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THE DARKER SIDE OF DAWN

BY

ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY

Fellow for Research in Indian, Persian and Muhammadan Art
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



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INTRODUCTION

Students of theology and mythology are well aware that the concept of deity presents itself to us under a double aspect; on the one hand as gracious, on the other as awful. He evokes both love and fear. He is both a light and a darkness, a revelation and a mystery. In the latter and awful aspect, clouds and darkness are round about him. The Light is Life, the Darkness Death. The one corresponds to our concept of Good, the other to our concept of Evil, within the recognized definitions of good as "that which all creatures desire", and of evil as "that which all creatures would avoid." A majority of religions in their exoteric formulation treat these contrasted aspects in outward operation as distinct and opposed forces, divine and satanic, celestial and chthonic. Satan is commonly thought of as a Serpent or Dragon and is often so represented, upon the stage or in art. Yet the Solar hero and the Dragon, at war on the open stage, are blood brothers in the green room. From the Christian point of view, the fallen Angels are "fallen in grace, but not in nature"; and from the Islamic, Iblis is restored at the end of time; in other words Satan becomes again Lucifer. The same deity, Zeus for example in Greek mythology, may be worshipped and represented both in anthropomorphic and in snake forms. Serpent worship and its iconography, despite their outwardly "primitive" appearance, have profound metaphysical foundations.

Metaphysical religion envisages a "Supreme Identity" (in the Ṛg Veda *tad ekam*, "That One") in which the outwardly opposing forces are one impartible principle; the lion and the lamb lying down together. The contrasted powers are separated only by the very nature of reason, which sees things apart as subject and object, affirmation and negation, act and potentiality, Heaven and Earth. Contemplative practice alike in East and West seeks to approach divinity in both aspects, avoiding a one-sided vision of the Unity; willing to know Him both as being and non-being, life and death, God and Godhead. The *contemplatio in caligine*, for example, is directed to the dark side of deity; and corresponds to the Indian cult of Siva-Rudra, for the

primordial Darkness remains in Him as Rudra (X, 129. 3 and *Maitri Uṣ.*, V, 2).

Evidence can be assembled from the R̥g Veda and other sources to show that the deity in the darkness, unmanifested, in his ground, not proceeding, or as it is technically expressed, *ab intra*, is conceived of in forms that are not human-angelic, but theriomorphic; and typically in that of a brooding serpent or fiery dragon, inhabiting a cave or lying on a mountain, where he guards a treasure against all comers, and above all restrains the Rivers of Life from flowing. The creative act involves a maiming, division, or transformation of the girdling serpent, often thought of as "footless and headless", that is with its tail in its mouth. The contraction and identification of this primordial and impartite Unity is envisaged on the one hand as a voluntary sacrifice, or on the other as affected by violence, exercised by the life-desirous Powers of Light. The celebration of the conquest of the Serpent by the Powers of Light is a basic theme of the Vedic hymns; an aspect of the Great Battle between the Devas and Asuras ("Angels" and "Titans") for the possession of the worlds of light. It is the battle between St. George and the Dragon. At the same time there can be no question that the Powers of Light and Powers of Darkness are the same and only Power. Devas and Asuras are alike Prajāpati's or Tvaṣṭṛ's children; the Serpents are the Suns. It is entirely a question of "orientation". At the end of an Aeon the Powers of Darkness are in turn victorious.

The Powers of Darkness are also at home as Water-snakes (Indian *nāga*) or Merfolk in the Sea that represents the maternal possibility of being. The first assumption in Godhead, Death, is being. Life and Death, God and Godhead, Mitra and Varuṇa, *aṃpara* and *para* Brahman, are related from this point of view as a progenitive pair (Indian *mīthuna*). The determinative, paternal principle accomplishes in conjunction with the passive maternal principle "the act of fecundation latent in eternity" (Eckhart). The generation of the Son "is a vital operation from a conjoint principle . . . that by which the Father begets is the divine nature" (St. Thomas, *Summa Theologica*, I, q.27, a.2, and q.41, a.5). The Father is Intellect, the Mother Word, the Child Life (*Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, I, 5, 7). Just as the Father works through the Son, so the human artist works "by a word conceived in his intellect" (St. Thomas, loc. cit., I, q.45, a.6). In this way every ontological formulation affirms the duality of the Unity as well as the unity of the Duality. It will be evident that whatever holds for the masculine will hold also for the feminine aspect of the Unity; in the following essay it is primarily the Vedic concept of the *ab intra* form of the feminine principle that is discussed.

For many readers the ontological principles outlined above will be of interest and value, not so much by first intention as "traces" of the Way, but rather and only as providing a logical explanation for certain typical forms of the creation myth that is a common property of all cultures. Regarded, however, even from this purely "scientific" point of view, the student of mythology, folklore, and fairy tale will find in these principles a valuable means of recognizing and correlating the varying forms that the world myth assumes. The story is not only of a time before history began, but was already told in a time before history was recorded. We may be sure that the pseudo-historical aspects that the story has assumed, for example in the Volsunga Saga, in Beowulf, or the Mahābhārata, are later developments and partial rationalizations. Fragments of the story will be recognized in the dogmatic life of every Messiah; in the miracles, for example, attributed to Cuchullain, Buddha, Moses, and Christ. Other fragments survive in fairy tales and even in nursery rhymes; in the story, for example of the human hero who crosses water or climbs a tree and thus returns to the magical otherworld, where he rescues or carries off the imprisoned daughter of a giant or magician; and in the stories of mermaids or Undines, who fall in love with a mortal, acquire a soul, and feet in place of their scaly tails.

The author trusts that the foregoing remarks will serve to introduce, however inadequately, the theme of the Darker Side of Dawn, the real sense of which may not be immediately apparent to the general reader. For the professed student of the Ṛg Veda the actual evidences of the texts are assembled in the accustomed and more technical manner; the thesis, although it might have been expanded at much greater length, may be taken to be complete in itself.

