gods and of men. Gāndharva is music (2, 5, 9, yuddhagāndharvam "music of battle"; cf. R 1, 4, 10; R 6, 52, 24), and a gāndharvaśāstram, studied by kings, is known (13, 104, 149; cf. Gāndharva-Veda, 3, 91, 15; the word for musician is either gandharva or gāndharva, 2, 5, 1; 7, 57, 4; R 7, 94, 6). This is already indicated in the earlier distinction between "divine" and "human" Gandharvas (TUp. 2, 8, 1). Though lists of Gandharvas are obviously not meant to be complete, several formal lists are found (1, 65, 42 f.; ib. 123, 55 f.; 2, 10, 25; H 14156; R 2, 91, 16; ib. 45; R 4, 22, 27 f.; R 4, 41, 43), which, combined with occasional references (below), furnish the following catalogue (those found only in H are so marked): (Aṅgāraparṇa), Atibāhu, Anagha, Arkaparṇa, Alambuṣa, Ugrasena, Umbara (H, or Ḍ-), Ūrṇāyu, Ṛtvan (or Satvan), Karāla, Kali, Kārṣṇi, Gopa, Gopati, Golabha, Gomāyu (H), Grāmaṇī, Citrāṅgada, Citraratha, Citraśiras (H), Citrasena, Ḍumbara, Tamburu or Tum-, Tṛṇapa, Dhṛtarāṣṭra, Nandi, Nārada, Parjanya, Parvata, Pūrṇa, Pūrṇāyu, Prayuta, Babhru, Barhi, Bahuguṇa, Bṛhaka, Bṛhatvan, Brahmacārin, Bharaṇya (?), Bhānu, Bhīma, Bhīmasena, Bhumanyu (Su-), Mahāśruti (H), Yugapa, Ratiguṇa (Rā-), Varuṇa, Viśvāvasu, Śaru, Śāliśiras, Śikṣa (or Śighru or Sindhu), Śuka (or Śubhra or Sthāna), Śailūṣa, Satyavāc, Satvan (or Ṛtvan), Siddha, Sucandra, Sutanu, Suparṇa, Sumanyu (Bhu-), Suvarṇa, Sūryavarcas, Somavarcas (H), Haṃsa (H), Hahā (Hāhā), Huhū (Hūhū). Of these, Citraratha (originally called Aṅgāraparṇa), Viśvāvasu, and Sūryavarcas are the most important in legend and prestige as Gandharvas, though Nārada becomes more important as the later epic treats him as a god-seer. Probably Viśvaruci, the lord in the earth-milking, should be added (7, 69, 25); cf. Suruci, in H 388. Somavarcas is both Gandharva (H 14157) and a member of the Viśve Devas (13, 91, 33); Haṃsa is also a Dānava (H 9141) and a son of Ariṣṭā (1, 67, 83), who is mother of Gandharvas (H 234). Gopati is doubtless Gopa; he also is a Dānava (H ib.), a fact not unimportant, since the Gandharvas warred with gods (compare Asurā as name of an Apsaras). Alambuṣa and Ugrasena in 4, 56, 12 are probably Gandharvas (so Nīl.). Ūrṇāyu is the husband of Menakā and perhaps father of Somadā (cf. 5, 117, 16 and below). There are several Gandharvīs (below); the chief of these is the abstract Gandharvī or ancestress of all horses, which marks the centaur character of these spirits: "Rohiṇī produced cows; and Gandharvī, horses" (vājinaḥ, 1, 66, 68; R 3, 14, 28). Under Kubera it was shown that his steeds were Gandharvas or Guhyakas of half bird-like half horse-like appearance. As the number of

Gandharvas in Vedic times was reckoned as twenty-seven, so a verse in the epic, 2, 4, 37, "Twenty-seven sit about him, Tumburu and Citrasena with his ministers, Gandharvas and Apsarasas", seems to reflect this, but as if the author spoke with conscious uncertainty as to the real explanation of the twenty-seven; as how could he help doing when the epic mind held the doctrine that Gandharvas were everywhere and reckoned by millions? (S keeps the number twenty-seven; C omits it). Tumburu is here the special friend of the king and leads the Gandharvas in music and singing, which is performed by Gandharvas and Kiṃnaras, "skilled in song and in instrumental music, and in keeping time" (sāmyatālaviśāradāḥ, pramāṇe 'tha laye sthāne, etc., ib. 38 f.). At Kubera's court the "lords of the Gandharvas" (2, 10, 25 f.) are Viśvāvasu, Hahā-Huhū, Tumburu, Parvata, Śailūṣa, Citrasena (gītajña) and Citraratha. Such groups of kings are often found. In 15, 29, 9, for example, Viśvāvasu, Tumburu, and Citrasena come with Nārada, Parvata, and Devala (the last three also in 15, 20, 1) to visit the exiled king; but here the later view has prevailed which regards them only as Munis. They are not spoken of as Gandharvas, and in the later epic Nārada and Parvata appear almost entirely as Munis rather than as Gandharvas, as they do often in the early epic (Devala is never a Gandharva). The chief Gandharvas are Viśvāvasu, Nārada, and Parvata in 1, 187, 7 (cf. 5, 11, 15, where the first two are mentioned as heading the music-makers at Nahuṣa's court). Tumburu and Citrasena are mentioned as being in Indra's court (2, 7, 14; 3, 45, 2), and Citraratha is called "Indra's follower", Vāsavānuga (2, 52, 23). The grove he made, called Caitraratha, is Indra's special pleasaunce (R 6, 128, 28; but see below). The Gandharvas as Deva-Gandharvas playing at the court of the Northern king seem to be mythologically connected with the fact that the Buddhistic Gandharvas are chiefly at the court of Dhṛtarāṣṭra (the Northern Mahārāja). Bhāri of H 7220 may be the Barhi above.

§ 94. Viśvāvasu, whose name is also an epithet of Viṣṇu (6, 65, 47), is the most venerable of the Gandharvas (RV. 10, 139, 4 f.). He worships Brahman (5, 49, 3) and plays the lute so delicately that each who hears thinks he is playing for him alone (12, 29, 76). He sits as he plays in the midst of seven times six thousand dancing Gandharvas (cf. ib. with 12, 223, 22, where the same formula designates the number of dancing Deva-Gandharvas, in addition to the same number of dancing Devayoṣitas, ib. 19); the same phrase occurs at 7, 61, 7. Nīl. wrongly connects saptadhā with the lute-strings: he plays on seven strings while six thousand dance. Noteworthy is it that here and often the Gandharvas dance as well as sing. The Apsarasas are unnecessary as complement. Viśvāvasu, Citrasena, Nārada, Tumburu "and others" are gītakovidāḥ among Gandharvas, all of whom, however, are gītakuśalā nṛtyeṣu ca viśāradāḥ, "good at singing and skilled in dancing" (14, 88, 40). Usually the Gandharvas sing and play the lute (3, 46, 27) and the nymphs dance (R 2, 91, 26; R 6, 131, 68). On Mt. Mandara eighty-eight thousand Gandharvas serve Kubera and Māṇivara (3, 139, 6); they are called "swift-going". Viśvāvasu as the elderly friend of Arjuna and father of Citrasena (3, 168, 57) is old enough to preach a sermon on the duties of husbands and sing a religious śloka (3, 90, 18; H 11248; ib. 12474, he is son of Muni with "Bharaṇya", perhaps another Gandharva, but v. l. āraṇyāḥ). Yet he is cursed to become a Rākṣasa (3, 279, 42, slain by Rāma), and his daughter is a Rākṣasī (q. v.). He has another daughter by Menakā, viz. Pramadvarā (1, 8, 6). He teaches

Aṅgāraparṇa, who changed his name to Citraratha and whose wife Kumbhīnasī pleaded for his life (1, 170, 34f. and 43). Gandharvas are grouped in this passage with Rakṣas and Yakṣas as beings that injure men at the evening gloaming (ib. 9). This power increases at night (1, 170, 69), but in the case of the Gandharva with his wife it may be questioned whether the power is not peculiarly due to his dislike to being disturbed in conjugal amity at that time. However, the Gandharvas are warriors, armed with bows. Citraratha imparts to Arjuna, after he has changed his name and become his friend, the "science of seeing", cākṣuṣī vidyā (1, 170, 43; repeated S 1, 199, 5), which he had himself got from Viśvāvasu (through penance), who again had been taught it by the Moon-god, the only connection between Gandharvas and the Moon (cf. ŚB. 9, 4, 1, 9, the Moon as Gandharva); but here the Moon is only a link, for the Moon learned it of Manu. Citraratha then promises Arjuna one hundred horses of the Gandharva breed (Gandharvajāḥ, 1, 170, 54), which assume any form, fulfill all wishes, and go at will (cf. a reference to these "wind-swift" steeds in 5, 56, 13). Citraratha also tells the history of Tapatī and Saṃvaraṇa and his desire for a Gandharva-wedding, the birth of Kuru, etc. (1, 171—182). Viśvāvasu in Rām. is invoked with Hahā-Huhū and Tumburu to make magic gardens for Bharadvāja (R 2, 91, 16f.). In the Uttara he is father by Analā of Kumbhīnasī (mother of Lavaṇa and wife of Lola's son Madhu, R 7, 61, 17). He shares the "path of the air" (R 5, 1, 169). Citraratha gives a name to Rāma's sūta (R 2, 32, 17). His park, which (above) is Indra's, is usually Kubera's; it is a typical spot of beauty (R 2, 71, 4; ib. 91, 47, etc., etc.). The Mbh. assigns it to Kubera only (3, 80, 6), which is proper, as it is on Kailāsa "where Kubera was made overlord" (5, 111, 11). Pilgrims visit it (1, 119, 48) and in this epic also it serves as the non plus ultra of beauty in landscape (1, 63, 45; 70, 30; 75, 48, etc.). Citraratha is all-wise and self-controlled (as son of Muni, 1, 65, 43). Besides the steeds mentioned above, Citraratha gives as tribute speckled (tittirikalmāṣa) Gandharva horses (2, 61, 22, here aśvān Gāndharvān). Citrasena is called Gandharvarāja by Indra, to whose court he belongs (3, 45, 2). He teaches Arjuna in Amarāvatī "song, instrumental music, and dancing" (ib. 44, 6f.; 168, 56f.). He is called son of Viśvāvasu (3, 91, 14; 168, 57) and appears with his family along with Nārada, Parvata, Viśvāvasu and the Hahā-Huhūs (parivāragaṇāḥ, 12, 200, 12). His encounter with the Kurus is an imitation of that of Citraratha with Arjuna (3, 240 and 241, 18f.). Arjuna defeats him and then converses amicably with his "friend" (ib. 245, 28; 246, 1). The slaughtered Gandharvas are revived by Indra, who sprinkles ambrosia over them (ib. 246, 18). The combat is alluded to again in 4, 49, 9. Another "Citra" Gandharva is known only from 1, 101, 6f., where Citrāṅgada challenges and slays a mortal king of the same name, after calling upon him (so S) either to "take another name" or fight. The fight lasts three years at Kurukṣetra on the Sarasvatī (S Hiraṇvatī), and "being stronger in magic", the Gandharva kills the man; who, however, is afterwards better known than his celestial conqueror (5, 172, 18, etc.). An Apsaras has the same name.

§ 95. Besides this group, the most popular Gandharva is Tumburu or Tumbaru, or Tamburu (as if he were the tambour personified). He leads the Gandharvas to watch men's battles (4, 56, 12, etc.). He gives Arjuna his Gāndharva weapon (7, 45, 22). Śikhaṇḍin's war-steeds are his gift (7, 23, 20, not in C; the horses are divyāḥ, heavenly, B and S). He goes

to Meru with Nārada and other Gandharvas but only to worship (6, 6, 20). He is the "friend of Arjuna" and with Citrasena and others stays at Yudhiṣṭhira's court (above, 2, 4, 36). He leads the band that makes music when Arjuna is born (1, 123, 54). As "best of Gandharvas" he sings "with lovely song" in Amarāvatī and before Nahuṣa (3, 43, 28; 5, 11, 15). He plays to Kubera (q. v.), brings tribute to Dhṛtarāṣṭra (2, 52, 24), and is reckoned one of the best four (1, 65, 51, the Hāhā-Hūhū and Atibāhu also), but perhaps only as sons of Prādhā. He is set beside Nārada and Gopa as kings of song (R 2, 91, 45). A follower of Kubera has a similar plant (cf. Umbara) name, Kustumbaru (2, 10, 16). Tumburu was cursed to be born as a Rākṣasa, being too fond of Rambhā (see under Kubera). He is the martial hero of the group, yet one of the few yielding to love. In 5, 117, 16, he is described as wedded to Rambhā. Perhaps owing to their proclivity (as lovers of the Apsarasas) to this passion they are represented as having especially power over any love-lorn wight, kāmavṛtta, "though even a man in love can conquer a Gandharva if he is holy and guarded by a priest" (perhaps a pious afterthought, 1, 170, 73). The Gandharvas are tīkṣnakāmāḥ, "sharp in love" (as snakes are "sharp" in anger and vultures are "sharp" in hunger, R 4, 59, 9), which sufficiently indicates their specialty. The list of active Gandharvas is thus short. Only one more is of note. This was Golabha, who according to Rām. (R 4, 22, 27 f.) was slain after fighting fifteen years with Vālin. The same epic names as chiefs of the Gandharvas called Rohitas, Śailūṣa, Grāmaṇī, Śighru (v. l. Sindhu and Śikṣa), Śubhra (or Sthāna or Śuka) and Babhru (R 4, 41, 43). The Rohitas guard the extreme South and are "awful fighters" (other awful fighters guard the Western Vindhya, R 4, 42, 19). Such earthly Gandharvas seem to be permanent residents of the earth (cf. Nāgas as people). It is curious that the noteworthy Buddhistic Gandharva Pañcaśikha is not known as such in the epics. He has perhaps been naradised, as the name is pseudo-epic only, as that of a scholar-saint, Kāpileyo mahāmuniḥ (12, 218, 6). Tumburu (Timburu), however, is well-known in both circles. Nārada keeps enough of his unsaintly nature to be the "delighter in strife" (see § 130). He is a Devagandharva (H 9633) "beloved of Indra", apparently because he is saṃgrāmakalahapriya "fond of strife and quarrel" (ib.) He acts as messenger (H 7231, meghadūta?).

§ 96. The females of this group are worthy of notice. Mantharā is a sister of Bali and daughter of Virocana and was killed by Indra for seeking to destroy earth (R 1, 25, 20); but again she is a former Gandharvī by the name of Dundubhī (the "drum"), incarnated as fomenter of hate at Brahman's behest (3, 276, 16). Kumbhīnasī (above) seems to be demoniac as well as Gandharvan. The females as types of beauty are often named (e. g. 1, 171, 8) as distinct from Apsarasas and Yakṣīs; they are known as kāntās of kāminas, that is, as "the beloved of lovers" (cf. 3, 158, 96 with 159, 17), i. e. the Gandharvas, who are the lovers par excellence. All are graceful and tuneful; they dress in silk and wear garlands. All Gandharvas, male or female, are graceful, yaśasvinaḥ (R 6, 114, 4). Somadā is daughter of Urmilā (v. l. Ūrṇāyu), the servant of Cūlin the ascetic, who granted her the boon of a son, Brahmadatta, founder of Kāmpilyā (city); his touch healed the deformed daughters of Kuśanābha (R 1, 33, 11 f.; see Vāyu), who were born of Ghṛtācī (Ūrmilā is also the name of Lakṣmaṇa's wife). See also Devavatī, Narmadā, and Vasudhā, as Gandharva women-names (daughter of Grāmaṇī, etc., R 7, 5, 2 f.). Compare also R 7, 12, 24 (above pp. 41—42).

§ 97. Although the Gandharvas may be found in forests and caves (guhās, where live beasts and Kiṃnaras, R 3, 67, 5 f.; R 4, 38, 30 f.), yet their natural abode is in the air (1, 63, 34), the realm of fog and rain (R 3, 65, 14; R 5, 1, 165 and 169 f.), and such is the meaning of the fact that fata morgana are called "Gandharva cities", with which evanescent phenomena are (passim) compared. The sceptic says that virtue is like Gandharvanagara and disappears on examination, that is, has no substantial basis (12, 261, 13). Guhyakas disappear in air like Gandharvanagara, or a fiend suddenly disappears and the same simile is employed (1, 126, 35; 7, 175, 103). Sometimes the bright color is the tertium. Thus cars light as air are like Gandharvanagaras (vātāyamānāḥ, 6, 103, 20), or cars are bright as the cities of Gandharvas (8, 81, 18; R 6, 108, 1); or the bright deer that tempted Sītā is "bright as the sun and Gandharvapurasaṃnibhaḥ (R 3, 43, 6). The appearance of such a mirage is ominous of ill (5, 143, 22). The epic distinction between gods and Gandharvas shows that the latter are now more specialised (Agni and Vāyu were once Gandharvas), but though this distinction is constantly maintained (1, 88, 2; 9, 42, 40, etc.), yet the tradition that the three fires stolen by Purūravas were taken from the Gandharva-world (1, 75, 23) shows that they are still thought of as heavenly bodies. Again, they have a tendency to become earthly seers and act like saints. Citraratha (above) boasts of his asceticism; Yayāti instances them as renowned for the same trait (1, 88, 2); Nārada is a Muni. On the other hand, the "Gandharva king" is a model of beauty (R 2, 3, 27; ib. 37, 11); and as a class they give their name to the free-love union called the "fifth form" of marriage (1, 172, 19; S 1, 242, 5); their weapons are also famous (Gāndharvāstra, R 3, 25, 36, etc.), and though incarnated in human forms at Brahman's command (1, 64, 41), they are grouped with Dānavas and Rākṣasas as old foes of the gods (1, 65, 5). Their world is distinct from that of Brahman and the gods (3, 24, 7), but, as shown above, they live at the courts of the gods, and Indra is followed by their troop on sunlike cars (3, 166, 4). In 1, 225, 9, where Varuṇa gives Arjuna a bow which gods revere and also Dānavas and Gandharvas, the steeds of the hero are Gāndharvāḥ (ib. 10), which may point to a confusion between Gāndhāras and Gandharvas. In R 7, 100, 10, Gandharva-land is definitely located on both sides of the Indus, a fair district, rich in fruits and roots, guarded by Gandharvas skilled in fighting, the sons of Śailūṣa. The Gandharvanagara is here a real town, which Rāma is exhorted to destroy. He sends Takṣa and Puṣkala (Bharata's sons) with Bharata, who besiege the city and overcome it. Then Bharata fonnds two cities and settles his sons over them, Takṣa over Takṣaśilā and Puṣkala over Puṣkalāvata, in Gandharva-deśa and Gāndhāra-deśa, respectively (ib. 101, 11). In RG 6, 83, 13, Gandharvas admit the service of Hāhā-Hūhū alone as compatible with their dignity as free mountaineers, acknowledging no master. Some texts (as above) have iambic Hahā-Huhū, for metre.

§ 98. Whatever be the etymological discrepancy between Centaur and Gandharva, the likeness is close. Centaurs are nubigenae; Gandharvas are cloud-forms; the town of Gandharvas is cloud-land. Both are sensual (kāminaḥ; paiderastai); both have equine forms; both are musical. The Viṣṇu-Purāṇa (1, 5, 44) even derives Gandharva from gam-dhara, "song-maker", obviously forcing the etymology to give the sense felt to be necessary. Both become teachers. Nārada means the "water-giver" (cloud) and is at first a Gandharva and then becomes an expositor (Parvata, his

companion, is cloud). Compare further Varuṇa as a Gandharva and the "sky-going horses", recognised as "mind-born sons" of Lakṣmī, sister of Dhātṛ and Vidhātṛ (1, 66, 51). Native authorities give gandh as "injure", perhaps as seizing (habeo); Gandharvas as grahas or robbers. The Vedic Gandharva thus seizes the bridle (rays) of the Sun and the bride of men. Gandhakālī (-ikā, as mother of Vyāsa) was an Apsaras who became a Grāhī, or seizing monster; "she took the lives of all she seized and even devoured gods and Gandharvas", till the sight of Hanumat put an end to the curse of the Muni Yakṣa (RG 6, 82, 74 and 160 f.). The connection with gandha as vapor seems more natural. Perhaps Śiva as gandhadhārin and gandhapālin is so to be interpreted. The Vedic (and Avestan) myths rather imply an origin from one "Gandarewa"; but the same view might be taken of the Apsarasas. More probably both groups are water-phenomena (clouds or stars), sometimes regarded as a unit phenomenon.

§ 99. **Kiṃnaras and Kiṃpuruṣas.** — These spirits are not formally distinguished in the epics, though named separately and ascribed to different progenitors, Kiṃnaras being decended from Pulastya and Kiṃpuruṣas from Pulaha (1, 66, 7). The Kiṃnaras are a kind of Gandharvas, distinguished from Naras (2, 10, 14), at Kubera's court; in the worship of Nārāyaṇa (1, 228, 21); and as subjects of Śiva, "lord of Naras, Kiṃnaras, and Yakṣas" (14, 44, 15). They are raudradarśinaḥ, rude of appearance (14, 63, 15; as separate spirits, ib. 88, 37). Kiṃpuruṣas accompany gods, seers, serpents, Gandharvas and Yakṣas, to see the ocean drunk up (3, 104, 21). Their lord is Druma (2, 10, 29), ācārya in an assembly of kings (2, 37, 13), a teacher, also renowned for prowess (2, 44, 16); as if he were king of a northern people (Gaṅgādvāra is the home of Kiṃnaras, 3, 90, 20; cf. H 5014, Kiṃpuruṣa Druma Parvatīya). Drumaputra is a fighting lord of the Kiṃpuruṣas in the northern White Mountain (2, 28, 1). Gandhamādana is the abode of Druma, the "lion of the Kiṃpuruṣas" (5, 158, 3 and 7); from him Rukmin got his bow and knowledge of arms. Like Gandharvas, the Kiṃpuruṣas are "wise in song", gītakovidāḥ (S has Kāpuruṣas for Kiṃpuruṣas here, v. l. to 12, 169, 5; cf. S 2, 71, 39). Kiṃpuruṣas wander in the forests with friendly Yakṣas, making it as charming as Nandana (with song, 12, 169, 7; with vānaras, 1, 70, 15). They fight (7, 111, 31) and Rāvaṇa says they cannot be around a hermitage (but he errs, R 3, 43, 11; cf. ib. 46, 28 and 67, 6); and they group themselves with frightened gods on fearful occasions (5, 12, 2; R 5, 56, 31). In 7, 199, 2, aśvakiṃpuruṣa, the battle-field is likened to a mountain "having horses as its Kiṃpuruṣas", possibly in reference to the horse-form of the spirits, who live chiefly in the mountains (3, 136, 2; 139, 6, etc.), where they go "in pairs", male and female (R 2, 54, 39; R ib. 93, 11; ib. 94, 11), wearing swords and fine garments (ib.). Royal praisers are likened to "skilled Kiṃnaras with lovely voices" (R 7, 37, 3). The females serve as type of loveliness (R 3, 46, 22; R 5, 33, 5 f.), and often as type of desertion on the part of fickle lovers (R 2, 12, 74). This is the meaning of the "fallen Kiṃnarī" simile (R 2, 9, 65; ib. 10, 24, etc.). A woman with a sweet voice is addressed Kiṃnarodgītabhāṣiṇi (1, 172, 10). They dance as well as sing but are not individualised like the Apsarasas (R 7, 23, pra. 3, 12). There is not the slightest allusion in either epic to the distinction (now become classic) made by the scholiast to VP. 1, 5, 57: "Naras have a human body except for an equine rump and Kiṃnaras have an equine head on a human body". There is little to indicate that any of the three

classes was of equine form at all and only the mention of Kiṃnaras and Kiṃpuruṣas to support the (late) difference genealogically. Kiṃnaras here go with Rākṣasas, Yakṣas and monkeys to make one group, as opposed to Kiṃpuruṣas and fierce wild animals (śarabhas, lions, tigers, bears, and wolves; S has ṛkṣā for Yakṣā īhāmṛgāḥ in 1, 66, 8). Savagery can scarcely be the cause of differentiation, for in 3, 153, 9, Kiṃnaras go with Rākṣasas and Kiṃpuruṣas with the milder Yakṣas. According to the late genesis of H 11794, Naras and Kiṃnaras were born from the feet of Brahman (VP 1, 5, 47, confines this origin to animals). In R 7, 88, 22, Kiṃpuruṣīs are equivalent to Kiṃnarīs and they were created by Budha, who changed Ilā's companions into these mountain spirits (perhaps androgynous).[1])

§ 100. **The Apsarasas.** — According to a late tradition, sundry Apsarasas were born of Brahman's fancy (saṃkalpa, H 12476); others, of Dakṣa's daughters. The first make a group of ten plus one, beginning with Menakā, and are called Vaidikīs, sacrosanct, recognised by revelation, and as such distinguished from those born from Dakṣa's daughters. This group may be considered, therefore, as that of the most revered nymphs: Menakā, Sahajanyā, Parṇinī, Puñjikasthalā, Ghṛtasthalā, Ghṛtācī, Viśvācī, Urvaśī, Anumlocā, Pramlocā, and Manovatī. Eighteen are ascribed to Muni (sired by Kaśyapa), of whom the best known are Tilottamā, Rambhā, and Miśrakeśī. Six (names of) nymphs are ascribed to Prādhā (apparently should be eight); but H 11554 makes Prādhā mother of Apsarasas in general, as Muni is mother of Gandharvas; though, ib. 274, all Apsarasas come from Muni (so VP. 1, 21, 24). In the list below are included the group ascribed, in 1, 65, 45 f., to Kapilā and Prādhā (it takes in some of "Muni's daughters" in H), since Anavadyā and Subhagā appear in that group, who in H are apparently Apsarasas. Bhāsī in this group is different from the Bhāsī who is "mother of birds" (daughter of Tāmrā, 1, 66, 56 = R 3, 14, 17). Seven gaṇas of Apsarasas are mentioned (H 6798). Ten unnamed Apsarasas of the North are called Vidyutprabhās (5, 111, 21) "by name" ("lightning-glorious"). A group of eleven appears in the list of 1, 123, 61 f., where there are two well-defined divisions of twenty-eight and of ten plus one (compare above the twenty-seven Gandharvas). The Ādi group is only in part coincident with that of Hariv., but the half-agreement shows that the chief nymphs were thus grouped. The ten plus one may cast a light on the way the group of ten gods was made eleven and then trebled (the Three-tens were then reckoned as Thirty-three). Several names appear to be variants of the same word (e. g. Karṇikā = Parṇikā = Parṇinī), but as it is doubtful how far this is applicable, all have been enlisted. In 4, 9, 15 f., the S text does not have Indrāṇī immediately after Mālinī, who may, therefore, be a nymph (otherwise Durgā or even Draupadī, ib. 21). Urvaśī is the extra eleventh in Ādi (later she is taken out of the Vaidikīs

[1]) According to Hertel, WZKM. 25, 160, Ilā is herself typical of these androgynous Kiṃpuruṣas, whose name ("what a man") indicates their double-sexed nature. Yakṣas change their sex, however, as easily as did Ilā's companions, and the epic itself gives no further hint on the subject. The Kiṃpuruṣas are usually not differentiated individually. They and the Kiṃnaras go with Vidyādharas (§ 116) and are found on Mandara, Citrakūṭa, etc., and in forests (Pampā, etc.; cf. R 5, 56, 31 and R 4, 1, 61; ib. 4, 40, 44; Mbh. 1, 18, 2; 3, 108, 10 f.; ib. 158, 39 and 96; ib. 159, 17). For criticism of Hertel's view see Keith in JRAS. April, 1913. Perhaps nara and puruṣa both refer to water rather than "man"; as Gandharva species they may be poor water-givers (clouds or stars), but the epic consistently regards them as spirits.

altogether). One Apsaras in particular is "dear to Kubera", viz. Vargā (1, 216, 16). Menakā is the very best of the "best six Apsarasas" (1, 74, 68 f.), and it is said in the same (late) passage that she is "born of Brahman". In epic tales the most prominent Apsarasas are Menakā, Urvaśī, Ghṛtācī, Miśrakeśī, and Rambhā. Several names coincide with those of their brother-lovers (1, 65, 48), the Gandharvas, Gopālī, Citrāṅgadā, Citrasenā; cf. Sugandhā. Urvaśī and Pūrvacitti (one of the "best six") live regularly on the Malaya mountains (12, 333, 19), though with them, as they watch the flight of Śuka, is Pañcacūḍā. All the northern mountains contain them. Other special localities mentioned as resorts of the nymphs are Mahendra, Subhūmika, on the Sarasvatī, the Kāverī, Yamunā and Gaṅgā, Nandana, Mandara, Muñjavat, etc., that is, they live chiefly on earth around rivers or on mountains, as in the courts of all the gods. The word Apsaras is explained as apsu rasa, the essence of the ocean-water produced at the churning, when Apsarasas and the physician god Dhanvantari first rose from it. There were sixty crores of them, not to speak of their "countless attendants" (R 1, 45, 20). In Mbh. this origin is attributed to Dhanvantari but not to the nymphs, and Nārāyaṇa himself in māyā form plays the part of the seductive woman (1, 18, 38 and 45), who induced the Asuras to give up the ambrosia. Seven times six thousand (S, thirteen thousand) Apsarasas dance on the point of Dilīpa's sacrificial post to the music of Viśvāvasu (7, 61, 7). The list of epic Apsarasas is as follows: Adrikā, Adrikṛtasthalī, Anavadyā, Anugā (H), Anūkā, Anūcānā, Anūnā (H), Anumlocā (H), Ambikā, Aruṇā, Aruṇapriyā (H), Arūpā, Alambuṣā, Asitā, Asurā, Irā, Umlocā, Urvarā, Urvaśī, Ṛtusthalā, Karṇikā, Kāmyā, Kumbhayoni, Keśinī, Kṣemā, Gandhakālī, Guṇamukhyā, Guṇāvarā, Gopālī, Ghṛtasthalā (H), Ghṛtācī, Cārunetrā, Cārumadhyā (H), Citrā or Mitrā, Citrāṅgadā, Citralekhā, Citrasenā, Jānapadī, Jāmī (see Yāmī), Tilottamā, Daṇḍagaurī, Dāntā, Devī, Nāgadantā (or -dattā), Pañcacūḍā, Parṇikā (H), Parṇinī, Puñjikasthalā, Puṇḍarīkā, Pūrvacitti, Prajāgarā, Prabhā, Pramāthinī, Pramlocā, Praśamī, Priyamukhyā (H), Budbudā (or Vudvudā), Bhāsī, Bhīmā, Madhurasvarā (-nā), Manu, Manoramā, Manovatī, Manoharā, Marīci, Mārgaṇapriyā, Mālavī, Mālinī (?), Mitrā, Miśrakeśī, Menakā, Yāmī, Rakṣitā, Rati, Rambhā, Ruci, Lakṣaṇā, Lakṣmaṇā (H), Latā, Vaṃśā, Vapus, Varananā (H), Varūthinī, Vargā, Vāmanā, Vidyutā, Vidyutparṇā, Vidyotā, Vipracitti, Viśvācī, (Vu. see Bu.), Śāradvatī, Śucikā, Śucismitā, Śraviṣṭhā (H), Samīcī, Sahajanyā, Sahā, Sukeśī, Sugandhā, Sugrīvī (H), Supriyā, Subāhu, Subhagā, Sumadhyā (H), Sumukhī, Surajā, Suratā, Surathā (H), Suramā (H), Surasā, Surūpā (H), Sulocanā (H), Suvṛttā (H), Somā, Saurabheyī (-seyī), Svayamprabhā, Hāsinī, Himā (R; v. l. Somā), Hemadantā (H), Hemā (R and H). Rām. alone has Adrikṛtasthalī, Nāgadattā (or -dantā), Vāmanā, and Himā (or Somā). Nandā, v. l. H 14165. All come from Brahman's eye, ib. 11787.[1])

§ 101. These nymphs dance and sing. They are called "gods' girls" (1, 130, 6). Their female companions are the Devapatnīs, proper wives of the gods. Like all Hindu celestials they are depicted as overloaded with gems and garlands (3, 43, 31; R 3, 35, 16 f.). They also wear necklaces, golden girdles, and anklets, which tinkle as they welcome saints to heaven. Saints or warriors ride to heaven on musical cars drawn by geese, lions, or tigers (13, 106, 49 and 56 f.) and are greeted by the music of vīṇā, vallaki, muraja and bells, while the nūpura of the waiting nymphs

[1]) Compare on the Mbh. Apsarasas, Adolf Holtzmann, ZDMG. 33, p. 631 f. (a few names omitted). Irā is properly wife of Kaśyapa; Pañcacūḍā may be Rambhā (ib. p. 632).

delight their ears as well (ib. 49 and 63). The nymphs wear their locks in five braids (pañcacūḍāpsaras; also as proper name, 3, 134, 12, etc.). Their fine clothes they lay aside when they bathe in the heavenly Mandākinī, but are much ashamed when seen naked by Vyāsa; only Śuka they do not mind, because he is all soul and no body (12, 334, 18 and 28 f.). Ordinarily they are not so shy. The best of them is described as lewd and pitiless (1, 8, 8). Rāvaṇa denies that they have husbands (R 7, 26, 41), and says they are free to all; but he makes this remark to Rambhā, a domestic Apsaras, wife of Kubera's son, and snuṣā (!) of her ravisher (see Kubera). Yet the nymphs are free in love (3, 46, 42) and ordinarily care only for love and play. When a hero dies in battle, thousands of them hover above him, each one seeking his soul and saying to herself: "May he be my lord" (12, 98, 46 f.). They also dance at human weddings (R 1, 73, 35), while Gandharvas sing finely, kalam; but the Apsarasas themselves sing sweetly with "song beautified by elocution" (the sounds made in three places; R 5, 4, 10, tristhānasvarabhūṣitam). At the magic entertainment prepared for Bharadvāja, the Gandharvas sang and the Apsarasas danced, who had come from the courts of Indra and Kubera and Brahman, Kubera sending twenty thousand of them (R 2, 91, 16 f.; ib. 26 and 44); though the names may be confused here with those of the Gandharvīs, who also come to the feast (Himā here interchanges with Somā, cf. 3, 43, 29). As personification of sexual pleasure one Apsaras is called Rati and all of them are the deities of love-lorn women: ratīnāṃ vasumatyas tu strīṇām Apsarasas (sc. jānīdhvam, 14, 43, 16; in 15, Umā is the mistress of all bhagadevānuyātās, i. e. a Venus). Subhūmika is a Tīrtha of the Sarasvatī, which is the playground of the Apsarasas, where gods, Apsarasas, Gandharvas, and seers go regularly once a month to enjoy themselves with divine sports (9, 37, 3). In no early passage do the Apsarasas do more than seduce saints or please gods by jingling their ornaments, revealing their beauties, singing and dancing. The kind of song or dance, still less the dramatic entertainments, with which they are credited in the Hariv., are unknown in the epics proper. The chief dance of this sort goes by the name of Hallīṣaka and the song is called Chālikya (H 8449 f.; cf. 9900). On the Rambhā-drama see Kubera (§ 84). Śibi "was danced and besung by gods, Gandharvas, and Apsarasas" (nṛttaś cai 'vo 'pagītaś ca (13, 32, 32). In 3, 148, 20, the Apsarasas sing the carita of Rāma, perhaps the beginning of a change in their conception, though to sing a hero and sing his deeds may be the same thing.

§ 102. Menakā was wife of Ūrṇāyu (5, 117, 16) and mother of Pramadvarā by the Gandharva Viśvāvasu. Being pitiless, she abandoned the child at birth, who grew up and married the son of the Apsaras Ghṛtācī by Pramati, son of Cyavana, whose son was Śunaka (1, 5, 9 f.; ib. 8, 8). Menakā also deserted her child Śakuntalā in the same way, except that here she was sent by Indra to seduce the father Viśvāmitra, which she does aided by Māruta and Manmatha, Wind and Love. She is "most distinguished in the divine qualities of the Apsarasas" and is "born of Brahman", best of Apsarasas, lewd and pitiless (1, 74, 69 f.). Her daughter says that Menakā is "among the Thirty-three gods and superior to them" (ib. 74, 83). Indra also sends Jānapadī (devakanyā) to tempt the saint Śāradvata Gautama, and she easily succeeds in doing so, though she is not one of the Vaidikīs, who are usually entrusted with such missions

(1, 130, 6). Indra too sends Alambuṣā to tempt Dadhīca (9, 51, 7f.), and the result is the birth of Sārasvata (celebration of Sarasvatī by nymphs, ib. 17). Ghṛtācī pṛthulocanā, "wide-eyed", shows herself accidentally to Bharadvāja and the saint is so moved as to beget Śrutāvatī (9, 48, 65). On another occasion, she meets the same saint with a like result and Droṇa is born (1, 130, 35; ib. 166, 1). The nymph in these cases only excites the saint, the child being born not of her but in an incubator. Ṛṣyaśṛṅga, the "horned" saint, was born of a doe by Vibhāṇḍaka when Urvaśī excited his passions by showing herself to him (3, 110, 35). This Urvaśī once "kicked Purūravas aud repented of it" (R 3, 48, 18). She was cursed to become his wife by Brahman (H 1375) or Mitra (q. v. R. 7, 56, 20f.); and she accompanied Purūravas when he fetched fire from the home of the Gandharvas (q. v.). She had by him six sons, Āyus, Vanāyus, Śatāyus, Dṛḍhāyus, Dhīmat, and Amāvasu (1, 75, 20f.; H 1363f. v. l.). Purūravas loses his wits and, though intelligent, is cursed for his contempt of the priestly power in this story. Compare H 1363f. for the whole history. He lived near Ganges' Gate on Mt. Puru beside the golden-sanded Urvaśī = Ganges (2, 78, 17; 3, 90, 22f,; 12, 29, 68; in H ib. at Prayāga). With the Wind-god and Kaśyapa he holds learned conversations (12, 72, 2f.; ib. 73, 7f.). The son of Āyus, Nahuṣa, also, as Indra, enjoys the Apsarasas in Nandana (5, 11, 13), here distinguished from Devakanyās. Urvaśī is also the name of a Tīrtha (3, 84, 157; 13, 25, 46, Lauhitye). She is known as "mother of the race of Pauravas" (3, 46, 40). Despite her affection for Purūravas (1, 44, 10; son of Budha, king of Kāśī, and son of Ilā, R 7, 19, 5; ib. 87, 3f.), she is in love with her descendant Arjuna, whom Indra commanded her to teach good behavior. To seduce him (for she loved him) she drank a little rum and when partially intoxicated, after bathing herself and smearing sandal-paste on her bosom, decorated with gold ornaments, she put flowers in her long curly hair and came to him "in the face of night" (evening) by moonlight, her body as slender as the digit of the moon and her countenance like the full moon. As she came swift as thought, she excited her imagination with sensual thoughts and arched her eyebrows as she walked, bending slightly forward with the weight of her deep breasts. Three folds showed in her waist; her hips were round and high; her feet were arched like a tortoise's back; her soles were flat; her toes were straight and copper-colored; on her ankles were little bells; her only garment was an upper cloth as thin and white as a cloud. This description lays weight on the vilāsana of the Apsaras, her beguiling and not too modest gestures. Arjuna said he would look on her as a mother and was promptly cursed by the slighted nymph (3, 46, 47). Tilottamā (daughter of Prādhā in the genealogy of 1, 65, 49) is loaded with gems as she seeks to seduce the demons; her beauty causing Indra and Śiva (q. v.) to become respectively thousand-eyed and four-faced. She is said to have been made of all loveliness by Viśvakarman or by Brahman expressly to tempt the demons Sunda and Upasunda (1, 211, 28; in 13, 141, 1f. she tries to tempt Śiva but fails). She is made of jewels or loaded with them, according to the poet's fancy. It is Indra who usually, afraid and trembling for his throne, sends a nymph to seduce a too pious saint. In 5, 9, 11f., he thus summons several of them (Devastriyaḥ) to seduce Triśiras but their names are not given. They employ hāva and bhāva, decent and indecent inducements (śṛṅgāraveṣa, jewelled attire), here in vain; but not so in 12, 343, 32. Coquettish looks and laughter are also theirs (2, 7, 24; 3, 43, 32).

§ 103. The mass of these nymphs appear only as dancing-girls, pranṛttāpsarasas, and are innocently enough employed to amuse a guest of the gods (13, 19, 44f.), or to dance before the gods. Troops of them are in Indra's train (1, 56, 9, etc.; at 2, 7, 24, S inserts the names of the best known as being at Indra's court). As the entourage of Vāsudeva, at Indra's command, sixteen thousand of them were born on earth (parigraha, as his wives, 1, 67, 155; but Rukmiṇī was a part of Lakṣmī herself). The Apsarasas are not infrequently cursed to be thus born on earth, often in low forms. Adrikā became a fish in the Yamunā river through Brahman's curse, and thus became mother of Matsya and Satyavatī by king Vasu (1, 63, 58f.); after which, released from the curse, she reassumed her heavenly form. The son of this nymph-mothered Satyavatī, viz. Vyāsa, on seeing Ghṛtācī, although she took a parrot-form (cf. kāmarūpiṇī, H 10002), was excited to beget Śuka, the pure soul alluded to above (12, 325, 2); at whose birth "Gandharvas sang and hosts of Apsarasas danced" (Apsaroganāḥ), while the drums of the gods sounded and Viśvāvasu and the (two pairs) Tumbaru-Nāradau and Hāhā-Hūhū (sic) sang praises (16). Such salutations greet Yayāti, especially favored by Viśvācī (1, 75, 48 and 85, 9), when he returns to heaven under a shower of flowers, sung and bedanced by groups of Gandharvas and Apsarasas (upagīto 'panṛttaś ca Gandharvāpsarasāṃ gaṇaiḥ) and praised by gods and Cāraṇas (5, 122, 2; 123, 4). At the birth of heroes, e. g. Duṣyanta (S 1, 95, 11), the same drums and songs and dances appear. The flowers are dropped by the Apsarasas, as at Bhīṣma's vow of celibacy, a curious time for them to show joy (1, 100, 98). A woman "like an Apsaras" is of course like in beauty, sometimes added (1, 102, 3; 106, 24; 3, 96, 29, rūpeṇā 'psaraso 'py ati). The Apsarasas do not wait to be sent on seductive errands. Five of them (Vargā, Saurabheyī, Samīcī, Budbudā, Latā) try to seduce a saint of their own accord and are cursed to become crocodiles for a hundred years (1, 216, 16f.; 217, 8), that is for an indefinitely long period, until they are redeemed by Arjuna. A similar story (or the same) is told of the "tank of the five Apsarasas" (R 3, 11, 12f.), who were ordered to seduce the aged Māṇḍakarṇi, and succeeded so well that he built a house and kept them all. They rejuvenated him, and the sound one hears of running water there is the music of their instruments (ib. 20), one of the rare instances where the Apsarasas' music is explained physically. A late passage describes the Apsarasas swarming by thousands around a divine car (R 7, 77, 13): "Some sing heavenly songs, others play on instruments, vādayanti, others hum, kṣveḍayanti, others dance, and others fan the face of the god". They shout sādhu (bravo) to heroes in battle or when a hero dies, and they place dead heroes on divine cars with loud sounds of song and instruments, played in the sky "but heard on earth", thus encouraging others (8, 49, 76f.; 57, 13f.; 9, 5, 35f.). They are thus peculiarly "Indra's girls", Indrakanyās (13, 107, 21), though they are found at home with all the fighting gods, Kubera (passim), Varuṇa (2, 9, 26; 13, 155, 15), and Yama (2, 8, 38); as they also adorn the courts of the highest (see under Brahman, etc.). The later priestly epic sees in their beauty, as in that of their brother Gandharvas, the reward for former merit (asceticism, etc.) and promises the possession of them, with all their sensual joys, as the reward of asceticism to-day (5, 44, 21; 13, 107, 18, etc.). It also regards them (not women in general) as inheritors of Indra's sin (12, 283, 43; cf. above, p. 131).

§ 104. Other Apsarasas than those mentioned have little activity. Some accounts confuse the same story. Viśvāmitra is seduced by Menakā (1, 71, 22; R 1, 63, 5) or by Ghṛtācī (R 4, 35, 7). He also curses Rambhā, to become a stone, for attempting to seduce him (R 1, 64, 12; 13, 3, 11). Ghṛtācī is the mother of Raudrāśva's ten sons, descendants of Pūru, in H 1658; but their mother is Miśrakeśī in 1, 94, 8. Ghṛtācī is also the mother of Kuśanābha's daughters (R 1, 32, 10). Of Hemā is related that she got a magic cave guarded by her friend Svayaṃprabhā, who was the daughter of Merusāvarṇi. Maya, Hemā's lover, was slain by Indra, and she meets Rāvaṇa after being thus "abandoned by Maya" (R 4, 50, 39; ib. 51, 10f.; ib. 16; ib. 7, 12, 6f.). Svayaṃprabhā is called dharmācāriṇī, and only the fact that she was the "dear friend" of Hemā indicates here that she is an Apsaras. Yet her name appears as that of an Apsaras in 3, 43, 29, and the later epic, as indicated even by some of the names above (Anūcānā is "learned"; Suvṛttā is "well-behaved") regards the Apsarasas as not altogether sinful, though it is apt to stigmatise them collectively and individually as wantons. Another Apsaras, who plays a part in Rām., is Puñjikasthalā, cursed to be born on earth as Añjanā, daughter of Kuñjara and wife of Kesarin, monkey-chieftains, and mother, by Māruta, of Hanumat (R 4, 66, 8f.). She is a Varuṇakanyakā and curses Rāvaṇa (R 6, 13, 11; ib. 60, 11), apparently at first an Apsaras (not daughter) in Varuṇa's realm. The ancient idea that an Apsaras was a harmful creature, injuring man otherwise than by shattering his mind by love, is retained in the tradition that the (unnamed) "mother of Apsarasas" is an infant-stealing fiend (3, 230, 39). The Hariv. has a few late touches: Apsarasas here are born from Brahman's eyes (H 11787). Urvaśī "rends the thigh" of (is born direct from) Nārāyaṇa (Viṣṇu, H 4601). The old story of Purūravas and Urvaśī is found in H 1363f. Menakā here becomes mother of Divodāsa and of Ahalyā; and Gopālī, mother of Kālayavana (H 1783 and 1960). Citralekhā, the "painter", who is described as kāmarūpiṇī, "assuming any form at will", is represented as painting the portraits of all the celestials for Uṣā, till Uṣā recognises her beloved among them (Aniruddha as lover of Uṣā, H 9994). Indra as lover of Rambhā appears in H 11250f.

§ 105. **Kāma.** — Kāma, Love (desire), belongs properly with the gaṇas of Gandharvas and Apsarasas, of whom the Hariv. (270 and 12499) recognises him as the "lord" (Kāmadeva as prabhuḥ). Kāma is the word by which philosophers designate Kandarpa, who is also called Anaṅga because Śiva consumed him, when Kāma dared to attack him (R 1, 23, 10f.). Yet also as Kandarpa he appears as cause of creation (6, 34, 28 and 31, 11). Kāma is general "desire", and as such, apart from mythology, appears in the triad, kāma, artha, dharma, though better than the other two elements (virtue and gain), because it is the sustaining power (12, 167, 33f.); unless indeed another view prevails, to the effect that all desire is evil (kāmaḥ saṃsārahetuḥ, 3, 313, 98). Philosophy and mythology mingle in the identification of Pradyumna with Kāma (1, 67, 152, Sanatkumāra), and in making Aniruddha, son of Pradyumna, "son of Rati" (H 10064). With Krodha, Wrath, Kāma enters into the composition of Aśvatthāman (1, 67, 72), but is not otherwise incarnate. The son of Kṛṣṇa and Rukmiṇī "exists in the nature of all and enters both demons and gods" (13, 148, 20). He himself says in his Kāmagītā Gāthās (14, 13, 12f.): "None can destroy me . . I am the one immortal and indestructible"; though Yoga power

may overcome this pervasive power. It is this philosophically conceived Kāma Jagatpati that is "older than Rudra" and is regarded (cf. AV. 3, 21, 4; TS. 2, 2, 3, 1, etc.) as a fire, lord of the world, the eternal energising power, interpreted mythologically as a fire-form of Rudra (saṃkalpābhirucih Kāmaḥ sanātanatamaḥ . . sanātano hi saṃkalpaḥ Kāma ity abhidhīyate . . sarvabhāvanaḥ hṛcchayaḥ, 13, 85, 11, 16 and 17). With this tenuous mythological character the usual Love-god has little to do; only it is important to know that he is thus philosophically identified with the hṛcchaya "heart-love".

§ 106. Kāma has many names as Love-god, but they do not indicate separate personalities, only different ways of regarding the same being, as "longing", Smara, as "mind-disturber", Manmatha, as "intoxicator", Madana, as "insolent" (? Kandarpa), as "limbless", Anaṅga. Darpa, Insolence, is himself personified as son of Sin and Bliss, "through whom many gods and Asuras have been led to destruction" (12, 90, 26); Rāvaṇa iś called Devadānavadarpahan (RG 6, 79, 2), with the personification in abeyance. In VP. 1, 7, 25, however, Darpa is son of Dharma, not of Adharma, as Kāma is son of Dharma and Faith (1, 66, 33). Kāma's wife is Rati (ib.), probably the Apsaras of that name (13, 19, 45). His two sons are Harṣa and Yaśas, Joy and Grace (H 12482), by Rati; and Kāma himself in this passage is son of Dharma and (Śrī) Lakṣmī (in VP. 1, 7, 29, Ṛati as Nandī bears to Kāma only one son, Harṣa). The identity of the different forms (names) of Kāma is made clear by the fact that Rati is wife of Manmatha (3, 68, 12 = RG 3, 4, 9), and of Madana (S 1, 203, 34, "Śacī chose for her lover Indra, Svāhā chose Agnideva, Lakṣmī chose Mukunda, Uṣā chose Sūrya, Ratī (sic) chose Madana, and Parvatarājaputrī chose Maheśvara"). Rati appears as an abstract deity without reference to Kāma in 2, 11, 43, and as a common noun in kāmarati, a man stultified by desire (R 4, 33, 54 f.). It is recognised that Kāma stultifies as well as burns, but it is not always certain whether personification is intended (kāmamohita, 1, 172, 1; kāmenā 'loḍyate manaḥ, 1, 219, 16). Ratiguṇa is son of Prādhā (1, 65, 47), a Gandharva, otherwise Rātiguṇa (Ratā is mother of one of the Vasus, who include Agni). In 4, 14, 24, the peculiar word Agnimadana, "fire-madness" (of love), is identical with Madanāgni in R 6, 5, 8 (perhaps personified here).

§ 107. Love is armed with arrows, Kāmabāṇa (1, 171, 34; 3, 46, 49; R 3, 55, 2); Manmathaśara (R 2, 11, 1); Kandarpabāṇa (1, 187, 5 and 12); so Puṣpaketuśarāhata; Kāmabāṇārta almost passim, but Smaraśarāsanapūrṇasamaprabhaḥ (7, 184, 48) is unique. Love's sign is a flower; so his arrow. The effect of the shot stupifies, Kandarpeṇābhimūrcchita, Anaṅgaglapitā (of Urvaśī, 1, 214, 19 f.); or maddens, Apsarasaḥ Kandarpeṇa darpitāḥ (ib. 217, 2); Kāmābhihatacetas, Kāmopahatacetana (1, 172, 3; R 3, 62, 1). The effect on the man is like that on a woman when "penetrated by Love" (or Love's dart, Manmathāviṣṭa, 1, 173, 28; R 4, 66, 15; Manmathaśarāviṣṭa, R 3, 46, 13 and ib. 48, 17); cf. Rāma as Kāmavaśaṃgata, nityaṃ dhyānaparo Rāmo nityaṃ śokaparāyaṇaḥ, etc., R 5, 36, 41 f., just like Damayantī in this sentimental epic (vaśa is will and power, cf. kāmavaśya, kāmabāṇavaśaṃgata = Kāmasya vaśam īyivan, 3, 46, 49). Only once (in S) is the hook used for the arrow; this is the hook employed to direct the elephant, S 1, 241, 19, Kāmāṅkuśanivāritaḥ. As arrows are poetically serpents, the victim of Kāma complains that he has been

"bitten by the great serpent of Kāma" in 1, 172, 9 (Kāmamahāhi; he is also "burned with Love's fire"). In 13, 107, 26, the arrows of Kāma are first reckoned as five in number (śarāgni = pañcatriṃśat). In H 4607 (cf. v. l. 10882) the arrows are also five.

§ 108. Kāma is a form of fire, whence Kāmabāṇaprapīḍita, 4, 14, 5, is followod by Kāmāgni and in vs. 25 by Manmathānala. Here too the disease induced by Love, Kāmavyādhi, is spoken of (vs. 23), which suggests the fate of the lustful "son of Death" (Mṛtyu), called Vena (connected with Venus?), a king who destroyed himself by passion and hate (rāgadveṣavaśaṃgata), son of the "sensual" Atibala, the son of Anaṅga, though Anaṅga is here son of the Prajāpati Kardama (son of Kīrtimat, son of Virajas, son of Viṣṇu). From Vena's thigh came all the Niṣādas and Mlecchas, but from his arm the virtuous Pṛthu, a form of Viṣṇu (whence kings are a form of Viṣṇu), whose chaplain was Śukra and councillors the Vālakhilyas and the "Sārasvatyo gaṇaḥ" (12, 59, 91 f.). According to 1, 75, 15, Vena was son of Manu. Hariv. makes his father Aṅga and says that Vena deified himself (294 f.), his pride and not his lust causing his fall. Manu, 9, 66, ascribes to him the origin of Niyoga (levirate marriage), but (ib. 7, 41) ascribes his fall to pride (the seers cut him up with kuśa-grass). Love as Death, māra, is a late identification (Buddhistic) of Hariv. 14912 f. (māra = smara = Pradyumna). As words meaning Love are constantly used for love, desire (jātamanmathaḥ, 3, 45, 16; Arjunasya kandarpaḥ, 1, 219, 15, etc.), it is possible that another word, manobhava, may be a name of Love, as in 1, 191, 13, saṃpramathye 'ndriyagrāmaṃ prādur āsīn manobhavaḥ (cf. S. 1, 241, 15, idem). The destruction of the members of Love by Śiva (R 1, 23, 12 f.; R 3, 56, 10 in Bomb. yathā Rudreṇa is not in S or G) does not prevent the "limbless god" from possessing limbs, perhaps only as a poetical phrase, Anaṅgāngavihāriṇī (4, 14, 17), and Anaṅga has power and arrows (Anaṅgavaśam āgatā, 3, 46, 35; Anaṅgaśarapīḍitā, 5, 175, 10; R 7, 80, 5, of Daṇḍa). Kāma is located with Umā and Śaila (Himavat) in the North, but this is in conjunction with Roṣa (Wrath) at the birth of Skanda (5, 111, 10). Love as Manmatha (1, 71, 41) or Kandarpa (R 1, 64, 6 and 16) helps Menakā (Rambhā) seduce Viśvāmitra. His name (māṃ mathnātī 'va Manmathaḥ, 1, 171, 35 and 40) is explained as disturbing by burning "with sharp fire" (ib. 172, 7 f. and 16, "wounds me with sharp arrows", cf. R 3, 34, 21); cf. the metaphor, 1, 172, 17, "extinguish with the water of thy affection, prīti, the conflagration produced by the fire of Manmatha, whose weapon is of flowers, whose arrows are terrible" (puṣpāyudha, pracaṇḍaśarakārmuka). So in 4, 14, 25 f., the lover begs his mistress to "extinguish the fire of his love with the rain of self-surrender" (her breasts are Kāmapratodau, "two goads of Love"). The state of Urvaśī is thus described as "inflamed by Manmatha", her mind being "wounded by his arrows" (3, 46, 2 f.). Manmathavat is a lover (R 4, 28, 13, manmathavatāṃ hitāḥ . . diśaḥ; cf. kāmavat, ib. G 29, 2). Rati as wife of Manmatha (R 5, 15, 29) is the expression of physical desire (cf. R 7, 23, pra. 5, 18, manmathaḥ śiśnam āsthitaḥ). Both as Kandarpa and Manmatha, Love is beautiful (3, 54, 28; ib. 53, 15 and 28). Rāma, like Nala, is Kandarpa iva mūrtimān (R 3, 17, 9; ib. 34, 5, -sadṛśaprabha, -samarūpa); cf. R 5, 18, 23, samakṣam iva Kandarpam apaviddhaśarāsanam; ib. 5, 34, 29.

§ 109. The ensign of Love is the makara (3, 281, 27); as an auspicious sign it appears on the hand of Śrī, mātā makaradhvajasya (13, 11, 3). It is also the ensign of Pradyumna as Kāma (3, 17, 2 and 7, 111, 25, Kārṣṇi). Between love and fish there is perhaps an aphrodisiacal connection (cf. Adrikā the Apsaras as fish), but Mīnākṣī is not recognised in the epic (she is afterwards daughter of Kubera and to-day she is "wife" of Śiva), and Mīnākṣa is only a Daitya (H 12933, v. l. = 3, 49, 4, vyāghrākṣa). Possibly it is the disturbing element in the makara, a huge beast (3, 270, 19) frightening other fishes (3, 17, 7) and always leaping into or splashing in the sea. No early passage recognises the makara as sign of Kāma (makaraketu H 10882 and -ketumat ib. 10639 and 3, 18, 11 refer to Pradyumna). Another emblem of love is the peacock, but it is found as such only in an allusion in the later Rām. 4, 1, 37, where Rāma says that the dancing peacocks rouse in him the thought of love, mama manmathavardhanāḥ. In Mbh. even this allusion is absent. In 3, 158, 65, plants, sindhuvāra and kurubaka, are (described as) like the darts, tomara, of Manmatha, and arrows of Kāma which "cause desire in those overcome by love" (ib. 67, kāmavaśyautsukyakarān kāmasye 'va śarotkarān), and buds of mangoes with bees are like Anaṅga's arrows (ib. 68); but the peacocks dancing appear only as a beauty of the landscape (ib. 62), though the amorous nature of the dance is clearly depicted. Among the mass of Kāma's later names (unknown in the epics), Dīpaka in the epic is son of Garuḍa (5, 101, 11). Offerings to Kāma (as in Āpast. DhS. 2, 2, 4, 1) are not mentioned, nor is his armor; but this is put on by the cosmic power of AV. 9, 2, 16 and appears to be only a spell. The Kāmaśāstram of 1, 2, 383 is merely part of the triad, artha-, dharma-, and kāmaśāstram, which Vyāsa declared as the great epic. Only Kāma and Smara seem to be pre-epical names for Love; who in AV. 6, 130 is associated with the Apsarasas; as Kāma himself, "sweet yearning love", is a Gandharva as early as TS. 3, 4, 7, 3.[1])

§ 110. **The Aśvins.** — Logically this pair of gods belongs to the Gaṇas because, though there are but two of them, they have the Gaṇa characteristic of being treated as one, till in H 13591 one alone, ekas tu .. aśvī, attacks Vṛtra. They are a Vedic survival. Almost nothing is said of them which has not already been said in the sacred tradition, their names, office, restoration of youth, and unity of existence are Vedic-epic traits, simply handed down without important alteration. In both epics they are incorporated in part as sons of heroes, and as such they are severed from their Vedic unity. But even then they are presented in such a way that they form a sort of unit over against other heroes. They lack the individuality of other humanised gods in these hero-forms. At most the difference between Sahadeva and Nakula, the incarnations of the Mbh. as "sons of the Aśvins", is like that popularly established between Seraphim and Cherubim ("one love more and one know more"). Sahadeva is always good, and Nakula is always clever; but Nakula is never bad, and Sahadeva is never stupid. Yet one feels that "good" Sahadeva is the appropriate epithet, as it is the one usually given to him. Only when fighting is done in different places are the two inseparables parted, to perform their allotted tasks and then coalesce again, as the blameless pair of heroes who reflect the blameless pair of gods. The parents are not differentiated (1, 124, 16,

[1]) On Kāma see IS. 5, 225; 17, 290; Muir, OST. 5, 402. Brunnhofer, Arische Urzeit, p. 183, regards kandarpa = gandharva.

tāv āgamya sutau tasyāṃ janayāmāsatur yamau), but Nakula was older than Sahadeva (ib. 21), apparently by a year, for anusaṃvatsaraṃ jātāḥ (ib. 22) includes the twins.[1])

In Rām., the Aśvins are reborn as Mainda and Dvivida (conquered in Mbh. by Sahadeva!). They are "fair and rich" and are grouped with Ādityas, Vasus, and Rudras as sons of Aditi (R 1, 17, 13; ib. 3, 14, 14; ib. 4, 39, 25); R 1, 22, 7; ib. 48, 3; ib. 50, 18 refer to them as beautiful followers of Pitāmaha; R 2, 58, 10, as coming to Indra's home in Mandara; and R 4, 12, 19 speaks of them as resembling each other and as hero gods, vīrau devau. As already shown (§ 40), they are the "fair pair, strong and beautiful", sons of Sarasvatī and of the Sun (H 1550), or Marutvatī and Dharma (v. l.). Mbh. has more to say about their names and history and cult, points completely ignored in the Rām. Individually the Aśvins are called Nāsatya and Dasra. They are fathers of (reborn as) the twins Nakula and Sahadeva (1, 3, 58, Nāsatya-Dasrau sunasau; 12, 208, 17, "Nāsatya and Dasra are called the two Aśvins, sons of Mārtaṇḍa, the eighth Āditya"; H 602, idem but "eighth Prajāpati"). Allusions to their beauty are found constantly (e. g. 1, 102, 69; 3, 53, 27). They are born on earth as sons of the (western) Mādrī, "unequalled in beauty", that is the earthly heroes are parts of the gods, who were in one account born with the Ādityas of the mundane egg, but according to the usual tradition were "Guhyakas" born in mid-air of Savitṛ and the mare-form of Tvaṣṭṛ's daughter (1, 1, 34; 32, 17; 66, 35 and 40; 67, 111; 124, 16; cf. 1, 1, 114). They live in bliss and glory in the sky (nākapṛṣṭhe, 1, 222, 30) and are generally called devau, though as Śūdras, physicians of the gods, devabhiṣajau, they had (at first) no social rank. Their right to drink Soma was contested by Indra, till Cyavana secured it for them by throwing water on Indra and frightening him with Mada, the demon of intoxication, who had a thousand teeth. Indra says devair na saṃmitāv etau, "they are not the equals of gods"; to which Cyavana replies that they are gods quâ Sūryaputrau, as sons of the Sun (13, 157, 17f.). The status of gods is usually accorded without question; "like the two gods, the Aśvins" appear Arjuna and Kṛṣṇa, and more, "like these two gods receiving offerings at a sacrifice" (8, 56, 94). As physicians (and dentists) they receive the laudation of the blind Upamanyu, who in imitative verses calls them "primeval gods, eternal, two fair-nosed beings, birds divine, weavers of light, creating the wheel of time (which has seven hundred and twenty spokes; or nave of six seasons with twelve spokes; also the year as calf of three hundred and sixty cows), supreme Brahman, powers creating space (the ten directions) and sky, who set sun and moon in the sky; makers of three-colored light, parents of all, and child of each". On hearing this ridiculous laudation "in Vedic verses", vāgbhir ṛgbhiḥ, the divine physicians cured him with a cake, apūpa, and gave him gold teeth (1, 3, 56; abridged translation). This hymn is not only a poor

[1]) The text gives the time of birth only in the case of Yudhiṣṭhira, son of Dharma by yogamūrti, who was born at the eighth muhūrta (Abhijit), when the star of Indra (Aindra = Jyeṣṭhā) was ascendant, on the (fifth) day of the moon, at noon (divā madhyagate sūrye tithau pūrṇe 'tipūjite; N. ayaṃ yogaḥ prāyeṇā 'śvinaśuklapañcamyāṃ bhavati (1, 123, 6). In 2, 31, 10, Āśvineya is Sahadeva (conquers Orissa, Mainda, Dvivida, and the South; Nakula, the West, ib. 32). In 2, 65, 12f. Nakula is staked before Sahadeva, as if the younger (so Arjuna before Bhīma), but probably in the order of merit, as Nakula is physically mighty but Sahadeva is a teacher and wise. Yudhiṣṭhira prefers Bhīma to Arjuna, and so reserves the former to be the last.

imitation of Vedic verse but it answers to no epic conception of the Aśvins, who are not so great as here depicted in the late Book of Beginnings, though the text shows well how little weight can be laid on any fulsome hymn as index of a divinity's real worth. A late pseudo-epic passage explains the meaning of the name Nāsatya (connected with "nose"). One frees oneself from fever, roga, by praising the Aśvins, sons of Mārtaṇḍa, born by exodus through the nostrils of his spouse Saṃjñā and hence called Nāsatya and Dasra (13, 150, 17; H 601). The sunasau above ("with good noses") states also their claim to belong to a good caste, as a good nose indicates good family. In 13, 85, 109, they are born of tears of Agni (late fancy; cf. also § 145). They are associated with Bhṛgu, Vasiṣṭha, and Raghu as helpers and curers of praisers according to the "epic Sāvitrī" (above, 13, 150, 81, syād Aśvinau ca parikīrtayato na rogaḥ). One Aśvin is mentioned in a simile: "he was lofty as Yayāti, lovely to see as Soma, in beauty (as) one of the Aśvins" (rūpeṇā 'nyatamo 'śvibhyām, 3, 294, 18). The two "best physicians, who have all desirable attributes" send a khecara, aerial messenger, to Indra to ask about the theory of the Śrāddha (above, p. 32) in 13, 125, 18 f. They "drew out of his father's womb" the embryo Māṃdhātṛ, conceived through the drinking of some (magical) sacrificial butter (here devau, Aśvinau, 7, 62, 2 f.). Indra above is represented as no friend of the Aśvins, but in 7, 84, 18 two heroes are "like the two Aśvins mounting the car after Indra, as he goes to Śaryāti's sacrifice", and this accords with the traditional friendship of Indra for the twin gods. In 4, 56, 3, Indra mounts to Sudarśana with the All-gods, Aśvins, and Maruts, to see a battle (Sudarśana is here the palace, S 4, 53, 1, not "the car of Indra" nor the Dvīpa). In 8, 65, 18 f., the Aśvins are delighted at the sight of Vāsava (Indra), and the king felicitates Arjuna and Kṛṣṇa, "as Vivasvat felicitated the Aśvins and the Guru (Bṛhaspati) felicitated Indra and Viṣṇu on the death of the great Asura Jambha". The last clause is not explained; it probably refers to the father's joy in the heroic ability of his sons. As for the trip to Śaryāti's sacrifice, Agni elsewhere reproaches Indra (14, 9, 31) for interfering "when Cyavana took the Soma alone as he was going to sacrifice for Śaryāti along with the Aśvins". The full account of the event is given in 3, 122, 24 f., where Nāsatyau is applied to both Aśvins, who restored Cyavana's youth after they had tried to seduce his young wife Sukanyā. As a reward they were made sharers in the benefits of Soma-drinking. Indra, objecting, calls them "menial physicians" and "earth-wanderers" (3, 124, 12). In memory of this event the Aśvins have a sacred watering-place (near Kurukṣetra), where "one becomes beautiful" by bathing in the pool, as did Cyavana (3, 83, 17). The name Nāsatyau (dual) is their earliest common designation, probably meaning "healers" (Dasra is "wonder-maker"). On the "nāsatya birth" (12, 348, 42), see Brahman (§ 137). See also § 68 (Indra and Aśvins). For the Aśvins' birth from Viṣṇu's ears, see § 145.

§ 111. **The Maruts.** — The Gaṇa-gods really begin with the Maruts, though the Aśvins are sometimes grouped with other Gaṇas. But one can scarcely call a pair a group and it is admitted that "the Maruts are kings of the Gaṇas" (14, 43, 6), though they usually stand (3, 62, 24; R 5, 13, 56) in close conjunction with the Aśvins at the end of the list ("Ādityas, Vasus, Rudras and Aśvins with Marut-host", in maṅgalas), or are even omitted altogether as being adjuncts of Indra. All the Gaṇas or groups of gods of this class are individually developed later. This can be seen even in

the case of those groups which properly speaking are not Gaṇas. Thus the Ādityas, though composed of clearly defined individuals, are not always made up of the same individuals (§ 37), and it has just been shown that the Lokapālas (§ 91) are also somewhat ill-defined. These are the only groups of which the constituents were recognised as individuals, till a later age (post-epic) evolved individuality for the different members, since the Trimūrti can scarcely be called an epic group at all. The Maruts as a Gaṇa are known from remotest antiquity (RV. 10, 137, 5, etc.). They make a group of seven (13, 107, 111). In 6, 34, 21, Marīci is named as best of Maruts, clearly because of the radical similarity of name, and the inclusion of Maruts as Prajāpatis. They are always attendants of Indra, as fighting youths or winds (see § 66, § 80f.). As seven Gaṇas instead of seven individuals, they should number forty-nine (as perhaps 9, 38, 37), but even Hariv. knows by name only twenty-three or -four: Agni, Cakṣus, Havis, Jyotis, Sāvitra, Mitra, Amara, Śaravṛṣṭi (or -dṛṣṭi), Saṃkṣaya, Viraja, Śukra, Viśvāvasu, Vibhāvasu, Aśmanta, Citraraśmi, (nṛpa) Niṣkuṣita (or -karṣin), Nahuṣa, Āhuti, Cāritra, Brahma- (or Bahu-)pannaga, Bṛhat, Bṛhadrūpa, Paratāpana, and Mahābāhu (? H 11544f.). The mother of this late Marutāṃ gaṇaḥ is Marutvatī (Marutvanto devān [Marutāṃ gaṇaṃ] ajanayat); the father is apparently Dharma. Sāvitra is known as a Marut fighter (ib. 13174) and as a Vasu (below, § 112); Cāritra and the rest are new inventions or old characters in a new rôle. For the birth of the "sons of Diti" (5, 110, 8) and etymology (mā rudas), and for their number, see under Vāyu (§ 48). The real epic knows no individual Marut.

§ 112. **The Vasus.** — The Vasus, Rudras, and Aśvins, as constituent parts of the Thirty-three gods, never vary in number. There are eight Vasus, though also many other beings, such as earthly kings, are so named, and the masculine and feminine forms designate Viṣṇu and the Ganges, respectively (13, 149, 87; 13, 80, 5; Viṣṇu, as Rāma, as Prajāpati of Vasus, R 6, 120, 8). Their father is Dharma (12, 207, 23), as he is father here of Rudras, Maruts, Viśve Devas, and Sādhyas; but another account makes their father a Prajāpati son of Manu or of Muni (1, 66, 18f.), or Manu Prajāpati (12, 208, 21); another account derives them from the mundane egg (1, 1, 34). The passage in Ādi gives the names of each Vasu and that of each mother (in H 145, 12449, 12479, the daughter of Dakṣa and wife of Dharma or of Manu is mother of Vasus and is called Vasu: Vasos tu Vasavaḥ) as follows: Dhara and Dhruva, sons of Dhūmrā; Soma (Candramas) and Śvasana (Anila), sons of Śvāsā; Ahar, son of Ratā; Anala (Hutāśana), son of Śāṇḍilī; Pratyūṣa and Prabhāsa, sons of Prabhātā. H 11538 gives (with v. l.) the eight Vasus (sons of Sādhyā and Dharma) as Dhara or Maru, Dhruva, Viśvāvasu or Vivasvat, Soma, Parvata, Yogendra, Vāyu and Nikṛti or Nirṛti (it names here also as Sādhyas Cyavana, Iśāna, Viśvāvasu, etc.). The descendants of the Vasus in the former list are also given. Sons of Dhara are Draviṇa and Hutahavyavaha; Kāla is son of Dhruva; Varcas is son of Soma, and Śiśira, Prāṇa, and Ramaṇa are sons of this Varcas. Ahar's sons are Jyotis, Śama (though also son of Dharma), Śānta, and Muni. Anala's son is Kumāra Kārttikeya (§ 161). The wife of the Vasu Anila (son of Śvāsā) is Śivā, who bore him Manojava and Avijñātagati. Pratyūṣa was father of Devala, and Prabhāsa was father of Viśvakarman by the sister of Bṛhaspati. In 13, 150, 16f., the list of Vasus is: Dhara, Dhruva, Soma, Sāvitra, Anila, Anala, Pratyūṣa, and Prabhāsa. In H 152: Āpa, Dhruva, Soma, Dhara, Anila, Anala, Pratyūṣa,

Prabhāsa. In the last passage the sons are given as above with minor differences (Āpasya putro Vaitaṇḍyaḥ Śramaḥ Śānto Munis tathā), which reflect the Purāṇic genealogy (VP. 1, 15, 112 has the same sons of Āpa except Dhvani for Muni). R 3, 14, 14 makes Aditi mother of Vasus (as of all the Thirty-three gods). Both epics regard Indra as the lord of eight Vasus, though Agni is chief among them (6, 34, 23). Vāsava as name of Indra implies that Indra was lord or first of Vasus, and the standing phrase (e. g. 5, 146, 12) "as Vasus revere Vāsava", retains the idea that Indra was their lord, though none of the texts has his name, which, considering that Fire, Moon, and Wind are enrolled as Vasus, shows that Indra was already fixed in the Āditya group. The phrase above is common to both epics (R 4, 26, 35, "they consecrated him with water as the Vasus did Vāsava of a thousand eyes"). Indra, however, sanctions the curse put upon them (below) and shows no especial intimacy with them, though they always follow him as "mighty" fighters (12, 284, 7). Like the Maruts and Viśve, they worship the sun at evening on Meru (R 4, 42, 39) as Divaukasas, "celestials". They are invoked with Rudras, Ādityas, Aśvins, and Maruts (R 5, 13, 56). They are always the bright gods; whose cars are light, whose forms are "like gleaming fire", jvalitāgnikalpāḥ, as they wait in air to convey the incorporate eighth Vasu (Bhīṣma) to the worlds "whence the wise return not" (12, 51, 14 f.). Their number (eight) never varies (1, 123, 70; 3, 134, 15, etc.). They were cursed by Vasiṣṭha to be born in human form. The Vasus, "Pṛthu and rest", came to the seer's hermitage and the wife of one of them, called Dyaus, desired Nandinī, the cow whose milk gives youth for ten thousand years. So Dyaus, Pṛthu, and the other Vasus stole the cow. Vasiṣṭha cursed them all except Dyaus to be born on earth as men for only a year, but the guilty Dyaus had to remain longer in human form and childless. Ganges, also in human form, bore them to Śāntanu, but drowned seven at birth, the eighth being preserved (Bhīṣma, Gāṅgeya, Devavrata) to be the "eighth Vasu" (1, 99, 1 f.). Another story says that the Vasus flew above Vasiṣṭha as he was "seated at twilight" (in prayer), wherefore he cursed them, "for a little fault", alpe 'parādhe, so that they lost their beauty and were born of Ganges, to whom each imparted one eighth of his power to be incarnate as Bhīṣma (1, 96, 21). This is a different interpretation as well as a different legend. Not one Vasu but one eighth of each Vasu becomes Bhīṣma. It is this curse which Indra sanctions (1, 67, 74 f.), niyogād Vāsavasya. Of the names given above, besides those of gods of light (Moon and Fire and Wind) and the star Dhruva and abstractions or forms of fire, the name Sāvitra attracts attention as it is that of a Rudra (12, 208, 20), though the vague text regards both classes here as Pitṛs. In R 7, 27, 34, the eighth Vasu is Sāvitra and, distinguished from the others, fights as a hero with Sumālin. As a son of Nṛga is a Vasu and also a son of Kuśa (R 1, 32, 7; R 7, 54, 8), and the Mbh. recognises Uparicara as Vasu (1, 62, 29 f., etc.), and sons of Manus (H 415 and 465) are Vasus (cf. 1, 94, 18 and 2, 33, 35, Vasu as brother of Duṣyanta and as father of Paila), it is clear that the word still retained its vague value of "good" without specific application to the celestials. The Vasus curse Arjuna, Indra's son, for killing Bhīṣma, but mitigate the curse to his defeat at the hands of his son (14, 81, 15 and 18). The death-scene of Bhīṣma records that he "enters his own body and gets to the Vasus, so that eight Vasus are visible" (18, 5, 11), which shows that the "eighth Vasu" was imagined

as one complete Vasu. In 13, 169, 31, Bhīṣma is thus recognised as one Vasu who has now gone to heaven. He is called "one of the Vasus, a Vasu of great beauty" (5, 185, 18); though, according to 1, 96, 12, when cursed they were all naṣṭarūpāḥ, as when born again they were all "like immortals (1, 98, 12). The Vasus anyway are typical of beauty (1, 55, 15). Bhīṣma is even called the ninth Vasu, as one outside of the eight (12, 50, 26, Vasūnāṃ Vāsavopamaḥ . . navamo 'navamo guṇaiḥ). Vasuvega as epithet of Śiva the scholiast interprets as if Vasu were Wind (13, 17, 68; cf. C 205 Śiva Vasurūpa); but Vasuretas of Agni (etc.) shows that vasu often has the sense of bright = good = goods, i.e. wealth. Compare Vasumanas, who was vasupradaḥ and Vasubhyo vasumattaraḥ, "wealth-giver" and "wealthier than the Vasus" (5, 116, 17). A review of the places cited above shows that till the time represented by Uttara and Ādi and the pseudo-epic and Hariv., there are no individual Vasus, but that the number is unchangeable and that the Vasus retain their old association with Agni (Vasu) in the real epic, even while regarded as followers of Vāsava (Indra), who is treated as their chief. The "ten Vasus with Indra as the eleventh" (discussed IS. 5, 241) are of no more significance than are the ten Rudras and ten Ādityas, each with Indra as eleventh, in the same Vedic passage (Kāṭh. 28, 3); nor do the three hundred and thirty-three Vasus (TS. 5, 5, 2, 5) appear to have epic imitation. On the other hand, the definition of Vasus in ŚB. 11, 6, 3, 6, as the eight gods causing the world to abide (vas), however foolish the etymology, is retained, at least in part; for the Vedic eight are Fire, Earth, Wind, Air, Sun, Sky, Moon, and Stars, and the pseudo-epical (and Purāṇic) list is Fire, Earth, Wind, Day or Water or Sāvitra (see above), Dawn-light, Glory (brightness), Moon, and Pole-star, a list which shows that in a vague way the Vasus were thought of as the bright gods, even cutting across the Āditya-list with which it had to combine in making the Thirty-three. But the Vasus belong more to earth, the Ādityas more to heaven, and Dyaus is not in the regular lists of Vasus, though he appears with Pṛthu (above), as if he were a recognised leader of the group. The VP. also (1, 15, 110) calls them Āpa, Dhruva, Soma, Dhara, Anila, Anala, Pratyūṣa, and Prabhāsa, and says that they are jyotiḥpurogamāḥ, "light-led" as well as "powerful gods". No doubt the priests who composed Ādi and Anuśāsana simply copied roughly what they had got from ŚB., for this Brāhmaṇa is the Brāhmaṇa to the epic priests (who seem to be Yajurvedins). This would explain why such a list comes up again in the later epic, Hariv., etc., while unknown in the real epic. In R 6, 120, 8, Ṛtadhāman may be a Vasu-name (or epithet of Prajāpati? late passage).