THE DARKER SIDE OF DAWN

In an article due to appear in the Journal of the American Oriental Society, but of which the publication has been delayed for lack of space, I have discussed the relation of the masculine Angels (*devāḥ*) on the one hand with the Titans (*asurāḥ*) and Serpents (*sarpāḥ*) on the other, showing that the former are to be regarded as sacrificial conversions or transformations of the latter. By way of introduction to what follows, and for the sake of the parallel wordings, the general nature of the evidence for the transformation of the Serpents in this sense may be indicated. The evidence is primarily Ṛg Vedic, but is conveniently resumed in *Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa*, XXV, 15, where the Serpents, by means of a sacrificial session, are enabled to

cast their inveterated¹* skins (*hitvā jīṛṇān tacam*) and to glide forward (*ati-sṛp*), changing their forms, and thus "the Serpents are the Ādityas" (*sarpyā vā ādityāḥ*); cf. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, VII, 3, 2, 14, where Agni is found upon the lotus leaf, having "crept up out of the Waters" (*adbhya upôdsṛptam*). The evidence for the identification of Agni *ab extra* with Ahi Budhnya *ab intra* need not be presented in detail, but it may be noted that in IV, 1, 11,² Agni, "footless and headless, hiding both his ends" (*apād aśīrṣo guhamāno antā*) is clearly thought of as a coiled snake, perhaps with its tail in its mouth; and that in the same way the Sun is originally "footless", but is given feet by Varuṇa that he may proceed (*apade padā prati dhātave*, I, 24, 8); in other passages, Indra, Agni, Soma, and Varuṇa are similarly described as "footed" (*padavīḥ*, m.); cf. *padavī* (f.) as footprint, *vestigium pedī*,³ in I, 72, 2 and X, 71, 3, and similarly *pada*, *passim*. *Apād*, on the other hand, is a natural kenning for "snake"; in III, 30, 8, the demons Kuṇāru and Vṛtra are handless and footless (*ahastam, apādam*), and Vṛtra similarly in I, 32, 7. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, I, 6, 3, 9, in connection with the transformation of Soma, is explicit "In that he was rolling, he became Vṛtra; in that he was footless, he became Ahi" (*yad apāt samabhavat tasmād ahis*). In the following shorter discussion, complete in itself, there is assembled a part of the corresponding evidence on the side of the feminine principles.

We now proceed to consider the case of Dawn (*uṣas*), whose lauds are so familiar to every student of the Ṛg Veda. It is well known that Night and Day or Dawn (*naktôṣasā* du. f.) are sisters, of like mind, who move successively upon a common path, Night "when she hath conceived for Savitṛ's quickening yielding the womb to Dawn" (I, 113, 1-3). "Sister to mightier sister yields the womb" (I, 124, 8; it is the younger sister that is victorious, the Devī replacing the Asurī, cf. *Mahābhārata* XII, 35, 25, "The Asuras are the elder brothers, the Devas indeed the younger"). "Successively they nurse the Yearling Calf" (I, 95, 1), i. e. Agni, who has thus two mothers (*ubhe sa mātṛor abhavat putra*, III, 2, 2, and *dvimātā, passim*); "One mother holds the Calf, the other rests (*kṣeti*). . . . Ye, variant pair, have made yourselves twin beauties (*vapūṁṣi*), one that is black (*kṛṣṇam*) and one that shines" (III, 55, 4 and 11, cf. V, 2, 2). In the same way the Bambino, whether Sun or Fire, has two aspects corresponding to those of the sister Dawns (*uṣasā virūṇe*, V, 1, 4), "with one of whom is he glaucous (*hari*), with the other bright

* For Notes, see p. 12 f.

(*śukra*) and shining (*suvarcā*)", I, 95, 1; as Pūṣan he is of two different aspects, like Day and Night, one bright, one dark (VI, 58, 1); like the Dawns, he "goes back and forth", I, 164, 38, "now becometh sterile (*starīḥ*), now begets (*sūte*, tantamount to *savitā bhavati*, 'becomes Savitr'), he shapes his aspect as he will", VII, 101, 3; cf. Atharva Veda, VI, 72, 1, "As the black snake displays himself, assuming such forms (*vapñiṣi*) as he will, by titan magic"; "Immortal, uterine-brother (*sayoniḥ*) of the mortal, they move eternally conversely, men mark the one and fail to mark the other", I, 164, 38.⁴ When Night and Day (*uṣasā*, the "sister dawns") have carried him, Agni is born "full strong and white, in the beginning of days" (V, 1, 4);⁵ the use of *uṣasā* (du. f.) here to mean Night and Day is paralleled by "days of diverse hue" (*viśurūṭe ahanī*, I, 123, 7 and VI, 58, 1), and "black day and white day" (*ahas ca kṣṇam ahar arjunam ca*, VI, 9, 1).⁶ These sister Dawns are not only thought of as mothers of the Sun or Agni, but are brides of the Sun, as in I, 123, 10 where Dawn is desired by the Sun to be his maiden (*yoṣā*), IV, 5, 13 where the Dawns (pl.) are called the consorts (*patnīḥ*) of the immortal Sun, VII, 75, 5 where the generous Dawn (*maghonī uṣā*) is called the maiden of the Sun (*sūryasya yoṣā*); in VII, 69, 4, she is again the Sun-maiden (*sūryasya yoṣā*), and in AV., VIII, 9, 12, the sister Dawns are called the Sun's consorts (*uṣasā . . . sūrya-patnī*). The Dawn is also a sister of Bhaga and kinswoman (*jāmi*) of Varuṇa (I, 123, 5); and is "Heaven's daughter", *passim*. In VII, 69, 4, she is the daughter of the Sun (*yoṣā . . . sūro duhitā*), involving the incest motif more familiar in connection with Prajāpati, cf. also V, 55, 6, where Pūṣan is called the second husband of his mother and the seducer of his sister (*mātur didiṣum . . . svasur jāraḥ*); "incest" being inevitable because of the kinship (*jāmitva*) of all the manifested principles, *ab intra*. Pūṣan is Sūryā's lover in VI, 58, 3. The identity of Dawn (*uṣas*) with Sūryā is thus evident, as is also that of the sister Dawns (*uṣasā*) with Saranyū and her *savarṇā*.⁷ In *Vājasaneyi Samhitā*, III, 10, Night (*rātrī*), and Dawn (*uṣas*) or Day (*ahas*) are Indra's consorts (*indravatī*), Indra representing the Sun.

That *Uṣas* may thus denote as well the Night as Dawn or Day renders intelligible certain neglected passages of RV. in which the Dawn is referred to as a sinister power; sinister, that is, essentially, and not merely accidentally in that the passing days shorten the span of life (I, 92, 11) whence *Uṣas* is called *jarayantī* (VII, 75, 4) from *jṛ*, "to inveterate".⁸ In IV, 30, 8-11, Indra is praised as having "struck down Heaven's daughter, that ill-designing woman" (*striyani*

yad durhañāyuvam . . . duhitārañ divaḥ),⁹ who is described as “flowing away” (*sarat*) from her ruined chariot; viz. that chariot that she, “the Daughter of Heaven, and Mistress of the Universe, yokes afar (*parākāt*, i. e. *ab intra*) and straightway visits the Five Homes, to look upon the restless ways of the Kindreds” (VII, 75, 4): Similarly, in X, 138, 5, Uṣas is afraid of Indra’s bolt, and goes her way (*akrāmat*), abandoning her lovely chariot, cf. II, 15, 6. Agni is commonly called “ravisher” or “spoiler” of Dawn (*uṣo na jāraḥ*); this has usually been rendered as “lover of Dawn”, but *jāra*, from *jṛ* “to inveterate”, even when it means “lover”, has always a somewhat sinister significance, and in the passages referred to, Yāska’s and Sāyaṇa’s equations of *jāra* with *jarayitṛ* are certainly correct, in this sense, that with the rising of the Sun, the Dawns are always thought of as retiring and departing, to join the former Dawns, e. g. in I, 113, 10. In VII, 6, 5, Agni, “driving off the Nights (*nirudhya nahuṣaḥ*), makes the Dawns to be consorts of the Arya” (*aryapatnīr uṣasaś cakāra*; Sāyaṇa equates *arya* with *sūrya*).¹⁰ In I, 123, 1, Dakṣiṇā, synonymous with Uṣas in the same hymn, “rises from the dark night as herself an Aryā” (*kṛṣṇād ud asthāt aryā*), where it is, of course, to be understood that she had been *anaryā*; it may be noted that Dakṣiṇā is Indra’s mother by Yajña in *Taittirīya Saṁhitā*, VI, 1, 3, 6, and that Dakṣiṇā is Vāc, whose *asura* origin is notorious.

Dawn precedes the actual day, and must not delay, lest the Sun scorch her like a thief or enemy (V, 79, 9). It is not until the thirty parts of the whole twenty-four hours have elapsed that she becomes again an auspicious power, meanwhile as in VI, 59, 6, b, “moving headless, with babbling tongue, she descends thirty grades” (*hitvī śiro jihvā vavadac carat trimśat padā ny akramīt*; *hitvī śiro* combined with *ib.*, a, *apād*, cited below, giving us the analogy to Agni, *apād aśiṛṣo guhamāno antā* in IV, 1, 11); and similarly in I, 123, 8, where the sisters are said to “traverse thirty leagues (*trimśatañ yojanāni*), alternately”—to reappear in due course, *paritakmyāyām*, for the “ancient Dawn is born again and again (*punaḥ punar jāyamāna purāṇī*) decking herself with the selfsame hue” (*samānañ varṇam*” *abhi śumbhamānā*, I, 92, 10). Meanwhile the Sun, throughout the thirty stations of her decline, rules supreme (*trimśad dhāma vi rājati*, X, 189, 3).

What is then the status of the Dawn *ab intra*, in the Night, as Night, and especially at the end of the Night’s course (*paritakmyāyām*), as in V, 30, 14, where “Night at the end of her course shines-forth-as-Dawn (*aucchat*) at the coming of the Debt-collector”¹² king of the Glit-

tering-folk", and in VII, 69, 4, where "at the end of her wandering, the Daughter of the Sun chooses *his* glory (*śriyam*)"? The procession of Uṣas is in fact described in terms exactly parallel to those of I, 24, 8 cited above with respect to the procession of the Sun: in I, 152, 3, "The footless-maid proceeds as first of footed things" (*apād eti prathamā padvatīnām*), and this is nearly identical with VI, 59, 6 "This footless-maid came earliest forth to footed things" (*apād iyañ purvā ā agāt padvatībhyah*, *apād* in both passages representing *apādī*). That is as much as to say that she, who had been a "serpent", now assumes an angelic-human form. The same is implied when it is said that "Our Lady puts off her dark robe" (*apa kṛṣṇān nirṇijāñ devī avarityāvah*, I, 113, 14, cf. VIII, 41, 10, where it is Varuṇa that "makes the black robes white", *śvetān adhi nirṇijās cakre kṛṣṇān*); for this is the same as putting off desuetude and impotence (I, 140, 8 *jarām pra muñcan*, *Pañcaviñśa Brāhmaṇan*, XXV, 17, 3 *jarām apāhat*, etc.), it is really the snake-skin, the old skin, *jīṛṇān tacan* as in *Pañcaviñśa Brāhmaṇa*, XXV, 15, that is taken off. It is similarly that Urvaśī and her sisters, in X, 95, 8-9, "evade Purūruvas like snakes" (*tarasantī na bhujyuh*), but when they yield "display themselves as swans" (*ātayo na tanvaḥ śumbhata*), or "with swan-skins", for *tanu* is often tantamount to "skin".

In I, 185, where Day and Night (*ahanī*) are if not absolutely identified with, at least very closely assimilated to Heaven and Earth (*dyāvāpṛthivī*, or *rodasī*), it is said, in the second verse, that "The twain (unspecified),¹³ though not proceeding (*acarantī*) and footless (*apādī*), yet support a mighty Germ (*garbha*=Agni) that proceeds and hath feet" (*carantam padvantam*). This is closely related to X, 22, 14, "Thou smotest Śuṣṇa to the right for sake of Universal-Life (*viśvāyave*, i. e. for Agni), that Earth (*kṣāḥ*) that had neither hands nor feet (*ahastā yad apādī*, cf. III, 30, 8, cited above) might wax" (*vardhata*), and III, 55, 14 where "As having feet (*padyā*) she standeth up erect (*ūrdhva tāsthan*), adorned with many beauties".