§ 113. **The Rudras.** — A characteristic Gaṇa is that of the Rudras, originally forms of Rudra, who in the Ṛg-Veda is father of the Maruts. They are closely associated both early and late with Vasus, Viśve, and Ādityas, and, as already said, make eleven of the Thirty-three gods. The epic makes them subject to Sthāṇu, who in 1, 211, 24f., is Śiva (the passage explains how four-faced Sthāṇu Mahādeva and thousand-eyed Indra received these characteristics). Sthāṇu is son of Brahman in 1, 66, 1, which mentions the "eleven sons of Sthāṇu" and gives their names. Sthāṇu is son of Brahman here only by inference, but this is correct (N. "seventh son of Brahman"), as it is confirmed by 12, 166, 16. Though Sthāṇu as Śiva appears not infrequently (3, 38, 3; 125, 14, Sthāṇor mantrāṇi, etc.), it is not to be assumed that Sthāṇu (the immovable post, sthāṇubhūta,

ascetic) always means Śiva (S has more passages, e. g. 7, 9, 41, where such is the meaning). Sthāṇu and Marīci are ordinary Prajāpatis (R 3, 14, 8) and Sthāṇu is a Rudra, as the list of the eleven is given in 1, 66, 1 f. and 1, 123, 68 f.: Mṛgavyādha, Sarpa, Nirṛti, Ajaikapād, Ahi Budhnya, Pinākin, Dahana, Iśvara, Kapālin, Sthāṇu, and Bhaga. In philosophy, Rudra makes "ten others", as vikāras of himself: Rudro roṣātmako jāto daśā 'nyān so 'sṛjat svayam, ekādaśai 'te Rudrās tu vikārapuruṣāḥ smṛtāḥ (12, 341, 37). The native explanation of the word (H 11530; cf. rudrapradhānān aparān viddhi yogān, 12, 317, 5) has a respectable antiquity (Chānd. Up. 3, 16, 3); it makes the Rudras howlers (and runners) rather than ruddy gods (rudra is used for "breath"), but the application is perhaps not so much to the howling of wind-gods as to the shrieking of the bolt (hrādinī, lightning, is the "shrieker", 9, 11, 25). Kāpālin (sic) is of the Rudras the foremost (S 4, 3, 27), which is perhaps equivalent to the expression (6, 34, 23) of Kṛṣṇa, "Of Rudras I am Śaṅkara; of Vasus, Pāvaka", as both Kapālin and Śaṅkara mean Śiva. In 12, 208, 21 f., the Rudras are eleven sons of Tvaṣṭṛ (so S) and are called: Viśvarūpa, Ajaikapād, Ahi Budhnya, Virūpākṣa, Raivata, Hara, Bahurūpa, Tryambaka (lord of gods), Sāvitra, Jayanta, and Pinākin (the "invincible"). In 13, 150, 12 f., there are other names, eleven, but known as a hundred, thus: Ajaikapād, Ahi Budhnya, Pinākin, Ṛta, Pitṛrūpa, Tryambaka, Maheśvara, Vṛṣākapi, Śambhu, Havana, and Īśvara, (ekādaśai 'te prathitā Rudrās tribhuvaneśvarāḥ, śatam etat samāmnātaṃ Śatarudre mahātmanām). In 13, 14, 390, the eleven are "eleven hundred Rudras", surrounding Śiva. In 4, 2, 21, Arjuna as the twelfth Rudra, thirteenth Āditya, and ninth Vasu shows that the number is fixed. The Rāmāyaṇa makes Aditi the mother of Rudras (R 3, 14, 14), while H 11530 and 12477 makes their mother Surabhi, "mother of ambrosia, Brāhmaṇas, cows, and Rudras"; the father, Brahman or Kaśyapa; while 12, 207, 23 makes Dharma (as Yama? see below) father of Vasus, Rudras (mighty), Viśve Devas, Sādhyas, and Maruts (Marutvantaḥ). Hariv. 165 and 11531 makes a list of eleven, mainly by combining those given above from the Ādi and Anuśāsana (Senānī is new). For still later Purāṇic lists, see Wilson's note to VP. p. 121. The epic knows the Rudras as companions of Indra, servants of Śiva and of his son, and also as the escort of Yama who appears surrounded by them (3, 237, 11). They are described as of immeasurable strength and fiery (H 16273), with golden necklaces and "like lightning-illumined clouds". On the Śatarudriya, see my Great Epic of India, p. 368. On the "eighth Rudra" (implying seven?) see § 115.

§ 114. **The Viśve Devas.** — In 4, 58, 71 f., Indra comes to see a battle; the gods come with him, arranged in groups, nikāyas; his personal attendants are especially the All-gods, Aśvins, and Maruts, all in one Gaṇa (Viśvāśvimarutāṃ gaṇaḥ). The words have united (Viśvedevān, Viśvedevaiḥ, 9, 45, 6, differentiated from Pitṛs) into one title of gods who accompany Indra and with the other groups especially accompany the Pitṛs (earlier, e. g. AB. 3, 31, they include the Pitṛs). They belong (it is said) geographically to the South with the Pitṛs, and "there they rest revered and sharing the fortunes (oblations) of the Fathers" (5, 109, 3, atra Viśve sadā devāḥ Pitṛbhiḥ sārdham āsate, etc.). In 3, 43, 13, Arjuna on his way to heaven meets Sādhyas, Viśve, Maruts, Aśvins, Ādityas, Rudras, and Vasus (similar grouping, 1, 123, 70). With Sādhyas and Vālakhilyas they fear Viśvāmitra (1, 71, 39), but they are here

associates also of Soma and Yama, greater gods. Their origin from the mundane egg is especially mentioned (1, 1, 34). The five sons of Draupadī are their incarnations (1, 67, 127): Viśvān devagaṇān viddhi saṃjātān, as if that number represented them. Along with the hosts of Fathers, Saints, Death, and Time, they see and bear witness to the acts of men and give rewards accordingly; also as "lords of hosts", Gaṇeśvaras, they are associated with Saumyas, Raudras, Yogabhūtagaṇas, and other followers of Śiva Nandīśvara (13, 150, 18f. and 24f.). Yet this specific occupation of the pseudo-epic does not interfere with the purely epic character of the Viśve as "gocaras or constant associates with the Pitṛs" (13, 91, 24); but this post-epical passage elaborates them into a list apparently of sixty-four who receive Śrāddha offerings, though the texts vary in regard to some of the names, and it is possible that after the name Varin in this list the original Viśve-group ended, for the verse ends "the eternal Viśve Devas are these" (whose mouth is Agni). In that case there would be twenty-nine Viśve-names; but this would leave an unexplained supplementary group, called, as receivers of Śrāddha-offerings, the "gatigocaras of Kāla". In either case, two Somavarcas appear in both texts, and two Kṛtis in the Southern text. Paramakrodhin is probably one name, though the natural number of sixty-four would then become one less, an unusual number for any group. Finally it may be said that it is of little importance whether one list or the other is right, as the names are mere epithets, some of them the epithets of the great gods, Indra, All-maker, etc. The S text (13, 138, 39f.) substitutes Saha, Kṛti, Grāmya, and Śrīmat for the Northern names Bala (balam!), Dhṛti, Pārṣṇi, and Hrīmat. The names follow: Bala or Saha, Kṛti or Dhṛti, Vipāpman, Puṇyakṛt, Pāvana, Pārṣṇi or Grāmya, Kṣema (Kṣemya), Samūha, Divyasānu, Vivasvat, Vīryavat, Hrīmat or Śrīmat, Kīrtimat, Kṛta, Jitātman, Munivīrya, Dīptaroman, Bhayaṃkara, Anukarman, Pratīta, Pradātṛ, Aṃśumat, Śailābha, Paramakrodhin, Dhīroṣṇin, Bhūpati, Sraja, Vajrin, and Varin; and also (Viśve or heavenly beings like them): Vidyudvarcas, Somavarcas, Sūryaśrī, Somapa, Sūryasāvitra, Dattātman, Puṇḍarīyaka, Uṣṇīnābha, Nabhoda, Viśvāyu, Dīpti, Camūhara, Sureśa, Vyomāri, Śaṅkara, Bhava, Īśa, Kartṛ, Kṛti, Dakṣa, Bhuvana, Divyakarmakṛt, Gaṇita, Pañcavīrya, Āditya, Raśmivat, Saptakṛt, Somavarcas, Viśvakṛt, Kavi, Anugoptṛ, Sugoptṛ, Naptṛ, Īśvara. The list in H 11541f. of the Viśve Devā viśveśāḥ, sons of Dharma and Viśvā, is shorter: Sudharman, Śaṅkhapad, Uktha (or Dakṣa), Vapuṣmat, Ananta, and Mahīraṇa, as "of Cāksuṣa Manu" and also Viśvāvasu, Suparvan, Nikumbha ("Viṣkumbha"), and Ruru ("Rudra"), the last being "ṛṣiputra and sunlike in glory". Viśvāvasu, here one of the All-gods, is also a Gandharva, a Marut and a Sādhya (in H). In H 11849, the Viśve and other groups are sired by Kaśyapa; in H 12479, by Manu. The last list agrees with that of the Purāṇas in number (nine or ten). That these gods were originally forms of Manes may be surmised from their constant association with the Pitṛs at the funeral feast. They are also placated when a new house is built. So when Lakṣmaṇa builds a hut for Rāma, the latter "makes an offering to the All-gods", as he does to Rudra and Viṣṇu, to avert evil and bring luck (R 2, 56, 32, Vaiśvadevabaliṃ kṛtvā .. vāstusaṃśamanīyāni maṅgalāni pravartayan .. pāpasaṃśamanaṃ balim), before he bathes. The Vaiśvadeva offering is thrown upon the ground, like that to the lower spirits, and it is eaten only by dogs and birds and men who eat dog-meat. It is offered

regularly morn and eve. (3, 2, 59). The same rule is repeated (13, 97, 23) with an addition, specifying that the offering should be made out of doors in connection with offerings to the dead. The Viśve are somewhat perfunctorily invoked for protection with other groups, "Ādityas, Vasus, Rudras, Sādhyas, Viśve ca Devatāḥ (sic), the Maruts with Indra, the Diśas, and Digīśvaras" (3, 308, 11 f.) — for the benefit of a traveller; after a more formal invocation of King Varuṇa ("guard thee on the water") and Tapana Tamonuda, the "darkness-smiting Sun". They are all invoked to save the traveller from the Bhūts of air, earth, and sky.

§ 115. **The Sādhyas.** — These "perfected" (successful) ones are militant gods who accompany and fight for the Devas of celestial origin. They have no individual members till the Harivaṃśa period, when a nominal mother Sādhyā begets Sādhyas called Prabhava, Cyavana, Īśāna, Surabhi, Araṇya, Maruta, Viśvāvasu, Baladhruva, Mahiṣa, Tanūja, Vidhana, Anagha, Vatsara, Vibhūti, Suparvata, Vṛṣa, and Nāga, among whom Vibhūti receives the imposing epithet sarvāsuranisūdana, "slayer of all the Asuras" (H 11536). The real epic knows none of these as a Sādhya, (rather as Ṛṣi, god, and other spiritual forms). Except for this passage the Sādhyas are an indeterminate host, often mentioned but nowhere defined except explicitly as gods invoked as witnesses and born of the mundane egg (1, 1, 35; R 7, 97, 9). In 5, 36, 3, they say Sādhyā devā vayam, "we are gods" (cf. RV. 10, 90, 16), and they are addressed as "eaters of ambrosia" by the Golden Goose (i. e. God, 12, 300, 4 and 7). The mother Sādhyā appears in H 147, etc. As fighting gods they even precede the Maruts (7, 35, 30). They appear usually grouped with other gods of smaller importance, as in 1, 71, 39 and 87, 1: "honored by the Thirty-three, the Sādhyas, Maruts, and Vasus, in the house of gods "(devaveśman). In R 6, 120, 8, Viṣṇu is "fifth of Sādhyas", as he is "eighth of Rudras" and "Prajāpati of Vasus".

§ 116. **The Vidyādharas.** — These wizards (wisdom-holders) are spirits who have become like fairies or sylphs. They have a leader but it is uncertain who he is (below). They gaze with astonishment at human prowess (7, 98, 34): "The gods leaned over the edge of their cars to stare (admire), led by Brahman and Soma, and crowds of Siddhas, Cāraṇas, Vidyādharas, and Mahoragas wondered at the duel". As they watch a combat, "they strew flowers" (7, 139, 55; S 6, 69, 71). They flee from danger with their wives (R 4, 67, 46 and R 5, 1, 26); rejoice with music and loud laughter (R 4, 43, 52 f.); are crowned with wreaths and are "fair of aspect"; possessing the "great wisdom", which is explained as the Yoga-trick of diminishing their size, etc., as Yogins can (mahāvidyā, R 5, 1, 27). With Gandharvas, Kiṃnaras, Siddhas, and Nāgas they share the epithets "doers of good and devoted to joy" (R 4, 43, 53). They are essentially spirits of the air, vihagas (12, 334, 15; R 5, 1, 171; R 5, 54, 51 and ib. 56, 31, etc.). In R 5, 1, 171, they go in Gaṇas and ib. 165, where the path of the wind is described as traversed by Airāvata and by kaiśikācāryas, the "teachers of singing and dancing "are explained (by the commentators) either as Gandharvas or as the Vidyādhara king. In R 6, 69, 71, as in R 5, 1, 27, Vidyādharamaharṣayaḥ seem to be great seers among them. It may be remarked that vidyāgaṇas are themselves animate "troops of sciences", accompanying Śiva's consort, animate though "made by sages" (kavibhiḥ kṛtāḥ); as Vidyā (Sophia) is herself an attendant on Pārvatī (3, 231, 48 f.). Any vidyā may be given away,

imparted as a kind of magic. Thus the vidyā called pratismṛti is secretly imparted by Vyāsa to Yudhiṣṭhira (3, 36, 30), just as the secret teaching of teachers is imparted to a son or devoted pupil, without study (7, 194, 6). In 2, 10, 27, the leader of the Vidyādharas is Cakradharman (who appears to have sons) in Kubera's palace, for these sylphs are found especially in Gandhamādana and other northern mountains with Kiṃnaras (3, 108, 11; ib. 158, 33; ib, 159, 19, "wreathed and fair"). A second leader mentioned is Vipracitti (-purogamāḥ, in Indra's palace, S 2, 7, 24). This may show Jain influence, since the Jains regard the Vidyādharas as evil, and Vipracitti is an evil Dānava. Thirdly, the wise bear Jāmbavat is called Vidyādharendra, "chief of Vidyādharas" (13, 14, 28 and 42: Jāmbavaty abravīd dhi mām .. yad abravīn mām Vidyādharendrasya sutā. See Jāmbavat, § 8). The Vidyādharī is a female of great beauty (4, 9, 15, etc.). There is a terrible mahāstraṃ vaidyādharam (R 1, 56, 11) or weapon used by these sylphs, though they are not warlike (1, 228, 33, etc.). When a magic sacrifice forces Indra to come to earth with Takṣaka, they come with him, but not to help (1, 56, 9), only as companions of nymphs and the (sentient) clouds (cf. vāridhāras in R 5, 1, 165). Rāvaṇa conquered the Gandharvas and Kiṃnaras and Vidyādharas and carried off their women, the "fair women of the Vidyādharas" being held captive in his court (R 5, 12, 20; R 6, 61, 10). The Rām. locates their home among the Hyperboreans in the mountains beyond the Vaikhānasas (saints) and the "land of horse-faced women" (Piśācīs? R 4, 43, 32 and 52). They are also on Kubera's Gandhamādana (above) and on the Krauñca mountain (9, 46, 88); and Rāma finds the "playground of Vidyādhara women" on Citrakūṭa (R 2, 94, 12); as too they are seen on the hills of Malabar (R 6, 74, 44) and even in the forest of Khāṇḍava (1, 228, 33).

§ 117. **The Kapas.** — These are beings illustrating the gradual formation of new groups. They are not really epic but are described for the first and only time in 13, 158, 4f., where they are said to have been so powerful that they evicted the gods from heaven. Their leader was Dhanin. Though evilly disposed toward the gods, they were exceedingly religious in other regards, so that they resembled the great seers. But the priests of the gods, when they took up the strife, overcame them, for the Kapas could not withstand the fires and Mantras of the priests. They are regarded as a class of Dānavas (ib. 19), virtuous but godless; perhaps historically a sect or clan opposed to the orthodox cult. If they are Pitṛs (?), their opposition to the gods recalls the similar Vedic Pitṛs, who have gods as foes, devāśatravaḥ (RV. 6, 59, 1), an epic epithet of Asuras and Rākṣasas, as foes of gods.

VII. THE DIVINE SEERS AS STAR-GODS.

§ 118. The Ṛṣis interchange with Pitṛs on the one hand and gods on the other. They are the singers of old, seers glorified as forms of (fire and) stars and yet recognised as ancestors of mortal men. They are intermediaries. Brahman created Asi, the Sword, as a divine being to protect men, and gave it to Rudra, who gave it to Viṣṇu, who gave it to Marīci. Marīci passed it over to the Seers, and it was they who gave it to (Indra) Vāsava; he bestowed it upon the Lokapālas, and they gave it to the law-giver Manu (12, 166, 66). The seers here are the Maharṣis,

who had accepted the law of Brahman, viz. (ib 22 f.), Bhṛgu, Atri, Aṅgiras, the Siddhas, Kāśyapas, Vasiṣṭha, Gautama, Agastya, Nārada, Parvata, the Vālakhilyas, Prabhāsas, Sikatas, Ghṛtapās, Somavāyavyas, Vaiśvānaras, Marīcipas, Akṛṣṭas, Haṃsas, Agniyonis, Vānaprasthas, and Pṛśnis. The seers are Mahīdevas, gods of earth (RS 6, 114, 4), not because they are all of the priestly caste (priests being kṣitidevatāḥ, 13, 141, 62), but because they are as gods, though of mortal nature of old. Thus it is said indifferently that the rules for funerals were made by Pitṛs or by Ṛṣis (R 6, 114, 108). Among Ṛṣis, some are Devarṣis and Dānavarṣis; some are Maharṣis, some are Paramarṣis (the arcişmantaḥ or very bright stars about the polar star); others, like Triśaṅku, are Rājarṣis, of kingly extraction; or Brahmarṣis (Viprarṣis), of priestly origin. The most famous group is that of the Seven Seers of the North. Lists of the other groups, of seven some, in the East, West, and South are given (R 7, 1, 2 f.), though the "seven" are elsewhere not so clearly defined. (In the North): Vasiṣṭha, Kaśyapa, Atri, Viśvāmitra, Gautama, Jamadagni, Bharadvāja; (East): Kauśika, Yavakrīta, Gārgya, Gālava, Kaṇva, son of Medhātithi; (South): Svastyātreya, Namuci, Pramuci, Agastya, Atri, Sumukha, Vimukha; (West): Nṛṣadgu (-ḍgu), Kavaṣa (-ṣin), Dhaumya, Raudreya (mahān ṛṣiḥ) or Kauṣeya. Other seers functioning at Rāma's court are Vāmadeva, Jābāli, Kātyāyana, Suyajña, Vijaya, (R 6, 131, 60 f.; cf. ib. 1, 7, 5; ib. S 1, 8, 6). Kutsa appears in a later passage (R 59, pra. 2, 31). The Mbh. also has its distributed lists of seers, but it is confused with kings and Rājarṣis and does not agree except here and there with that of R (13, 166, 37 f.). In 13, 150, 40, besides the geographical sevens of the Lokapālas (§ 92), there is a fifth heptad of "world-making Munis" (seers), who, "when lauded, cause men to become praised and blessed". This is followed by another seven called dharaṇīdharas (Dharma, Kāma, Kāla, Vasu, Vāsuki, Ananta, and Kapila), and then a seventh seven-group, which, owing to the interposition of four others (Rāma, Vyāsa, Aśvatthāman, and Lomaśa), does not become apparent till vs. 44, where seven seers renowned on account of their austerity are listed: Saṃvarta, Merusāvarṇa, Mārkaṇḍeya, Sāṅkhya, Yoga, Nārada, and Durvāsas! In this bizarre combination all that is apparent is that the author is trying to make a seven times seven table of venerable seers and sages (cf. a similar list in 12, 208, 26 f.). The Southerners here are called Brahmarṣis and the Westerners Maharṣis. The "seven wind-seers" born of a saint and father of the Maruts (9, 38, 35) show the same tendency to make heptads. Many of the seers in the list first given above (12, 166, 24 f., cf. 7, 190, 34 f.) are families and sects of devotees like the Ūṣmapas, Phenapas, etc., mentioned as Pitṛs (for Akṛṣṭas and Vānaprasthas, v. l. are Karūṣas and Māṣaprasthas; cf. 3, 64, 62 and 13, 14, 57). Such seers en masse float through the air with gods (3, 36, 42; 7, 124, 40, etc.), and appear on holy days at certain points (3, 159, 16; on Parvan days, i. e. once a week). Among them are Vātikas and Cāraṇas (9, 55, 14) and they are described as vāyubhakṣas, abbhakṣas, dantolūkhalikas, etc. (ib. 37, 48 f.). The seer is called a Muni (1, 107, 15 f.; seers appear as birds at Bhīṣma's death), though there are special lists of Munis, important mainly in showing that class-names tend to become individuals. Thus Vāyubhakṣa and Parṇāda and Adhaḥśiras are kinds of Munis but are treated as names of individuals (2, 4, 9 f.; S 5, 83, 29 f.). The Saptajanā (nāma) Munis of R 4, 13, 18, eat only on the seventh night, then eat only air, and go to heaven in seven hundred years (calendar-saints).

§ 119. But the formal distinction between Brahmarṣis and Devarṣis is as little observed as that between Ṛṣis and Maharṣis; only the Rājarṣis stand out, on account of their royal origin. A Brahmarṣi of one passage is a Viprarṣi in another (13, 6, 37 compared with 3, 281, 14; 5, 176, 46), but the new name indicates that he who was first regarded as "seer of Brahman" has become a "Brahmanic (priestly) seer". Examples of Brahmarṣis are Atri and Aṅgiras; of Devarṣis, Nārada and Vasiṣṭha; of Rājarṣis, Vainya and other kings. Uśanas is a demons' Devarṣi (R 7, 81, 1), for there are also seers of the demons, Dānavarṣis (3, 169, 23). Utaṅka is a Viprarṣi (1, 3, 143). The Ṛsis in general are countless. Eighty-eight thousand without offspring and fifty thousand with offspring are in Brahman's court (2, 11, 54, stereotyped figure). There are Brāhmalaukikas (R 7, 98, 24), belonging to Brahman's sphere, also Pārameṣṭhya Ṛṣis. Pitṛlokarṣis (in the South) live with Devarṣis and Rājarṣis there (5, 109, 5; ib. 9, Viprarṣis). Surarṣi = Devarṣi (R 6, 129, 53), of Nārada. These seers, of course, appear constantly anywhere. For example, when Kṛṣṇa goes along a road, he meets Devarṣis and Rājarṣis on either side of the way, both with brāhmī śrī or holy beauty, but acting like mortals (Rāma Jāmadagnya is their spokesman, 5, 83, 65). When the gods visit Indra with the seers, the latter lead (1, 226, 15); but the seers themselves, even the great Seven, follow Indra (2, 53, 12). They come with the gods to visit men at peace or in battle, cry Bravo to the brave and murmur blessings on the worlds (R 6, 90, 37, etc.). In 14, 77, 17 f., the Saptarṣis, Devarṣis, and Brahmarṣis "murmur victory to Arjuna"; all but the last group being frightened. As priests utter maṅgalyas before kings, so the Ṛṣis before Indra (5, 83, 8); their best wealth is truth (12, 56, 18). They may have children by nymphs, or by the grace of Śiva, or without woman's aid (Ālambāyana in 13, 18, 5 f., but see below). Their form of marriage is not interfered with by the gods (R 3, 55, 34). It is the seers who made the worlds and even the Deity reveres them (13, 31, 25; see also Brahman and Creation).

§ 120. The families of Ṛṣis lead to jealousy and arrogance: "the best Ṛṣis in the world" are Bhṛgus, Aṅgirasas, Vāsiṣṭhas, Kāśyapas, Āgastyas, Ātreyas (3, 26, 7, i. e. priests of these classes). The plural is used as patronymic (as here), Bhṛgavaḥ, "sons of Bhṛgu"; so Gargas are "sons of Garga" = Gārgyas (1, 178, 15; 7, 190, 34, etc.). A later theory has it that Bhṛgu is a Vāruṇa, the Prajāpatis of all peoples on earth being Bhṛgu, Aṅgiras, and Kavi, of whom Bhṛgu had seven sons, and the others eight each. Bhrgu's sons were Cyavana, Vajraśīrṣa, Śuci, Aurva, Śukra, Vareṇya, and Savana; called Bhārgavas, and Vāruṇas because Śiva, as Varuṇa, adopted them (13, 85, 125 f.). The sons of the other two ancestors of the human race vary. Aṅgiras, to whom the genealogy of 1, 66, 5 gives but three sons, here has eight, Bṛhaspati, etc. to Sudhanvan (who is "even better than Virocana", with whom he converses, 5, 35, 5 f.). These are called also sons of Agni (Aṅgiras is son of Agni and of Brahman). Kavi's sons vary most (v. l.), one text having Bhṛgu, Virajas, Kāśi, and Ugra, against S, Varuṇa, Kāśyapa, Agni (S 13, 132, 42 f. = 85, 130 f.). Other seers are renowned as sectarian diadochi, the Phenapas handing down the tenets of Nārada to the Vaikhānasas, who gave the teaching to Soma in Brahman's first birth. In his second birth Brahman, receiving it, gave it to Rudra, and Rudra to the Vālakhilyas (in Kṛtayuga, 12, 349, 14 f.). In Brahman's third birth (as Logos, 349, 19 f.), Nārada imparted it to the Ṛṣi

Suparṇa (trisauparṇa), whence it came to Vāyu, and from him to the Ṛṣis called Vighasāśins. Barhiṣada and Jyeṣṭha (Sāmavedāntaga, 349, 45 f.) received it later. The Bhṛgu-Aṅgirasa-vaṃśajas, "not very angry", unite in cursing Hanumat, perhaps recognising in him the future scientist and grammarian, navavyākaraṇārthavettṛ (R 7, 36, 34 and 48). Most of this is later than the real epic.

§ 121. Bhṛgu is the greatest Maharṣi (6, 34, 25). He heads the list of Bhṛgus, Aṅgirasas, Vāsiṣṭhas, and Kāśyapas (3, 115, 2); and composes a Śāstra which differs philosophically from the one ascribed to Manu (12, 182 to 192), deriving fire and wind from water, while Manu derives water from light and light from wind. Bhṛgu teaches here that the earth is water solidified by the action of wind, which came from water. Wind here is not a god, but sun and moon are limited gods who can "see no farther than their own light". Bhṛgu was born from Fire, Pāvaka, at Varuṇa's sacrifice, though fathered by Brahman, whose breast he cleaves. He is father of Śukra Kavi (whose son he is in 13, 85, 133) and of Cyavana (by Pulomā), and thus grandfather of Pramati and ancestor of Aurva (named ūruṃ bhittvā, 1, 179, 8), the son of Āruṣī, daughter of Manu (1, 5, 13 f.; ib. 8, 1 f.; 66, 41). Aurva burned the sight of those descendants of Kṛtavīrya who stole the Bhṛgus' hoarded wealth (1, 178, 15 f.). He was father of Ṛcīka, the father of Jamadagni, and destroyed Tālajaṅgha (1, 66, 46 and 49; 13, 154, 11). Bhṛgu cursed Agni to "eat all things" (9, 47, 21); he cursed Himavat to lose its gems, because H. gave Umā to Rudra (12, 340, 62); and he cursed Viṣṇu, for beheading his wife Pulomā, who favored the demons, to be born as man and lose his wife (R 1, 25, 21; ib. 7, 51, 2, told by "Durvāsas, son of Atri"). When Vasiṣṭha cursed Nimi to lose his body, Bhṛgu kept him alive as nimeṣa (wink), Nimi being of Atri's race, son of Dattātreya (13, 91, 7 f.; he was king of Mithilā: āsīd rājā Nimir nāma, R 7, 55, 4 f.). A different genealogy is found in the story of Vītahavya, who attacked Divodāsa and changed his caste (tyājito jātim, 13, 30, 56 and 66). He became priest through Bhṛgu's lying statement that "only priests" were in his asylum (cf. AV. 5, 18, 10). Vītahavya's son is the Viprarṣi Gṛtsamada, about whom "there is a revelation in the Ṛg-Veda" (see AB. 5, 2, 4). He was fair as Indra and was attacked by the fiends in consequence. Gṛtsamada was first of his line born in the priesthood, vipratvam, as his father was a Kṣattriya who "got priesthood" (13, 30, 61 f.). Though a friend of Indra, Gṛtsamada worshipped Mahādeva; he was turned into a deer (13, 18, 19 f.). Bhṛgutuṅga preserves the name of the ancestral abode (1, 75, 57, etc.). He is ancestor of Ruru and Śunaka.

§ 122. The Bhārgavas' most famous member is Uśanas, the Kavi called Śukra, preceptor of Asuras, renowned no less for wealth than for intelligence (R 3, 43, 32; ib. 4, 51, 12). His daughter Arajā was violated by Manu's son Daṇḍa, whom Uśanas cursed, resulting in ashes destroying Janasthāna (Daṇḍaka-forest, R 7, 79, 18 f.), when he was Daṇḍa's Purohita. As Purohita of the Asuras he also favors the Rākṣasas and advises Meghanāda how to sacrifice, which he refuses to do as it "honors his foes" (R 7, 25, 6 f.). Uśanas is here quite anthropomorphic in distinction from R 6, 4, 48, where he is the planet Śukra whose "favorable rays" presage weal, like the aspect of Paramarṣis. Mbh. 1, 65, 36 f.; 66, 41 f., presents him as half planet (Venus) and half preceptor of Asuras, having four sons called "Asura-sacrificers", Asurayājakas, Tvaṣṭādhara, Atri, Raudra, and

Karmin. Kavi Uśanas is here son of Kavi (Bhṛgu), interpreted as controller of rain and also as uniting with Bṛhaspati in being Guru of gods as well as of Asuras through Yoga (refers to the inverted legend of Mait. Up., that Bṛhaspati as Uśanas mistaught the Asuras). He is called best of Bhṛgus (1, 80, 1) and Bhārgava usually implies him (3, 4, 2; cf. 9, 6, 10), especially as Nītiśāstra-kartṛ (so N. at 5, 39, 30; cf. 8, 8, 4). Uśanas' wife is Śataparvan (sic, 5, 117, 13); his daughter Devī is wife of Varuṇa. Devayānī (1, 76, 1), also his daughter, revives Kaca, when reduced to paste, a son of Bṛhaspati, and marries Yayāti, whom Śukra curses (1, 83, 37). For her sake he quarrels with Vṛṣaparvan, inducing this Asura king to make his own daughter the slave of Devayānī. Even here Śukra Kāvya is the power that "sends rain and makes plants grow" and so is "lord of all in earth and heaven" (1, 78, 38 f.; S adds sarvalokaguruḥ Kāvyaḥ). As military epigrammatist he is often cited (12, 138, 134; cf. ib. 56, 28 and 9, 58, 14 f.), but the same utterance ascribed to him and to Bṛhaspati shows uncertainty of origin. He appears here as Maharṣi Uśanas and as Lord Uśanas (12, 57, 2 and 40). Uśanas sided with the Asuras as natural heir of his father, whose wife's head Viṣṇu cut off (12, 290, 1 f.). His name Śukra is interpreted as Śiva's "seed", because the god swallowed him and then let him out, though he deserved punishment for stealing the wealth of Kubera, Śiva's friend. Umā interceded for him, so he became her son (ib. 32 and 34). He and Śiva thus oppose Viṣṇu and other gods (ib. 293, 17). He invented his system of Nīti at Kapālamocana Tīrtha, where the head of the demon hurled by Rāma fell off from the thigh of Mahodara (3, 83, 135; 9, 39, 8 f.). He teaches Prahlāda and other Daityas (12, 37, 10; ib. 139, 70 f.; ib. 142, 22; ib. 280—281; his Śāstra and Gāthās). The divyā kathā of the virtuous pigeon is his (12, 143, 8 f., ascribed to Bhārgava Muni; S says Uśanas). His Śāstra includes military matters (15, 7, 15). He found out "Indra's secret" (potency of fasts, 13, 103, 39); his place in heaven is distinct from those of Māruta and Brahman (ib. 107, 80, 94, 100); he makes his locks snakes and turns Rudra's throat blue (see Śiva). S adds new verses as "ślokas sung by Uśanas" (after B 12, 69, 73 and after 12, 73, 5, glorification of AV.; cf. also S 12, 94, 9 f.). H 12200 makes Śukra priest of Hiraṇyakaśipu. Other Bhārgavas of importance are Atri (see below); Cyavana, whose aim in life was to kill Kuśikas, till he delegated the vendetta to Aurva; and Aurva, who became the Aurva Fire or Mare's Mouth or Horse's Head, Hayaśiras, which will consume ocean (7, 135, 22; cf. 1, 170, 53; 180, 22). This fire in 12, 343, 60, is interpreted as Viṣṇu's energy. On Cyavana, see p. 168 (Aśvins). He healed with his hands, restored youth, created magic grounds, lived like a sunk log in water, and was sold for a cow (13, 50, 2 f.; to 56, 4). He lived in the West, where men become saints "with little trouble", near Mt. Maināka (3, 89, 13). See § 125 for other Bhārgavas.

§ 123. Bṛhaspati (1, 104, 10) is the most famous Āṅgirasa, though "best" of this family is applied even to Droṇa (grandson of Bṛhaspati). Aṅgiras himself is of no moment; he married the daughter of Marutta (12, 235, 28); he guards the sun (3, 92, 6); teaches rules of fasting (13, 106, 71); and is a form of fire, aṅgāra meaning coal (13, 85, 105; here too "Bhṛgu from burn"). The story of Aṅgiras taking the place of Agni and of his daughters, moon's phases, has been told under Agni. Aṅgiras is third son of Brahman in the list of Prajāpatis (1, 65 and 66; not R 3, 14); verses cited as his occur (12, 69, 71). But the glory is his son's. Bṛhas-

pati (the planet Jupiter) is preceptor of the gods and gives them instruction orally, as well as composes a Śāstra for them and others, but otherwise he is remarkably inactive. His wife Tārā, raped by Soma (p. 90), was the cause of the great "war about Tārā" (5, 117, 13, etc.). He restores dead heroes to life by plants treated with Mantras (R 6, 50, 28). He comes stammering into the presence of Indra (R 6, 92, 4), but otherwise is treated as revered Guru. He is regent of Puṣya (R 2, 26, 9), is invoked with or without Śukra for blessings (ib. 25, 11 and 99, 41), the instruction of the two upādhyāyas being the same (9, 61, 48), the pair being past masters of polity (8, 37, 20); Bṛhaspatisamo matau is a standing phrase. This best of Aṅgirasas (5, 16, 27) operates with fire (9, 41, 29) to aid the gods, making a sacrifice to protect Śacī from Nahuṣa, and sending fire as a messenger (5, 15, 25 f.; 12, 343, 48). As a reward he receives the Atharvāṅgiras Veda (5, 18, 5 f.), whence his name Atharvāṅgiras. He heads the Devarṣis and Siddhas when they visit Skanda; he is called both Devarṣi (1, 67, 69) and Maharṣi (5, 18, 2; 9, 44, 21 f., he consecrates Skanda). Whatever is for a Guru or Purohita to do, falls to Bṛhaspati; hence he is "lord of priests" (14, 43, 8). He violates his elder brother's wife (Utathya's Mamatā) and becomes father of Dīrghatamas; also, by a Śūdrā, of Kakṣīvat (etc., 1, 104, 10 f.). He befriends Trita (p. 94) in the pit (9, 36, 36 f.). For his Naya and Śāstra, see 2, 50, 9; 3, 150, 29; 4, 58, 6; 12, 58, 1 f.; 13, 111, 11. He is pupil of Manu (12, 201, 3), and after Manu he and Uśanas promulgate their treatises (12, 336, 45 f.). He appears as a god (12, 322, 61), with Pūṣan, Bhaga, Aśvins, and Agni (pleased with butter-oblation, 13, 65, 7). The later epic adds many details; of his cursing ocean (12, 343, 27) because it was not clear; of his weeping with anger and flinging his spoon at the sky (ib. 337, 14), etc.; and S has a long interpolation (12, 73) exalting the Atharva-Veda, and Bṛhaspati with this Veda. His pupils were Uparicara and Śuka (ib. 337, 2 f.; 325, 23). The Ādi reckons him among the Ādityas and makes his sister the wife of the eighth Vasu, Prabhāsa (1, 66, 20, 27, 39), and the mother of Viśvakarman. There is a distinction made between the Bārhaspatī Bhāratī or treatise on theology (divine cows, 13, 76, 28) and the Bārhaspataṃ Jñānam or Śāstram, his legal code, declared by Indra (12, 142, 17). He lectures to Asuras as well as to gods (as Devaguru and on sin washed out by good acts, ib. 152, 32 f.). Bṛhaspati's quarrel with Saṃvarta is mentioned in 12, 29, 21 and told in 14, 5, 4 f.[1]) Bharadvāja is eldest son of Bṛhaspati (§ 125). Saṃvarta is his brother, a Śiva-worshipper (14, 5—6), opposed to Indra and Bṛhaspati.[2])

§ 124. Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra. — The Seven Seers are the most important group of Devarṣis. Like the Devas, they have their maids, Devarṣikanyās, nymphs who welcome the Devarṣis to heaven (13, 107, 130; the general rule, but see above, is that seers cannot have children without women, 1, 74, 52). As the Brahmarṣis are headed by Aṅgiras and the Paramarṣis by the son of Brahman called Sanatkumāra, so Bṛhaspati heads the general group of Devarṣis (3, 85, 71; 12, 37, 9); but the Seven Devarṣis are headed by Vasiṣṭha, and these are they that have their rising

[1]) On Bṛhaspati, see remarks on Uśanas and Bṛhaspati in my Ruling Caste. p. 202; and on his epic connection with Atharvan, Atharvā sa Bṛhaspatiḥ (13, 14, 397), see Proc. Amer. Philosophical So., vol. 49, p. 39 f.

[2]) Compare Leumann, Die Bharata-Sage, p. 68 f., on the Saṃvarta-Maruttīya Itihāsa. According to H 1833 f., Marutta's daughter became Saṃvarta's wife, not the wife of Aṅgiras (as in 13, 137, 16). On Bṛhaspati's impious treatise, see H 1505 f.

and setting as stars on Meru in the North, in contrast to the Brahmarṣis and Maharṣis. Historical treatment of the two chief seers is here ignored. These Seven are sometimes implied by the word Devarṣis. Thus in the tale of Nahuṣa, "the Seven Seers and the Brahmarṣis will drag him", followed by "the Devarṣis and Brahmarṣis dragged him" (5, 15, 20; 17, 8). Compare too sapta saptarṣayaḥ Siddhā Vasiṣṭhapramukhaiḥ saha (14, 27, 18), where, as often, the later epic unites other blessed ones in heptads with the Seven Seers. Vasiṣṭha stands so much at the head that the Vāsiṣṭhī kāṣṭhā is the "Northern course" of the sun (= dhāniṣṭhī, or Kuberan, 5, 109, 16). No difficulty is experienced in treating the seven as at once persons and stars: "The Seven Seers shine in the sky because they honor the law of the Creator" (3, 25, 14). Washed free of stains they shine like fires in Indra's heaven; they were with Manu in the ark (2, 7, 9f.; 3, 187, 31). Near the "field of Kapila" they have a Tīrtha (3, 83, 72). But as a group they have little action in common. They are occasionally identified with the seven Prajāpatis (12, 336, 27f.), but when enlisted are more often separated, as in 1, 123, 50f. (cf. H 14148), "all the Prajāpatis and the Seven Maharṣis, Bharadvāja, Kaśyapa, Gautama, Viśvāmitra, Jamadagni, Vasiṣṭha, and Atri, who rose when the sun was extinguished". Atri usually stands next to Vasiṣṭha or Kaśyapa, and like the latter, belongs to both groups. The Seven Seers are in the North with Arundhatī, wife of Vasiṣṭha (later of Ḍharma, H 145) or of all the seers (? 5, 111, 14). In the story of Svāhā (see Agni), each wife is personated by Agni's love. To be unable to see Arundhatī presages death (RG 3, 59, 16); to see her and the pole-star intermittently presages death in a year (12, 318, 9). In the Theft of the Lotus, the virtuous Arundhatī is accompanied by a maid-of-all-work, Gaṇḍā. Vṛṣādarbhi (Śaibya), angered at the rejection of his offering, produced a Yātudhānī and bade her kill the Seers, which she could do only by knowing the meaning of their names. Indra, disguised as a hunter, tested their virtue, and the Seven went to heaven with him — a tale immediately retold with variants, Indra being undisguised and Agastya the chief seer in action, as he and others in the second version take part in this tale (13, 93, 20f.). The Seven also unite in composing a code. They are called here the Citraśikhaṇḍinas, an epithet also of Viṣṇu (12, 336, 27f.). Arundhatī, though a model of faithfulness, yet suspected Vasiṣṭha and became "smoky-red" (1, 233, 28f.). She is a spotless adherent of Śiva, as is Viśvāmitra of Skanda (3, 225 and 9, 48); she may be the Jaṭilā of 1, 196, 14, "wife of seven Ṛṣis as said in the Purāṇa" (as in 12, 38, 5, called Gautamī). Vasiṣṭha is the "best" (etc., etymology, 1, 174, 6); born of Mitra-Varuṇa (see p. 118) or "owing to Kṛṣṇa's power and wish born in a jar" (13, 159, 19). As son of Varuṇa he is Vāruṇi, also called Āpava (1, 99, 5); he was born, bred, and died in the East (5, 108, 13). His special Tīrtha is Ujjālaka (3, 130, 17, or Ujjānaka). For the theft of his cow, see Vasus (§ 112). The cow, Nandinī, was also desired by Viśvāmitra, son of Kuśika's son Gādhi, who tried to steal it in a well-known tale (1, 174, 5f., as Brahmarṣi, here son of Brahman). His eldest son, Śakti, quarrelled with Mitrasaha Kalmāṣapāda, patron of Viśvāmitra, who had a Rākṣasa devour Śakti and the rest of Vasiṣṭha's hundred sons (1, 176, 6f.; R 3, 66, 8). Vasiṣṭha tried to drown himself, but the rivers Vipāś and Śatadru refused to drown him; afterwards he freed the king Kalmāṣapāda Saudāsa from possession by a Rākṣasa, and the king caused the Seer to beget by his wife, Madayantī,

a son Aśmaka (1, 177, 47; Saudāsa also in 13, 6, 32; 14, 57, 19f.). Another tale connects Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra, the Apavāha, which relates how the two seers, living on opposite sides of the Sarasvatī, quarrelled. Viśvāmitra commanded the river to bring him his rival to kill. Afraid to disobey yet also afraid of the curse of Vasiṣṭha, the Sarasvatī carried him off to the other bank but brought him back before Viśvāmitra could kill Vasiṣṭha, who won over the river by fulsome praise. The Sarasvatī ran with blood for a year owing to the curse of Viśvāmitra (9, 42, 1f.), and hence became the Aruṇā ("Red River", name of a branch of the Ganges). Vasiṣṭha is credited with several other deeds. He cursed Kārtavīrya (q. v.); he revived Indra, when the god was stupified (12, 282, 21); he slew the Khalin Asuras as priest of the gods, by bringing the Ganges, as Sarayū, to the lake in which they recovered life (13, 156, 17f.). He exterminated, but with some difficulty, the demons of Vaiśravaṇa attacked by Mucukunda (12, 74, 6f.). Kings gained merit by providing him with water, wealth, and a wife (12, 235, 17 and 30; 13, 137, 6; 15; 18). Both chapters say that he produced rain in drought; he is called Bhūtakṛt and Devarāj (13, 137, 13), "king of (priests as) gods". The pseudo-epic also employs Vasiṣṭha as sermoniser (12, 303, 7f., etc.). His rival Viśvāmitra became a priest because he lacked the ability to be a king (9, 40, 16f.); but as a priest he slew Vasiṣṭha's sons (R 1, 59, 18), created the Kauśikī (Pārā) river, served as priest of Mataṅga and elevated Triśaṅku, "made another world", became father of Śakuntalā, and is noted for his pitiless disposition (1, 71, 20f.). He is called Bhūsura as a priestly god, and his guest Indra as Vasiṣṭha made him wait a hundred years serving him food (5, 106, 17f.). Gālava waited on the seer and in the pseudo-epic is called his son (13, 4, 52). He also ate dog's meat in a famine (12, 141, 26f.) occurring between Tretā and Dvāpara, which fixes his date. The village where he accepted meat from a Cāṇḍāla was adorned with temples decorated with images of birds and had iron bells. He enunciates the doctrine that a seer cannot commit a deadly sin (ib. 75). In 12, 293, 13 and 13, 3, 1f., he is said to have created Yātudhānas and fiends, founded the race of Kuśika, delivered Śunaḥśepa, become father of Hariścandra, hung Triśaṅku head downward in the southern sky (cf. H 730f.), changed Rambhā into a rock, and, as a star, is said to shine in the middle of the Seven Seers of the North and Dhruva Auttānapāda. Gādhi married his daughter to Ṛcīka, son of Cyavana, and by this Ṛcīka's advice mother and daughter, embracing two trees, became mothers of Viśvāmitra and Jamadagni. As his descendants are named Yājñavalkya, Nārada, Āśvalāyana, etc. (ib. 13, 18, 52f.). According to R 1, 34, 3f., it is his older sister Satyavatī who descended to earth as the Kauśikī river (ib. 1, 51f., the story of Triśaṅku). His son Kapila is called Deva (3, 108, 18).

§ 125. The other members of the group of Seven Seers are not so important. Ahalyā lends interest to Gautama, who is argued down by Atri, serves as priest of Nimi, and is called Medhātithi, his son being Cirakārin, who objected to matricide enjoined by Gautama (12, 267, 2f.). As sons are named Śatānanda, Kṛpa, Śarabhaṅga, Ekata, Dvita, Trita (§ 46), Vāmadeva. The last has "wonderful" swift steeds and appears beside Medhātithi in Śakra's court (2, 7, 17; 3, 192, 40f.). Bharadvāja, eldest son of Bṛhaspati and priest of Divodāsa (13, 30, 24), provides Vītahavya with a son (by a sacrifice, ib.) and supplies Rāma Dāśarathi with a magic garden (R 2, 91, 11f.). He is said to reside at Prayāga but is not an important

figure in either epic, though father of Droṇa by Ghṛtācī (1, 166, 1 f.). The pseudo-epic says that he flung water at Viṣṇu and thus made the Śrīvatsa sign on his breast (12, 343, 54); but the same chapter (vs. 132) ascribes this sign to Rudra's trident.[1]) His son Bhumanyu (1, 94, 22; H 1730) is Bharata's by "legal transfer". Yavakrīta, another son, is resurrected with Bharadvāja after entering fire (3, 138, 22). Jamadagni is famous mainly as father of Bhārgava Rāma (R 1, 75, 3), though he is extolled as a great sacrificer (3, 90, 16). Rāma's fame rests on his being Haihayeśapramāthin, or slayer of Arjuna and the other Haihayas (5, 181, 12). Of warriors he slew 64000, cutting off their ears and noses and breaking their teeth, besides stifling 7000 Haihayas in smoke and torturing them, and butchering 10000 with his own axe. Altogether he cleared earth of warriors twenty-one times and then gave earth to Kaśyapa (1, 66, 48, etc). He contends with Bhīṣma (5, 179, 14), etc. The five lakes he filled with blood are known (3, 83, 27 f.) and he is often mentioned, in his rôle of destroyer, as "the most glorious increaser of the fame of the Bhṛgus" (7, 70, 23 f., as Bhārgava). He killed his mother Reṇukā to oblige his father (3, 116, 14; R 2, 21, 32), an act highly extolled, though she was a good wife (R 1, 51, 11); but her husband accused her in re Citraratha (3, 116, 6 f.). Rāma, however, restored her to life and received invulnerability and long life as his reward. He is a direct descendant of Indra, incarnate as Gādhi (12, 49, 6; a Śivaite, ib. 33). Rāma cut off the arms of Arjuna Kārtavīrya (whose followers killed Jamadagni), through the curse of Vasiṣṭha, as originally the hero got his thousand arms through grace of Dattātreya (a form of Viṣṇu). Vāyu argues with him on the folly of opposing seers (12, 49, 35; 13, 153, 7). See also § 150. The seer Kaśyapa is a Prajāpati (q. v.), but also priest of Paraśu-Rāma (3, 117, 12 f.). His son, the crane, is older than the Himalayan owl (3, 199, 7; 12, 169, 18 f.). Atri also is a kulapati and a seer, whose wife is Anasūyā (R 7, 1, 5). She was so vigorous an ascetic that she irrigated earth with the Ganges in drought and on another occasion "made ten nights one" (R 2, 117, 11), because her friend was cursed to "become a widow to-morrow". "Morrow shall not be", said Anasūyā, and extinguished it by making ten nights one. At least, so the scholiast explains the phrase daśarātraṃ kṛtā rātriḥ; but it is more likely that, being a clever woman, Anasūyā shifted the calendar. Atri had many sons (1, 66, 6); he is son of Brahman and son of Uśanas as well (contradictions of the sort are common of course), also father of Durvāsas. Atri was the first to deify a king, so that Gautama called him a sycophant, but Sanatkumāra upheld the deification, and Atri got ten crores of gold and ten loads of jewels (3, 185, 35). The point of the story is that the king is god on earth, as is the priest, and they must combine to keep the lower orders in subjection. The king here is the Rājarṣi Pṛthu Vainya, whose astronomer was Garga. This king's father had been dethroned and executed for his sins, in accordance with the principle that a wicked king "should be killed like a mad dog", so that his son was naturally pleased to be made divine. Atri saved the gods, when Rāhu's arrows had pierced sun and moon, by becoming sun and moon and giving equal light (13, 157, 8 f.). Noteworthy in this version of the ancient tale is the attribute of arrows. Atri (originally an epithet of fire, like the names of all the Seven) "burns" the demon and then

[1]) On Bharadvāja as philosopher (12, 182—189), see Pizzagalli, La Cosmogonia di Bhṛgu (Memorie del R. Instituto Lombardo, 1910).

"illumines" the world with his own glory (tejas). According to 1, 21, 13, Atri tried for a century to get to the bottom of the ocean. He is mythologically important only as demon-expeller and father of Soma (q. v.). He is son of Brahman (13, 65, 1), well versed in physiology (12, 214, 23), and is cited for the dictum, "those who give gold grant all wishes" (13, 65, 1).

§ 126. Agastya is the chief seer outside the charmed circles of Bhṛgus, Aṅgirasas, and the Seven.[1]) He is still called Agasti in the epic and is famous for having become the Seer of the South (as star he is Canopus). He was a sort of half-brother, kumbhayoni, of Vasiṣṭha, son of Mitra-Varuṇa (3, 103, 13f.), hence called Kumbhasaṃbhava. He was told by his ancestors, whom he saw hanging in a pit upside down, to get offspring. He then made and married the perfect woman Lopāmudrā (3, 130, 6), for whose sake he sought jewels, but got from the Asura Ilvala the latter's well cooked brother Vātāpi to eat (3, 11, 37; R 3, 11, 57). Merely saying hum, Agastya reduced the Asura to ashes. In Śalya this is told as a clever trick (9, 31, 13; cf. 3, 96, 4, f.; 206, 28, etc.). As lokabhāvana he drank up ocean to free earth from the Kāleya Asuras or from Hiraṇyākṣa (1, 188, 15; 3, 103, 13 f.; 104, 15 f.; S 12, 208, 13 f.). He cursed Nahuṣa for insolence and Kubera (3, 179, 13 f.; 161, 58 f.). He tricked the Vindhya to stop growing till his return as he went South (conquered the South, R 6, 118, 14). His wife accompanied him (type of devotion, 3, 113, 23). He legalised hunting by dedicating deer to gods (1, 118, 14). He gave rain when Indra failed to do so (14, 92, 4 f.). He is expressly mentioned with the Seven Seers as examples of those who became hermits, "mighty in their own Sūtras and Śāstras", and eventually rose to heaven "not as Nakṣatras but as clusters of lights" (12, 245, 16f.; anakṣatrāḥ . . jyotiṣāṃ gaṇāḥ, ib. 22f.). Such star-seers are still affected by earthly struggles (5, 51, 54). Agastya turns Mārīca and his mother into fiends (R 1, 25, 11); is visited by Rāma and aids him (cf. R 3, 11, 33 f.; ib. 7, 76, 23 f., etc.). He causes Mahendra to be set in the sea, gives Indra's spear to Rāma, and frees Śveta from the curse of eating his own body (R 4, 41, 20; R 6, 111, 4; R 7, 78, 19). His brother is Śarabhaṅga (R 3, 11, 39f.). Agastya refused to be son of Mitra (R 7, 57, 5 f.). His pupil is Agniveśa, Guru of Droṇa (1, 139, 9f.). His mother is not epic, but VP. 1, 10, 9 makes him an incarnation of Pulastya and Prīti, formerly called Dambholi (here also other later views regarding the birth of other seers). H 12845 agrees with R 4, 41, 35 in locating his abode on Kuñjara, but R places his asylum five leagues from Rāmagiri, on the Godāvarī, and on Malaya (ib. 3, 11, 39 and 81; ib. 4, 41, 16; ib. 6, 126, 41). Elements of the Agastya story appear in connection with other saints. His feat of drinking up ocean he shares with Utathya; but it is what any (§ 65) Yogin can do (12, 237, 24, kāmāt pibati cā 'śayān). The story of his eating Vātāpi, the brother of Ilvala, is like that (p. 180) of Kaca, son of Bṛhaspati, who was reduced to paste and eaten. The tale of the inverted ancestors and their advice is to be found in connection with Jaratkāru and others. These good stories exist, and are fitted on to various figures, like the beloved tale of the "wisest youngest" (yo 'nūcānaḥ sa no mahān, 3, 133, 12 = 9, 51, 50, and 12, 324, 6), a general apophthegm of the seers fitted on to Sārasvata, who was Vyāsa Apāntaratamas.

[1]) For details of the Agastya-story, see Adolf Holtzmann in ZDMG. 34, 589f.

VIII. EARTHLY ṚṢIS.

§ 127. Other groups less definite than those above and a few more single seers are prominent. Among the groups are the Vālakhilyas, who sometimes appear on earth and sometimes are assigned to the sun, where they appear as Marīcipas, drinking the rays of the sun, or in the sun's disc or on Himavat (1, 30, 7; R 3, 35, 14f.). Garuḍa was born through their penance to rival Indra; their father may be Kratu (ib.; N. to 1, 66, 8). They belong to the class of Siddhas, who include saints of both worlds (R 3, 1, 23; ib. 2, 70, 30), and have attained their state through asceticism (siddhagati, 3, 145, 9; 146, 93; 158, 84), though the Siddhas also include star-saints (R 5, 54, 24). The Vālakhilyas worship beside Ganges (3, 142, 5) and make sacrifice (3, 90, 10). In the former passage they may be called Vaihāyasas, or these "spirits of air" may be a separate class (as later). They are often associated with Vaikhānasas (as at Mt. Arcīka, 3, 125, 17), also a class of supernatural saints (3, 114, 15). In 13, 141, 99f., the Vālakhilyas live, thumb-size, in the sun's disc, keeping the uñcha vow and having the power of gods (cf. H 11811 and VP. 2, 10, 21). They live 1000 ages. The Rām. identifies them with Vaikhānasas (R 4, 40, 58), but not always (R 3, 6, 2 and ib. 35, 14f.). The Sārasvatya gaṇa of 60000 saints mentioned with Gārgya may be identified with these saints of the Sarasvatī (9, 51, 51 and 3, 90, 10). Rudra teaches them (12, 249, 18).

§ 128. The Uttara Kurus are another class of Northern saints and seers, living beyond the gate barred by the head of the monster Mahiṣa, south of Nīla and on the flank of Meru (3, 145, 17; 231, 97f.; 6, 7, 2). They live ten thousand and ten hundred years and are buried by birds (cf. p. 20). They have heavenly felicity in food and freedom; their clothes are grown by trees; their women are not restrained (1, 122, 7f.; 13, 54, 16). They associate with spirits born of water and fire and mountain, and where they live, Indra "rains wishes", and jealousy is unknown (13, 102, 25, lokaḥ as modern log, people).

§ 129. a) Cāraṇas and Caras. — Other collective and indeterminate bodies called seers and Munis are the Cāraṇas, raised from the condition of earthly "wandering" minstrels to a heavenly state. The "path of Cāraṇas "is that of seers, yet they are found at the courts of kings as well as gods, as also in hermitages (1, 63, 66; 5, 123, 5, etc.; cf. R 4, 40, 30). They speak as heavenly prophets and are reckoned as Ṛṣis (R 5, 55, 30 and 34). A similar heavenly group is that of the heavenly Cyclists, a sort of Siddha (R 5, 48, 24), who accompany Nāgas, Siddhas, Gandharvas, etc., as in 3, 85, 72. The scholiast calls them the cycling heavenly bodies (sun and moon), but in 13, 141, 103, a distinction is drawn between these pure souls, called Cakracaraṣ, the Somacaras, and the Vālakhilyas, as if all were sainted seers, with whom are the Pitṛ Seers called Aśmakuṭṭas, Samprakṣālas, etc. The Saumyas and Raudras of 13, 150, 26 are apparently groups of Pitṛ Seers (as in Manu 3, 199); but the Śvetas and Yatis who support the Pāñcarātra Sāṅkhya religion (of 12, 349 and 350) are earthly sectarians.

b) Finally, the Tuṣita spirits or gods also illustrate the negligible distinction between gods and spirits. They are created by Śiva, who (in the pseudo-epic) creates and upholds the seven Munis and groups of gods, the drinkers of heat and of Soma, the Lekhas, and Suyāmas and Tuṣitas and Brahmakāyas and Ābhāsuras, the smoke-drinkers and Gandhapas, the

eaters by touch (Sparśāśanas), drinkers by (or of) sight, the butter-drinkers, thought-gleamers (Cintyadyotas), and groups more familiar (Suparṇa-Gandharva-Piśāca-Dānavā Yakṣās tathā Cāraṇa-pannagāś ca), some being seers and some gods (13, 18, 73 f.). The Tuṣitas are Buddhistic and are found only here and in H (171, 418, 1346), being as unknown to the real epic as are the Ābhāsuras and Lekhas (v. l. lokas).

§ 130. Several individual seers, sometimes without family, sometimes assigned to a well-known group, exist for the purpose of a story or moral. The seer Tanu is such a Ṛṣi, an allegory of hope. He was eight times as long as other men and as thin as one's little finger, and he talked with a hopeless king around whom sat the Munis "as round Dhruva sit the Seven Seers" (12, 127, 6f.; ib. 25). Mataṅga, famous in R, where the trees are said to have grown in his hermitage from the sweat of his pupils (R 3, 73, 23 f.; ib. 74, 21 f.), and owing to whose curse Vālin's followers turn to stone if they intrude on him (R 4, 11, 52; ib. 46, 22), appears in Mbh. as authority for the rule, "break rather than bend" (as Mātaṅga, metri causā, 5, 127, 19). He was of low birth and was reproved by his ass for beating her, which caused him to exercise austerities till his accumulation of merit exercised the gods, and Indra in self-defence taught him that it was vain for a man of low caste to try to attain Brahmanhood and turned him into a bird (see p. 137). Dadhīci, or-ca, who took Indra's place for a thousand years and took sides with Śiva at Dakṣa's sacrifice, is known chiefly as giver of his bones to make Indra's bolt (12, 285, 11 f.; ib. 343, 28 f.). Many of this order are famous Rājarṣis, that is seers who had been kings, like Dilīpa (5, 109, 5, of the South), Yayāti, Mahābhiṣak, etc., who won and lost worlds (1, 102, 3, S has °bhiṣak). Mahābhiṣak, being cursed, apadhyātaḥ, by Brahman to be born on earth, was born as the son of Pratīpa (Śaṃtanu, 1, 96, 3 f.). Yayāti Nāhuṣya is known as ancestor of the epic heroes and as one who attained to heaven and fell through pride but subsequently regained his heavenly place; the Yayātipatana on the Narmadā being still a holy spot (3, 82, 48; cf. ib. 129, 3 f., his place on the Yamunā). His son Yadu born of Devayānī, daughter of Śukra Kāvya, was cursed by his father, while Puru was made heir (5, 149, 2 f.). His love for Viśvācī, his Gāthās on desire, death by starvation, but otherwise his felicity are well-known themes (later is the tale of his daughter Mādhavī, 5, 115, 6 f.; ib. 121, 1 f.; cf. 1, 75, 32 f.; 83, 37; 85, 9; and 12, 26, 13; 327, 31 the Gāthā, na bibheti paro yasmāt, etc.). He has a Rājopaniṣad or secret of royal policy, which is to kill every foe (12, 93, 39). His last words were nālam ekasya tat sarvam, "the universe is not enough for one man" (7, 63, 9). The Rāmāyaṇa tells the story of his wives (7, 58, 7 f.), besides referring often to his felicity and misfortune (R 3, 66, 7; R 4, 17, 10, etc.). Yadu's sons became Rākṣasas and Yātudhānas (R 7, 59, 15); his other disinherited sons became ancestors of wild tribes, Druhyu, Turvasu, Anu. R 1, 70, 40 makes Yayāti the thirty-sixth descendant from Brahman as first; Mbh. (1, 76, 1) makes him tenth. Less general are the tales of Ṛṣis like Gṛtsamada, cursed to become a mṛgaḥ krūraḥ, wild beast, because he made a mistake in recitation (Variṣṭha cursed him, but Maheśvara freed him and made him "immortal and free from sorrow", 13, 18, 20). Niśākara was a southern Ṛṣi who practiced penance for eight thousand years and could reconstruct the wings of Sampāti when burned by the sun (R 4, 60, 8 f.). Suvarṇaśiras is the golden-haired ever young Muni who sings in the ocean, unseen, immeasurable, "whose song is the roar" of ocean

(5, 110, 12: not an "epithet of Svarbhānu", PW). The same passage (ib. 109, 11) says that Yavakrīta's son helped Sāvarṇi Manu establish the southern boundary of the sun. A Ṛṣi Maṅkaṇaka had vegetable juice for blood and danced till all the world danced with him. He was son of Wind and Sukanyā and begot seven sons with wind-names. Śiva converted him by turning his blood to ashes (3, 83, 116f.; 9, 38, 36f.). The later epic tells of Likhita's hands growing out after being cut off (12, 23, 18f.; 115, 22; 130, 29f.; 13, 137, 19), and of the Devarṣi called Bhūrbhuva, a son of Brahman, whom one sees in heaven (13, 107, 81; H 11509)! Occasionally a saint is split in two and makes a pair. Thus in 3, 26, 5f., Vaka or Baka Dālbhya (=Dārbhya); but in 3, 193, 4f., Baka and Dālbhya appear as "two long-lived seers". It is thus that Nārada Parvata (water-giving cloud) becomes N. and P. Whether history or myth underlies some of the tales of the Ṛṣis is doubtful. Aṇīmāṇḍavya, who was not a thief and yet was impaled as a thief (13, 18, 46), and opposed the Law, Dharma (§ 58), may reflect Christian tradition. Jīmūta the Ṛṣi who discovered a gold-mine in the mountains and gave his name to Jaimūta gold may also have been an historical character. He is named with Marutta of auriferous memory, a Rājarṣi (5, 111, 23; 178, 47; 7, 55, 37f.). So with the founders of schools such as Śāṇḍilya and his wise daughter Pañcaśikhā, befriended by Śiva, who paralysed Indra as he tried to kill the saint, "long-suffering Kāpileya", first pupil of Āsuri, born in the family of Parāśara (7, 202, 84; 9, 54, 6; 12, 218, 6f.; 254, 14; 321, 24; 13, 65, 19). Yet these characters are involved in mythology and even Mārkaṇḍeya lived to a mythical age, though this son of Mṛkaṇḍu (S 3, 130 interpolated after B 128) is but an ancient story-telling Ṛṣi (3, 25, 4f.; 183, 42f.; 199, 1, quest of an elder), of whom we know naught except his tales, save that he was opposed to meat-eating (13, 115, 38; perhaps ib. 125, 35) and was husband of Dhūmorṇā (ib. 146, 4). Other Ṛṣis, Yājñavalkya, who converses with Janaka Daivarāti on the eight principles and sixteen modifications known to metaphysics (12, 311, 3f.), Kātyāyana, Garga, Gārgya, etc. are really historical characters. Durvāsas, "son of Atri", and Nārada, "son of Viśvāmitra", are not dissimilar in their love of mischief. They both wander over the worlds, human and divine, and both make trouble. Durvāsas was a human form of Śiva, as Nārada was of Viṣṇu. Durvāsas's blessing provided Kṛṣṇa with 16000 wives (13, 160, 47; 161, 37)! The early epic merely makes him a disagreeable guest, a bald ascetic of ferocious temper (3, 260, 3f.). Nārada as Gandharva is a cloud-spirit, hence a rumbler and grumbler, finally a saint fond of strife. So Viśvāvasu, though a Gandharva, discourses philosophy (12, 319, 27f.). Nārada recited the epic to the gods, as did Asita Devala to the Pitṛs (Devalāsita teaches Nārada, 12, 276, 1f.). Of all these, Nārada is most transparent. His name means "water-giver"; he is at first the cloud, parvata, then Nārada Parvata, and finally Parvata becomes a shadowy second, till they even quarrel (7, 55, 14f.) and curse Nṛga to become a lizard (R 7, 53, 7f. cf. 13, 70, 1f., a different version of the popular tale of the curse attached to stealing a priest's cow). In 12, 30, 4f., as uncle and nephew, they curse each other to become a monkey and to lose heaven, because Nārada loves Sukumārī. Nārada is Maharṣi, especially Devarṣi, but he appears "on a cloud" (R 7, 21, 3). So Kuṇḍadhāra is a cloud (jaladhara) yet a Maharṣi who speaks, etc. (12, 272, 6 and 18f.). Nārada as samarapriya and kelikara sends Rāvaṇa to the White Island to be mocked (R 7, 20, 18; ib. 37, pra. 5, 13). One who dies is not at once

reborn but wanders as a spirit-like a great cloud through the sky (12, 298, 18). Nārada is lokacara, and as a cloud, with Śvasana (wind), goes as (cf. meghadūta) messenger (3, 19, 21 f.). Examples of his desire to foment trouble will be found at 9, 52, 11 f.; ib. 50, 66; 13, 155, 17; 158, 20, etc. Mātali tells him that he has a soul himsātmakamana, or -la, "stained with love of strife" (5, 100, 19); but he does many good acts (3, 175, 18; 5, 185, 2; 7, 163, 15, etc.). Otherwise he is a fable-monger, philosopher, and sectarian teacher (5, 160, 15; 14, 24, 1 f.; 12, 339, 4 f.). Nārada's mother was Vīriṇī; but this is in a second birth (H 120 f.). See § 93 f.

IX. THE THREE SUPREME GODS.

§ 131. **Brahman.** — Brahman lacks the hold of the nature-gods upon popular imagination. He is vaguer and tends to pass back into the universal world-power out of which he emerged, the neuter brahmam .. param (R 7, 109, 4, sic) or brahman. Yet the personifying power invests even It with figurative anthropomorphism; "the city of Brahman" = brahman (brahmapuraṃ prāpya, brahma mahat, 12, 177, 50 f.). The brahman is philosophical; Brahman is mythological, the husband of Kriyā (§ 38) or of Sāvitrī (13, 146, 4; cf. § 41).

Brahman is ātmabhū, svayaṃbhū, "self-existent", and as such is generally identified with Prajāpati or the Great Father of the World, Pitāmaha, and with the other personified abstractions, Dhātṛ, Vidhātṛ (Maker, Disposer), and Viśvakarman, panurgos in a good sense, All-maker. He is Lokapitāmaha, imperishable, undeteriorating (5, 97, 2); "ageless, eternal, unborn" are his standing epithets. He is at once creator, preserver, and destroyer, combining in himself, in the earlier epic, the functions later appropriated by other gods. As Creator, Brahman created the worlds and all that moves and does not move; he is Bhūtapati (2, 3, 14), "lord of existent things"; he assigned also to all their occupations (9, 39, 35; 10, 3, 18). "Maker and lord of the world" he is called, by various terms (sṛṣṭikṛd deva, sarvasya dhātṛ, lokakartṛ, lokadhātṛ, sarvalokakṛt, jagatsraṣṭṛ, lokapati, jagatpati, etc). He is pūrvaja, "first-born" as first being, and so aja, "unborn". His creation is through demiurges. He produces spiritually "mental sons" and they beget all creatures. Brahman's own birth from the mundane egg or from the lotus (below) is ignored in the earliest versions of his creation. Thus R 2, 110, 3 f., in substantial agreement with 12, 166, 12 f., makes Brahman born in the primordial waters, which, unintelligent, enveloped the world. R says in boar-form (RG as "Viṣṇu" is late), but Mbh. ignores the "form" and says that "Brahman created air, fire, sun, earth, space, clouds" (etc. divisions of time), "and then the Great Father, assuming a corporeal body, śarīraṃ lokastham, begot sons of great energy. Dakṣa, son of Pracetas (one of these), then begot sixty daughters, and the Brahmarṣis begot offspring by them, who bore all creatures, gods, Pitṛs (etc., down to the beings born of sweat and eggs). Then the Great Father of all the worlds declared to them the law as uttered in the Vedas". The first of these mental sons was Marīci; from him came Kaśyapa, from whom again came gods and men. The numbers and names of the sons differ in different accounts. In the S text of the tale above, Bharadvāja takes the place of Rudra, and Bhṛgu (as is right, cf. 1, 5, 7) appears between Marīci and Atri; also Prajāpati (Dakṣa) takes the place of Prācetasa. The list of sons is then Marīci,

(Bhṛgu), Atri, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu, Vasiṣṭha and Aṅgiras (dual), Bharadvāja (or Rudra); followed by "and Dakṣa Prācetasa (or Prajāpati) begot sixty daughters". The S text endeavors to remove Rudra (Śiva) from the stigma of inferiority, but it has one advantage, that of making the mental sons nine in number (as in some other passages). The genealogists (1, 66, 4 and 65, 10) call these sons "mental", but know only six, omitting Bhṛgu, Vasiṣṭha, and Bharadvāja or Rudra; yet they add Bhṛgu later. Nine sons beginning with Marīci are recognised in 3, 272, 45 (without further names); the scholiast here adds to the six the names of Vasiṣṭha, Nārada, and Bhṛgu (cf. 12, 340, 18; 346, 6). Manu adds all these together and so makes ten (Manu 1, 35). Rudra may also be got into the list by 1, 66, 1: "Six are the great seers known as Brahman's mental sons; eleven are the sons of Sthāṇu (called, the eleven Rudras"). The genealogist derives "Dakṣa and Dakṣa's wife", respectively, from the right and left thumbs of Brahman; gives Brahman another son, Manu (father of the Prajāpati whose sons were the eight Vasus), and says that Bhṛgu was born from the left breast (heart) of Brahman (to become father of Śukra and Cyavana), as Dharma was born "cleaving the right breast" of the Father-god. Dhātṛ and Vidhātṛ are here "set with Manu" (also a son of Brahman in 1, 73, 9 and 12, 341, 34); their sister is Lakṣmī, to whom also are ascribed cloud horses as "mental sons" (1, 66, 41 and 51). Six seem to be the traditional number. Eight bring the sons in accord with the eight prakṛtayaḥ of philosophy (so Manu and Vasiṣṭha are added in 12, 341, 34). As seven the sons are confused with the Seven Seers (§ 118). Thus in 12, 208, 3, the seven are patayaḥ prajānām or Prajāpatis (including Vasiṣṭha here) and also "seven Brahmans" (also H 42). In this chapter, Dakṣa is the only son of the ten Prācetasas (sons of Prācīnabarhis in the family of Atri) and is called Ka (Brahman's name), though in the preceding section Dakṣa is "seventh of the mental sons of Brahman" and the eldest, "born from the thumb of Brahman previous to the birth of Marīci" (12, 207, 17 and 19). As seventh son, Dakṣa is recognised also in 3, 163, 14. In R 1, 70, 17, a genealogy, Marīci is chief because he fathers Kaśyapa, ancestor of gods and men, and so elsewhere in genealogies. Dakṣa again is born in later accounts from the mundane egg or from the All-Soul and has his own "seven sons" (1, 1, 33) and twenty-one Prajāpatis, though called Prācetasa. In 1, 75, 4 f., Prācetasa Dakṣa is Lokapitāmaha, since he married Vīriṇī, (daughter of Vīriṇa), called Asiknī (Night; cf. H 120) and begot fifty daughters, who were commissioned to bear him sons. They wed Dharma, Kaśyapa, and Soma, and to Kaśyapa thirteen of them bore the Sun and other gods; the Sun being in turn father of Yama and of Manu, who begot all men! If one believes in the unity of the epic one has a pretty task here, for elsewhere Dakṣa has sixty daughters and Manu is the direct son of Brahman and weds the extra ten (12, 343, 57; H 12450); and in 1, 65, 11 there are only thirteen daughters, Aditi being the first. Another tale, 10, 17, 10, makes Brahman appoint Rudra Bhava (Śiva) to be demiurge and create all beings, but Śiva runs and hides in water (like Agni), and when he, Sthāṇu, has disappeared, Brahman "created another creator to create beings", and this proxy "created beings and seven Prajāpatis, with Dakṣa first" (the S text has, "Dakṣa Prajāpati created seven"). Brahman here at least is higher than Śiva, and so he is in 8, 35, 2 f., where Pitāmaha is abhyadhika, "superior" to Rudra. The special demiurge of the second creation is Dakṣa also in H 116, though in the deluge-story

Brahman creates the universe through Manu, who is the father not only of men but of gods and demons (3, 187, 53). In 2, 11, 18f., where the perfect hall of Brahman is described, the prajānāṃ patayaḥ include Dakṣa, Pracetas, etc., Gautama, Aṅgiras, Kratu, till the list runs into names that cannot be considered, but it suggests that when the "twenty-one" prajānāṃ patayaḥ of 1, 1, 33 are mentioned as twenty-one Prajāpatis (12, 335, 35) and only twenty are named, the name Prahlāda may have been left out as incongruous, the space being filled out by the inept yaḥ proktaḥ actually found. Brahman here himself heads the list of Prajāpatis as first of the twenty(-one). Perhaps the stated "six" (above) originally included Brahman, thus agreeing with the "seven creators" in number. R 3, 14, 6f. has a similar list including Kardama, Vikrīta and others mentioned here (12, 335, 35), but also others not in this list, Ariṣṭanemi, etc., and it omits Brahman. Kratu is son of Brahman and father of the Vālakhilyas (1, 66, 9). The mystic equivalents of the mental seven are Sana, Sanatsujāta, Sanaka, Sanandana, Sanatkumāra, Kapila, and Sanātana (12, 340, 72). Of the demiurges, Pulastya, the "beloved son" (3, 274, 12), begot Rakṣasas, Yakṣas, Apes, and Kinnaras; he is renowned as father of Viśravas (hence Vaiśravaṇa and Rāvaṇa), who was half of himself (3, 274, 12f.). The tale of Jaṭāyus in R 3, 14 assigns only eight daughters to Kaśyapa (among them Tāmrā) and is from the source of Mbh. 1, 66, though it upholds the later view that Dakṣa had sixty daughters. Ādi 65 and 66 were originally not parts of one creation myth but have been patched together. Many other beings are especially "sons of Brahman", Jāmbavat, Kavi (adopted son, 13, 85, 125), Death (7, 53, 17, born of Brahman's wrath), Rudra (idem, H 43), Taṇḍi (13, 14, 19); and Surabhi is (different to the account in 1, 66) born from Brahman's vomit of ambrosia, a disgusting tale (5, 102, 3). Earth and Jarā and Sarasvatī are also "daughters of Brahman" (2, 18, 2; 12, 343, 75; 13, 155, 2). Nārada and Sanatkumāra are first "great seers" only, and then become "sons of Brahman". Vācaspati and some other abstractions are not sired at all. The cosmic myth derives even Brahman from the golden egg and philosophy has him born of Ātman (1, 1, 32; 12, 312, 3), a theory united with that of the birth from Viṣṇu's navel (R 7, 56, 7). Vasiṣṭha adresses Brahman as "born of the egg, born of the lotus, god of gods, savior of the world" (cf. H 35f. and 7962f.). The egg-theory is repudiated in a speech ascribed to the Wind god: "How can he who is unborn be born of an egg? The egg means space; thence only was the Great Father born. There is no (cosmic) egg; but Brahman is; he is the king, the enlivener (creator) of the world" (13, 154, 19). Though "lotus-born", abjaja, is not an unusual epithet, it or its equivalent padmayoni, kamalāsana, etc., is found chiefly in late chapters of books seven and thirteen, in 1, 54, 11 and 3, 82, 25, a Tīrtha-praise of Puṣkara, also in the Mārkaṇḍeya episode. The birth from the lotus is formally recounted in 3, 272, 44; 12, 207, 13; and referred to occasionally, as in 3, 12, 38, nābhipadmād ajāyata Brahmā. The androgynous Brahman is found in H 50, where he divides himself to make male and female.

§ 132. Brahman's titles, and those the most magnificent, are given to him without regard to belief in what the titles imply. In the late passage where he is subject to Viṣṇu and this god produces him from his navel and curtly orders Brahman to attend to his "creative business" (prājāpatyaṃ karma, R 7, 104, 7), probably as late a passage as any

in R, Brahman is "mighty lord of the world". In the same book he is described as tribhuvaneśvara, devadeva, "lord of the three worlds", "god of gods"; though the Uttara is intent on making not Brahman but Viṣṇu fit these titles (R 7, 98, 15 f., 23 f.). In R 7, 69, 22, Brahman is "god of gods and lord of gods and great forefather" (devadeva, deveśa, prapitāmaha); in R 7, 76, 38 f., he is devadeveśa, "lord of god of gods", an epithet usually applied to Śiva. The same thing occurs in H, devoted to Viṣṇu, but willing to give titular honors to Brahman, in Oriental style. Titles mean something historically, but they are no gauge of belief or of the estimation in which a god is really held. They are often mere survivals. Brahman's titles, Great Father (grandfather of the world), Lord of all, Creator, Owner of all, Guru of worlds and gods, Pitāmaha, Prajāpati, Viśveśa, Sraṣṭṛ, Dhātṛ, Lokaguru, Lokavṛddha, Suraguru (3, 274, 11; 5, 49, 4; cf. 1, 6, 5; 64, 39), are amplified more for grandiloquence than for added meaning by the epithets Sarvalokapitāmaha, Sarvabhūtapitāmaha, Lokabhāvana, Lokeśvareśvara, Lokādinidhaneśvara, Ādideva (7, 53, 13 and 20), Bhūtātman (3, 87, 19), Lokādi, Hiraṇyagarbha, and a few expressions of doubtful meaning, Viriñci (1, 38, 17), Niruktaga (12, 340, 50; cf. niruktam abhijagmivān, 12, 343, 73, of Yāska finding the lost Veda). Dhātṛ, often independent, is Brahman, e. g. in 3, 20, 27 f.; 3, 173, 8 (cf. 3, 19, 24; 5, 163, 44). Viṣṇu and Śiva eventually assume Brahman's titles Jagannātha, Vasudhādhipa, Śambhū, Sthāṇu, Parameṣṭhin, and even Pitāmaha (3, 231, 53). Agni and Indra as well as Brahman are called Bhagavat, Lokabhāvana, Īśa, Deveśa, and Brahman is Sarvabhuj (like Agni), when destroyer (12, 141, 55). Brahman is also "witness of the world", Lokasākṣin (Deveśa, of Brahman, 3, 142, 51). In a few places Īśāna and Īśvara are clearly used of Brahman (1, 188, 18; 3, 30, 22; 32, 1). Brahman is personified Fate (3, 30, 26 and 36). R 2, 14, 49 calls him Ātmabhū, Prapitāmaha, and has also the titles of the other epic, Lokapati, Varada, Sarvalokapitāmaha (R 6, 61, 23 f.).[1])

§ 133. The view that Brahman was the Ādideva or original god is modified only in the later epic by his superiority being set aside in favor of Viṣṇu or Śiva, with one exception. This exception indeed implies that the god is "lotus-born" and so comes under the head of Viṣṇu's general superiority. It is complicated, however, by the intrusion of another element, which recognises as coeval with Brahman the demon of darkness. The account in general resembles those already given. Brahman is born from the lotus; Dakṣa is the seventh son, and has fifty daughters. Dhātṛ Brahman is commissioned by Govinda to be "overseer of all beings" (12, 207, 17 f.; ib. 38). But immediately on Brahman's birth occurs that of the demon Asura Madhu, whose only origin is "darkness" and who is eventually slain by Kṛṣṇa-Viṣṇu, "to avenge Brahman", as the demon of darkness was endeavoring to kill the creator. Madhu, like Brahman, is pūrvaja, first-born, and from darkness (tamasā or, with S, tamasaḥ). His origin antedates creation and is due to the principle of darkness alone.

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[1]) For other titles, expressing the idea of those above, add Aja, Pūrvaja, Abjaja, etc. already noted. Adolph Holtzmann, Brahman im Mahābhārata, has given, as indicated in the title, a conspectus of statements concerning Brahman for the Great Epic (ZDMG. 38, 167 f.). There too will be found a few more titles, synonymous with those registered above, such as Trilokeśa, Bhūmipati, Lokakṛt. The moral side of Brahman is emphasised in the titles Devasattama, Suraśreṣṭha (etc., e. g. 7, 94, 51), "best of the gods". On his epithet "four-faced" see below.

He is described as attacking Brahman to steal the Vedas (in 12, 348, 27f.; earlier, without the title Pūrvaja, in 3, 12 and 202). Brahman as the principle of light thus creates also in a living being the soul which goes to his heaven as light. In R 3, 5, 44, he greets such a soul with a mere welcoming word, susvāgatam (Śarabhaṅga, the sainted suicide; but heroes also go to the world of Brahman, 7, 142, 29; 143, 34 and 47). But in 12, 200, 25, Brahman cries "welcome" and then "made conscious the flame (soul) and it entered his mouth".

The old Vedic tradition that the Creator was exhausted on completing the creative act finds a faint reflection in the epic statement that when Brahman had created, he rested under a certain Śālmali tree (12, 156, 7). He "created the worlds" at Pṛthūdaka on the Sarasvatī (9, 39, 35)!