We can now compare all of the foregoing matter with a part of the account of the marriage of Sūryā in X, 85, 28-30. Here, immediately before her actual wedding, Sūryā is called Kṛtyā,¹⁴ and it is only when this *kṛtyā* nature that is like a clinging garment (*āsakti*) is put off that she comes to her husband: "Kṛtyā that clingeth close is taken off (*vyajyāte*) . . . this Kṛtyā hath come to be with feet and consorts with her husband as a bride" (*kṛtyā eṣā padvatī bhūtvā jāyā viśate patim*).¹⁵ The text goes on to describe the inauspicious aspect of the Sun himself when united with this same Kṛtyā, *ab intra*:

“Inglorious (*aśrīrā*) becomes his form when it glitters in (*ruṣatī*) this evil (*pāpayā amuyā*, as in X, 135, 2 with reference to the evil way of Yama), what time the husband wraps his body in the garment of his wife”, which is, of course, the “robe of Night” of I, 115, 4. Analogous to this is the allusion in I, 105, 2, where it is a part of Trita’s complaint that “the wife holds fast her husband” (*ā jāyā yuvate patim*); it is in fact only “when the parents that cohabit in the dark are separated that they pass over the Babe” (*kṛṣṇaprutau zevije asya sakṣitau ubhā tarete abhi mātārā śīsum*, I, 140, 3); “In the Angel’s mansion were the First, from their diremption rose the others” (*kṛntatrād eṣām uparā udayan*, X, 27, 23); it is when the sacrificer makes his Soma offering that mighty Father Heaven breaks from the embrace, I, 71, 6; and this separation of Heaven and Earth, effected by the sacrifice, is the essential act of creation, RV. *passim* (e. g., VII, 80, 1) for thereby there is made that “space”, *antarikṣa*, in which the desirous principles are destined to find a home and prolong their line, as in a promised land.

If the husband is inglorious when he wears the woman’s robe, that is in fact a snake-skin, she herself becomes glorious when she puts off the dark robe (I, 113, 4 cited above), and shines forth radiant in robes of light (*śukravāsaḥ*, I, 113, 7), when as in I, 92, 11 “She wakes, uncovers Heaven’s ends” and drives her sister far away . . . shines out in the bright-eye of her seducer” (*jārasya cakṣasā vi bhātī*, cf. X, 189, 2, *antaś carati vocanāsyā*), That is indeed her marriage when she becomes a woman clothed with the Sun, when as in VII, 81, 2, “The rising Sun, refulgent Star, pours out his beams in company with hers; and then, O Dawn, may we partake together of thy shining and the Sun’s; and her death, for when he suspires then she expires” (*asya prāṇād apānatī*, X, 189, 2, called the hymn of the “Serpent Queen”, *Sarpavājñī*).

Another version of the Dawn’s procession can be recognized in the story of Apālā, whose name means “unprotected”, i. e., husbandless and free woman. In VIII, 91, where Indra represents the Sun and is described in terms appropriate to the Sun, the maiden (*kanyā*), who is at enmity with her (former) husband (*patidviṣaḥ*)¹⁵ reflects, “What if we go and wed with Indra?”¹⁶ She gives him Soma, that is, virtually performs a sacrifice to him, and asks him to raise up hair upon her father’s (bald) head, his field, and upon her own body, “here below the waist”, that is, to restore the fertility of the universe²⁰; the reference to her own body indicating her extreme youth. Indra draws her through the three apertures (*kha*)²¹ of his (solar) chariot, and so cleansing (*pūtvī*) her makes for her a “sunny skin” (*sūrya-*

tvacam). According to the quite intelligible legend cited by Sāyaṇa, Apālā, daughter of Atri, had in fact suffered from a skin-disease, and the three skins that Indra removed from her became reptiles. In the *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa* version (I, 220) we are told that Apālā desired to be rid of her "evil colour" (*pāpam varṇam*); with the two first cleansings she becomes successively a lizard (*godhā*) and a chameleon (*kṛkalāsa*), with the third cleansing she becomes *saiṁśviṣṭikā* (evidently "whitened"; the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* version has *saiṁśliṣṭikā*, apparently "fit to be fondled") and her form is called the "most beautiful of all forms". In the nearly identical version of *Pañcaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa*, IX, 2, 14, the woman's name is Akūpārā (in literal significance identical with "Aditi", "In-finite"), she is an Āṅgirasī (thus of Agni's kin), and it is expressly stated that her "skin was like a lizard's" (*godhā*), that is reptilian and scaly. In X, 85, 34, Sūryā's cast off garment (*śāmulyam*, to be connected rather with *śamala*, "foul", than any word implying "woollen") is significantly described as "rasping, coarse, prickly, poisonous, and inedible"; the curious expression "inedible" (*na attave*) corresponding to *Atharva Veda*, I, 11, 4, where the chorion or after-birth (*jarāyu*, a term applied to the slough of a snake in *ib.* I, 27, 1) is said to be "for the dog to eat" (*śune attave*). In any case, it is clear that the old skins are removed, and a glorious skin revealed, making Apālā fit to be Indra's bride,²² i. e., Sūryā to be the Sun's. With *sūrya-tvacam* above cf. *Atharva Veda*, II, 2, 1, where the Gandharva Viśvāvasu (= Vena, the Sun, *ib.* II, 1) is himself "sun-skinned" (*sūrya-tvak*); in *Pañcaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa*, XXIII, 16, 5, where the sacrificers "make a skin for themselves" (*tvacam eva kurute*) a "sun-skin" is to be understood; like that of those who are sun-skinned" in *Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā*, X, 4.²²

We have long suspected that Apālā becomes in the Buddha legend Sujātā, who in the *Jātaka* (I, 69) is the daughter of a farmer, desires a husband, and brings an offering of milk to the Bodhisattva, seated beneath the Bodhi tree, on the eve of the Great Awakening. Sujātā, in fact, becomes the consort of Indra. The fullest account occurs in *Jātaka* No. 31, text I, p. 205. Here Sujātā is the fourth of Indra's handmaidens (*pādaṇḍarikā*); three having died are reborn in the same status, according to their virtue, but Sujātā, "because she had performed no deed of virtue" (*kusalakamassa akatattā*, cf. "akṛtyā" discussed in Note 13) is reborn as a crane. Indra seeks her, finds, and instructs her, and proves by a trial that she has experienced a change of heart. She is next reborn in a potter's family; Indra seeks her out, and makes her a gift in acknowledgment of

her virtue. She is reborn a third time as the daughter of the Asura Vepacittiya (it will not be overlooked that the three births correspond to the three cleansings of Apālā),²¹ and because of her virtue is very beautiful (*abhirūpa*); her father (who corresponds to Tvaṣṭṛ in the Sūryā versions) arrays her for marriage, and summons an assembly of Asuras so that she may choose a husband for herself. Indra assumes the "Asura colour, or appearance" (*asuravaṇṇam* = *asurya-varṇam*, and this corresponds to X, 85, 30 quoted above) and takes his place in the assembly (really a *svayamvara*) where Sujātā chooses him to be her husband, and he makes her his chief queen. Indra in this story represents a previous incarnation of the Buddha. In the last incarnation where the Bodhisattva is no longer identified with Indra (in the sense of the Vedic dual Indrāgnī) the requirement of the narrative makes it impossible for Sujātā to become the Buddha's wife, and she remains Indra's, though we may suspect that the Bodhisattva's actual wife Yaśodharā is really the *alter ego* of Sujātā.