§ 134. **Brahman as Preserver.** — The usual view that Brahman having created remains inactive, is true only in part. He appoints in the beginning the functions of his children, the gods (1, 31, 18); especially to Indra he hands over the kingship of the gods (1, 212, 25), and entrusts to him the combat with demons. But he himself is no idle observer. He continues to create (thus he creates death, 7, 52 = 12, 258), and, though usually found in Brahmaloka, often wanders about to various resorts (Prayāga, 1, 55, 1), the Mahendra Hills (favorite resort of Bhūtātman Brahman, 3, 87, 19 and 22), the Himavat (9, 38, 5, 11, 29) and Puṣkara, where Brahman made sacrifice, and the Brahma-lake, where Brahman himself erected the sacrificial post (3, 84, 86). Brahmaloka itself is no place for meditation. Both it and the Hall of Brahman are gay resorts. Saints and heroes and singers and dancers, one of whom is Brahman's own daughter (Menakā, 1, 74, 69), enliven Brahman's home (2, 11 passim and 1, 96, 3; 211, 3; 3, 82, 25), whether it be on high or on the earth. Brahman lives at Tīrthas and especially in Kurukṣetra, which is "heaven on earth" (triviṣṭapa, 3, 83, 4); for once every month "Brahman and the gods assemble there" (ib. 191). Probably the dawn-hymns give rise to the belief that the Vedas daily awaken Brahman: "The Vedas and Aṅgas and Vidyās awaken to-day, adya, the self-existent lord Brahman" (R 2, 14, 49). So day by day he makes the sun rise (3, 313, 46) and keeps daily guard over individuals as well as over the course of nature. He provides food in general, but in particular provides wives and husband (3, 224, 23; 229, 45). He determines the sex of the new creature (6, 98, 22) and imparts to it folly or cleverness (5, 31, 2). After "repeatedly calling to mind whatever was best", Brahman (Dhātṛ) created Aśvatthāman (9, 6, 12), a late creation. He constantly directs the course of events. As the embittered heroine says (3, 30, 21f.): "Brahman, the Creator and Great-grandsire, Maker and Lord (Dhātṛ, Īśvara, Īśāna) gives weal and woe to every creature, and plays with man as a boy does with a bird bound to a string, or as a man with a marionette; sending this one to hell and that one to heaven". This is no drowsy god sitting apart from his creation. It is an active god, ruler and disposer, though more or less confused with the idea of Fate. Brahman's activities are remarkably varied for a god theoretically having nothing to do after creating. He constantly gives advice when the gods fear danger, tells them what to do, informs them that he has forseen, and provided against, the untoward event (1, 197, 5; 3, 100, 6; 106, 1, here he tells the gods how ocean, drained by Agastya, will be filled). He comforts "men and gods" in time of trouble (3, 107, 7; loka as modern log = men). Or a lone petitioner (3, 293, 16) seeks aid in

behalf of another and "through the grace of the Self-existent" obtains the boon.

Long after creation, when men, who had been all Brahmans before (sarvaṃ brāhmam), were divided into castes, and sin flourished, Brahman created laws and punishment. He makes castes through the help of the good demon Bali, according to H 1688; but of his own initiative in 12, 188, 4f. As "half of Viṣṇu", Brahman sleeps a thousand times four Yugas (3, 189, 39—42); but when he wakes he remains active till the end of his day. Thus he curses the sinner who shocks modest Ganges (1, 96, 6); curses a nymph to be born as a fish (1, 63, 58); curses another to be born as a doe (3, 110, 36) and become mother of the horned saint Ṛṣyaśṛṅga; and even curses the gods (but this is late) because they do not sacrifice to him (H 907). Yet all the curses in the real epic are for the good of the world, and so he curses Kumbhakarṇa to sleep half the year, because this demon (grandchild of Brahman) harries gods and men (R 7, 23); and so, though he permits Indra to be overcome, he instigates his release (ib. 61, 23). He gives immortality to Vibhīṣaṇa because, like Prahlāda, he is a good demon (3, 275, 31 = R 7, 10, 35). To sinful demons he refuses immortality (1, 209, 21). He allows the Asuras to grasp the shadow, not the substance (R 4, 40, 35). His recognition of Rāma as Viṣṇu is based on moral grounds (R 6, 120, 13f.). From his mouth came the priests as utterers of truth (12, 72, 4, etc.) As Sarvalokaprabhu and Bhūtabhartṛ, he blesses the undertaking of the good (R 2, 25, 25). Even the victim of his rather inconsiderate boon yields with an expression of confidence in the self-existent Lokaguru (Hanumat, R 5, 48, 41 f.). He grants the boon of invulnerability not only to the Aśvins but to the more modern Hanumat (R 5, 59, 19). He takes from Uśanas and bestows his wealth on Maya, because one is evil and the other good (R 4, 51, 12 and 15). Both epics thus recognise him as an ever-active god. The gods sit round him and serve him as courtiers do a king (2, 4, 41). He sits in his "holy world-revered home" and advises Agni how to escape dyspepsia (1, 223, 68), when appealed to by that god; and without appeal comforts his daughter-in-law Pulomā (wife of Bhṛgu) and "names her tears" the river Vadhūsarā (1, 6, 5). A late tale makes him send Indra to comfort Sītā (after R 3, 50). He watches battles on earth and comes to earth to advise Vyāsa and Vālmīki (1, 1, 59f.; R 1, 2, 23f.). He had a war-chariot, which he shared with other gods (Indra, Varuṇa, and Īśāna, 7, 127, 1), but let it come into the possession of mortals. He journeys on a vehicle drawn by geese, the gods and seers being his escort (3, 291, 17f.). He is called here Padmayoni, Caturmukha, Jagatsraṣṭṛ. He gives away weapons (R 2, 44, 11, etc.) and even makes them himself (1, 225, 19; R 3, 44, 14); as Dhātṛ he makes the bolt of Indra (12, 343, 41). The brāhmam astram was made by him to counteract other weapons (7, 201, 37), apparently distinct from "Brahman's rod" (R 6, 22, 5). He made (it is implied) defensive armor (7, 103, 20). He made Hiraṇyapura (3, 173, 11), or it was "made by Viśvakarman" (5, 100, 2), who is a secondary Prajāpati (1, 66, 28) as "maker of arts". Probably the two were sometimes identified, as "Viśvakṛt made the universe" (13, 40, 37). But usually Brahman does the thinking and Viśvakarman does the work. Thus it is both as creator and preserver that Brahman commands Viśvakarman to make Tilottamā, to tempt Sunda and Upasunda to their ruin (1, 211, 10). So (above) Brahman makes the bolt, but in 3, 100, 23, Tvaṣṭṛ, the artifex, actually converts the bones of Da-

dhīca into the bolt. As warrior-god, Brahman and Prajāpati taught Arjuna how to use weapons (4, 61, 26), Brahman in particular teaching him how to shoot. Here Prajāpati is not Brahman. So in 14, 35, 25, "spotless Brahman" is consulted by the seers including Prajāpati, a distinct personality; though ib. 34, "Prajāpati who is truth" is not the seer, and in 3, 183, 63, Prajāpati who "created men like gods" and is pūrvotpanna (= pūrvaja) is Brahman. After "creating the Vedas, men, gods, demons, worlds, times, other Prajāpatis, truth, law, austerities, usage, purity, and the castes" (12, 188, 11 f., asṛjat, vidadhe, nirmame for "create"), he helps the Seers find the Vedas stolen by the demons (12, 210, 19; 348, 28); he first "sang them in the East" (5, 108, 10). He fashions the warrior's heart (5, 134, 37), perhaps in the beginning, but it is late when he composes a law-treatise called the Trivarga, abridged by Bṛhaspati (and Indra, 12, 59, 30). His Gāthā Brahmagītāḥ are "songs composed by Brahman" (not "sung in the Veda"), for the synonymous expression is "sung by Prajāpati" (12, 265, 10 and 12; cf. ib. 136, 1). Other (all unimportant) sayings ascribed to Prajāpati, Dhātṛ, Svayaṃbhū, etc. are given in 13, 35, 4—12; 13, 20, 14; 1, 113, 12; 3, 31, 39 (cf. R 4, 34, 11, gīto'yaṃ Brahmaṇā ślokaḥ kruddhena, on ingratitude). Prajāpati (as year, etc. 3, 200, 37 f., 68) is pleased with food, as Indra and Agni are with a seat and a welcome, respectively. The Vedic mogham annaṃ vindate, etc. is a gītaṃ Brahmaṇā (5, 12, 18 f.). He arbitrates between the quarrelling breaths (14, 23, 7 f.); decides that aum is the best Veda for gods and demons (14, 26, 8); and instructs the Seers (ib. 35, 26 f.). In fact, in the later epic he is too active, personally manufacturing the diadem of Manu and Rāma (pra. R 6, 131, 65), etc., as he becomes a lay-figure for uttering discourses.

§ 135. Brahman's activity and impartiality lead to the fundamental weakness of his character. He is a god of asceticicsm, he is father of gods and demons. Therefore, to win his favor, gods and demons practice asceticism, and because he is an impartial father he grants invulnerability, etc., to either god or demon indifferently. As the demons always take advantage of this weakness, Brahman is ever engaged in preserving the world from the result of his own folly. One cannot call it ignorance, for he is prescient. He is "equable to all", that is his boast and glory (1, 49, 10; 13, 85, 3; R 1, 1, 13), but he is also well-disposed, suhṛd, toward both demons and gods (5, 78, 7), as being equally his children. He created them as an ascetic (mahātapāḥ, 3, 189, 47) and "the place of the Great Father" is obtained by like asceticism (12, 160, 32, 161, 2). So Sunda and Upasunda win their evil might (1, 209, 21); so Bali becomes a favorite (12, 223, 11 f.; Indra is forbidden to kill him). The whole drama of the Rām. is based on the criminal folly of Brahman in giving Rāvaṇa his power (3, 275, 20; 276, 1 f.; R 6, 41, 63, "Rāvaṇa's insolence is due to Brahman's boon"). Virādha (Tumburu) boasts of the same thing (R 3, 3, 6). The Kabandha exults in being able to attack Indra because Brahman was so pleased with his tapas that he gave him immunity (R 3, 71, 8). As Brahman is the priests' darling god (brāhmaṇavatsala, R 7, 5, 16); so Rāvaṇa's son is vallabhaḥ Svayaṃbhuvaḥ, to whom Brahman gives the very brahmāstra which ensnares Rāma and the means to conquer Brahman's own son Jāmbavat (R 6, 73, 64 f.; 74, 12 and 14). Restriction of Rāvaṇa's power is due only to Brahman becoming offended at the rape of Puñjikasthalā. Other examples might be cited. They show that

Brahman is constantly active, even if as preserver he preserves in great part from the consequence of his own acts. Yet he has taken a vow that "sinners must be slain" (8, 33, 43) and waits the issue calmly, confident that virtue will win (5, 128, 41; right makes might, 6, 21, 9f.). But his lack of initiative in slaying leads eventually to his dishonor: "One does not honor very much the gods that do not kill", and those cited as thus without very much honor are Brahman and Dhātṛ as well as the god of innocuous desuetude, Pūṣan (12, 15, 16). This is put less baldly in R 3, 64, 55: "If the heroic maker of the world were merciful, all would dishonor him". But he is not altogether disregarded. He is invoked for a blessing, karotu svasti te Brahmā (S 7, 94, 41; B has brahma); his favor is requested at the beginning of a tale (1, 64, 3). In his honor is performed a celebration, mahotsava, like that of Śiva, at the autumn harvest festival, in which wrestling and gladiatorial games are performed, perhaps at the time of the new moon, when seers visit the god in Brahmaloka (12, 192, 20 and 1, 96, 3f.), as if the Father God were still a god delighting in destruction (4, 13, 14 and 40; the contest of men and wild animals is held in the inner court of the palace so that ladies may look on).

§ 136. **Brahman as Destroyer.** — He created Death (above), that the world might be preserved, but he is also known as the god "whose anger burned the world" (12, 257, 16), and this anger seems to be ever in the mind of the unsectarian believer. "Surely", cries Mātali, "this must be the destruction of the world which is caused by Brahman" (Pitāmahena saṃhāraḥ prajānāṃ vihito dhruvam = jagataḥ kṣayaḥ, 3, 171, 21). He is "Lord of the World's Destruction", Lokādinidhaneśvara (see above, § 132), and the destruction of earth is caused by his wrath, who is Sarvapitāmahaḥ sarvasya Dhātā caturānanaḥ (R 5, 54, 37 and 43). This is not the destruction caused by his sleep, but by his wrath, Svayaṃbhukopena. The world-destruction caused by Brahman's falling asleep is but a phase of eternal life. How long it lasts is doubtful, as the epic authorities cannot agree even on so vital a point as this. A Yuga lasts 12000 years and a thousand Yugas measure the duration of Brahman's sleep and of his day, or, as expressed in terms of the means of destruction, "at the end of a thousand Yugas, Fire (Vibhāvasu) destroys all", and Brahman, whose sons are here mystically interpreted as the "Fathers of Fathers" (Mind, Intelligence, etc.), begins to sleep (12, 47, 56; cf. 3, 3, 55; 3, 188, 28; 6, 32, 17). But in 12, 312, 1f., where also the gods are "sons of the Pitṛs", and Brahman is produced by the All-soul (Avyakta as God), the day of Brahman is "one quarter less" than a day of God, and a day of God is ten thousand times forty-eight thousand years; that is, Brahman's day is seventy-five thousand Kalpas, or 360000000 years. A "day of the elements" lasts 144000000 years according to this system, which, however, is quite unknown to the real epic. But even the pseudo-epic does not have such calculations as are found in the Harivaṃśa and Purāṇas, in which one period of a Manu is seventy-one times the four ages or a period of 4320000 human years and fourteen Manvantaras make one day of Brahman (H 531). The earlier calculation is that of 12000 years making one day of Brahman (3, 188, 22f.). An insert at S 2, 51, 41 says that 3600000 years pass while Viṣṇu sleeps (jagmus tasya .. varṣāṇi . ṣaṭtriṃśacchatasāhasram mānuṣeṇe 'ha saṅkhyayā). Unless specially restricted the years are to be calculated as human years, and probably

till the period of the later epic, which is represented by 3, 3 and 3, 188 (above) as well as by the pseudo-epic, the only period known was the Yuga-complex of twelve thousand years. Then a thousand such were made a day of Brahman, and with the introduction of Manvantaras in the later epic speculation, this was replaced by astronomical calculations based on the knowledge of the precession of Āryabhaṭa or Hipparchus.[1])

§ 137. Brahman is caturmukha (passim), caturānana (R 5, 54, 37), caturvaktra (12, 351, 11; R 7, 5, 12), not as having four faces and so four heads, and as bearing a Veda on each head, but as being omniscient, seeing in all directions. Except for an allusion to his "Veda-knowing hand" (R 7, 36, 3) this is almost the only descriptive epithet of his form. He is, as also said, sarvajña, "all-knowing", and as such he is also caturmūrti as he is caturveda, embracing four forms or divisions of law and Veda (3, 203, 15; S adds caturvarga); or, again, he is amitadhīḥ, "of unmeasured wisdom" (2, 11, 57), more particularly, "he knows the past, the present, and the future", bhūtabhavyabhaviṣyavid (7, 54, 32). He is as Īśa and Śaṃbhu (later epithets of Śiva) aware of what will happen, and as such a Suraguru, most venerable of gods, he commands Viṣṇu to be born on earth, and Viṣṇu receives the command carried to him by Indra, says "it is well", and obeys. Useless to conceal the fact of Viṣṇu's inferiority in the defiant addition that Viṣṇu himself is Prajāpatipati (1, 64, 43 f.). So in 3, 276, 5, Brahman says "the four-armed god has been sent to earth by my orders" to overcome Rāvaṇa. It is he who makes Soma lord of plants and Dhruva lord of stars and protects from the fire below (H 64, 1330, 2557). The boar-incarnation is not Viṣṇu's in the older Rāmāyaṇa but Brahman's (R 2, 110, 3), and the gods do not at first recognise the boar-form of Viṣṇu at all (3, 142, 50). It is Brahman who fears no one (R 2, 30, 27); it is he whom Viṣṇu and Indra revere as Deveśa, Lord of gods (9, 34, 18). Viṣṇu as the "one eternal son of Aditi" is, to exalt him, said to be "like Brahman" (5, 97, 3). Brahman outranks Viṣṇu, leading the gods (3, 85, 70 and 73); and "all the gods along with Viṣṇu" come in fear to him (3, 105, 19). These passages are not sectarian; but it is even more surprising that Kṛṣṇa-Viṣṇu is unknown to the gods and has to be explained by Brahman (6, 66, 4). At first, Brahman is a "pure-souled" (1, 212, 22) and "eternal, immeasurable" being, higher than all the Devas. But the later epic, and long before the gross additions of the pseudo-epic, inverted this relation. Viṣṇu now creates Brahman as male demiurge, for at best Brahman from brahman is a form of Viṣṇu as pure soul (3, 272, 44; 6, 65, 59). Brahman binds upon Viṣṇu his armor (binds it with a brahmasūtra or mantra, 7, 94, 70). He becomes the demiurge of Viṣṇu, as Manu was once his demiurge (6, 65, 71 f.); he worships the horse-head form of Viṣṇu and receives the law from him (12, 341, 91 f.); he is the sixth form of Viṣṇu Nārāyaṇa (12, 350, 4); he becomes the "general agent" of Viṣṇu (12, 340, 50: Hiraṇyagarbho lokādiś caturvaktro niruktagaḥ, Brahmā sanātano devo mama bahvarthacintakaḥ). Brahman's birth is from the lotus of Viṣṇu's navel; yet this is but the seventh of a succession of such births. "First", says Brahman, "I was born from thy will; second, from thy eyes; third, from

[1]) Compare on this point the conclusive reckoning in the Book of Indian Eras (Cunningham, 1883), p. 4, where it is shown that the estimate of 4320000 years must have been based on astronomical calculations. For the Purāṇic reckoning, compare Wilson's note to the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa, p. 24.

thy speech; fourth, from thy ears; fifth, from thy nose; sixth, as egg from thee; and this is my seventh birth, from the lotus" (12, 348, 43). The sectarian passages are sometimes naively expressive of Brahman's attitude toward the new rôle of Viṣṇu. Thus in R 7, 110, 3 f., Brahman comes in a car to greet Rāma (Viṣṇu), and hails him as Viṣṇu Lokagati, adding, "savior of the world, though some do not acknowledge thee".

§ 138. Śiva, like Viṣṇu, seeks advice from Brahman (1, 211, 4). Brahman calls Śiva "sonny", putraka, sets him a task, and tells him not to kill (7, 52, 45; 54, 13). Brahman begets Śiva (12, 352, 20; 166, 16; H 43) in Viṣṇuite passages; Śiva springs from his forehead (lalāṭaprabhavaḥ putraḥ Śivaḥ, 12, 351, 11); yet this is more to depreciate Śiva than to honor Brahman. It is only through Brahman's boon that Śiva's son Skanda can conquer the demons (3, 231, 105). In 1, 18, 42 and 10, 17, 10, Brahman apparently orders Śiva to drink poison for the good of the world. On the other hand, in late passages, Brahman makes obeisance to Skanda (7, 202, 90f.; 9, 44, 30 f.), and "Śiva creates the Creator". In Droṇa and Karṇa (in part) and in Anuśāsana, Śiva is superior (Brahman acts as his charioteer, 8, 34, 120f.), and as Prajāpati and Devadeva creates Brahman (Brahmāṇam asṛjat, 7, 201, 74; 13, 14, 4). Brahman eulogises Śiva and confesses his superior power (7, 202, 90 f.). Brahman is made the revealer to Indra of Śiva's power (13, 17, 175). Brahman is a form of Śiva (8, 33, 58, i. e. "Brahman" is a title of Śiva). At this period the great pair take over Brahman's epithets. Brahman and Śiva are both caturmukha; Brahman and Kṛṣṇa-Viṣṇu are both trikakud and tridhāman (12, 43, 10; 343, 93; R 7, 36, 7, etc.). In 12, 121, 57 f., a contest of cults results in an inextricable confusion of text, whereby Brahman becomes father (by sneezing) of Kṣupa (cf. R 7, 76, 38), who was born from the sneeze, kṣup, of the god, and had entrusted to him the system of punishment. Brahman adored Viṣṇu (S has Śiva), who made part of himself Punishment, which passes into various hands (through Kṣupa again to Manu), the passage ending with the glorification of Śiva (ib. 122, 53; cf. ib. 166, 68 f., where Manu receives the Sword invented by Brahman and gives it to his own "son Kṣupa").

As the true god, Brahman is god of troth; any oath taken "in front of Brahman" is to be fulfilled (1, 37, 5). He even directs fate and can modify a curse (1, 16, 5; 20, 16), but he cannot alter entirely such an oath. On such recognition of Brahman as still the highest god rests the statement that only those who die during the northern course of the sun go to Brahman (6, 32, 24; 13, 169, 9 f. etc.), as if he were the supreme representative of the divine power. It is only surprising in epics infected by later views to find so much that still recalls the glory that was Brahman's before the rise of unorthodox sects.

§ 139. **Creation.** — Brahman's creation, given above in outline, is best considered in detail with other schemes of creation. R 3, 14, 6f. and Mbh. 1, 65, 10 f. differ in detail and in some important points but agree in general. Both differ from the creation-scheme of the mundane egg (cf. Ch. Up. 3, 19, 2), according to which Brahman, Viṣṇu, Śiva, the twenty-one Prajāpatis, sky, earth, "the 33000, 3300, and 33" gods, etc., come out of the golden (cosmic) egg; and, in particular, the human race, as represented by the family of Yayāti, derives from Dyaus, the Sky, through Vivasvat, the Sun. The late passage (R 7, 23, pra. 5, 36) puts the number of gods (suras, S, for svaras B) seen within Nārāyaṇa Deva (Viṣṇu as

apila) at three crores. The genealogy of 1, 65 starts with Brahman, gives m six mental sons (already named § 131), says that Marīci, the first of ese, had a son Kaśyapa, father of all creatures by daughters of Dakṣa, irteen in number (elsewhere fifty, of whom twenty-seven married Soma, n married Dharma), mothers of all created beings, as follows: Aditi be- me mother of the Ādityas; Diti, of Hiraṇyakaśipu, the father of Prahlāda, aṃhrāda, Anuhrāda, Śibi, and Bāṣkala; Danu, of the (forty!) Dānavas, ipracitti, Śambara, Namuci, Puloman, Asiloman, Keśin, Virūpākṣa, Ni- umbha, Vṛṣaparvan, etc., among them several aśva-names (as Wester- ers?); Kalā, of "sons of wrath"; Danāyu, of Vṛtra, Vala, and Vīra; Siṃ- ikā, of Rāhu, Candrahantṛ (and other eclipse-demons); Krodhā, of wrath-conquered" demons; Prādhā, of several female spirits and nymphs, few gods and Gandharvas; Vinatā, of Garuḍa, Ariṣṭanemi, etc.; Kadrū, f Śesa and other serpents; Kapilā, of cows, Gandharvas, Apsarasas, Brah- ans, and ambrosia; Muni, of some gods and Gandharvas (Varuṇa, Par- nya, Kali, Nārada, etc.). Viśvā (omitted here!) is in H 146f. mother of iśvadevas (but wife of Dharma). As already remarked, the daughters re fifty in 9, 35, 45, or sixty; in this case Manu (§ 142) marries ten; cf. 3, 14 and H 142. Vasus and Rudras, All-gods, Sādhyas, and Maruts re born of the ten daughters who married Dharma (12, 207, 20); Prahlāda, bove, was father of Virocana, Kumbha, and Nikumbha(!), the first of whom as father of Bali (the father of Bāṇa, a Śivaite, Rudrasyā 'nucaraḥ, 1, 5, 18f.). The sun and moon are assigned to Danu but they are here de- ons! Reverting now to Brahman's other sons the genealogist says that tri's sons were numerous seers and saints; Aṅgiras' were Bṛhaspati, Uta- ya, Saṃvarta; Pulastya's, Rākṣasas, Kiṃnaras, apes, Yakṣas, etc.; Pu- ha's, fabled animals, lions, tigers, Kiṃpuruṣas; Kratu's, the sun-guarding eers. Dakṣa (cf. 12, 207, 19) came from Brahman's right toe and his wife Īriṇī) from the left toe. Dakṣa made her mother of the fifty daughters foresaid. The ten marrying Dharma are abstractions (virtues, etc.), Kīrti, akṣmī, Dhṛti, Medhā, Puṣṭi, Śraddhā, Kriyā, Buddhi, Lajjā, Mati. Dharma, orn of Brahman's heart, had as sons Śama, Kāma, Harṣa (Peace, Love, oy), whose wives were Prāpti, Rati, Nanda (Possession, Passion, Delight), on whom rest the worlds". Rati as wife of Kāma is recognised else- here (e. g. R 5, 15, 29). A v. l. makes it uncertain whether Manu or Muni 1, 66, 17) is meant as origin of Vasus. Prabhātā is mother of Prabhāsa, hose wife is Bṛhaspati's sister and mother of Viśvakarman. The last is ot identified here with Tvaṣṭr, whose daughter, wife of Savitṛ in mare- orm, bore the Aśvins (ib. 27f.). This pair of gods and animals and plants re "Guhyakas"; but Bṛhaspati is here called an Āditya. Bhṛgu is father f Śukra; and Dhātṛ (already son of Aditi) and Vidhātṛ are sons of Brah- an ("staying with Manu"), brothers of Lakṣmī, whose "mental sons are ne sky-going steeds". Śukra's daughter Devī is wife of Varuṇa and nother of Bala and Surā (suranandinī), "the intoxicating drink which elights gods". Suggested perhaps by Surā, Sin (Adharma) is then said o be born of Destruction, his wife being Nirṛti and his sons Bhaya, Ma- ābhaya, and Mṛtyu (Fear, Terror, and Death). Nirṛti gives her name to ne Nairṛta Rākṣasas; and "Death has neither wife nor son" (but in 12, 9, 93, "Death's daughter" is Sunīthā, mother of Vena). Next comes the enealogy of animals. Tāmrā had five daughters, Kākī, Śyenī, Bhāsī, Dhṛtarāṣṭrī, Śukī (Crow, Hawk, Vulture, Duck, Parrot), who became nothers of these creatures and their like. Krodhavaśā had nine daugh-

ters of wrathful nature like herself, mothers of deer, bears, elephants, steeds, apes, etc., especially prominent being Surabhi as mother of Rohiṇī and of Gandharvī, mothers, in turn, of cows and horses, respectively, and also mother of Vimalā and Analā; of whom the latter became mother of the seven piṇḍaphala trees (dates, palms, cocoanuts) and of Śukī! One of the nine was Surasā, mother of cranes and Nāgas (so 5, 103, 4). Śyenī was wife of Aruṇa and bore him Saṃpāti and Jaṭāyus (Aruṇā and Garuḍa are sons of Vinatā). Kadrū bore pannagas, in antithesis to Surasā's brood of Nāgas. This defective and self-contradictory list is eked out by the statement in R 3, 14 and H 170, that Tāmrā was one of the eight daughters of Dakṣa whom Kaśyapa married, given here as Aditi, Diti, Danu, Kālikā, Tāmrā, Krodhavaśā, Manu, and Analā, of whom the first four (S omits Danu) became willingly the mothers of gods, Daityas, Aśvagrīva (also in Mbh. as representative Dānava), and Nāraka and Kālaka; while Tāmrā became mother of the birds (krauñcī, etc., v. l. kākī). Airāvata is here son of Irāvatī, daughter of Bhadramada (sic) instead of son of Bhadramanas, one of the nine daughters of Krodhavaśā (above). Śvetā is mother of world-elephants, Manu is mother of men (R 3, 14, 29). The chief variation is in the assumption of various Prajāpatis not in Mbh., altogether seventeen original progenitors, Kardama (known in Mbh. 12, 59, 91), Vikrīta, Śeṣa, Suvrata or Saṃśraya, Bahuputra, Sthāṇu, Marīci, Atri, Kratu, Pulastya, Aṅgiras, Pracetas, Pulaha, Dakṣa, Vivasvat, Ariṣṭanemi, and "last of all Kaśyapa" (some v. l. in G). Kaśyapa's wives are Balā and Atibalā or (v. l.) Manu and Analā; Siṃhikā is introduced among mothers of animals, and there are other minor variations. The incongruous finale of Mbh. is due to the R model; RB having been copied by Mbh., which in turn has influenced RG. Two other Rām. genealogies, 1, 70 and 2, 110, derive the human race from Manu, son of Vivasvat, son of Kaśyapa, son of Marīci, son of Brahman. For the incongruous accounts concerning Surabhi, see further 1, 99, 8; 2, 11, 40f.; 3, 9, 4f.; ib. 230, 33 (appears with the fiend Śakuni and Saramā, mother of dogs); 5, 102, 2f.; 12, 173, 3, Dākṣāyaṇī Devī, below earth, her milk the Milky Sea, mother of the four cows of space, divine animals that guard the quarters, diśāṃ pālyaḥ, Surūpā, Haṃsikā, Subhadrā, Sarvakāmadugdhā; 5, 110, 10, she is in the West. She teaches Indra pity for her children (3, 9, 4f.; R 2, 74, 18). Her milk, united with ocean, was churned and brought out Surā, Lakṣmī, ambrosia, Uccaiḥśravas, and the kaustubha (5, 110, 11). H makes her mother of Rudras by Kaśyapa, mother of Vasus, of various plants, and rūpārdhamayī patnī Brahmaṇaḥ (H 11527f.).

§ 140. Philosophy speaks of nine creations, the first being that of the personal soul as Brahman; the second, consciousness; the third, mind; the fourth, the elements, etc., or, with a mixture of myth and philosophy, makes Brahman create earth and sky after his creator made the vegetable world (12, 182-192; ib. 311, 16f.). Brahman then becomes the "mental son" of the superior Viṣṇu (as God) and is born of "the thought of God desiring to create"; the nāsatyaṃ janma or "nasal birth" of Brahman being the one in which he has a son Sanatkumāra, who teaches the Prajāpati Vīriṇa, who in turn teaches the disāṃ pāla Kukṣi, even before the āṇḍajaṃ janma (egg-birth) of Brahman (12, 349, 27.). No one scheme obtains. The Kaśyapa as creative power may once have been the tortoise as earth-power (cf. ŚB. 7, 5, 1, 5) upholding Mandara (1, 18, 11), later (cf. VP. 1, 9, 86) interpreted, kāmaṭhaṃ rūpam, as a form of Viṣṇu (R 1, 45,

pra. 11). Kamaṭha and Varāha are both epic proper names, but do not help to establish totemism, though Kamaṭhaka and Kūrma as Nāga names may suggest such an explanation. An Asura in shape of a tortoise was once killed by Viṣṇu (kūrmarūpeṇa, 3, 84, 121).

§ 141. Secondary creators are Viśvakarman and Tvaṣṭṛ (above). The former makes Soma's car (acquired by Arjuna) and is identified with the latter as Bhauvana, bhuvanaprabhu (Bhaumana in S; cf. 1, 32, 3, as guard of Soma). He is a Prajāpati, who is "house-maker" of the gods and a vardhaki, carpenter, best of artists (1, 66, 28 f.; 225, 12 f.; 4, 46, 3; 5, 56, 7; 6, 50, 43 f.; cf. S 5, 94, 15 and 19 and R 7, 5, 19). For Indra's sake, Viśvakarman made the bow Victory (vijaya), given by Indra to Rāma Bhārgava and by him to Karṇa (8, 31, 43 f.). He made Śiva's car, in which he overcame the triple city of demons (8, 34, 17 f.); Śiva's bow and ornaments given by Agastya to Rāma (R 1, 75, 11); and the golden wreath worn by Skanda (3, 229, 25); he also made Laṅkā (3, 279, 12; R 4, 58, 20; ib. 5, 2, 20, and often). But it is said also of Arjuna's car that "the gods made it", though doubtless this merely generalises (5, 57, 62). In 3, 114, 17 (cf. RG. 4, 44, 49 as Rudra) Viśvakarman seems to be a name of Brahman. He is not the only worker, as Brahman made and owned Arjuna's bow (4, 43, 1 f.), but under Brahman he made Tilottamā (above) and for Kubera he made the car Puṣpaka (R 5, 8, 2; ib. 6, 124, 29); for Prajāpati to give to Indra he made the conch got by Yudhiṣṭhira, etc., etc. Viśvakarman thus made the golden cows (images) given at sacrifices by Gaya (3, 121, 12); but his most famous work was the Śārṅgadhanvan, Viṣṇu's bow (3, 3, 48; R 3, 12, 33; R 4, 42, 25). In R 5, 20, 13, rūpakartā sa Viśvakṛt must be Viśvakarman. In R 2, 91, 11 f., he is differentiated from Tvaṣṭṛ as joint makers of a magical feast. Vālin's wonderful bier is made by Viśvakarman in R 4, 25, 24 (but "by artisans" in the Bombay text). R also ascribes to him the making of the homes of Kubera and of Garuḍa and of Agastya (R 4, 41, 35; ib. 43, 22). He was father of Nala, who built the bridge to Laṅkā (R 1, 17, 11; ib. 6, 22, 44). The Tvāṣṭram astram may be his work (R 1, 27, 19). Another secondary creator is Maya, who is to the demons what Viśvakarman is to the gods (R 4, 51, 11). He married Hemā (R 4, 51, 10 f.; ib. 7, 12, 3), is son of Diti, and builds palaces for the Pāṇḍus (2, 1, 1 f.). See p. 49.

§ 142. Manu Vaivasvata or Sūryaputra, brother of Yama, was a Prajāpati and mānavendra or first king, who founded the race of Ikṣvāku, the first king and bearer of the rod in the Kṛta age (R 1, 5, 6, etc.). More generally: "Vivasvat's son was Yama Vaivasvata; wise Manu was a younger son of the Sun. From Manu men were born" (1, 75, 11 f.). His wife is Sarasvatī (5, 117, 14, a daughter of Brahman, elsewhere daughter of Dakṣa and wife of Dharma, H 11525, v. l. Marutvatī; 12, 343, 75 has Sarasvatī as daughter of Brahman) and his daughter is Āruṣī (wife of Cyavana and mother of Aurva, 1, 66, 46). Ten wives are given him in later works (12, 343, 57), which give him ten of Dakṣa's daughters (above). He had ten sons named and fifty unnamed, who perished by mutual strife. Among the ten (13, 137, 19) are Vena, Ikṣvāku, Śaryāti, Ilā = Sudyumna, Nābhāga, and others less well known. Manu disposes as well as creates, determining how much cloudy weather Magadha is to have (2, 21, 10). As son of the Sun, he gives Soma the "seeing science" (1, 170, 43, cākṣuṣī vidyā). He was, as "oldest man", rescued during the deluge by a fish-form of Brahman (3, 187, 19 f.), perhaps like the tortoise a totem. H 51

first interposes a Virāj between his father and Brahman. With him in the ark were the Seven Seers, and after the deluge Brahman says: "I am Brahman the creator; naught is higher than I . . . Manu shall now create all beings, gods, Asuras, men, the whole movable and immovable world" (3, 187, 52f.), but he adds "by my grace", i. e. Manu is demiurge. This Manu receives the law from Brahman (12, 349, 51), as he receives the system of punishment, but it is not he whose verba ipsissima are so often cited. He is born of the cosmic egg (1, 1, 32) and is a Rājarṣi or royal seer. The earliest passage to differentiate Manus is 6, 34, 6 (Gītā 10, 6), which speaks of Seven Seers and four Manus producing the world through Kṛṣṇa's thought. These are not the four Sāvarṇas but Vaivasvata, Svāyaṃbhuva, Cākṣuṣa, and Svārociṣa. The split began with distinguishing the son of the Sun from the son of Brahman (=grandson). Svārociṣa is a synonym of Vaivasvata, an epithet become a person. He also is a legal light. His son Śaṅkhapada and his grandson Sudharman or Suvarṇābha are mentioned in 12, 349, 37. Cākṣuṣa also had a son Variṣṭha (13, 18, 20). Then from misunderstood Vedic passages (RV. 8, 51, 1; 10, 62, 11) were fashioned new Manus, Sāvarṇa (cf. Merusāvarṇi, 2, 78, 14), known as the eighth Manu (12, 225, 30f.; 13, 18, 48), etc. The aeons of these Manus occur in about the same order, the first mentioned by name being those of Vaivasvata and Svāyaṃbhuva (12, 335, 9; 337, 56), Sūryaputra's antara being synonymous with the former (ib. 343, 26; 350, 42—55). H 409f. gives the names of the fourteen Manus recognised later, as well as those of the four Sāvarṇas (cf. VP. 3, 2); but all this is really out of the epic range. Prācetasa Manu gets his name from the fact that all the Pracetasas were born of Prācīnabarhis, great-grandson of Aṅga, son of Manu (1, 75, 4f.; 13, 147, 24); as such he is a Prajāpati. Prajāpati himself is differentiated from Brahman (12, 108, 25f.), but often is identical with the creator, and in plural form becomes secondary creators, which also include Aryaman and his sons, called Pradeśas as lords and creators (12, 208, 1f.; ib. 10; ib. 269, 21, etc.), that is, another father of the race (Aryaman as race-name). Instead of fourteen, seven Manus are recognised in 13, 14, 397; 18, 73 (as Śiva-worshippers). Manu is reckoned the eighth sage after the seven mental sons of Brahman, who together constitute the group of pravṛtti or active saints as apposed to the nivṛtti or Yoga-devoted saints (Sana, Sanatsujāta, etc.; 12, 336, 44f.; 341, 35 and 69).[1]) In the holy G-verses (6, 43, 2f.; spurious), Manu must be Gāyatrī (the holy Gs are G-āyatrī, G-ītā, G-aṅgā, and G-ovinda). In 3, 221, 4, Manu is a name of Agni, but this, like the identification of Manu and the Sun (3, 3, 56), is of no mythological importance. For Kāla and Kāma as creative powers, see § 31 and § 105f.; for Dyaus and Pṛthivī as Father and Mother, see § 34 and § 35. Post-epical forms of the creation-myths will be found in H 11279—12277 (=3, 7f.).

§ 143. **Viṣṇu.** — He is youngest son of Aditi and Kaśyapa (§ 37). Philosophy recognises him (apart from Kṛṣṇa) as lord and ruler of all, creator of all (14, 43, 13; 44, 16). This means more than do his common titles devadeva, lokasvāmin, devadeveśa, viśveśvara, since these are born by other gods who are also titularly, "god of gods", etc. As most fundamental in Viṣṇu appears to be his sun-ship as bird, suparṇa, who goes on high, awakening earth, and having a thousand rays or flames (pra-

[1]) On the ethical distinction, see Dr. Otto Strauss, Ethische Probleme aus dem Mahābhārata (1912).

jāgara ūrdhvaga, sahasrārcis, sahasrāṃśu), the golden germ, hiraṇyagarbha, vasuretas, suvarṇavarṇa, having the seven steeds of the sun and his disc, saptavāhana, cakrin, who courses through air, vihāyasagati, etc., and is identified with the sun as ravi, sūrya, savitṛ, arka, āditya, bhrājiṣṇu (epithets of Viṣṇu). He has fire-names as well, and again the sun in his eye (agni, saṃvartaka, vahni, anala, dīpamūrti, and ravilocana). Many of his titles (e. g. Vaikuṇṭha) come from Indra ("Vāsudeva" appears to revert to this origin) and are again borrowed by Śiva. Lists of his titles as names are given, one shorter (6, 65, 61 f.; R 6, 120 = G 102), though not early, one of a "thousand names" (13, 149, 12 f.), presumably a later compilation of honorific appellations. Here are found "hair-names" of solar (Indric?) origin, harikeśava, hariśmaśru (cf., however, H 4337 and 13, 149, 82, trilokeśaḥ Keśavaḥ Keśihā Hariḥ); "the rays of sun and moon are called hairs" (7, 202, 134). As sun he is govinda, gopati, and goptṛ (also of Sūrya), and is represented by Garuḍa, first as his sign and then, Suparṇavāhana, as his vehicle (1, 33, 16; 13, 149, 51; R 6, 59, 127), probably as the (peacock) sun-bird (§ 12); later is his goose-car (R 7, 37, pra. 5, 93). The early texts represent him as going by himself (he is the "divinity of motion" in general as the three-stride-god; cf. 14, 42, 25) or, Sūrya-like, born by steeds. Then he has Garuḍa as his sign, Suparṇaketu, Garuḍadhvaja, which lasts into the period when Garuḍa is his vehicle (H 2491, 2707; cf. 6823). It is not unlikely that Viṣṇu's name itself means bird (first as the productive spirit).[1]) Perhaps Madhusūdana also (cf. RV. 9, 67, 9) implies that Viṣṇu is the ripening sun (interpreted as slayer of Madhu).[2])

§ 144. Viṣṇu is Mādhava and Kusumākara (and Mārgaśīrṣa), the Madhu-month as the spring-time or first (as well as best) month of the year (6, 34, 35; 13, 149, 31). As sun too he is Aśvaśirā Hariḥ (Hayaśiras, 12, 340, 59, etc.), for which reason, as the sun-horse rising from the sea, he identifies himself with Uccaiḥśravas, the loud-noised sea (6, 34, 27), as it

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[1]) Compare Johansson, Solfågeln i Indien (The Vedic Soma-robbing eagle as Viṣṇu = bird = creative spirit).

[2]) This was written before the appearance of JRAS. Jan. 1913, but it may stand despite Mr. Macnicol's explanation of these epithets as peculiarly Kṛṣṇa's, for Madhusūdana is an epithet of Rāma as well as of Kṛṣṇa (in both epics), i. e. it is originally epithet of Viṣṇu. Govinda is govidāṃ patiḥ and gopatiḥ in the same passage (13, 149, 33 and 66) and probably the poets felt little or no difference between Govinda and Gopati; but the latter is an epithet common to Viṣṇu, Śiva, Varuṇa, and Sūrya, and cannot help to determine the nature of Kṛṣṇa as a vegetarian god (see below note to § 153). Viṣṇu is the first All-god recognised in the epic, but this is not wholly as a pu sto for Kṛṣṇa. In Kṛṣṇa's own laud Viṣṇu is chief of Ādityas, as Śaṅkara is of Rudras (Gītā 10, 21 and 23; cf. the appropriation of this passage by Śiva in 13, 14, 322). But in pure philosophy, where Viṣṇu stands alone, as in the passage cited above from the Anugītā, Viṣṇu, brahmamayo mahān, is the beginning of the world, lord, īśvara, of all spiritual beings, than who is no being higher (14, 43, 13 f.). It is not necessary to derive Viṣṇu's greatness from Indra (with Jacobi) nor to develop the epic triad (not really epic as triad) from Agni, Vāyu, and Sūrya (with Weber Ind. Str. 2, 226), as if Viṣṇu reached his supremacy through amalgamation with Indra = Vāyu (Omina und Portenta, p 338). Viṣṇu is first a philosopher's god, i. e. a. priestly god, representing the active yet kindly sun as source of all, and one with the divine light, the best possible god to personify the Bhagavān nityaḥ (5, 42, 21, i. e. brahma) and at the same time to absorb the local bucolic divinities, Balarāma, Rāma, Kṛṣṇa, who were never less than demigod chieftains. It must not be forgotten that long before either epic the idea of the All-god as real being and as personified God was a commonplace. This God-idea was expressed variously, either as "Deva Nārāyaṇa, self of all" (14, 25, 17) or under the image of a god well-known, Viṣṇu or Śiva-Rudra, the latter representing to the priests Agni bhūtapati (cf. 14, 43, 6 f.).

is said: "Here (out of the sea) rises the sun with the head of a horse, filling the world made beautiful (by him), and causing it to be filled with voices" (5, 99, 5). In this form he slew demons and it is characteristic that Aśvagrīva, Hayagrīva, Rocamāna, indicates a demoniac as well as a divine form (1, 65, 23 f.; R 4, 42, 26). So the Mare's Head is at once a demoniac and divine form of fire, identified as such with the sun (§ 38), though as it is in water yet above the surface, it was probably a volcano (cf. R 5, 55, 14). Less usual is the identification of Viṣṇu with the light of the moon, which occurs only as part of his identification, quâ All-god, with many other gods (also as "physician", bhiṣak; Dhanvantari is a form of Viṣṇu, 13, 149, 43 f.). Fire, sun, and Viṣṇu combine to make the "horrible form", ghorā tanuḥ, of Śiva, as opposed to the "gentle lunar form" of that god (7, 202, 108 and 142). The names of the sacred apes, ("sun-faced", Hari, Dadhimukha, etc.), may be due to the fact that they represent the sun-ape, Kapi, Kapīndra, Vṛṣākapi, all names of Viṣṇu (R 6, 73, 59; 12, 343, 89; also of the Sun, etc. 3, 3, 61), later taken by Śiva (7, 202, 136). The king of apes was born of a tear of Viṣṇu (R 7, 37, pra. 1, 7 f.), but this a late passage and elsewhere the same father of Vālin and Sugrīva is son of Prajāpati (R 6, 67, 59). Indra passes over to Viṣṇu many of his titles and also his heroic deeds. Viṣṇu becomes the typical fighter for the gods (7, 14, 49; ib. 21, 37, etc.); though still united with Indra, as with the sun, to typify power (1, 88, 9). He is Vāsavānuja, Indra's junior by birth, and traces remain of his inferiority, as when he is Upendra, and Indra is Mahendra (3, 3, 41). But the later epic, while it cannot omit the derogatory title Upendra ("under Indra"), yet defiantly calls him Atīndra ("over Indra"), as it preserves his birth and then denies that he is born (agraja, aja, ayonija, 13, 149, 24, 108, etc.). In 13, 149, 29, Viṣṇu is "the world's first-born", Jagadādija (in PW as of Śiva!); but pūrvaja and ādija do not necessarily imply more than ayonija and anādi, existing from the beginning; though Viṣṇu in human form, as Devakīnandana, is of course both ātmayoniḥ svayaṃjātaḥ and really Haladharānuja, the unborn god yet younger born brother of Balarāma (2, 22, 36; 13, 149, 94 f.). Viṣṇu in the later epic is called quite rightly Indrakarman, "having Indra's deeds" (R 6, 120, 18; 13, 149, 97), not only as Kṛṣṇa but as independent slayer of demons (5, 10, 43); to whom the gods appeal for help (3, 103, 1 f.). He "looks after the gods" (3, 249, 26); he is their savior, gati (7, 4, 4). He even takes Indra's form on occasion (12, 64, 13 f.). For Indra Viṣṇu charges the bolt to kill the demon and is appealed to for purification, being hymned as Mahādeva (often of Śiva), who with three strides overpassed the three worlds (5, 10, 10 f.). But it is he also who makes Indra the overseer of the gods (ib. 7), and in other ways Viṣṇu is superior, being seldom sundered from the All-Soul Viṣṇu, who is the Who and What (kaḥ kim) of the universe. A few passages still make him inferior to Brahman (§ 137) as to Indra, but the epic in general is an apologia for Viṣṇu as Nārāyaṇa and All-god, either incorporate in Kṛṣṇa or as an independent superior god; retaining the old traditions of him as the bearer of discus and stepper over three worlds, but subordinating this to his identification with Kṛṣṇa. Viṣṇu is "created by Śiva" (Mahādeva) in 13, 14, 4, etc., in passages where Śiva is the All-soul and creator of Brahman, Viṣṇu, Indra, and the rest. All such passages are late epic (see Śiva).

§ 145. Appearance and weapons of Viṣṇu: Though the god is anir-

deśyavapus, "one whose form cannot be described",[1]) yet efforts are made to describe him. Thus he is "four-armed" (R 6, 120, 15); he has four fangs, four forms, caturmūrti, -rūpa, four lights, caturbhānu, four souls, four presentations, vyūha, knows the four Vedas, and is caturasra(?); or he has eight or ten arms or is "many armed" and "many-fanged"; he is one-footed or three-footed, has one horn or several horns, many heads, a thousand; also a thousand eyes and feet. He has seven tongues or a hundred. The sacred three gives him the titles tripada, tridhātu, tridhāman, trisāman, triyuga. He is red-eyed, has eyes as large as a lotus (-leaf), aravindākṣa, jalajalocana, etc.; his color is varied, anekavarṇa; he is white and black and yellow and red, but especially yellow (śukla, kṛṣṇa, babhru, rohita, hari). For the glory of the greatness of the god he is described as having many members, faces, bellies, thighs, eyes, and so on, and in conformity therewith he is a "great eater". The epithets "having eyes (mouths, faces) on all sides" are derived from older tradition ("red-eyed" may be due to this or to the boar-avatar, 3, 142, 46). In general, it must be understood that the monstrous appearance is for grandeur; for Viṣṇu is fair, beautiful, lovely (svakṣa, sundara, peśala, śubhāṅga, sudarśana, sumukha, svāsya, etc.). It is as the embodiment of space with four or ten directions that he is called four and eight and even ten-armed (13, 147, 3 and 32). He has a hundred curly locks, śatāvarta, and shares with Śiva among others the title śikhaṇḍin; he is padmanābha; from his lotus-navel came Brahman (3, 203, 12f., as Govinda), jalajakusumayoni (8, 90, 24). Out of the lotus which sprang from his forehead came Śrī and became wife of Dharma (12, 59, 131), hence Śrī kamalālayā; who, with lotus in hand, is engraved on Kubera's car (R 5, 7, 14); padmahastā is auspicious. Viṣṇu wears the kaustubhaṃ maṇiratnam (R 1, 45, 26), the pearl which rose from ocean as maṇir divyaḥ (1, 18, 36) or maṇiratnam (5, 102, 12, etc.); then the diadem "of solar glory", which gives him the epithet kirīṭin. These he wears and clothes of yellow silk (kirīṭakaustubhadhara, pītakauśeyavāsas, 3, 203, 18), as he sits on the coils of the world-serpent, nāgabhoga; but he is usually addressed as one ornamented especially with the pearl of dazzling light, lasatkaustubhabhūṣaṇa (as voc., 3, 263, 13). He is Mukunda (13, 149, 68), perhaps as being himself the jewel. Kirīṭin is an Indra-epithet and not peculiar to gods. On his ringlets, Viṣṇu wears garlands, sragvin, of wild-flowers, vanamālin; he also wears jewelled ear-rings, kuṇḍalin, and arm-bands made of shining gold rubbed with sandal-paste, rucirāṅgada, candanāṅgadin, kanakāṅgadin. On his breast is the quatrefoil called Śrīvatsa (R 6, 120, 27), caused by Śiva's trident or by the wet hand of Bharadvāja (12, 343, 132 and cf. § 125). Hṛṣīkeśa and Śrīvatsāṅka apply to Viṣṇu and Kṛṣṇa, the former epithet being the name the Munis give to Keśava (6, 67, 21); also the Garuḍa worshippers of Viṣṇu are all marked with the Śrīvatsa (5, 101, 5). Mandodarī says that Rāma is the supreme creator-god who wears on his breast the Śrīvatsa, as he bears conch, discus and club (R 6, 114, 1f.), which with bow and sword are the arms of Viṣṇu. A later passage says that Viṣṇu got his ear-rings from the ancestor of Bali whose prison-

[1]) 13, 149, 83. The descriptive epithets are found for the most part in this section, also H 2201 f., 12, 285, 77; 6, 35, 10 f., etc. Sahasrākṣa is Indra's own epithet. Many of the others, "lotus-eyed, all-faced, hari", etc., are solar epithets; some also belong to Śiva ("one-footed, hundred-tongued, thousand-formed"), while "seven-tongued" belongs to Agni.

door Viṣṇu now guards (R 7, 23, 1, 1f.). Viṣṇu's "horns" may be ornaments or remainders of his animal forms. He is ekaśṛṅgin, unicorn (3, 142, 29) as the boar, while as a bull he has two or several horns (naikaśṛṅga). The bull is his form as the sun, which is called a bull (goputra = son of Sun); but in general this beast is typical of virile strength. So Viṣṇu is "the bull, fond of bulls, with a bull-like belly, having eyes and form and the acts of a bull", as he is gohita, vṛṣapriya, etc., and of course gopati and goptṛ (13, 149, 41, 76, etc.). RG 6, 102, 17 gives him two "Veda-horns" (v. l. a thousand, ṛksāmaśṛṅgo for sahasraśṛṅgo). Besides conch, discus, bow, and club, Viṣṇu bears the sword Nandaka. The discus is a fiery wheel with a thousand spokes, borne in his right hand, and made by the All-maker for use against demons of darkness (13, 149, 120; R 6, 74, 70, etc.). It is the sun: yāvad āvartate cakram, "as far as the sun shines" (R 6, 131, 11). Kṛṣṇa uses the disc as a boomerang (1, 228, 10f.); it is Sudarśanam (6, 59, 91), "fair to see" (as name), by Śivaism interpreted as "hard for any one except Śiva to see", and made his gift to Viṣṇu! (13, 14, 79); it is of course an auspicious sign to have a discus-mark on the arm (1, 74, 4) and the dung of cattle is auspicious from its shape (§ 9). His usual arms give Viṣṇu the title Śaṅkhacakragadādhara (3, 189, 40, etc.). His bow is of horn (R 6, 120, 16; śārṅgadhanvan, 13, 149, 120); as "breaker of the axe" he is called in late description sudhanvā khaṇḍaparaśuḥ (ib. 74, explained by 12, 343, 117), and as Balarāma he is called Halāyudha (rathāṅgapāṇi = cakradhara). Nārāyaṇa has all these titles, as Viṣṇu, with whom, even to the halo or nimbus about the head, he is identical. Both have the web-sign jālapāda, -bhuj, of the foot of the goose. Nārāyaṇa is mystically in the disc of the sun and cleansed souls enter the sun-door into him, thence pass into Aniruddha, and there, becoming pure mind, go to Pradyumna, and so pass into Saṅkarṣaṇa (Jīva,) and then into Kṣetrajña (Vāsudeva; 12, 345, 13f.). It will not be necessary to go into further details of these speculations of theology; they really lie apart from mythology. As archer-sun and nimbus-god, jaṭāmaṇḍaladhārin, Viṣṇu is a warrior, darpahan, surārihan, durārihan, durga, durjaya, duratikrama; his chariot is wind or Garuḍa, he is borne by seven steeds; his fighting-titles come in part from Indra (dhanaṃjaya, puraṃdara, janārdana); he is "fond of fighting" and conquers all, to become kind, refuge of all, savior of the world (samitiṃjaya, also of Yama; trailokyanātha, jagannātha, etc., cf. 3, 49, 20 and in the list 13, 149, 76, 84, 86). He first promulgated the law of battle (12, 64, 21, says Indra!). Though he is the conqueror of innumerable demons he is known particularly as slayer of Keśin and Bhaga and Kālanemi; as hero he is Tāraḥ śūraḥ Śauriḥ; Śūraseno Yaduśreṣṭhaḥ (list 13, 149, 37 and R 6, 120, 17, as battle leader, and list 50, 82, 88). As warrior he carries his club (not goad) in his left hand because he needs the right for his chief weapon, the discus; other weapons he carries "in his other arms". His horn, pāñcajanya, he blows himself (R 7, 7, 9); his bow becomes the property of heroes (R 3, 12, 33f. etc.). Further description, like the epithet All-soul (a title also of the sun, 3, 3, 27; 189, 41) is philosophic ("formless, multiformed womb of all, all-enjoyer", etc.) and may be passed over; only gaṇeśvara, lord of hosts, may be mentioned, to emphasise the fact that the epic comes before Gaṇeśa is invented. Only the late introduction (1, 1, 74f.) acknowledges Gaṇeśa, though the idea of him is common enough (3, 65, 23, pūjā

vighnakartṛṇām). Even the introduction has not stereotyped his name, which appears as Gaṇeśāna as well as Gaṇeśa. Gaṇeśvara is title of Viṣṇu alone in 13, 149, 79; but Gaṇeśvaravināyakāḥ (ib. 150, 25) are also recognised. Vināyakas are malevolent demons grouped with the leaders of the lords of divine hosts.[1]) Viṣṇu is however really identified with many gods. Thus he is Parameṣṭhin, Svayaṃbhū, Kāla, Dharma, Prajāpati, Viśvakarman, Arka, Agni, Vasu, Varuṇa, Tvaṣṭṛ, Śiva, Dhaneśvara, Skanda, Vācaspati, the Jyotir-Āditya (as distinguished from Āditya), etc. He is niyantā niyamo Yamaḥ (ib. 105); Vāyu, Dakṣa, Indra and Mahendra, Soma, Kāmadeva (and kāmahan), Dhātṛ, Vidhātṛ, Parjanya, Manu, Marīci, Tāra, Śaśabindu, Vyāsa, Jahnu, Kumbha, Nahuṣa, Sunda, etc. As Śiva he is Bhagahan and Nandin; he is star-clusters, Dhruva, Punarvasu, etc. He is at the same time creator. Thus he creates Brahman from his navel, Rudra from his ire and forehead, the Rudras from his right side, the Ādityas from his left side, the Vasus from his front and the (Aśvin) pair, Nāsatya and Dasra, from his back. The Prajāpatis, Seven Seers, four classes of Pitṛs, Śrī, Sarasvatī, Dhruva, etc., are of him or in him (matsthān paśya, 12, 340, 50f.). Daṇḍa as form of Viṣṇu is described as a Rākṣasa (12, 121, 14f.; 122, 24). As All-god, Dyaus is his head, earth his feet, water his sweat, and the stars are his hair-pits (3, 189, 4f.). Elsewhere the Aśvins are his ears, the moon and sun, his eyes; Brahman, his heart; Sarasvatī, his tongue (6, 65, 61; R 6, 120, 9 and 25). As heavenly light and orderer of time he is Ṛtadhāman (R 6, 120, 8; 12, 343, 69).

§ 146. As is evident from the preceding, Viṣṇu is not especially preserver, but as the All he is also destroyer, not only of grief and sin, śokanāśana, pāpanāśana, but as destroyer, antaka, of living things, svāpana, who puts the world to sleep, the viśātana and saṃhartṛ (3, 189, 4). As Avatar he saves; as wakener and maker, he creates; as Rudra, death, etc., he destroys. Thus it is he who as the Mare's Head destroys the world, a curious rôle for a preserver. In fact, like all All-gods, Viṣṇu has all functions. That he is especially the "divinity of gods" is too much to say, though it is said (unmetrically in S 1, 95, 7: devānāṃ daivataṃ Viṣṇur, viprāṇām agnir brahma ca). As such "he is called Vaikuṇṭha by the gods, while the Vedas call him Viṣṇu" (ib. 6, 8, 22), or, according to the Northern text, "men call him Viṣṇu". Both texts give him a local habitation north of the Sea of Milk; there he rides in the car of eight wheels (elements, 6, 8, 15). All texts have the story of his three strides, as Vikramin, Trivikrama (also Vikrama and Krama), as the son of Kaśyapa and Aditi in dwarf form (hence Govinda as "earth-finder", 12, 207, 26). This and other Avatars are to be distinguished from the four forms, caturmūrtidhara, as Keśava, Saṃkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna, and Aniruddha (12, 340, 102) or (7, 29, 26f.) one form is that of a saint practicing austerity on earth; one (as sun) "watches the world as it does good and evil"; one is active in the world of men; and one sleeps a thousand years. In R 6, 120, 26 night and day are the falling and rising,

[1]) This shows that Yājñavalkya is later than the epics and that a good deal of the stuff offered as epic text in the printed "Southern" version is late addition, plastered on to the epic, just as chapters always have been added (cf. S 12, 68, 46, where Maheśvara-Gaṇeśa causes the massacre of Saudāsa's army at Benares). Gaṇeśa is a title of Śiva (3, 39, 79 and R 7, 23, pra. 4, 34), but, though both passages are late for epic texts, neither implies Gaṇeśa as god. Compare (below) Kṛṣṇa as remover of difficulty. See on Gaṇeśa in Mbh. M. Winternitz in WZKM. 14, 51 (1900); JRAS. 1898, pp. 147, 380 and 631f., who shows that Gaṇeśa is not in the Southern Grantha recension.

respectively, of Viṣṇu's eyelids. It is said that his Avatars are "to exterminate evil", and so he "is born in the houses of good men" (3, 189, 27 f.), as if animal Avatars were excluded. One of his four forms here lasts a thousand times the four ages (ib. 40). Among the forms given by his titles, he is the lotus and the tree, especially the Nyagrodha, Udumbara, and Aśvattha. As bird, he is the goose and "fair-winged" (Suparṇa); as animal, the mahoraga bhujagottama (Śeṣa), the great snake and boar, mahāvarāha, the bull, the lion, śarabha, vyāla, and narasiṃhavapus. As boar perhaps he is trikakud. These real Avatars are indifferently mingled with his form as "teacher of Kapila", as Dāmodara (list, 53; cf. 3, 49, 22), etc. Jahnu and Pṛthu and Śasabindu (and Gupta?) may be incarnations. Vaikuṇṭha, Vaikhāna, Suyāmuna are uncertain titles, as is Śipiviṣṭa (3, 102, 19 f.)[1]. Pṛthu is a true incarnation (12, 59, 128 f.). Viṣṇu is twelvefold as being all the twelve Ādityas born of Aditi, who, however, is said elsewhere to have born him seven times (12, 43, 6; 47, 38, Kṛṣṇa Viṣṇu). Only here and in the later list of names is Viṣṇu especially Vājasana (12, 43, 9, Vājasani = Vājasana in 13, 149, 98). RB 7, 23, 4, 44 has v. l. In Śānti he is tricakṣuḥ, trikakup, tridhāmā, tridivāc cyutaḥ (Avatar), Kapila, others already cited, and dundubhi, gabhastinemi, Ṛbhu, Vibhu, svadhā, svāhā (etc., one hundred names in S). The title Mahādridhṛt probably refers to bearing the earth as tortoise (may be as Kṛṣṇa). Adhokṣaja, "born under the axle", must refer to the late legend of Pūtanā as told in H 9087 (cf. 13, 14, 69 and 12, 343, 83, where it is explained as upholder of earth!). Native etymologies are of little value or obvious. According to them Viṣṇu is bull as Dharma; Hari, because he receives a share of the sacrifice (hare bhāgam) and because it is his best color; Govinda (= gopendra), because he "found earth"; Kṛṣṇa, because he ploughs and is dark; Vaikuṇṭha, because Vāyu helps him to make earth; Viriñca, because this is the Kāpila name of Prajāpati; Kapila, as the sun; Dharmaja, born of Dharma, etc.

The most surprising and historically important fact in the various lauds of Viṣṇu as All-god is that he is nowhere called by the sacrosanct formula of the Vedānta. He is wise, knowing, blest, true, joy, etc., but he is not even said to be possessed of cit, still less is he designated as being saccidānanda in the phrase of the later Upaniṣads and Vedānta, though he is the supreme philosophical principle, pañcaviṃśatimo Viṣṇuḥ (12, 303, 38), as Nārāyaṇa, highest soul (302, 96) and highest knowledge, jñānam uttamam, buddhiḥ, sattvam (R 6, 120, 17), and siddhārtha (list, 24 f.). This is not because the Sāṅkhya theologians controlled the text, but because the Vedānta shibboleth was unknown when the Viṣṇuite passages even of Śānti were composed.

§ 147. The wife of Viṣṇu is Lakṣmī or Śrī (R 1, 77, 30; sometimes the two are distinct), who rose from ocean clothed in white and for whom gods and demons contended (1, 18, 35 f.). She is Fortune, as happiness and wealth; as Kṛṣṇa's wife she is Rukmiṇī (1, 61, 44; 67, 156), mother of Pradyumna. Lakṣmī is sister of Dhātṛ and Vidhātṛ and mother of the sky-steeds (1, 66, 50). It is a late epic trait to make her exclusively Viṣṇu's (she is also Dharma's wife). In the pseudo-epic often and occasionally earlier she discourses on religion (13, 82, 3 f.; she does not love excessive virtue, 5, 39, 62 f.; 13, 11, 6 f. tells whom she lives with). Often

[1]) On Śipiviṣṭa see Johansson, Solfågeln i Indien, p. 12; but too KZ. 46, 34.

the conception is but half-personal, "Śrī beautifies Viṣṇu" (R 2, 118, 20, etc.). "Fortune (Lakṣmī) favors those who keep the seventh day (sixth or seventh, 3, 3, 64); Ill-fortune comes to the lazy man" (alakṣmīr āviśaty enam alasam, 3, 32, 42, etc.); Lakṣmī is luck in 5, 125, 5f. She is padmālayā, padmahastā, etc. (4, 14, 16, etc.). As Supreme God, Viṣṇu himself is but a form (cf. Viṣṇutvam upajagmivān, 5, 13, 12 = R 7, 104, 9 and ib. 85, 18). Even his anger is a boon, since those killed by him are absorbed into him (R 7, 37, pra. 2, 20f.), the final word on this topic. Another late trait is his "holy dodeka-syllable name", otherwise Purāṇic (VP 1, 6, 39), only in S 12, 336, 34f., where an Apsaras (disguised as Piśācī) "baptises in the holy twelve-syllable name (śuddhaṃ nāma dvādaśākṣaram) of Hari". Viṣṇu's paramaṃ padam is interpreted as a place not inaccessible to Śāṇḍilī and Garuḍa (5, 113, 9f.), often locally defined, though sometimes as brahma (6 ,32, 11); otherwise as paraṃ sthānam (seventh or highest world), reflected in Tīrthas called Viṣṇupadas. One is in the North, where Viṣṇu strode out (on the Ganges, 5, 111, 21); so a Viṣṇupada is where Aṅga sacrificed (S 7, 57, 11). A Tīrtha called Viṣṇoḥ sthānam, where "Hari is ever present" (3, 83, 10), results to bathers in attaining Viṣṇu's world; it is in Kurukṣetra, where Viṣṇu became boar, Vārāha Tīrtha (ib. 83, 18), though he actually raised earth at Lokoddhāra Tīrtha (ib. 45). A Dwarf-Tīrtha (ib. 84, 130) and a Tortoise-Tīrtha (ib. 120) are also known, as is a Śālagrāma Viṣṇu (ib. 124), which implies the place on the river Gaṇḍakī where Viṣṇu's holy stone is found, but not the present use of the stone, which is unknown to the epics (but Nīl. so interprets svarṇanābha at 5, 40, 10). On the Punjab or "Kashmir" Viṣṇupada, cf. 3, 130, 8; R 2, 68, 19 (the heavenly, R 4, 37, 17). It may be where Prahlāda and Viṣṇu showed their strength with Skanda's spear (12, 328, 17), in the North. The reading jātidharma in S makes Viṣṇu an upholder of caste (12, 63, 9). He does not accept offerings of brandy, fish, honey, meat, distilled liquor, or rice mixed with sesame; such offerings are not Vedic but have been introduced by rascals from greed and lust. Rice-cakes only should be offered to Viṣṇu, whom alone the Brahman-priests acknowledge in all sacrifices, and flowers with rice-milk cakes (12, 266, 9f.). "The people who are debased as eaters of meat and blood live in Yugandhara, Bhūtilaka, Acyutacchala, and Bāhlīka (Vāhīka), all four districts being in the West, where the people are opposed to Hari (Haribāhyās tu Vāhīkā, na smaranti Hariṃ kvacit) and care only for this-world-salvation, aihalaukikamokṣa. Viṣṇu, however, is the Devayānapatha (as the sun is Pitṛyānapatha), and salvation is from him" (S 12, 336, 53, with interpolation). This indication that the West was opposed to the Kṛṣṇa-Viṣṇu cult (here ordained) may be set beside the statement that the Dānavas "abandoned Viṣṇu as god of gods, hating him and censuring the praise of him" (nindanti stavanaṃ Viṣṇos tasya nityadviṣo janāḥ (S 12, 235, 75f.), as they too "eat meat and cook the offerings made to the gods for themselves, and abandon shrines and praises".[1])

§ 148. **Avatars of Viṣṇu.** — Those of the boar (§ 137), tortoise (§ 140), and fish (§ 142) have already been described.[2]) The difference

[1]) On the geographical-religious aspect, see Pargiter, JRAS. 1908, 309f.; Grierson, ib. 1908, p. 602f.; Keith, p. 831f.

[2]) The tortoise upholds Mandara in 1, 18, 10; in R 1, 45 pra. 11, and VP. 1, 9, 86, the tortoise is Viṣṇu; see § 13.

between an Avatar and incorporation as in Pṛthu, etc., is primarily that the god descends expressly to save the world in the Avatar; in other descents the motive may be personal. All the gods descend in "parts" (1, 2, 93) as human forms, avataraṇas, partial incarnations of divine essence. The boar, tortoise and fish Avatars become those of Viṣṇu (in the epic) only gradually. The epic has no systematic account of the Avatars and even in Hariv. the list is not that of the later ten. In H 5861 f., for example, an account of the god's great acts is given and among them are six of the usual four Avatars together with later deeds (conquest of tree-demons, etc.; cf. H 3451). The boy-form here appears distinct from the Devakīnandana form. Here too the "eight-arm form" is a later manifestation. The later epic has ten Avatars but not always as the same. In short, the theory of Avatars is still developing in the epic and since, after the epic, it continued till the epic ten became twenty or more, it may be said that the epic itself represents only a stage in the belief, where the factors were still not fixed. Pre-epic is the idea that a creator-god appears in animal form, Prajāpati as boar and tortoise. The epic in the deluge-story first makes the grampus Brahman and then substitutes Viṣṇu. In S, Buddha is an Avatar. The bhūmer bhārāvataraṇam (a repeated phrase) is an application of descent in active meaning; it is applied to the Avatar of the god to lower or remove the weight or burden of earth (cf. 12, 340, 101, etc.). A good short account of the Avatars occurs in 3, 102, 21 f.: Nārāyaṇa, as a boar, of old raised earth; as a man-lion, slew Hiraṇyakaśipu; as a dwarf, banished Bali and killed Jambha (both Asuras) for interfering with sacrifice; "and Nārāyaṇa performed other deeds the number of which is unknown". The two thousand verses, H 12278—14390, contain the fullest detailed account of the early incarnations.

§ 149. The Boar-Avatar. Earth burdened with creatures, incapable of dying in the perfect (Kṛta) age, appeals to Viṣṇu, who becomes a "unicorn boar" and with his tusk or horn raises her a hundred leagues, which distance she had sunk into Pātāla. This causes excitement among the gods, till Brahman explains that the boar is the eternal spirit Viṣṇu, Suparṇa (Nārāyaṇa but not necessarily Kṛṣṇa here, 3, 142, 29 f.). In 1, 21, 12, Viṣṇu is the boar-form of Govinda (= gāṃ vindat); identity with Kṛṣṇa emphasised in 12, 209, 7 f. (earth is rasātalagatā, 26); but earth's distress is due here not to surplus population but to infidels who "being fools do not recognise Viṣṇu" as Kṛṣṇa. Instructive is the fact that the gods also do not recognise that Kṛṣṇa is Viṣṇu (ib. 32); Brahman has to tell them, who in R 2, 110, 3 is himself the boar.[1]) In consequence of this Avatar, any boar rising out of water with earth on his head must be worshipped as representing Viṣṇu; just as a dwarf priest or disc-shaped cow-dung represents him, and a bali should be offered to the dung (13, 126, 3 f.; here Kṛṣṇa's brother, born of Nārāyaṇa's white hair, is also cited as sermoniser). The boar-form is that of a monstrous beast ten by one hundred leagues in size, having one tusk and red eyes (3, 272, 55); in this account earth is submerged by a flood, not by sinners nor by numbers. In H 12340 the "weight" is that of Viṣṇu's own energy.

§ 150. The Man-lion incarnation also is described in the same Vana passage. It is not often alluded to in the epic but becomes a favorite in

[1]) RG. 2, 119, 3 says that Brahman the boar is "Viṣṇu", a later version.

Hariv. and the Purāṇas. Hiraṇyakaśipu, slain by the man-lion, becomes Śiśupāla, as Kālanemi becomes Kaṃsa (1, 67, 5 f.). The Avatar is as old as the later Up. and Taitt. Ār. 10, 1, 7; but that may not be very old. Viṣṇu is Nṛsiṃha or Purāṇasiṃha (? R 7, 7, 52). The former means of itself only a "lion(-hearted) man", as it refers to such a hero (9, 53, 23), or "male lion" (3, 146, 53). The god, as man-lion, "makes half his body human and half leonine" (3, 272, 56) and with his claws tears to pieces Hiraṇyakaśipu, the infidel. He does not leap forth from a pillar as later (see H 2275 and 12707 = H 3, 43, 1 f.). Here Viṣṇu = Kṛṣṇa = god of gods, original spirit, absolute god. Hiraṇyakaśipu represents Śivaism. "Virtuous Prahlāda" is a Viṣṇuite.

§ 151. As Kṛṣṇa Govinda also, in the same account, Viṣṇu becomes a dwarf (3, 272, 31 and 69 f.). After a thousand years of parturition (sign of divinity), Aditi bears Viṣṇu as dwarf to overthrow Bali, usurper of Indra's power. Accompanied by Bṛhaspati, the dwarf, bālarūpadhṛt, vāmana, goes to Bali and asks for three paces of land, which being granted the god covers all with three paces, gives back his realm to Indra, and binds and sends below earth Bali, who still reigns there, wherefore the universe is now Viṣṇu's (vaiṣṇavam). Vālmīki refers often to this Avatar (e. g. R 3, 61, 24; R 6, 56, 38), besides describing it in full (ib. 1, 29), but adds nothing of importance. Neither epic has the Purāṇic account of Uśanas's interference in behalf of Bali (for v. l. cf. OST. 4, p. 132 f.). Cf. 12, 340, 79 f.; H 12900 f.

§ 152. Among the seven original Avatars (if this is the meaning of the statement above that Viṣṇu was reincarnated seven times)[1]), the preceding forms of boar and tortoise, man-lion and dwarf, were probably foremost. The three remaining may have been the fish, Rāma, and Kṛṣṇa. But there are no Avatar lists till the later epic, and by that time Rāma Jāmadagnya, instead of being a Śivaite foe of Viṣṇu, is a form or Avatar of the god, just as Buddha becomes an Avatar. This older Rāma descends from Bhṛgu and is son of Jamadagni and Reṇukā, hence called Bhārgava, Jāmadagnya, Kauśika, and from his weapon (obtained from Śiva) he is Paraśu-Rāma. For details see § 125. He lived in the Tretā age and, according to one account, into that period between this and the next age when Rāma Dāśarathi lived, with whom he fought. In 3, 99, 55 f., the All-godship of Rāma Dāśarathi overcomes him in a shooting match, and the apocalypse reveals the god, as in the case of Arjuna and Kṛṣṇa. Yet in 12, 207, Rāma Jāmadagnya exalts Govinda as Viṣṇu, source of all. Vālmīki joins him in the laud, as do Śiva's brother-in-law, Asita Devala, Vyāsa, etc. The younger Rāma (Dāśarathi) is regarded as a prādurbhāva (Avatar) in R 1, 76, 17, but as "one half" of Viṣṇu (R 1, 18, 10), his three brothers being respectively one quarter and one eighth each, which leaves no quarter for the sky, as arranged ib. 15, 16 f. (a late passage). In R 2, 110, 2, he is called lokanātha, but this is not more than a royal title; and Rāma in the real poem is not Viṣṇu but "like Viṣṇu", "like the sun", and like other superior powers with which he is not identified (R 2, 2, 44 f.). R 5, 35, 15 f. describes him as "four-fanged", etc., but as human. In the Jaṭāyus-episode, a clumsy interpolation in honor of Rāma, it is said that he killed often Daityas and Dānavas, as implying divinity, and in R

[1]) Perhaps it refers to the (unepic) legend that Kṛṣṇa was the seventh (eighth) son of Devakī (VP. 5, 1, 74; cf. the Jain legend Antaguḍa-Dāsuo).

4, 17, 8, he secures salvation (as a god) for the one he slays. He is "not his own master" (R 2, 105, 15). His Viṣṇu-form is fully recognised only in Bāla and Uttara (R 7, 27, 14 f.), although he is more than an ordinary man throughout.[1]) The Mbh., on introducing the Rāma-story, calls him Viṣṇu (3, 151, 7). He reigned ten thousand and ten hundred years at Ayodhyā (12, 29, 61, etc.). The Droṇa knows him well as a king of old who defeated Khara and Rāvaṇa (7, 107, 28; 109, 4); also Indrajit's contest with Lakṣmaṇa (ib. 108, 13) is noticed; and in 2, 76, 5 and 3, 85, 65 the episode of the golden deer and crossing the Ganges are referred to, but in no passage except 3, 99, 35 f. and 151, 7 is he the god Viṣṇu. Instead, in 3, 25, 8 f., he is merely "like Indra in power". Most of the allusions occur in one group of Droṇa (parv. 106—109; cf. 106, 17), and it is clear that in neither epic was he at first more than a local royal hero-god, who has the divinity of such but no more. The third Rāma is mythologically of greater importance. According to 1, 197, 33, Bala-Rāma (Baladeva) is as much Avatar as is his brother Kṛṣṇa, both representing hairs of Nārāyaṇa. He is a rustic god called Lāṅgalin, "ploughman", or Saṃkarṣaṇa, his weapon being the ploughshare, whence Halāyudha (9, 47, 26; 49, 16) Deva; Pralambahan too, as slayer of the demon whose death was also attributed to Kṛṣṇa. Formal identification of Baladeva and Kṛṣṇa as forms of Viṣṇu, and of Baladeva with Śeṣa Nāga, is made in 13, 147, 54 f., where Halī Bala iti khyātaḥ bears the plough, as Kṛṣṇa the discus. His head is wreathed with snakes, his standard is a palm, tṛṇendra, with three heads, but he also carries a club; he is crowned with wild flowers and white-haired (3, 119, 4; 7, 11, 31; 13, 147, 54 f.). His palm-sign indicates his love of wine; when described in full, he is half drunk (1, 219, 7). He stands at the left of Keśava, as Arjuna on the right (5, 131, 8). Later his sons, Niśaṭha and Ulmuka, are well-known, who are mentioned (2, 34, 16) in the epic, but not as his sons by Revatī. After a drunken orgy the Nāga of the world comes out of his mouth and he dies (16, 4, 13 f.). Though usually a mere appendage of his younger brother, he appears to have had some battles of his own. He fought in the eighteen-day battle with king Haṃsa. He is as devoted to wine as his brother is to women (1, 220, 20, kṣībaḥ . . vanamālī nīlavāsā madotsiktaḥ). Such debauchery in no wise detracts from his divinity, however, any more than the tricks of Kṛṣṇa and cowardice of Rāma injure their godhead. But in the beginning both Rāma Dāśarathi and Kṛṣṇa are blamed as heroes for the outrageous behavior of which they are guilty (cf. R 3, 2, 22; ib. 4, 18, 20 f.), while Baladeva's drunkenness is an essential part of his character. Like Indra he gets drunk as a lord as a matter of course.

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[1]) R 5, 51, 39 f. has a mixture of Ślokas and Triṣṭubhs. In the first, Rāma is "like Viṣṇu"; in the second, he is lokatrayanāyaka, against whom Brahman and Śiva are powerless. This seems to be an admission of divinity and on a par with R 5, 28, prakṣipta after 17, where Rāma is Viṣṇu, as in RG 6, 40, 46. But Sundara is an embellished book and in general, though space will not permit discussion of all passages (R 5, 31, 44, e. g., has Rāma as Jagatipati in a Puṣpitāgra not in the other text), Rāma is developing into a form of Viṣṇu, but the early epic does not know him as such. Rāma in R 6, 129 is not Viṣṇu, which is the chief point of ib. 120 (=B 117), and when heard surprises Rāma. R 6, 120, which identifies Rāma with Viṣṇu, is late. In R 7, 17, 35, Rāma is Viṣṇu and Sītā is Lakṣmī. On a possible ultimate identification of Rāma Dāśarathi and Bala-Rāma, see Jacobi, Das Rāmāyaṇa, p. 135. Professor Jacobi regards Rāma (in both forms) as a local Indra, and Viṣṇu as grown great through absorption of Indra's attributes (ib. p. 137 f.).