Given the other parallels, it is worth noting that Uṣas is more than once in RV. addressed as "well-born", or if we treat this as a name, as "Sujātā" (I, 123, 3, *uṣo devī . . . sujāte*; VII, 77, 6, *divo duhitar . . . uṣaḥ sujāte*); this merely confirmatory evidence was remarked only after the identification had already been in mind for some years. Conversely, the designation of Uṣas as Maghonī in VII, 75, 5, is already suggestive of Maghavan, i. e. Indra. We are also inclined to identify the *kaṇyā* and *sujātā* of our texts with the *sukanyā*, daughter of Śaryata, who becomes the wife of Cyavana in *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, IV, 1, 5; but as this involves a discussion of the identity of Cyavāna, Atri, and others, the possibility must remain to be taken up on another occasion. It may, however, be pointed out that just as the Sun is inglorious when he wears the guise of Kṛtyā, so in *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, IV, 1, 5, 1, the inveterated (*jīrṇaḥ*) Cyavana is "of Kṛtyā's aspect" (*kṛtyā-rūpaḥ*); that *jahe*, "he was left behind", corresponds to X, 53, 8, "leave we there the impotent" (*atra jahāma . . . aśevah*) and X, 124, 4, "I leave behind the Father" (*pitaram jahāmi*); and that the name Cyavāna or Cyavana, "fallen away", corresponds to X, 124, 4 where "Agni, Varuṇa, and Soma fall away" (*cyavante*). Cf. too the "five-fold offering" made by Sūnṛtā to Brahmaṇaspati²² in RV. I, 40, 3.

Atharva Veda I, 27 offers unmistakably a condensed account of Indrāgnī's procession and marriage. Verse 1 opens, "On yonder shore (*amūḥ pāre*) are thrice seven adders (*prḍākvah*) that have cast their skins" (*nirjarāyavah*).²³ All that the cast skins are good for is to

blindfold the vicious beings that beset the paths, the highwaymen (*paripanthinaḥ*) who are inimical to the proceeding principles. Verses 2 and 3 are apotropaic in the same sense. Verse 4 continues in a language which is now readily comprehensible, "Let the two feet go forward, let them visibly proceed; bear (her) to the homes of Pṛṇa (*vahataim pṛṇataḥ gṛhān*); let Indrāṇi go forth foremost, unconquered, unrobbed, to the East". Here *vahataim gṛhān* is a quite technical expression implying "lead home the bride". Pṛṇa is a designation either of the Sun, cf. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, VIII, 7, 2, 1 where the "world-filling" (*lokaṁ-pṛṇa*) brick represents the Sun, who "fills the worlds" (*lokaṁ pūrayati*); or of Indra as the Sun, cf. RV. IV, 19, 7, where Indra "fills the waste-lands", *apṛṇak dhanvāni*; or of Agni who "fills the regions" (*ā rajasī aprṇat*, III, 2, 7, *pṛṇakṣi rodasī ubhe*, X, 140, 2, and *passim*).

In any case, the evidence assembled above suffices to show that the procession of the "Serpents" on the male side, who "creep further" (*ati sarpante*) and become Ādityas, as related in the *Pañcaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa*, XXV, 15, ample support for which can be cited from the Ṛg Veda, is paralleled on the female side. Apart from their ontological interest, the general conclusion provides a sound basis for the interpretation of many peculiarities of the later Indian iconography.²⁵

NOTES

1. The Angels (*devāḥ*) in RV., although from one point of view, that is to say throughout the duration of their aeviternity (*amṛtatva*), incorruptible (*ajara, ajurya, amṛta, amartya*), are subject nevertheless to inveteration at the end, and resurrection at the beginning, of every aeon (*yuga*); for example, Agni, the very principle of life (*āyus, viśvāyus*, RV. *passim*) "Being inveterated, is forthwith born youthful" (*jujurvān yo muhur ā yuvā bhūt*, II, 4, 5), and with respect to the aeviternity of his manifestation is also said to be "of unaging youth" (*yuvā ajaraḥ*, V, 44, 3), and called "Life-universal, deathless amongst them that die" (*viśvāyur yo amṛto marteṣu*, VI, 4, 2). Similarly in X, 124, 4 "Agni, Varuṇa, and Soma decline" (*cyavante*), in IV, 19, 2 the inveterated deities are re-emanated (*avāśjanta jivrayo na devāḥ*), and in V, 74, 5, "From him that hath declined (*cyavānāt*) ye (Aśvins) loosed the covering cloak, when ye made him young (*yuvā*) again, and stirred the bride's desire".

2. All references unspecified are to the *Ṛg Veda Saṁhitā*.

3. For the significance of the *vestigium pedis* in Vedic, Zen, and Christian tradition see my *Elements of Buddhist iconography*, 1935, p. 16 and Note 146.

4. These two forms of his are the same as the two forms (*dve rūpe*) of Brahman. "immortal, imageless" (*amṛta, amūrta*) and "mortal, in a likeness" (*martya, mūrta*) of *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up.*, II, 3, 1, cf. *Maitri Up.*, VI, 3, 15, and 22. The immortal form is that of Varuṇa, Death, the *para-* and *nirguṇa-* Brahman; the mortal that Mārtāṇḍa (= Vivasvan, Sūrya) whom "Aditi bore hitherward unto repeated birth and death", RV., X, 72, 9; Purūravas "when in altered aspect I kept with mortals", X, 95, 16; Puruṣa, whom the Angels sacrificed, X, 9; Agni as the sacrifice, X, 88, 9; Bṛhaspati as the sacrifice, Yama "who gave up his own dear body", X, 13, 4; Yama, "the sole mortal", X, 10, 3; Vasiṣṭha of the "only birth", VII, 33, 10; the "only son" (*ekam putram*) of Varuṇa, Mitra, and Aryaman, VIII, 101, 6; the *apara-* and *saguṇa-* Brahman of the Upaniṣads. "Mitra is the Day and Varuṇa the Night", *Pañcaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa*, XXV, 10, 10.