§ 153. Kṛṣṇa Devakīnandana (who is Vāsudeva) and Devakīmātṛ (7, 18, 5), whose nephew Abhimanyu is Viṣṇoḥ svasur nandakaraḥ (7, 49, 1), is the "god without end, unborn, born in the house of Yadu, and is called Kṛṣṇa (Yadukṣaye Viṣṇuḥ Kṛṣṇe'ti), bearer of conch, discus, and mace, who wears the Śrīvatsa and clothes of yellow silk" (3, 272, 71 f.). Even as slayer of Jarāsandha he is called Viṣṇu (2, 24, 34), as in Gītā 11, 30 (cf. 18, 75). Such is in short the position of Kṛṣṇa in nine tenths of the great epic and even the later Rām. recognises Vāsudeva as a form of Viṣṇu (7, 23, pra. 1, 43 f.). While Rāma becomes Viṣṇu only in late additions to the little epic, Kṛṣṇa as Viṣṇu permeates the great epic. This is not to deny that his divinity is questioned. Jarāsandha questions it, but as a Śivaite, and Śiva-worship, before it admits the identity of Kṛṣṇa with Nārāyaṇa (3, 40, 2), questions it; even 12, 281, 19 f. will not admit complete identity (see below). Yet even when one says that he fears Kṛṣṇa less than he fears Yudhiṣṭhira (5, 22, 34), it is admitted in the same breath that he is the eternal god (ib. 33, sanātano Vṛṣṇi-vīraś ca Viṣṇuḥ). The Kurus are old Śivaites (cf. IS. 1, 206) and they join with Jarāsandha in not admitting the divinity of Kṛṣṇa as Nārāyaṇa Viṣṇu, as they deny that Arjuna is Nara, who is revealed (as thus incorporate, 1, 228, 18) to Indra by a heavenly voice (cf. 3, 47, 10 f.; and the equations at 1, 67, 151; 199, 6). Nārāyaṇa is of old the supreme spirit (so still in H 35 f.), as Brahman, and Viṣṇu is first identified with him (R 1, 16, 1); then Kṛṣṇa is identified with Viṣṇu (Mādhava, as in the Khāṇḍava scene, 1, 213, 5 f.), and finally Arjuna is identified with Kṛṣṇa Janārdana in exactly the same words as those used to identify Viṣṇu and Śiva: "Who hateth (loveth) thee hateth me . . there is no difference between us" (3, 12, 45 f.; 12, 343, 133). Yet Nara is son of Indra and less than Nārāyaṇa (1, 67, 110 f.; 5, 96, 40), and so Arjuna is less than his "charioteer Nārāyaṇa" (= Kṛṣṇa, 8, 62, 1), and when the identity of the two is asserted, sattvam ekaṃ dvidhā kṛtam (5, 49, 20), it comes as something new, not even Bṛhaspati, Uśanas, gods, or seers having known it; but Nārada has to reveal it (ib. 22). Nārada is the revealer of this secret in general (Nara-Nārāyaṇau devau kathitau Nāradena me, 8, 96, 28), even to Arjuna's brother (cf. 12, 347, 19; 344, 13 f.; and 335, 8 f., where Nara, Nārāyaṇa, Hari, and "self-existent Kṛṣṇa" are four lokapāla forms of "Dharma's son Nārāyaṇa"; cf. 7, 201, 57). The Pāñcarātras simply intensify the cult introduced by Nārada (12, 340, 110 f.). So the Harigītās and Nārāyaṇagītam (12, 61, 13; 347, 11) are later imitations of the Bhagavadgītā.[1]) Arjuna acts as demiurge, for "Viṣṇu is not to be waked for a trifle", as Indra explains to Lomaśa (3, 47, 22), apropos of who should destroy the Nivātakavaca demons. He who, as Viṣṇu, is the All-soul, "becomes dearer" as the man-god, as Śiva himself (3, 84, 19 f.) prophesies. As such, however, Kṛṣṇa is still the god from whose mouth the world arises, and Viṣṇu's title saptārcis (cf. the seven suns, 3, 88, 65 f.), as the devouring fire, is also that of Keśava Kṛṣṇa (3, 82, 99). Yet even when the sleep of Viṣṇu is explained (ib. 188, 141; 189, 4 f.), it is only at the end that Mārkaṇḍeya adds: "Now I remember; this supreme god is your relative here, called Govinda and Janārdana; the All-god it is who

[1]) Compare Sir George Grierson, IA. 1909, on the Nārāyaṇas and Bhāgavatas and the same writer's article on Bhakti-mārga in Hastings Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics. See also Bhandarkar's work cited p. 231, note 2.

has been born as Kṛṣṇa" (ib. 189, 52). The Nārāyaṇas must have been original opponents of the Kṛṣṇa-cult, for they are represented as sworn antagonists of Kṛṣṇa Govinda, though they are Gopālas (7, 18, 31; ib. 19, 7). It is these Gopas whom Arjuna rejects, choosing Nārāyaṇa instead (5, 7, 18 f.). This must indicate that Nārāyaṇa was not Kṛṣṇa and that Kṛṣṇa's divine aspirations were opposed by an older Vāsudeva's followers (they are called Vāsudevasya anugāḥ; here they number only four thousand, 7, 27, 11). Nārāyaṇa did not at first imply Kṛṣṇa. Thus Viṣṇu Nārāyaṇa leads the timid gods to ask Brahman's help in re Dadhīca (3, 100, 13) without a hint of Kṛṣṇa; as Nārāyaṇa the god is invoked to uproot Mandara (1, 18, 4 f.); as the same god becomes a girl and seduces the demons to lose ambrosia (1, 18, 45), cuts off Rāhu's head (1, 19, 3), etc., Nārāyaṇa like Balarāma is the white god; Kṛṣṇa is the black, and the identification of Asita Devala (Black Devala) with Kṛṣṇa is in contrast to the slower and not complete identity of Arjuna, the "white", with Kṛṣṇa (8, 76, 35 f.). R 7, 53, 20 f. recognises Vāsudeva as Nārāyaṇa and in Mbh. 1, 218, 4 f., Mādhava Vārṣṇeya is the same god (festival scene). In R he rescues Nṛga from the lizard-form and generally "relieves burdens in the Kali age". The epic seldom distinguishes between Vāsudeva and Kṛṣṇa.

§ 154. Kṛṣṇa as man is son of Vasudeva called Ānakadundubhi, son of Śūra, son of (Śūra) Citraratha, son of Uṣaṅgu, son of Vṛjinīvat, son of Kroṣṭṛ, son of Yadu (descendant of Manu). His mother was Devakī, daughter of Devaka, whose brother Ugrasena, king of the Bhojas, was deposed by his son Kaṃsa. His elder brother, by Rohiṇī, was Balarāma. Kṛṣṇa's wives were 16000 in number; one was Rukmiṇī, whom Kṛṣṇa won from Śiśupāla (2, 45, 15), and who became mother of Pradyumna (5, 48, 70 f.). The legend of H 9181 f., which relates that Pradyumna was adopted by Māyādevī, wife of Śambara, as Rati, and was incorporate Kāmadeva is not found in the epic, though Kṛṣṇa is creative Love (Kāmadeva, Dhātu, 13, 149, 18 and 83). Pradyumna is regarded as Sanatkumāra (1, 67, 152). His son was Aniruddha, loved by Uṣā, daughter of Bāṇa, the Śivaite (Purāṇic additions make Kṛṣṇa, Balarāma, and Pradyumna fight to recover him when carried to Śoṇitapura). Vajra, son of Aniruddha, by Uṣā (?), became king of Yādavas when Kṛṣṇa died (1, 111, 1, 13, 147, 23 f.; 16, 3, 4 f.; 4, 21 f.; 7, 10 f.). Kṛṣṇa as a child kills his cousin Kaṃsa (13, 148, 57), but this is later than 2, 14, and 7, 10 f., where Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma, when grown, kill Kaṃsa and Sunāman, his brother, king of the Śūrasenas, because of the alliance of Kaṃsa with Jarāsandha, his father-inlaw (2, 14, 31 f.), whose daughters, Asti and Prāpti, Kaṃsa married (2, 19, 22). In 7, 10—11, Kṛṣṇa appears as earthly hero but with supernatural power, conquering Varuṇa and Pañcajana, the Daitya of Pātāla, and Indra (to get the Pārijāta tree) and riding Garuḍa (as Viṣṇu), but not as the supreme being (he worships Durvāsas), though as Vāsudeva recognised as "father of all". The motive for slaying Kaṃsa given in 5, 128, 37 f., is that Kaṃsa was usurper, jīvataḥ pituḥ; it is said here that Kṛṣṇa reinstated his uncle Ugrasena (son of Āhuka). Kṛṣṇa is Arjuna's cousin, mātuleya, as son of Śūra's grandson, since this Śūrasena king of Mathurā was father of Kuntī (2, 22, 25; Śauri ib. 45, 39). Each cousin is essential to the other (2, 20, 3 and 14), since working together they are invincible, but neither is so without the other (na Śauriḥ Pāṇḍavaṃ vinā nā 'jeyo 'sti). They are known as the "two Kṛṣṇas" (both are triyugau, 3, 86, 5 f.; cf. 5, 69, 3; 12, 43, 6), as

in 1, 227, 20. But Kṛṣṇa receives invulnerability and other boons as gifts of the gods (5, 48, 86). The later epic makes Arjuna one thousandth part of the (divine) Kṛṣṇa (as śakti, S 7, 202, 60). Vārṣṇeya, however, is not savyasācin. Interpolations in regard to the wonders accomplished by Kṛṣṇa are common (e. g. S. 2, 23). Rukmiṇī (S Rugmiṇī) is Kṛṣṇa's favorite wife who had seven special wives (cf. H 6579f.) By her he lay when Kṛṣṇā invoked him to save her from Durvāsas's crew, and he performed a miracle for her. Eating a bit of rice from the magic dish of the Sun he made those unbelievers believe that they had feasted well. Though here "Kṛṣṇa, Vāsudeva, All-soul", he says, "May Hari be pleased with this" as if not Hari himself (3, 263, 18f.). During the epic war Kṛṣṇa acts as charioteer for Arjuna, standing at his right. He transforms a weapon into a garland (7, 19, 18f.); makes the sun seem to set (ib. 146, 68, a trick not redounding to his credit); and cures wounds, as part of his business as charioteer (kuśalo hy aśvakarmaṇi, 7, 100, 14). He has his own charioteer, Dāruka, the club Kaumodakī, the sword Nandaka, four steeds called Balāhaka, Meghapuṣpa, Śaibya, and Sugrīva, and a conch called Pāñcajanya (4, 45, 19f.; 5, 131, 10; 10, 13, 3f.; cf. 7, 147, 47), which he got from Pañcajana when he overcame that Daitya, flung Saubha into ocean, slew Keśin, Cāṇūra, Hayagrīva, Pūtanā, Ariṣṭa, Dhenuka, Pralamba, Naraka, Jambha, Pīṭha, Muru, Ogha, and Nagnajit (Gāndhāra), a mixture of myth and history(?); Kaṃsa is added (7, 11, 3f.; cf. 5, 130, 47; S 2, 53, 16; S 7, 11, 3). As fighter he is blamed for ignoble conduct (5, 160, 55, māyā and indrajāla; 9, 61, 38, anāryeṇa jihmamārgeṇa). The acts of the man suggest, as do his gifts from the gods, that he was a man and this view has to be repudiated. "Foolish is he who says that Vāsudeva is only a man" (as his cousin says he is, 5, 160, 52; 6, 65, 40; 66, 19; 12, 47, 32); whereas, the devout believer says, it was he who as boar raised earth, he who destroys as Rudra with the phallic sign, etc. (12, 47, 56f.); but he offers sacrifice to Śiva (7, 79, 4). Besides the slaughter of demons he killed Pāṇḍya, overcame the Kaliṅgas, and burned Benares (5, 48, 75f., often referred to), and his family of sons are well-known warriors (Cārudeṣṇa, etc.; Āhuka here as his "father" 2, 14, 56f.). S adds Kālayavana and Muṣṭika to the demons he slays (7, 11, 4 and 2, 22, 28; S here, as often, draws from H). Marks of humanity rather than divinity are his cow-boy manners in Magadhā (2, 21, 26f.); his ignorance (in battle he cannot tell where Arjuna is, 7, 19, 21); his unreasonable rage and broken promise (6, 59, 88f.); his worship of Umā and Śiva, from whom he gets his thousands of wives (2, 14, 64; 13, 15, 7f.); his power "received from the gods", because he killed Naraka and recovered Aditi's ear-rings (5, 48, 80f.), whereby "he won from the demon the bow of Viṣṇu" (in 5, 158, 8 he gets his wives from Naraka; his club and discus he gets from Varuṇa and Pāvaka, and only after getting them does he feel able to fight demons, 1, 225, 23f.); his own admission that he was "unable at any time to perform a divine act", but he would do what he could as a man, puruṣakāratah, that is, he could not interfere with the will of the gods; and his susequent admission that he would have been unable to kill Karṇa, if Karṇa had not thrown away Indra's spear (7, 180, 6 and 17; rebuked for his behavior, Kṛṣṇa justifies himself by saying that neither Arjuna nor Kṛṣṇa himself with his discus could have slain Karṇa armed with Indra's spear). He is at most only a "half-quarter" of Viṣṇu (12, 281, 62, turīyārdha). He is repeatedly denounced not only as a

deceitful person but as a low person, cowherd and coward (cf. Bhojasya puruṣa, 2, 44, 26, 9, 60, 26, etc.; S 2, 24, 5, matvā devaṃ gopa iti); he is weak and despairing because his kin plague him (cf. 12, 81, 7 and his flight from Mathurā, "because he was afraid", 2, 14, 48 f.). Of his amorousness the epic says little, but it alludes to his revels (1, 219 and 222); probably the lover-god was not compatible with the heroic side and not yet developed. That he who as a child could uphold a mountain and could steal Indra's Pārijāta tree (7, 11, 3 f.), could not overcome a hero because that hero carried Indra's spear, are views still less compatible. The first is evidently the later teaching, which leads to Kṛṣṇa being in the end the Sarveśvareśvareśeśa and Iśeśeśvareśāna, "lord of the lord of the lord of lords" (a meaningless hyperbole, 7, 149, 24) Recognition of his child-divinity is explicit but not common The dwarf-form is that of the child (śiśur bhūtvā) Kṛṣna, who then "even as boy", bāla (3, 12, 26 and 43), did great acts. The particulars given in 2, 41, 4 f, are that as a child he slew a bird (fiend); then he kicked over a car, ate a great deal and for seven days upheld Govardhana, besides slaying Aśva and Vṛṣabha, but only the slaying of the bird (Pūtanā) is expressly ascribed here to his childhood. There is no great stress laid on the child-god. Like the lover-god the child-god develops later. It is as human warrior that he is lauded in 3, 12, 29 f. (destroying Mauravas, Nisunda and Naraka, making safe the road to Prāgjyotiṣa, killing Śiśupāla, Krātha, etc. and as conquering the Greek Kaserumat). In 7, 11, 2 f., as a boy in the cowherd's family (Nanda), he slew (Kesin) Hayarāja and with his hands slew the "bull Dānava". Then follow the other demons slain, not in boyhood, Pralamba, Naraka, Jambha, Piṭha, Mura, as in Vana (cited), with Kaṃsa's death added.[1])

The S text of Sabhā, absorbing the Harıv , identifies K. with Brahman and Rudra (41, 27), tells how Kṛṣṇa resurrected the son of "Sāndīpini" (sic) after the boy was drowned and eaten by a fish (S, 2, 54; cf. H 4906 f), etc The pseudo-epic, completing the divinity of Kṛṣṇa, unites Śiva with Kṛṣna Thus in 13, 139, 16 f., fire comes out of Kṛṣṇa's mouth and burns hills and trees, he looks and they are restored It is his soul, energising as fire to get a son. This soul of fire is told by Brahman that half of Śiva's energy will be born as the desired son (ib. 35; at ib. 140, 34 Śiva similarly burns and restores with a look Himavat, his father-in-law). Doubtless both tales reflect the Kapila story, as Vāsudeva is Kapila and Kapila

[1]) After Weber's essay on Kṛṣṇa's birthday (noticed only in the pseudo-epic, see § 155), nothing of importance appeared on Kṛṣṇa till in 1907—8 arose a discussion between Messers Kennedy and Keith as to the date of the cult of the Child-Kṛṣṇa. Kennedy distinguishes several Kṛṣṇas and attributes the Child to the Gujars, due to Christian influence The perfected cult may have been influenced from this source but the divine child, as shown above, is explicitly recognised several times in the epic (prior to the pseudo-epic) and must be as old as the Christian era. Keith regards Kṛṣṇa as a vegetation god rather than a sun-god, but admits Viṣṇu as early sun-god identified with Vāsudeva. Kennedy regards Kṛṣṇa, a "monsoon sun-god slaying the Asura Kaṃsa", as distinct from the local Dvārakā god See JRAS. 1907, p. 951 f ; ib 1908, p. 169 f., ib. 505 f.; ib. p. 847. See also above, § 143, note No weight is to be laid on the equation Kṛṣṇa = Christos, for Kṛṣṇa was a god before Christ was born, the only question is whether he was as much of a god when the epic began as when it ended. Probably all the Kṛṣṇas (pace Kennedy) are one, but the early epic knew him rather as a man-god than as God. By the end of the pseudo-epic, even Vyāsa Kṛṣṇa was incarnate Logos (buddhi), an emanation of Nārāyaṇa, "born of a virgin", kānīnagarbha, also "born of the word of God in Brahman's seventh creation" (12, 350, 4, 38, 51) But this is the last word of the Bhāgavatas and not early epic.

with a look consumes the Sāgaras, who become grasshoppers (3, 47, 19; 106, 7f.; S 107, 30). Śiva exalts Kṛṣṇa as Kālāgni (3, 272, 29f.).

The worship of Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva appears to have been hampered by a (Bengal) rival called Pauṇḍraka Vāsudeva, who imitated the insignia of Kṛṣṇa and was regarded by the latter as a "false god". He supported Jārasandha (2, 30, 22; cf. ib. 14, 19f.; 1, 186, 12). See § 153.

§ 155. The worship of Kṛṣṇa (apart from laudation) is rather recommended than practiced in the epic, where only the late parts recognise his holy day. In 13, 14, 290, Śiva is said to be pleased with Kṛṣṇa's eighth day, Kṛṣṇāṣṭamirata, but the twelfth day of each month he is to be revered by a different name (ib. 109, 3f., 15f.), beginning in the month Mārgaśīrṣa with Keśava, and continuing with the names Nārāyaṇa, Mādhava, Govinda, Viṣṇu, Madhusūdana, Trivikrama, Vāmana, Śrīdhara, Hṛṣīkeśa, Padmanābha, Dāmodara. Who worships him thus on the twelfth of each month gets memory of former births, jātismaratvam, and gold; but he who worships him daily gets his nature and other rewards. The cult is one of harmless offerings. Viṣṇu himself, who receives sacrifice (3, 255, 10f.), as Kṛṣṇa or otherwise, inculcates what appears to be a brand-new idea, that sacrifice should not be bloody; the god himself is the sacrifice, he demands only flowers and cakes (12, 269, 26; 277, 32f. = Dh. Pada, 202; cf. 264, 36f.). Kṛṣṇa's (shrine at?) Purī is recognised "in the hollow of the sea" (6, 66, 41), as made by him, but this may be Dvārakā (so N.; not in Bengal). Otherwise Dvārakā and Mathurā are his places but only Dvāravatī is puṇyā (holy, 3, 88, 24). His age is ādau Kaliyugasya, (though the absence of animal sacrifice is a sure mark of the Kṛta age, 12, 341, 82f.), or more particularly between Dvāpara and Kali (6, 66, 40). As Kṛṣṇa represents the four ages and their qualities, he represents not only right but wrong, adharma, and as such he becomes the demon Bali (13, 159, 10f. ib. 16 = 12, 285, 26), as Śiva becomes the eclipse-demon. As Nārāyaṇa Puruṣottama he lived thousands of years as an ascetic worshipping the supreme god Parāyaṇa Deva, but as the same time conquered Indradyumna, Kaserumat, Bhoja Śālva, Gopati, and Tālaketu, and took Dvārakā (3, 12, 32f.).

§ 156. Other Avatars are mentioned either as incidents in Viṣṇu's great deeds or formally in a list. In H 5861f., without mentioning the word Avatar, the poet describes the acts of the god: He raised earth as boar and slew Hiraṇyākṣa; as man-lion, he killed Hiraṇyakaśipu; as dwarf, bound Bali; as Rāma Jāmadagnya, between Tretā and Dvāpara, he cut off the thousand arms of Kārtavīrya; as Dāśarathi, killed Rāvaṇa; in the Kṛta age he killed Kālanemi, with eight arms (in Tārakāmaya war); he killed demons under all forms, viśvarūpo Viṣṇuḥ; as a child, he slew forest-demons, Pralamba, Ariṣṭa, Dhenuka; as cowherd, he slew Pūtanā (śakuni), Keśin, Yamala and Arjuna (the pair), and Kuvalayāpīḍa (Kaṃsa's elephant), Cāṇūra, Muṣṭika, and Kaṃsa. Lists also occur first in the pseudo-epic. In 12, 340, 77f. with additions in S (348, 2f.), a list like that just cited, with Kālayavana, Muru, Pīṭha, etc. as victims of Kṛṣṇa. Then follows a formal list of Avatars: Haṃsa, tortoise, fish, boar, man-lion, dwarf, two Rāmas, Kṛṣṇa, Kalki (ib. 104 and 16, 4, 13 Śeṣa might be mentioned). The S text at 12, 348, 2, has: Matsyaḥ kūrmo varāhaś ca narasiṃho 'tha vāmanaḥ, Rāmo Rāmaś ca Rāmaś ca Buddhaḥ Kalkī 'ti te daśa, as preliminary to the list above, which is quite different (it anticipates the story of Nṛga, 13, 6, 38 and the story of Uṣā).

After explaining how Kṛṣṇa held up the mountain for seven nights while Indra rained, S (vs. 41 f.) describes the Buddha and Kalki incarnations: "At the beginning of the Kali age, leaning against a kingly tree, clothed in yellow, shorn, and having white teeth, as Buddha, son of Śuddhodana, I shall confuse men; and when I become Buddha, slaves will make use of the pure; all men will become yellow-gowned Buddhas, and priests will neither study nor sacrifice; offerings to fire and respect for Gurus will vanish; sons will not obey parents . . Śruti and Smṛti will be forgotten, owing to men's indulgence toward deceitful rules; till, at the end of this Kali age, a green-yellow (haripiṅgala, epithet of the Śivaite Durvāsas in 13, 160, 14) Brāhmaṇa will appear, called Kalki, son of Viṣṇuyaśas, a Yājñavalkya Purohita. He will come as a warrior-priest riding on a horse, haya, with other priests as (warrior-)companions, to destroy barbarians and heretics". In 3, 190, 93, Kalki himself is named Viṣṇuyaśas (cf. H 2367) and is a priestly warrior, born at Sambhala-grāma (cf. 3, 191, 5 and Vāyu P. 58, 78, Mlecchatvaṃ hanti); a late addition to the epic based on Vāyu P. (cf. 3, 191, 16, Vāyuproktam). S 2, 50, 45 also makes Viṣṇuyaśas the name of Kalki (Kalkin). Cf. H 2368, Yājñavalkyapuraḥsara, "follower of Yājñavalkya" (or of his works). According to 12, 342, 24 f., Viṣṇu worships Rudra Śiva as himself, born of his wrath, as Brahman was born of his grace: "Rudra and Nārāyaṇa are one being in two forms . . Viṣṇu adores none save himself". This is what is recognised in H 10662 f. Rudra is not Avatar but identical. "The mūrti is one, the gods are three, Rudra, Viṣṇu, Pitāmaha" (not epical).

The whole list of twenty-two Avatars (Bhāg. Pur. 2, 7) contains many prādurbhāvas which appear as titles in the epic, such as Puruṣa, Nārada, Kapila, Pṛthu, Ṛṣabha, Yajña, Dhanvantari. The serpent seems to be an Avatar in 12, 350, 35: "I take the form of the earth-upholding serpent; the form of boar, lion, dwarf, and man" (Vyāsa is Avatar of Nārāyaṇa here). Other titles of late but instructive form in the lists at 12, 339, 40 f. are: Cāturmahārājika, Tuṣita (and Mahātuṣita, Buddhistic); Saptamahābhāga, Mahāyāmya (= Citragupta), Pāñcarātrika and Pañcakālakartṛpati, (Indra's) ākhaṇḍala, harihaya; haṃsa, mahāhaṃsa, hayaśiras, vaḍavāmukha (as Avatars, cf. 12, 300, 2 f. with 5, 36, 1 f.). Viṣṇu is here ascetic with water-pot, vedī, etc. (12, 339, 4 f., a late addition). Ātreya is here ascetic but soon becomes an Avatar. In H 2225 to 2374 the ten Avatars are lotus (cf. 12, 343, 76), boar, man-lion, dwarf, Datta (= Dattātreya), two Rāmas, Keśava, Vyāsa, and Kalki. These are pravṛttis or prādurbhāvas (cf. 1, 63, 99). As All-god, Viṣṇu is Rudro bahuśirāḥ (13, 149, 26), but as the "one in many" (eko Viṣṇur mahad bhūtam, pṛthag bhūtāny anekaśaḥ (ib. 140). The Rām. recognises the tortoise and boar incarnations as well as that of Rāma, though only in the later Bāla and Uttara with interpolated passages elsewhere (Buddha is mentioned, but not as Avatar, in the interpolated R 2, 109, 34; the dwarf, 1, 29; the tortoise, 1, 45, pra. 11).[1]) For Viṣṇu and Brahman, see § 137.

[1]) See Muir, Original Sanskrit Texts, 4, 175 f. and 266 f.; 441 f.; Jacobi, Das Rāmāyaṇa, p. 65. In H 10660 f. the three gods who have one form are androgynous, ardhanārīśvarāḥ. Rudra is of the nature of fire; Viṣṇu, of the moon (agnimaya, somātmaka), these two powers composing the world (8, 34, 49, agnīṣomau jagat kṛtsnam). Pitāmaha is ignored here after the introductory and perfunctory recognition of him as one of the three. The laud is given to Hari-Harau, "with Brahman", but the last is really left out in favor of the "two highest" who are one, (etau paramau devau) as creators, preservers, destroyers (eka eva dvidhābhūtaḥ).

As brother of Durgā (§ 161) Viṣṇu shares with her the peculiarity of appearing with either two, four, or eight arms (§ 145), while Śiva has either two, four, six, ten, or eighteen arms (13, 14, 250; 14, 8, 30). Varāhamihira (BS. 58, 31 f.) speaks only of Viṣṇu and Durgā as having four or eight arms.

§ 157. Śiva. — In Rām., Śiva as Śaṃkara and Rudra is god of the North (R 6, 74, 59f.), but he is not regarded as higher than other Devas (R 6, 59, 132; Rāvaṇa is kṣeptā Śaṃkarasya, R 6, 114, 49), except as destroyer, yugānte, in his special rôle as Hara (R 3, 65, 2; ib. 24, 26, Rudra Pināki̇n, etc.). As Maheśvara he has a wonder-tree on Himavat, near where Kubera became yellow-eyed from seeing him (R 4, 37, 28; ib. 7, 13, 22f.). Rāma is likened to Bhava, as Sītā to Giriputrī (R 6, 75, 35f. etc.). Śiva is called Mahādeva and Śambhu (ekādaśātmaka, R 4, 43, 59), Tryambaka (R 6, 43, 6). He is Amareśa, lord of Bhūts (ib. 59, 9), smiter of Tripura, burner of Kāma (ib. 1, 23, 13), father of Skanda (ib. 36, 7f.); his chief notable deeds are to take the world-destroying poison, destroy Dakṣa's sacrifice (R 1, 66, 9f.), and receive the falling Ganges (R 1, 43, 26). The Uttara exalts him more but puts him under Viṣṇu (steps on Rāvaṇa, 7, 16 and 16, 27). He carries a rosary (Hara Gaṇeśa, 7, 23, pra. 4, 29).[1]) He is ṣaḍardhanayana and Mahādeva, "great god with three eyes" (R 6, 120, 3). In R 1, 45, pra. 5f., it is Hari who gets Hara to drink the poison. See § 163.

The Mbh. also allows Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna to bow to and receive boons from Śiva and Umā (eight boons from the god of eight principles and forms (1, 123, 44; 3, 39, 70; 13, 15, 7f.; ib. 16, 34 and 54, two octads, tanus and prakṛtis). In the scheme of creation, Skanda bears no relation to Śiva, who is ignored; it is Brahman here who is īśa and śambhu; the Rudras are sons of Sthāṇu, who is then himself one of the eleven (1, 64, 45 and 66, 1f.). Mahādeva is a title of Viṣṇu (3, 84, 147, etc.). Hara is name of a demon (1, 67, 23); Rudra and Mahākāla are, however, recognised in 1, 65, 21, as the god Bāṇa followed. Śiva is called Nīlakaṇṭha because he drank the poison at Brahman's bidding (1, 18, 42; but see below). Brahman creates Śiva; Śiva is Brahman's son (references above in § 138). The later epic exalts Śiva, and here he becomes creator of Brahman (13, 14, 4). Śiva is known as Rudra, Īśa, Śambhu, Devadeva, Deveśa, Mahādeva, Bhagavat (as are other gods). Generally, however, Mahādeva and Śambhu mean Śiva, who is called Kapardin from his hair and

[1]) Compare akṣa in 12, 38, 23, the rosary worn by (the friend of Duryodhana) Cārvāka, a Rākṣasa disguised as a Śivaite priest (on the Cārvāka, see Pizzagalli, Nāstika, Cārvāka e Lokāyatika). The Kurus are Śiva-worshippers, though Duryodhana performs the Vaiṣṇava-sacrifice (3, 255, 10f.). References to Rudra-Śiva as a great god are not uncommon in the Rām., but the force of the number of these is dissipated by the reflection that most of the references are to Rudra as battle-god and are introduced as similes. They are frequent enough to show that Rudra was generally recognised as a fearsome god, but they do not indicate that he was regarded as supreme. The few passages referring to the Śivaite rosary are all late. The passage above and one in 12, 285, 100 are in late lauds and the epithet used here, akṣamālin, is found again in another similar laud at 7, 201, 69. The early epic has no allusion to a rosary. In 3, 112, 5, the Ṛṣyaśṛṅga episode is late (cf. R 1, 9—19; and Lüders, Nachrichten der K. Gesell. d. Wissensch. zu Göttingen, Philol-hist. Kl. 1897 and 1901). Akṣamālā as wife of Vasiṣṭha in Manu is not epic. Perhaps in 13, 104, 84, the kāñcanīyā mālā (na sā duṣyati karhicit) may be a rosary (compare on this subject, Leumann, Aupapātika, p. 72, and the same writer's "Rosaries mentioned in Indian Literature", p. 888). Akṣasūtra, Rudrākṣa, Japamāla, Gaṇettiyā are not epic terms and as akṣamālā appears in A. V. Pariśiṣṭa, 43, 4, 11, this would seem to be the first word used for the rosary. RG 6, 82, 84 is late. Śiva akṣapriya, 12, 285, 47, is "fond of dice"; cf. akṣaiḥ pramattaḥ, 1, 197, 15.

Pināk in from his bow, Triśūlin and Trinetra (Tryakṣa) from his trident and eyes; and generally these epithets are names only of him. But other grandiose names are the epithets of other gods. Maheśvara is Indra in 1, 211, 23, where Śiva becomes four-faced through staring at Tilottamā; and in 1, 227, 29 Tridaśānāṃ maheśvaraḥ is also Indra. Of his four faces (explained otherwise here) the pseudo-epic calls his southern face destructive (13, 141, 1 f.; he also has four forms). He has a hundred tongues, a thousand feet, etc. Three-eyed monsters are not uncommon and, till Kṛṣṇa improved his appearance, Śiśupāla had three eyes and four arms (image of Śiva, 2, 43, 1). Śiva's third eye is like a sun on his brow (Virūpākṣa, 12, 343, 25; 13, 140, 34). Śiva has Rākṣasa characteristics also as kumbhakarṇa, śaṅkukarṇa, gokarṇa, etc. (3, 84, 157; 173, 44; 12, 285, 75 and 83). As husband of Umā, he is Umāpati. She is Mahādevī Haimavatī identified with Pārvatī as he is Mahādeva Giriśa, Girika, etc., as god of the mountains. A festival to him as mountain-god is given in the spring-month Vaiśākha (lasts 34 days; he is Mahādeva, S 1, 241, 69 f.; B suppresses the title, apparently because Kṛṣṇa was the worshipper). In the South, his fane at Gokarṇa was known as holy (both epics; gokarṇa as epithet). Theological animus has varied the recipients of Tīrtha honors. For example, B at 3, 84, 129 has Maheśvara and Vṛṣadhvaja, but S has Vaṭeśvara and then Keśava as those honored. Most of Śiva's titles are clear but Tryambaka, interpreted as "having three eyes" or "lord of three worlds" (H 7589), is doubtful. Śiva is Ambikābhartṛ only in late passages. Possibly "having three rivers", as Ganges is and Umā may be river; or, as in parvatas Tryambakaḥ in v. l. at R 7, 46, 20 (cf. RG 4, 44, 46), ambaka = śṛṅga (Triśṛṅga, cf. Triśīrṣa), the "three-peaked mountain" being originally the god itself (triyambaka is metrical, S 2, 23, 36). If amba = pupilla, the "three-eyed" meaning would agree with tradition. No three "mothers" are known[1]), but this may be derived from the Rudra-Agni conception (Agni has three mothers in RV. 3, 56, 5?). Of doubtful meaning also is Hiṇḍuka in 12, 285, 139. As carried on a bull, Śiva is Vṛṣavāhana (Bhava Giriśa, 1, 197, 21). As ascetic god he is skull-wreathed (14, 8, 29), worshipped by asceticism (1, 169, 8), and called virajo nīrajo 'maraḥ (13, 17, 148; but nīra-ja = moon), "passionless". A hekatomb of human victims are prepared for him as Śaṃkara Paśupati (2, 22, 11; ib. 15, 23). His festival in 1, 143, 3 f., is also a Paśupati utsava, calling forth a great samāja of worshippers (ib. 145, 34; the date would be about the beginning of March).

§ 158. Although the latest parts of the epic (before the final chapters of Śānti) are devoted to Śiva-worship, as if it rose in a new form to oppose the exaggerated Nārāyaṇa-Kṛṣṇa cult, yet the passages in the earlier books (cf. above and 7, 79, 4, where Arjuna offers the "regular nightly offering" to Tryambaka) may indicate that there was not at first much antagonism between the sects. Śiva is the Kuru-maker, lives with Kurus, 13, 17, 107. Each party believes in the supreme greatness of his own god, but neither decries the other openly. As Devadeva, Rudra gives Arjuna

[1]) The simplest explanation of Tryambaka may be that Śiva has not three mothers but three Mother-goddesses (Gaurī, Kālī, Umā), who are called Ambikās, each originally an Ambā or Mother. These Mothers are known as a group of attendants and comprise such forms (names) as Māgadhī, showing a local cult, Bhadrakālī (independent of Kālī = Bhadrakālī, but originally the same), Vetālajaninī, Bhaganandā (sexual), Bhāvinī (= mother), etc. The list, as attendants of Skanda, is given in 9, 46, 3 f. Vetālas next appear in H 14533; as mātṛ, 9542; graha, 9562; Vetālī is Durgā, 10240.

his own raudram astram (3, 167, 47f.; 173, 42f.), and has a pretended struggle to test the knight. Śiva is here "snake-wearer, club-bearer, of many forms, his ensign the bull, trident in hand; he has three heads (nine eyes), six arms, flame-(red) hair, is clothed in snakes"; but at the same time is conventionally trinetra, three-eyed (elsewhere he has "a thousand eyes"). Both passages call him by his ancient name Śarva. Arjuna worships him, building him an altar, when the flowers thereon appear on the god's head, who is described as "lord of all gods, blue-necked, destroyer of Dakṣa's sacrifice", etc., and, finally, as "Viṣṇu in form of Śiva, Śiva in form of Viṣṇu", or Harirudra, a dualism antecedent to trinitarianism (3, 39, 76). He is "lord of weal, pure helper, guardian of the bow, great lord of all beings, lord of hosts, gaṇeśa, destroyer of impurity, a user of māyā (illusion), bull-marked, of eleven forms, ekādaśatanu, and of eight, aṣṭamūrti" (3, 49, 4; ib. 8). He hides in holes (13, 17, 61); is Guha and Rāhu; wears garlands, sports with Umā in the grove north of Meru, unseen save by Siddhas (6, 6, 24f.). In 10, 6, 3f., Aśvatthāman is estopped from murder by the vision of a gigantic being, bright as the sun or moon, clothed in tiger-skins, with snakes as armbands, with terrible fangs and thousands of eyes. This was Kṛṣṇa as god. Then the knight invoked the aid of the "god of gods, husband of Umā, decked with skulls, called Kapardin, Hara, Rudra, Bhaganetrahara". As "the mighty boon-giver, white-necked, living in crematoria, having all forms, whose club is a post, smiter of Tripura, blue-necked, red-haired, who is fond of courtiers, leader of ghosts, dear to Gaurī, overseer of treasure, father of Kumāra, clothed in space, wearer of the moon" (etc., epithets already noted; 10, 7, 11), as "Brahman and as Śakra", Śiva appears (as does Umā), surrounded with his Bhūts, "over-short and over-long", deformed in all ways. What is lacking here and above is almost more important than what is supplied, viz., all reference to Śiva as the phallic god, such as he is described in later passages. The Pārişadas are the manifold forms of him they worship and are sexually deformed, bṛhacchephāṇḍapiṇḍikāḥ (10, 7, 39), as they are "huge-bellied", etc., but in the description of the god the Liṅga attributes are lacking. The Mahāpārişadas of Rudra are described again in 9, 45, 104f., as long-necked (etc.) linguists with pendent bellies, etc., pralambodaramehanāḥ (ib. 97), five-tufted, three-tufted, cock-faced, etc., attendants of Śiva's son Skanda (their faces are those of animals). It is as destructive rather than reproductive energy that Śiva is famed; hence "slayer of animals", and the battle-ground of death is his playground (7, 19, 35; cf. ākrīḍam iva Rudrasya purā 'bhyardayataḥ paśūn). His fists are like Śakra's bolts; he blazes in glory as he burns Tripura (3, 39, 56; 7, 156, 135). As god of procreation he grants the boon of a son and is worshipped expressly for this purpose by Drupada (5, 188, 3; cf. 7, 144, 15f.; 1, 110, 9). A distinction is made between Śiva and Rudra. Śiva created Brahman and Viṣṇu from his right and left side, (respectively, for purposes of creation and preservation), and he created Rudra as Kāla (13, 14, 347f.); hence Rudra is usually his devastating form; it is Rudra who makes the demoniac arms of Rākṣasas (the eight-wheeled bolt, 7, 175, 96). Rudrāṇī with Ṣaṣṭhī (Gaurī?) also separate the female powers of the two (2, 11, 41). Mystically Rudra is Agni (q. v. and cf. 13, 85, 88f.). Rudra is born when crime is committed, like a portentous storm of wind (12, 73, 17f.; 341, 37, as one of eleven Rudras; cf. ib. 285, 19). A later passage than that cited above

first introduces Śiva as a phallic god, where, as Rudra, the god "discarded his Liṅga" (10, 17, 22). In 12, 47, 80 (as Kṛṣṇa) and 166, 25 f., he appears with four arms, three eyes, black, yellow, and the third sunlike, and mahāliṅga (ib. 48). So in 13, 17, 77, Śiva, identified with Nandīśvara, Nandin, Nandana, is four-faced and mahāliṅga, cāruliṅga, liṅgādhyakṣa, and ib. 46, ūrdhvaretas, ūrdhvaliṅga. Another late passage, which gives him a rosary (7, 201, 69 f.; cf. 12, 285, 100) and makes him the All-god and god of a thousand eyes, arms, legs, and heads, says that he creates in Liṅga-form (7, 201, 93 and 96); by his divine Liṅga the worlds are increased; it is worshipped by gods, seers, Gandharvas, and Apsarasas; and Maheśvara rejoices when his heavenly Liṅga is revered; he is Sthāṇu because sthitaliṅga (ib. 202, 124 f. and 133): "He who always reveres the Liṅga obtains great happiness" (ib. 140). That this long passage is a late addition to Droṇa[1]) may easily be shown. It contains a reference to the "two bodies" (cf. 13, 162, 3 f.), has the sthiraliṅga of 13, 162, 11, and the late dhūrjaṭi (7, 202, 129), etc. The "two bodies" in themselves are the dve tanū called ghorā and śivā or saumyā, fire, lightning, and sun being the first body, and stars, water, and moon the second. Droṇa replaces vidyut with Viṣṇu as one form of the horrible body, as stars ("heavenly lights") interchange with virtue as a kind form (on Śiva's invention of Death, see 12, 258; he is lightning, and sun and moon). Śiva has two lauds (cf. 12, 285, 71), one giving him a thousand and the other a thousand and eight titles (13, 17, 130 as tala or foundation), both marked by late Purāṇic elements (Manvantaras, Lokāloka worlds, tanmātras created by Śiva, recognition of the Kṛṣṇāṣṭamī; cf. 13, 14, 211, etc.). Kṛṣṇa here worships Śiva (to get his son Sāmba by Jāmbavatī). Śiva's ornaments are Nāgas, worn as ear-rings and girdle; his clothes are of snake-skin; his arms are club, bow (snake), sword, axe, and trident; also the discus (from Viṣṇu), 13, 14, 154 f.; cf. ib. 160, 1 f. The crescent-moon is on his brow, ib. 253.

§ 159. The pseudo-epic describes in detail Śiva and his many great acts. He inspired sundry authors, "makers of books and Sūtras"; even Sāvarṇi was made a granthakṛt. He made Indra king of Devas at Benares, and promised Nārada the post of musician to himself, the "naked ash-strewn god" (digvāsā bhasmaguṇṭhitaḥ, 13, 14, 101 f.; 105). As (above) he has four arms (instead of six), so he has six faces instead of four; he is seen and not seen (dṛśyate 'dṛśyate cā 'pi, negative verb); naked he sports with daughters and wives of saints; has a huge śepha; sometimes rides a white elephant with red ears and four tusks; he is "beyond the reach of logical argument"; his worshipper needs no logic but should be willing to become worm or bird or beast at his wish. He

[1]) On the source of Liṅga-worship, see Stevenson in JRAS., 8, 330; Lassen, Indian Antiquities, 1, 524; and the discussion in OST. 4, 406 f. There is no evidence that Liṅga-worship was adopted by Brahmanic priests in early days. As creative god, however, nothing was more natural than for Rudra-Śiva even as representing Agni bhūtādi to exhibit himself in this form. The usual theory (Muir agrees with the authors cited above) is that the savage cult of wild tribes as śiśna-worshippers lent phallicism to Brahmanism, but I do not know of any wild tribes that were distinguished by the use of this emblem in the epic, whereas Śiva was a god invoked for procreative purposes and both he and Kubera are not without priapine elements likely to become symbolised among a people never very shy of sexual matters. It may be that the usual theory is right but it lacks confirmation. At any rate the Liṅga is late in its appearance in literature; it certainly is not an early epic trait. Śiva is Vāmadeva, 17, 14, 71; H 14842.

is half male and half female. He is the best god, because other gods worship his Liṅga. All creatures bear the male or female sign, hence all are Śiva's creatures. If they were Viṣṇu's or Brahman's or Indra's, they would be marked with discus, lotus, or thunderbolt! But the universe is all male and female, pulliṅga and strīliṅga, dve tanū, belonging to Śiva or Devī, who is the female part of Śiva. He gives Vāsudeva "sixteen and eight" boons; around him stand eleven hundred Rudras and seven Manus; but he is above the seven winds and seven fires; his forms are "diseases and sorrows and vices", for he embraces all. His forms are three, tanavas tisraḥ, Kāla, Puruṣa, Brahman, with the overman, adhipuruṣa, as fourth. His eight forms are water, fire, priest, sun, moon, space, earth and wind; he is the eight elements, seven worlds, seven seers, the all, the kāṣṭhā and kalā, and the five ways of salvation (ib. 16, 65, cf. Kaṭh. Up. 3, 11). Probably mahāṅga in 13, 17, 83 f., where new titles are found, is one with mahāliṅga. He is here maker of Vedas, tridaśa and dvādaśa, higher than grammar, etc. etc. His fondness for dancing and music is dwelt upon, nṛtyapriyo nityanarto nartakaḥ sarvalālasaḥ (ib. 50), mahānṛtya (117); he is leonine, and a tiger (vyāghro vyāghreśvaranāmā Kaliṅgarūpaḥ, refers to an image in Kaliṅga, N.); he here has mules as his steeds; ten golden arms; carries ten weapons; is gajahan (at Benares, ib. 48). As creator he is identified with Viśvakarman in 12, 285, 59, but as one who sacrificed (cf. 269, 21, of Prajāpati) in the great universal sacrifice (of ŚB. 13, 7, 1, 14) after his birth from earth.

§ 160. Śiva's weapons are Pāśupata or Brahmaśiras, with which he killed demons and will destroy the world (given to Arjuna!); the Pināka, a club or bow (explained 13, 14, 256, as bow) made of serpents (cf. Ājagava, 3, 126, 34; 7, 145, 94); the trident called Vijaya, etc. The bull is his usual vehicle and Devī Umā rides with him. It is driven by Kāla and was given Śiva by Brahman, also by Dakṣa. The early epic, in distinction from the fantastic account of the pseudo-epic, recognises Śiva as an ascetic god granting boons chiefly as reward of asceticism and famous for a few great acts. He destroyed Tripura, the three cities of demons, hence Tripurāntakara, etc. He slew many demons but especially Andhaka (9, 17, 48, etc., sometimes confused with Antaka). He knocked out Bhaga's eyes and burned Kāma (12, 190, 10) and destroyed Dakṣa's sacrifice. He received Ganges as she fell from the sky (6, 6, 31). His vehicle in going to attack Tripura is drawn by a thousand lions (3, 231, 29). On destroying Dakṣa's sacrifice, because not invited, Śiva shot the sacrifice, that fled as a deer, broke Savitṛ's arms, kicked out Pūṣan's teeth, and destroyed Bhaga's eyes, paralysing all the gods who failed to honor him (cf. 10, 18). He was assisted by Umā as Bhadrakālī, and by Vīrabhadra, and other (Raumya) spirits born of Śiva's hair-pits (12, 285, 34 f.). His wrath produced Jvara, Fever (12, 284, 47). Another account (13, 77, 20 f.) makes Śiva annoyed with Dakṣa for creating cows, but he accepts the bull from him. Śiva is type of the Yogins who have the "eightfold lordship", and imparts this as a boon to Jaigīṣavya at Benares; but also he represents arts and literature, imparting the sixty-four divisions of Kalājñāna to Garga (other boons also recorded here, 13, 18, 2 f., won by repeating the god's 1008 names). He is the inspirer of artists (etc., sarvaśilpapravartaka, 12, 285, 148). For his relation to Brahman, see § 138.

Historically, the most important facts are his identity with Viṣṇu, but at the same time the absence of trinitarian interpretation, except in one

late passage (3, 272, 47) as three avasthāḥ of Prajāpati (cf. H 10662); the virtual absence of Gaṇeśa (§ 145; cf. 3, 39, 79 as epithet of Śiva); the rare mention of the rosary (3, 112, 5, Ṛṣyaśṛṅga, late; cf. § 157); and the late references to Liṅga (above). Also the late form Pārvatī (below). Not unimportant too is the fact that Śiva appears as patron of arts and literature only in the later epic. S 12, 122 makes Śiva the author of all literature. As teacher Śiva is found in 2, 78, 15. His "law-treatise" called Vaiśālākṣa from his epithet is referred to (12, 58, 2; 59, 82). Only in H 14841 is he Kaṇāda.

§ 161. Umā, wife of Śiva, is known as Pārvatī (her modern name) only in a few late passages (R 1, 36, 21, Śailasutā Pārvatī, in an added vs.; R 7, 13, 23 has the parallel Rudrāṇī; Mbh. 3, 231, 49; 7, 80, 40; 9, 45, 53; 10, 7, 46). Her birth as "daughter of Himavat", whence this name, is recognised everywhere. Hariv. and Purāṇas call her Pārvatī repeatedly (H also Tryakṣapatnī, vs. 10000). Common are synonyms, Giriputrī, Girirājaputrī, Śailarājaputrī, Nagarājaputrī, Girijā, Nagakanyā, Girīśā, Parvatarājakanyā (R 3, 16, 43; Mbh. S 1, 172, 28; 1, 187, 4). Her old name is Umā (Kena 25, Umā Haimavatī, etc.; in Up. no Pārvatī occurs before the late Haṃsa). R 6, 60, 11 has Umā; RG 5, 89, 7, Umāsahāyo deveśaḥ (not in the Bombay text; all other Umā passages in R cited in PW. lacking in this text except for the first book); Mbh. 3, 37, 33, "Hrī, Śrī, Kīrti, Dyuti, Puṣṭi, Umā, Lakṣmī, and Sarasvatī protect thee"; 9, 45, 13; ib. 46, 49. H 946, derives U-mā from "don't", as her mother Menā thus addressed her (then called Aparṇā) for being austere. Śiva is Umādhava, Umāpati, Umāsahāya (1, 215, 21; 3, 38, 32, etc.). Devī and Maheśvarī usually refer to her (5, 111, 9, etc.). Viśākha reveres her as Girivarātmajā Śailaputrī (9, 44, 39). She lectures on the duties of good women (13, 146, 33 f.), being called here Surakāryakarī and Lokasaṃtānakāriṇī, "doer of the gods' work", "peopling earth" (ib. 11). As Pārvatī she is accompanied by Gaurī and other inferior female divinities (3, 231, 48). She is younger sister of Ganges, whence Śiva received Ganges on his head and held her there a hundred thousand years (6, 6, 31; see § 4). As Gaurī she is sister of Vāsudeva and in this form inhabits the southern mountains. She is called Bhadrakālī and Mahākālī, Maheśvarī, and Durgā, Great Death, Great Sleep (Mahānidrā), and has, as female part of Śiva, his characteristics, being cruel and kind; as slayer she is Kaiṭabhanāśinī, Mahiṣāsṛkpriyā (rejoicing in the blood of the demons she slays, 6, 23, 8). The Durgāstotra gives her family relations, Nandagopakulodbhavā, Gopendrasyānujā, Kātyāyanī, Kauśikī; she is also Śākambharī (corn-mother). As Sāvitrī Vedamātṛ, she usurps the place of older goddesses. She lives not only in Himavat but all over the land, in deserts and under earth, and conquers as war-goddess (6, 23, 8 f.). But she is unknown as Durgā except in H and two late hymns, 4, 6, 1 f.; and 6, 23, 2 f., where she is Bhuvaneśvarī, Yaśodāgarbhasambhūtā, Vāsudevasya bhaginī and lives in Vindhya. She is fond of drink and flesh and her name Durgā is a lucus a non, because she saves from durga, difficulty (4, 6, 20). Her sign is a peacock's tail; she wears diadem and snakes, with the usual jewels. She has four arms and faces (also two arms), and carries bow, discus, noose, and other weapons, as well as lotus, bell, and dish. She saves from robbers and death and is the "pure woman on earth". As Khaḍgakheṭadhāriṇī, she carries sword and shield (late words). Added to the arms above, this makes her eight-armed (so N.), though said to be caturbhujā. She is the "pure light-

ener of burdens", identified with Fame, Beauty, Success, Patience, Modesty, and Wisdom (common abstractions) and with Saṃtati and Mati (the former new) as with Twilight, Dawn, Night, Sleep, Lustre (Jyotsnā), Grace, Endurance, and Pity. She is addressed as Mandaravāsinī Kumārī (cf. Comorin), Kālī Kāpālī (kapilā kṛṣṇapiṅgalā, 6, 23, 4); she is caṇḍī and caṇḍā (ib. 5), feminines of Śiva's and Skanda's epithets. The great difference between the two lauds (both awkward insets) is that, in Virāṭa, Durgā is the sister of Kṛṣṇa and wife of Nārāyaṇa and is invoked as if she had nothing to do with Śiva; while in Bhīṣma she is identified with Umā (see later, H 3268f.). Durgā is also Jātavedasī, and Kālī was originally a flame-name (Muṇḍ. Up. 1, 2, 4). In these lauds, Mahākālī, synonym of Bhadrakālī Durgā, is elsewhere Pārvatī or Devī; but Mahādevī may also be Lakṣmī (wife of Viṣṇu), as in 13, 62, 6. She may be meant in the Tīrthas called Kanyā and Anaraka (3, 83, 112; 84, 136, Kanyāsaṃvedya, sacred to the Virgin, as in Kanyāśrama, ib. 83, 189). The later epic adds a Kanyākūpa and -hrada (13, 25, 19 and 53). Here too belongs the cult of Kokāmukhā (ib. 52) for this means Durgā (6, 23, 8, "wolf-faced, loving loud laughter, fond of battles"). Devī's popularity, Maheśvarī, is largely due to her being interpreted as goddess of desire, a Venus (14, 43, 15, Bhagadevānuyātānāṃ māheśvarī mahādevī Pārvatī hi sā). Durgā is a late adoption of Viṣṇuism; originally a goddess worshipped by savages (Śavaras, Barbaras, Pulindas, H 3274). In H 10235 she is called (Gautamī) "Sister of Indra and Viṣṇu". The identity of Gaurī and Durgā is not obvious. Gaurī is at first wife of Varuṇa (q. v.). But in 3, 84, 151, she is the great goddess of the mountain-peak, Mahādevī. At 3, 84, 97, for the well-known phrase, "Go to Gayā or sacrifice with a horse", S has Gaurīṃ vā varayet kanyām (S 82, 96, repeated S 85, 10). Gaurī accompanies Pārvatī (3, 231, 48), who is Umā and rides with Paśupati Mahādeva; in whose train are "Gaurī, Vidyā, .. Sāvitrī", who "walk behind Pārvatī", as the Vijaya weapon walks incorporate here and Rudra's spear (paṭṭiśa). S 2, 9, 7, also makes Gaurī wife of Varuṇa and in 13, 146, 10, the word means earth. Gaurīśa is Śiva (14, 8, 30), who is here identified with Anaṅga, Kṛṣṇa, etc. (as in H 10658). In R 5, 49, 11 and R 7, 25, 2, the minister Nikumbha may be connected with the Caitya Nikumbhilā (ib. 6, 84, 13) which in turn gets its name from "dancing Nikumbhilā" (R 5, 24, 47, with brandy-offerings), whom Indrajit should revere (cf. R 6, 87, 30). The goddess revered is Bhadrakālī (R 6, 85, 11f.), and "dancing Nikumbhilā" means dancing the goddess (worshipping her).

§ 162. Umā is a "pitiful goddess" and, for example, persuades Śiva to imitate Rāma and restore Jambuka (Śambuka) to life (12, 153, 114, Śiva weeps); though Śiva himself is really kind, and especially in the later epic appears as the holy comforter. Thus to comfort Vyāsa for the death of his son Śuka, Rudra-Śiva gives the father "a shadow like his son and never leaving him", which only the bereaved father may see (chāyā anapagā sadā, a shadow-soul, 12, 334, 38); so Gālava, going to his widowed mother, by grace of Maheśvara saw his father alive again (a vision, 13, 18, 58). The moral of his grace is that "even after committing all crimes, men by mental worship of Śiva are freed from sin" (ib. 65f.). As a child in the lap of Umā, he who is "lord of all mothers", paralyses Indra (7, 202, 85). Śiva in female form causes a female condition in his neighbourhood, which converts Ila into Ilā (R 7, 87, 12); it is his northern form which sports with Umā (13, 141, 1f.). According to 12, 343, 25f.,

Śiva's neck was made blue because Uśanas's snaky locks bit him, or because Nārāyaṇa throttled him (ib. 115), and his third eye (whence "Virūpākṣa") was caused by Dakṣa's austerity; but in 13, 140, 34, Umā covers his two eyes in sport, whereat a third eye breaks out on his forehead (H 7592 explains the blue neck from Indra's axe smiting him). A name of Gaurī is Ambikā, and Ambikā lokadhātrī, that is the world-upholding female principle, is a late title of Śiva. Umā appears as a female forester in company with Śiva as mountaineer (3, 39); he is her darling, Gaurīhṛdayavallabha (10, 7, 8). It was her jealousy which roused Śiva to destroy Dakṣa's sacrifice. Maheśvara himself says that it is the custom to exclude him from sacrifice and seems to be indifferent, till Umā rouses him (12, 284—285; Mahādeva here is only one of eleven Rudras and only Dadhīci worships him). Śiva himself is called Gaura (7, 80, 39) as he sits with Pārvatī and hosts of Bhūts, with matted locks and trident in hand, while music and dancing and noise of song and laughter and shouting are going on around them, and is extolled as Ambikābhartṛ (ib. 59). The two, Śiva and Umā, become visible only at the end of every Yuga (3, 130, 14) and may be propitiated in Kashmir at the lake Vātikaṣaṇḍa (or -khaṇḍa). The account of Jarāsandha and the flinging of the mace (99 leagues from Girivraja to Gadāvasāna near Mathurā) show that Śivaism flourished in the North (Kashmir) and East (Benares, Magadha) as opposed to Kṛṣṇaism (Mathurā to Surat). The story how Rudra got Umā away from Bhṛgu is told in 12, 343, 62 (here too the saint's curse on Himavat). Their marriage is told in 13, 84, 71, where Umā curses the gods for trying to keep Rudra from her (see also § 24). Dialogues between the spouses are reported in 13, 140, 2f.; 12, 236, 29f. In the latter in S, Umā is told by Śiva that he is enjoyer and she enjoyed, he soul and she body, he the real thing and she the śakti, and nature as śakti is the universe (he is eightfold in form, and with eight connections, aṣṭamūrti, aṣṭasaṃdhivibhūṣita). Oddly enough, it is as "son of Brahman" that Śiva, śrīkaṇṭha, proclaims his Pāśupata religion (12, 350, 67).

All these forms of Umā (= Amma, the great mother-goddess) go back to the primitive and universal cult of the mother-goddess (cf. Aditi), who in popular mythology appears as Kālamma and as Ellamma, that is as destructive or as kind. Although Kālī (as śyāmā) shows that the popular etymology connects Kālī with "black", it is probable that the goddess in this form is related rather to Kali, the genius of destruction. Her appellation Bhadrakālī (epic above, and Manu, 3, 89) euphemises the name (Cāmuṇḍā is a later name, not epic). Her modern cult represents her with four or eight hands. The cult of the disease-goddess in the epic is expanded in modern times into a definite cult of Māri-amma as "destructive" (Śītalā, etc.) sickness (a goddess). The connection of Paraśu-Rāma with the Śiva-cult is maintained to the present day, the temples of Kālī having a special shrine to this Rāma, owing to the legend that his wife Reṇukā was revived by her head being placed on the body of a Pariah woman. The goddess Ellamma (= sarvāmba) is recognised as the "goddess with the head of Reṇukā", while Paraśu-Rāma adores Ambikā (Ellamma).[1])

[1]) Compare Gustav Oppert, Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 1905, p. 726f. Oppert derives Umā from ammā (Original Inhabitants of India, p. 421). It is interesting to note that Ellamma in modern mythology becomes the mother of the Trimūrti, hatching out the three gods as a hen. The part played by serpents in her worship connects her with the Nāgas. See Oppert (Ztschr. für Ethn. 1905, p. 729). The local forms become in the

§ 163. Skanda belongs to Śiva through a doubtful sonship but more through his characteristics. He reverts in his earlier form to respectable antiquity and the fact that the Gītā recognises him as chief of army-leaders, when Śaṅkara is only chief of Rudras (6, 34, 23 f.), together with his identification with Sanatkumāra in Chānd. Up. 7, 26, 2, seems to show that he is not an intruded deification of Alexander. He is not mentioned enough in the early epic to indicate that he is important, but, as is the case with Durgā, when exploited he is lauded ad nauseam. This too looks as if he were not a late addition to the epic but a god rapidly increasing in importance, as the epic expanded, or more particularly as the Śiva-cult expanded. The reason is indeed obvious. Śiva had no use for Viṣṇu and Indra; he needed a new battle-leader of the gods, and for this chose Kumāra (Skanda), son of Agni, and made him at once his own son and leader of the gods in battle. The genealogy (1, 66, 23 f.) makes Kumāra son of Agni, and Agni is called (2, 31, 44) both Kumārasū and Rudragarbha. As mothered by the Kṛttikās he is (R 3, 12, 20) Kārttikeya (Pāvaki). His forms as brothers or sons are Śākha, Viśākha (= Skanda in 3, 232, 7) and Naigameya (1, 66, 24; "Pṛṣṭhaja" is a fourth, traditional error); but the later epic makes Skandaviśākha a title of Śiva and Viśākha interchanges with Skanda (epithet of Śiva, 13, 17, 72). Whose son Skanda was, is debated in the epic itself: "Some explain him as son of Pitāmaha, Sanatkumāra, eldest born of Brahman (so 12, 37, 12); some say he is son of Maheśvara; some say he is son of Agni (Vibhāvasu); some say he is son of Umā; some say he is son of the Kṛttikās (Pleiades); some say he is son of Ganges" (9, 46, 98 f.). In the laud of Śiva, 13, 14, Skanda appears "like Agni", beside Umā, riding on a peacock and holding a bell and javelin (vs. 378). Exclusively his are the epithets Guha, Kumāra, Kārttikeya, Pāvaki, Mahāsena, except as Viṣṇu or Śiva appropriate them. He is son of Agni and son of Ganges, as the former is associated with the Kṛttikās and the latter with Rudra. He is Guha as a mysterious being (sarvaguhyamaya, 1, 137, 13). Śiva is Guha in 13, 17, 150.

Still another tradition makes Skanda the son of Revatī (3, 232, 6, Svāheyo Revatīsutaḥ), i. e. selects the special wives of Agni and of Kāma, as Agni, to be his mothers. Rohītaka, "a pleasant land, rich in cattle and corn and beloved by Kārttikeya" (2, 32, 4) is inhabited by the Mad-Peacock folk, Mattamayūrakas, and lies in the West, perhaps a Maurya realm (conquered by Karṇa, 3, 254, 20). The peacock is the god's invariable emblem. Skanda's birth from the Kṛttikās is explained in R 1, 37, 28 (ṣaḍānana, the "six-faced" god). Rām. knows also the tale of his piercing Mt. Krauñca (R 4, 43, 26 and R 6, 67, 19, as Guha). He is here Śikhigata, "riding a peacock" (R 6, 69, 30) and is armed with javelin (called Kārttikeya in R 4, 8, 22 and RG 4, 44, 72; Skanda invoked in maṅgala, R 2, 25, 11). His birth-place, Śaravaṇa, is where Ila became a woman (R 7, 63, 14 and 87, 10, Mahāsena as Subrahmaṇya, Schol.).

§ 164. Skanda's birth is narrated at length in 9, 43—46. Maheśvara's energy being dissipated fell on fire but merely enhanced Agni's power, who flung it as seed into Ganges. She in turn cast it upon Himavat, "adored by the immortals", and the six Kṛttikās nursed the child, who developed six mouths to suck them. He lay on a śarastamba of gold

end all manifestations of Umā, just as the follower of Śiva called Vīrabhadra (12, 285, 34) is only a local genius raised eventually to be a form of Śiva with four, sixteen, or two thousand hands (ib.), and as Khāṇḍoba is now a form of Śiva (ib. p. 724).

(the mountain then became golden). Apsarasas danced about the child and the gods adored it, as Bṛhaspati performed the birth-rites. Fourfold Veda and Dhanur-Veda and Music attended him. He approached Rudra (Śiva, deveśa, pināk in) in the form of Skanda; Umā, daughter of Girivara (Himavat), as Viśākha; Agni, as Śākha (vāyumūrti, in wind-form); Ganges, as Naigameya (thus caturmūrti, 9, 44, 37). His birth-place is old (Pāṇ. 6, 3, 16, śareja = śaraja must refer to this). It becomes a proper name of the place, and is often alluded to, 6, 122, 3; 11, 23, 18, etc. Brahman bestowed leadership over the gods' army upon Skanda and he was installed on the Sarasvatī (9, 44, 49; consecration, ib. 45, 1 f.). He was like fire, ascetic, and endowed with Yoga power, also fair as the moon (ib. 44, 17 f.). His attendants resemble those of Śiva, malformed animal-headed sprites and the seven hosts of Mothers, fiends of varied vindictiveness. Several Tīrthas celebrate him (3, 83, 165; 84, 145; 85, 60). Allusions to Kārttikeya as senāpati are common (5, 165, 7; 6, 50, 33, etc.). His six faces, ṣaṇmukha, ṣaḍvaktra, ṣaḍānana, are transferred (epithet) to Śiva but seem to be original with Skanda as Kārttikeya. His birth was due primarily to the need of leader in the Tārakāmaya war, where he crushed the gods opposed, as he slew demons, even Mahiṣa, who was slain by other gods also but assigned to Skanda (8, 5, 57; cf. 7, 166, 16, Mahiṣaṃ ṣaṇmukho yathā). He is twelve-armed (12, 122, 32). His peacock is his battle-emblem. Karṇa's son Vṛṣasena (a Maurya name) has as standard a peacock which stood "as if about to crow, like that of Skanda" (7, 105, 17). He is known as disperser of the Āsurī pṛtanā, either as Kārttikeya, Pāvaki, Mahāsena, or Skanda (7, 159, 43; 9, 6, 20 f.). The later epic relates that when challenged to raise his spear Prahlāda failed; only Viṣṇu could move it; none could brandish it (12, 328, 8 f.). Gifts at his birth were given by the gods: Garuḍa gave him the peacock; Aruṇa, a fiery cock; the Moon, a sheep; Rākṣasas, a boar and buffalo; Agni, a goat, etc. So he grew up and killed Tāraka (13, 86, 11 f.; ṣaḍānana, dviṣaḍakṣa, dvādaśabhuja, ib. 86, 18 f.). His names are derived from the circumstances of his birth (ib. 86, 14, skannatvāt Skandatāṃ prāpto guhāvāsād Guho 'bhavat). He lives where Sarasvatī appears at Plakṣarāja (or under such a tree, 9, 43, 49). On the relation between Skanda and Agni (§ 49 f.) see 13, 84, 78 f., where Rudra's seed falling on Agni produces Kāma, Love as form of eternal Will: sanātano hi saṃkalpaḥ Kāma ity abhidhīyate (ib. 85, 11). As Kumāra is a form of Agni and Agni is the "leaper", plavaṃga, the name Skanda, if not from the leaping goat (below), may have originated from the leaping (skand) of his "son". Cf. 2, 31, 44, where Fire is invoked as plavaṃgaḥ .. Kumārasūḥ. In H 9814 f., Skanda protects Bāṇa, who is "friend of Rudra and Skanda". Compare 1, 65, 20, Bāṇa as follower of Rudra. But in 9, 46, 90, Skanda kills Bāṇa (yet see p. 48).

§ 165. Skanda not only slew Tāraka, Mahiṣa, Tripāda, Hradodara, and Bāṇa (son of Bali), but he pierced Mt. Krauñca and split it with the dart given him by Agni (9, 46, 84; but ib. 44, given by Indra), because Bāṇa had sought refuge in that mountain. All were destroyed by the lightning flashes of the great javelin (a śaktyastra "very bright and noisy, adorned with bells") and by the noises and yawnings (jṛmbhamāṇābhiḥ) of Skanda's infernal hosts. Skanda made himself multiform. In this account Skanda is throughout the son of Agni and nothing is said of his leading one division of the army of Śiva, as in Vana, where Śiva says

to him, "Guard thou the seventh Māruta-skandha" (3, 231, 55 f.). The latter passage contains his formal titles, many being Śiva's, such as Amogha, Bhūteśa, Caṇḍa, Anāmaya, Kāmajit. The rest are complimentary, "hero, glorious, swift, pure, ascetic, fair, good"; he is "dear" and "fond of Viśvāmitra and Vāsudeva"; Mayūraketu, "peacock-bannered", etc. Indra cannot kill him. As child he is śiśu, bālakrīḍanakapriya, lalita; Mātṛvatsala, as darling of the wild Mothers. None of the fifty odd epiths assign him sonship in Śiva, only making him son of Gaṅgā and Agni's wives and of Agni; but this is probably due to the passage being a laud of Agni. He is called here Ṣaṣṭhīpriya; and his play with the cock, his possession of conch and bow, his "six" hands and six faces are mentioned 3, 225, 25 f. He is not called Subrahmaṇya in any epic passage (a Southern epithet), but, like Viṣṇu, he is Brahmaṇya, Brahmeśaya, Brahmavit, and Brahmaja; as fire too he is "six-flamed", ṣaḍarcis; also he has a thousand members, heads, faces, arms, and feet (S by v. l. makes him hold ten javelins, daśaśaktidhārin); he is identified with Svāhā and Svadhā (ib. 232, 10 f.). His attendants are war-imps in 9, 45, but disease-demons, grahas, in 3, 230, 26 f. They include Pūtanā and other foes of children and of men, nightmares, fevers, etc., personified, also tree-spirits, nurses of Skanda, who are kind; but some are horrible and eat human flesh (S 3, 231, 16 f., Vṛkṣakā nāma; B Vṛddhikā). They are distributed over gods, Manes, and Saints, as Devagrahas, etc., as well as Rākṣasa-grahas, Paiśācagrahas, Yakṣagrahas. Skanda here is called Kṛttikāsuta and son of Rudra, and his wife is Devasenā, sister of Daityasenā, ravished by Keśin. In defence of Devasenā, Indra wounded Keśin. Her mother was sister of Indra's mother, a daughter of Dakṣa. Indra sought a husband for Devasenā and, when Skanda was born and had conquered the world in six days, presented her to the youthful god. Bṛhaspati married them and she is his queen and has various names, Ṣaṣṭhī, Lakṣmī, Āsā, Sukhapradā, Sinīvālī, Kuhū, Sadvṛtti, Aparājitā. Śrīpañcamī is the blessed fifth day on which Śrī in person blessed him, and the sixth day also is his great day, mahātithi, because he then accomplished his aim (3, 229, 52). The account of his birth here gives a description of his six faces, one of which was that of a goat (see also Agni). Viśvāmitra first "accepted him" and performed for him the thirteen auspicious rites and instituted his worship (on the fifth day of the bright fortnight of the Kṛttikās' month). Agni, as a goat-faced naigameya, soothed and amused him. Seven Mothers guarded him, Kākī, Halimā, Mālinī, Bṛṃhitā, Āryā, Palālā, Vaimitrā (v. l. in S). Clear is here the posteriority of his relationship to Śiva: Rudrasūnuṃ tataḥ prāhur Guham, "after this they called Guha the son of Rudra" (3, 229, 28). The Vana account is mystical and late in many ways. The javelin here becomes a potency, śakti; the imps of war becomes diseases; the Mothers take the place in number as in nurture of the original mothers. Disease-demons and dog-shaped imps afflicting children are not new, but their assignment to Skanda marks a late phase. Skanda is a composite god. First there is Agni Kumāra the "ever youthful", with whom first Skanda was formally identified. On the other hand, as son of Agni, Skanda was identified with all burnings (fevers) and other afflictions. The god who represented fire and affliction was naturally associated with the troops of afflicting beings grouped about Śiva and so became "son of Śiva", the more readily as the "hidden" god of mystery was naturally associated with the hidden places of the mountains (Guha

and guhya; cf. Kubera). The "holiest night" is Kārttikī (3, 182, 16). As the association of six-faced Skanda with the six mother-stars seems as old a trait as any, it may be well to derive the name Kārttikeya from the stars themselves, who are the divinity of the Sword (War) and regents directly of war, as well as those who govern the month when war begins (3, 230, 11, S has śakaṭākāram for saptaśīrṣam; cf. 12, 166, 82), as it sometimes does (2, 23, 29). Viśākha may derive from the fever-time beginning with the month Vaiśākha, but Śākha (unless from Viśākha) is not clear and Naigameya is not necessarily (naigameṣa) a sheep-head form. These names like Chāgavaktra come from a time when different imps were regarded as sons of the great "leaper", who eventually, as identical with Śiva, becomes "creator of gods", etc. (3, 231, 111; 232, 14f.). After Skanda's birth, the gods feared and opposed him; but then the Mothers suckled him and Agni being kind, śiva, protected him (3, 226, 26). Possible Agni as śiva may have furthered the fatherhood of Śiva, but the general agreement in nature between the fiery burning spirit of fever, love, and wounds and Śiva's own original nature had more to do with it. The native explanation of his forms is that when Indra's bolt touched Skanda, another spirit Viśākha arose from its 'entering' viśana (3, 227, 17), and that in the same way all the child-seizers (sicknesses) as Kumārakas are Skanda's children. Owing to their power over children all who desire offspring revere Svāhā as Umā and Śiva as Agni as the "goat-faced" (C 3, 14391 has Rudram Agnim; B and S have Rudram Agnimukham). Here the Chāgamukha is some "goat" form spirit identified with Skanda, who may himself be a leaping goat in his first form, obviously as goat a good genius of children (and their production), Bhadraśākha, which is called the sixth form of the god. As the goat is the animal sacred to Prajāpati as Agni, it is, so to speak, the sanctified form of the productive spirit whether as god or as demoniac power.

The attendants given by the various gods to Skanda (Jvalanasūnu and Agniputra) are mentioned in 9, 45, 30f.: Yama gave him Unmātha and Pramātha; Sūrya gave Subhrāja and Bhāsvara; Soma gave Maṇi and Sumaṇi; Agni gave Jvālājihva and Jyotis; Aṃśa gave Parigha, Vaṭa, Bhīma, Dahati, and Dahana; Vāsava, Utkrośa and Satkara or (v. l.) Pañcaka; Viṣṇu gave Cakra, Vikramaka, and Caṅkrama; the Aśvins, Vardhana and Nandhana; Dhātṛ gave five, Kunda, Kusuma, Kumuda, Ḍambara, Āḍambara; Tvaṣṭṛ gave Cakra and Anucakra (meghacakrau);[1] Mitra gave Suvrata and Satyasandha; Vidhātṛ gave Suprabha and Śubhakarman; Pūṣan gave Pāṇītaka and Kālika (or Pāṇika); Vāyu gave Bala and Atibala; Varuṇa gave Yama and Atiyama; Himavat gave Suvarcas and Ativarcas; Meru gave Kāñcana, Meghamālin, Sthira, and Atisthira; Vindhya gave Ucchṛṅga and Atiśṛṅga; Samudra gave Saṃgraha and Vigraha; Pārvatī gave Unmāda, Śaṅkukarṇa, and Puṣpadanta; Vāsuki gave two (Nāgas), Jaya and Mahājaya.[2] The Sādhyas, Rudras, Vasus, Pitṛs, Sāgaras, rivers and mountains also gave "armed overseers of the army", characteristic names of them being Kṛṣṇa, Upakṛṣṇaka, Nanda, Upanandaka, Dvādaśabhuja, Bāṇa, Meṣa, Dvādaśākṣa, Hari, Caturdaṃṣṭra, Kaliṅga, Siddhārtha, Svastika, Gāyana, Vaitālin, Kathaka, Vātika, Yajñavāha, Devayājin, Somapa, Manmathakara, Jambuka, Śambūka, and Jambūka, representing devotees, de-

[1]) S has vakrānuvakrau meṣavakrau.

[2]) S, for nāgau Jvalanasūnave has Gaṅgā-Jvalanasūnave (Vāsuki is pannageśvaraḥ); ib. 24, Brahman gives four (Nandisena, etc.).

formities, arts, and abstractions, for the most part. Kṛṣṇa and Hari as servants of Skanda betray the sectarian. Miñjika and Miñjikā form a pair of spirits begotten by Rudra and worshipped by those desiring wealth or health (3, 231, 10—15).[1])

§ 166. The union of the three highest gods into a trinity forms no part of epic belief. As said above (§ 160), the trinitarian doctrine is recognised only in one late epic passage; others do not really imply it and the aim of the later epic poets is to equalise Kṛṣṇa-Viṣṇu and Śiva as two aspects of God rather than to establish a trinity or reconcile militant factions. In fact, there seems to be no special antagonism between the two beliefs. Militant powers opposed to each other appear to hold different faiths and Śiva-worshippers scorn the claims of Kṛṣṇa to be regarded as God, but only because the claim is presented by Pāṇḍus as an excuse for political preferment. Theological animus, lacking political aims, appears to be in abeyance. The ancient catholicity of Indian thought is maintained in the epics. Both Viṣṇu and Śiva are recognised as chief gods; both eventually represent God. But the epic, cultivating a godling as Viṣṇu, naturally gave first place to Viṣṇu, and it is for this reason that the Śiva-cult appears in its extreme form (Śiva as God) as a later (literary) addition; for the passages exalting Śiva as All-God, the appendage of Śiva-worship, cult of Durgā, Gaurī, Skanda, etc., are clearly later than the passages thus exalting Kṛṣṇa-Viṣṇu, till the latest additions of all, such as the last chapters of Śānti and the interpolations in the S text, which, so to speak, again offset the Śiva-cult with the final word of the Bhāgavatas.[2])

[1]) Rudra's seed is here cast upon the mountain and produces this pair, also on the Lohitoda (Red Sea?), on sunbeams, earth, and trees, thus productive of five kinds of demons, especially worshipped, as children of Śiva and apparently also servants of Skanda, with arkapuṣpas (Calotropis gigantea, used in the Śatarudriya, ŚB. 9, 1, 1, 4, to revere Śiva).

[2]) In WZKM. 23, 151 f., and ib. 25, 355 f., Dr. Jarl Charpentier argues that the first Rudra-Śiva worshippers are to be identified with the Vrātyas, whose initiation into the orthodox cult forms a well-known Vedic ceremony. In Charpentier's opinion, they worshipped Rudra-Śiva with horrible rites and are the ancestors of the later Śivaite sects. Of this origin, which does not perhaps accord very well with the esteem in which the god was held even in Vedic literature, the epic shows no cognisance. To the Mbh. the vrātyas are simply outlawed sinners and the Rudra-Śiva worshippers are aristocrats, kings of the East as well as Kurus. On the form of Viṣṇu and Śiva cults, as also the later theology of the Great Epic, see now Sir R. G. Bhandarkar's Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems, 1913 (III Bd. 6 Heft of this series). Bhandarkar shows that Vāsudeva was originally a proper name, not, as in the epic, a patronymic.

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Additions and Corrections

P. 5, l. 3 for wife read sister. — P. 7, l. 17 for Vṛkṣikā read Vṛkṣakā. — P. 10, l. 22 for Śaṇḍilī read Śāṇḍilī. — P. 33, l. 28 for Sudhāvatas read Sudhāvantas. — P. 56, l. 6 from below for Dhanvantari read Dhanvantara (sic.). — P. 64, l. 19 for emplasised read emphasised. — P. 64, note, last line, for devatvaṃ read devas tvaṃ. — P. 66, l. 2 from below for a witness of the world" read „witness of the world". — P. 85, l. 17 from below add In 3, 281, 7, the mouse-destroying hawk that becomes a golden bird in the sky resembles Apollo and his rat. — P. 92, middle, add With this Candravrata cf. BS. Ch. CV. — P. 92, l. 2 from below for father read „father". — P. 100, l. 11 for Dṛṣṭadyumna read Dhṛṣṭadyumna. — P. 100, l. 30 for Subhā read Śubhā. — P. 104, l. 41 und 44 for Dṛṣṭadyumna read Dhṛṣṭadyumna. — P. 106, l. 7 delete no. — P. 107, l. 10 from below for § 32 read § 37. — P. 111, l. 3 for Vama's read Yama's. — P. 114, l. 9 for Dhamarāja read Dharmarāja. — P. 121, l. 3 for Rohiṇī read Rohiṇī. — P. 125, l. 1 for slew read defeated. — P. 127, l. 4 add H 8925. — P. 128, l. 13 from below for six read (six). — P. 132, last line, for son of Vairocana read son of Virocana. — P. 134, l. 5 for 8 f. read 8 b. — P. 135, last line, after references to H, add by Madhu and Hiraṇyākṣa. — P. 145, l. 32 for on Yakṣas read or Yakṣas. — P. 147, last line, add Revanta as chief Guhyaka is not epic. — P. 153, l. 23 from below for Bṛhatvan read Bṛhaddhan. — P. 156, l. 7 from below for Urmilā read Ūrmilā. — P. 157, l. 14 from below for fonnds read founds. — P. 160, in the list of Apsarasas, after Anūkā add (H). — ibid. for Varananā read Varānanā. — P. 172, l. 5 for „like immortals read „like immortals". — P. 174, l. 15 from below for Cāksuṣa read Cākṣuṣa. — P. 177, l. 14 for seven some, in read seven, some in. — ibid. l. 22 for R 59 read R 7, 59. — P. 180, l. 7 add C, Śataparvā, B and S, -parvan. — P. 183, l. 13 from below for 18 read 4 and for his read this. — P. 199, l. 10 for Danāyu read Danāyus. — ibid. l. 33 for Nanda read Nandā. — P. 200, l. 7 for Aruṇā read Aruṇa. — ibid. l. 16 for Īrāvatī read Irāvatī. — P. 203, note 2, l. 7 for § 153 read § 154. — P. 211, l. 23 add On the antiquity of the Dwarf-Avatar, cf. Macdonell, JRAS., 1895, p. 168 f. Charpentier explains Śipiviṣṭa as hairy dwarf. — P. 213, l. 5 from below for 3, 88 read 3, 188. — P. 216, l. 27 add Rādhā is unknown to the epic. — P. 222, end of l. 29 delete 1 f.

ABBREVIATIONS.

AB. = Aitareya Brāhmaṇa.
Åp. = Åpastamba.
AV. = Atharva-Veda.
B = Bombay edition of Mahābhārata.
Bṛh. Up. = Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Upaniṣad.
C = Calcutta edition of Mahābhārata.
GDS. = Gautama Dharmaśāstra.
H = Harivaṃśa.
Hit. = Hitopadeśa.
IS. = Indische Studien.
JAOS. = Journal of the American Oriental Society.
JRAS. = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
M = Manu.
Muṇḍ. = Muṇḍaka-Upaniṣad.
OST. = Original Sanskrit Texts.
Praś. = Praśna-Upaniṣad.
PW. = Petersburger Wörterbuch.
R = Rāmāyaṇa, Text of Krishnacharya.
RB = Rāmāyaṇa, Bombay edition.
RG = Rāmāyaṇa, Text of Gorresio.
RV. = Rig-Veda.
S = South Indian (Kumbakonam) edition of the Mahābhārata.
ŚB. = Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa.
SBE. = Sacred Books of the East.
ŚGS. = Śāṅkhāyana Gṛhyasūtra.
TS. = Taittirīya-Saṃhitā.
VP. = Viṣṇu-Purāṇa.
VS. = Vājasaneya-Saṃhitā.
WZKM. = Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes.
ZDMG. = Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.

N.B. Figures without prefixed abbreviation refer to the Bombay edition of the Mahābhārata, designated at times, to avoid confusion, by B or Mbh. R's numbers, except in a few passages, coincide exactly or very nearly with those of RB (called C by Jacobi).

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