5. The Vedic hymns to Dawn are primarily concerned with her first appearance at the beginning of the aeon, and analogically with her constant reappearance, cf. I, 123, 9, where Dawn, coming forth day after day, "hath knowledge of the first day's name". In the same way the "Days" are primarily periods of supernal time, and only analogically human days, cf. I, 164, 51 "Day after Day the Waters rise and fall", and II, 30, 1, "Day after Day the sparkling of the Waters moves". Another version of the hesitation before the battle occurs in the *Kulavāka Jātaka*, No. 31, *Jātaka*, text I, pp. 202-203, where Indra (Śakra) corresponds to Arjuna and Mātali to Kṛṣṇa; Indra's words "Let me not for the sake of empire (*issaram = aiśvaryam*) destroy life, rather would I for their sake sacrifice my own life to the Asuras", very closely parallel those of Arjuna in the *Bhagavad Gītā*, I, 33-35, though the detail of the motivation is brought out in a slightly different manner.

6. The concatenation of *kṛṣṇa* and *arjuna* here is by no means fortuitous, but corresponds to that of Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna in the *Mahābhārata*, where the Great Fight is nothing else but the Vedic conflict of Devas and Asuras. Kṛṣṇa, whose name is significant of his descent, comes over from the other side to aid

the Aryan Pāṇḍavas, just as does Vibhiṣaṇa in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, and Uśanas Kāvya, who is the priest of the Asuras but is won over to the side of the Devas, in *Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa*, VII, 5, 20 *Bandh. Sr. S.*, XVIII, 46, and *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa*, I, 125-126; cf. Viśvarūpa, Vṛtra's brother, called "priest of the Devas" in *Taittirīya Saṃhitā*, II, 5, 1 and Indra's *guru* in *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, VI, 7-13. It is because of the intimate relationships of the Devas and Asuras that Arjuna, in *Bhagavad Gītā*, I, 28 ff., shrinks from the slaughter of "kinsmen and teachers"; cf. *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*, IV, 1, 4, 8, where Mitra (= "Arjuna") dislikes to take part in the slaying of Soma, while in the same way *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*, I, 7, 1, 7-8, where Namuci reproaches Indra as the "betrayal of a friend" (*mītra-dhruk*), and *Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa*, XII, 6, where Namuci reviles him as "guilty hero-slayer of the guiltless" (*vīrahama adruho druha*), provide a literal prototype for *Bhagavad Gītā*, I, 38, where Arjuna shrinks from the "sin of the betrayal of a friend" (*doṣam mītra-droheḥ*). Arjuna, in fact, shrinks from taking upon himself what in RV. are Indra's typical *kilbiṣāṇi*. It is also very significant, though the implications are too many to be followed up here, that of the two original brothers of the lunar stock, Dhṛtarāṣṭra is blind, while Pāṇḍu means the "son of a eunuch", the former corresponding to the form of deity *ab intra*, the latter to his generated aspect *ab extra*, as son of him that had been impotent *ab intra*; "blindness" and "impotence" being typical of the interior operation (*guhya vrata*) in RV. *passim*, as may be seen by an analysis of those verses in which are found the words *andha*, and *vadhri* or *stari* (it may be noted in this connection also that *śrona*, "halt", generally coupled with *andha*, "blind" in the texts alluded to, corresponds to *apād*, "footless", as cited in the present article). Can we not indeed identify Pāṇḍu with the "golden-handed son" (the Sun) whom the Aśvins gave to her "whose consort was unmanned" (I, 117, 24)? The victory of the Pāṇḍavas corresponds to RV., X, 124, 4, where Agni, Varuṇa, and Soma decline (*cyavante*) and the "kingdom is reversed" (*parv āvart rāṣṭram*). The Epic naturally concludes with the final return of the Pāṇḍavas to Heaven, their disappearance *ab intra*, accompanied by Draupadī, whose *alter nomen* "Kṛṣṇā" confesses her Asura origin, and who as the wife of the five Pāṇḍava brothers may be compared to Uśas or Sūryā, successively the wife of Soma, Gandharva, Agni, and a "mortal" (sc. Vivasvan, Purūravas, Yama), X, 85, 40, and elsewhere also referred to as the consort of the Aśvins; or may be compared with Vāc, as participated in by the Five Kindreds (*pañca jana*). The correspondences outlined above could be followed up in great detail.

7. For some of these equivalents see Bloomfield in *Journ. Amer. Oriental Soc.*, XV, 172, ff. It should be added that the whole concept of the two wives and two mothers survives in the nativities of Buddha, Mahāvīra, and Kṛṣṇa. Apart from the more obvious parallels, it will be remarked that Māyādevī, the Buddha's mother who does not survive, derives by her name itself from the Asura side, while the co-wife Pajāpatī, called in the *Buddhacarita*, II, 19, her *samaprabhacā*, tantamount to *savarṇā*, lives; and that Devakī, the mother of Kṛṣṇa, is the sister of the Asura Kaiśa, in whose realm both parents are imprisoned, while the child is taken over water (the Yamunā, although in flood, becoming fordable for him, like the Sarasvatī in RV. *passim*) to the human-angelic world where he is fostered by another mother. In the case of Mahāvīra, the circumstances of whose nativity are so exactly paralleled in RV., I, 113, 2 and I, 124, 8 cited above, the choice of the Kṣatriya womb (and similarly in Buddhism, the

opposition of Kṣatriya to Brahman) by no means necessarily reflects a contemporary social conflict of values, but can be better understood in the light of the whole Vedic concept of the contrasted relations and functions of the spiritual (*brahma*) and temporal (*kṣatra*) powers, the former being primarily those of Varuṇa = Brahman, the latter those of Indrāgni. Nor need we be confused by the fact that when the relation of Agni to Indra is considered *per se*, and *ab extra*, this is again that of the spiritual to the temporal power: for just as Agni delegates the temporal power to Indra (VIII, 100, 1-2, X, 52, 5 and 124, 4, etc., cf. *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa* V, 4, 4, 15) though sometimes playing an active part, so the Buddha (who for the most part corresponds to Agni, "Gautama Buddha" for example reflecting Agni *uṣar-budh*) declines the temporal power and as an actual teacher plays the Brahman part, although in the conflicts with Māra (= Mrtyu = Vṛtra, etc.) and the "Ahi-nāga" (*sic* in *Mahāvagga*, I, 15, 7) of the Jaṭiḷa shrine, he takes that part which is played more often by Indra than by Agni or Bṛhaspati in person.

8. "Sinister" also in a literal sense: for the act of creation and procession is an extroversion, as appears in innumerable texts, e. g. X, 124, 4 "the kingdom was reversed" (*pary āvart rāṣṭram*), IV, 1, 2 "O Agni, turn thy brother Varuṇa round about" (*bhrātaraṅ varuṇam agne ā vavṛtsva*), cf. *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, IV, 5 where the Angels and Titans being of equal heroism, "there was a delay in turning back" (*na vyavartanta*) the latter; and this extroversion is a right hand or sunwise turn, as in III, 19, 2 = IV, 6, 3, "Agni, choosing rightwise the angelic office" (*pradakṣiṇit devatātm urāṇaḥ*), or X, 22, 14, "Thou (Indra) smotest Śuṣṇa to the right (*pradakṣiṇit*) for Viśvāyu" (i. e. Agni). Cf. *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*, III, 2, 1, 13 and VII, 5, 1, 37.

Remembering that Night and Dawn are the two wives of Indra (*Vājasaneyi Saṁhita*, III, 10, cited above) it is obvious that RV. X, 145—in application a spell directed against a co-wife (*sapatnūbādhanam*)—is by first intention an imprecation launched by Indrāṇī herself, to whom the hymn is attributed, against her rival sister Night; while X, 129, attributed to Śacī Paulomī (Indrāṇī) is her song of triumph (cf. X, 125, attributed to Vāc). Atharva Veda I, 14, is apotropaic in the same sense as RV. X, 145.

The application of these hymns illustrates very well the basic principle of magical incantation; the recital of what was done in the beginning is held to be effective in particular application here and now. In the same way, for example, RV. V, 78, the immediate reference of which is to Agni's or the Sun's nativity, is employed as a birth rune. The application is by analogy, and takes for granted the correspondence of macrocosm and microcosm.

9. Night and Day (*uṣasānaktā*) are both favorably regarded "Daughters of Heaven" in X, 70, 6, but this is as being seated together at the altar (*yonau*), that is analogically *ab intra*, for *yoni* as altar corresponds to "navel" (*nābhi*) "where Aditi confirms our kinship" (*jāmitva*) X, 64, 13, and it is at the "navel of Order" (*ṛtasya nābhau*) that "I throughly purify" (*sanī punāmi*, X, 13, 3).

10. The word *nahuṣaḥ* contrasts with *uṣasaḥ*, both fem. pl. acc. *Nahuṣa* (m.), from a root *nah* implying "bondage", is a designation of Agni's father in I, 31, 11 and V, 12, 6; in fem. pl. it may therefore appropriately designate at the same time "nights", (as rendered also by Fay in *Journ. Amer. Oriental Soc.*, XXVII, p. 411, q. v.) and the recessive "false dawns" that have been Agni's "first mothers" in his successive manifestations, but are set back yielding

place to the true dawns that are the Suns' brides and Agni's "second mothers". It is further noteworthy that in some later texts Nahuṣa is or becomes a serpent. In literal significance and as an essential rather than personal name, *nahuṣa* may be compared to *varuṇa* and *vṛtra*, as derivatives of *vṛ*.

11. The *saṁānaṁ varṇam* daily put on is of course the *āryaṁ varṇam* of III, 34, 9 as distinguished from the *asuryaṁ varṇam* of IX, 71, 2 (= *pāpaṁ varṇam* in *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa*, I, 220, with reference to Apālā); and being in fact the "cast(e)" of the Sun, the Dawns are described virtually as becoming every morning *savarnā* in Bloomfield's second sense of "like (Vivasvant) in character or class" (*Journ. Amer. Oriental Soc.*, XVI, p. 178).

12. *Rṇaṅcaya*, lit. "debt-collector": either Bṛhaspati-Brahmaṅspati, as in II, 23, 11 and 17 (*ṛṇayā*, *ṛṇacid ṛṇayā*), or Indra himself (*ṛṇacid . . . ṛṇayā*, IV, 23, 7), the toll being exacted in either case from the fiend (*druh*). Monier-Williams, for *rṇaṅcaya*, has nothing better to offer than "name of a man", and it is in this fashion that essential names have generally been treated by translators of the Vedas. How many needless obscurities and complications have been introduced into Vedic studies by a persistent neglect of the warning "Even as He seemeth, so is He called" (V, 44, 6) it would be hard to tell. *Kaṭha Uṇ.*, IV, 14 can be pertinently cited: "He who sees the principles separately, pursues them separately".

13. Heaven and Earth, as parents of Agni, "The son within his parents' lap, as being the Eternal Germ" (*garbham . . . nityaṁ na sumuṁ pitroṃ upasthe*, *ib.*). This *nityam*, incidentally, recurs in *Kaṭha Uṇ.*, V, 13, "Eternal mid the transient" (*nityo' nityānām*).

14. *Kṛtyā* as feminine personification of *kṛtya*, "that to be done", is perspicuous in the present context; where that which should be, but is not yet done, and merely in *potentia*, is as such evil. The putting off of *kṛtyā* is procedure from potentiality to act, nonbeing to being, privation to abundance, death to life. For the conception, typical also in Christian Scholastic philosophy, there may be compared in connection with Indra's procession "Many a thing not yet done I have to do" (*bahūni me akṛtā kartvāni*, IV, 18, 2, cf. "Wot ye not that I must be about my Father's business?", Luke II, 49); in connection with Uṣas, "Delay not to go about thy labour" (*mā ciraṁ tanuthā apaḥ*, V, 79, 9); again in connection with Indra, "Do what thou hast to do" (*kariṣya kṛṇuhi*, I, 165, 9), who indeed "does what must be done" (*cakriḥ yat kariṣyan*, VII, 20, 1), i. e. in Christian formulation "Those things which God must will of necessity" (St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol.*, I, q. 45, a. 2 c), who is also described as being "wholly in act". The principle involved underlies *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Uṇ.*, III, 2, 13, "What they praised was Action (*karma*)", and the doctrine regarding *karma yoga* in the *Bhagavad Gītā*. Cf. also *kusalamassa akatattā* (= *kuśalasya akartatvāt*) in *Jātaka*, text, I, 205; *akārya* as "sin" in *Mṛcchakaṭika*, VIII, 22, 4; and *akaraṇasaṁvaram* as "sins of omission" in *Sādhana-mālā* No. 98 (Gaekwad's Oriental Series, XXVI, p. 201).

The following verse is apotropaic with respect to the "consumptions" (*yakṣmā*) which may be transmitted from the bride's stock (*yanti janāt anu*), and which the Angels are besought to return to the place of their origin. *Yakṣma* is, of course, a disease always thought of as proceeding from Varuṇa in his unfriendly aspect. Following words derived from RV., X, 17, 1 referring to Tvaṣṭṛ's gift of his daughter Sūryā in marriage, the *Atharva Veda*, III, 31, 5 similarly expresses the wish "May I be separated from evil

(*pāpmanā*) and consumption (*yakṣmeṇā*) and united to life (*āyuṣa*). cf. RV. VII, 59, 2 "Release us from the bonds of death, not those of life" (*bandhanāt mṛtyor nukṣīya na amṛtāt*), that is in effect also "May we pass over from Varuṇa, from Death, to Agni Vaiśvānara, to Life".

16. I. e. Agni, *ab intra*, and eager (*icchan*, etc.) to proceed.

17. Converse of *guhāmāno antā* in IV, 1, 11. The "ends" are either as here the halting places of the Sun, or as in *Jaiminīya Up. Brāhmaṇa*, I, 35, Winter and Spring, the two ends of the Year; or, indeed, any pair of contrasted and limiting concepts which are united *ab intra* and divided *ab extra*. The distinction of the limits is temporal and spatial; their indistinction eternal.

18. The husband (*pati*) with whom she is at variance is no doubt the Gandharva, the jealous protector of unwedded maidens, cf. X, 85, 21-22, "Rise up from hence, Viśvāvasu; this maiden hath a husband . . . Seek in her father's home another willing maid". Compare also X, 95, 2, where Urvaśī (who corresponds to Uṣas, Sūryā, and Apālā, as does Purūravas to Sūrya and Indra) deserting Purūravas says "like the first of Dawns I leave thee". From the Brāhmaṇa and other versions of the legend (knowledge of which is taken for granted in X, 95) we know that Urvaśī is in fact taken back into the Gandharva world (the "Assumption of the Virgin"), and that it is only when the sacrifices of the Year have been completed that Purūravas himself recovers his Gandharva status and is reunited to his immortal bride. Purūravas is "mortal", not as man is mortal by contrast with the *devas*, but as the *devas* are mortal when contrasted with the *asuras*, as Mitra is mortal by contrast with Varuṇa (I, 164, 38 and X, 85, 17-18); he is the "dying god", the Year, the father of "Life" (*āyus*).

19. Apālā's uninhibited procedure corresponds to the shamelessness of Dawn, RV. *passim*, where she is referred to as like a dancer, as unbaring her bosom, or unveiling her charms (I, 92, 4; I, 124, 3-4; VI, 64, 2), or described as rising as if from a bath (V, 80, 5-6; Apālā's meeting with Indra also taking place beside the river, where, as Sāyaṇa takes it, she has gone to take her morning bath). Urvaśī and her sister *apsarases* are similarly described in X, 95, 9. Cf. RV., VII, 80, 2 speaking of Dawn, "Youthful and shameless she goeth forward, having come to know of Sun, and sacrifice, and Agni", and also *Jaiminīya Up. Brāhmaṇa*, I, 56, "In the beginning, the woman went about in the flood, desirously seeking a husband (*strī . . . sañcarantī icchantī salīle patim*, perhaps a reflection of RV. V, 37, 3, *vadhur iyaṃ patim icchanti*, "This woman desiring a husband", whom Indra makes his chief queen). The woman's boldness, of which the memory survives in the later rhetorical allusions to the inconstancy of Śrī-Lakṣmī, is admirably illustrated in the early Indian representations of *apsarases*, best perhaps in the Mathurā Museum example, J 2.

20. Cf. *Atharva Veda*, III, 17, 5, "Tvaṣṭṛ made a marriage for his daughter, and all this universe went forth" (*idaṃ viśvam bhuvanāṃ vi yāti*), where in spite of Bloomfield, *Journ. Amer. Oriental Soc.*, XVI, p. 183, I venture to think that *vi yāti* is intransitive and has *viśvam bhuvanāṃ* as subject. It is in the same way that Urvaśī "bestows upon her husband's father wealth, when her lover (*uṣaḥ*, m.) woos her from the nearby home" (X, 95, 4), i. e. from the Gandharva world, from within, cf. the reference to the origin of Vāc in "another's house", RV. X, 109, 4.

21. Apālā is drawn three times "through the opening of the chariot, the opening of the wain, the opening of the team" (*khe rathasya, khe anasaḥ*,

khe yugasya). In *Jaiminiya Up. Brāhmaṇa*, I, 3, the *kha anasaḥ* and *kha rathasya* are identified with the *divāś chidra* or "hole in heaven", which is "all covered over by rays", and is the Sun through the midst of which the Comprehensor "utterly escapes" (*atimucyate*); cf. *Chāndogya Up.*, VIII, 6, 6, where the Sun is called the "portal of the worlds" (*lokadvāra*) and RV. V, 81, 2 where it is the Sun that "lets out the forms of all things" (*viśvā rūpāṇi prati muñcate . . . savitṛ*). Obviously the way out and the way in are the same (cf. John, X, 9); to be dragged forward through the hole of the chariot is to be born into the worlds, to pass out through the hole is to die, whether temporarily or finally. With the description of the axle-hole as all covered over with rays", cf. X, 132, 6, "Wash her (Aditi) with sun-rays" (*sūro nīkta raśmibhiḥ*).

In all probability *kha rathasya*, *kha anasaḥ*, *kha yugasya* are synonymous expressions, all equivalent to *kha* as "hole in the wheel through which the axle passes", see my "*Kha* and other words denoting 'Zero', in connection with the metaphysics of space", in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, VII, 1934. But even if we hold with Sāyana that three successively smaller openings in different parts of the chariot are intended (which seems improbable), it by no means follows that the three operations by which the "delivery" is made are to be understood as taking place upon one and the same occasion; we understand in any case that Indra drags Apālā three times through the "hole of his chariot", in other words makes her to be born thrice, as in the story of Sujātā cited below; cf. *khād-iva yoni-jātaḥ* in *Buddha Carita*, I, 30.

Since writing the above I find in *Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa*, II, 419, *yathā rathānābhau arāḥ pratiṣṭhā*, "when the spokes are affixed to the hub of the chariot"; and inasmuch as "hub of the chariot" can only mean "hub of the chariot wheel", so we may take it that "aperture of the chariot", *kha rathasya*, means "aperture of the chariot wheel", as the sense requires.

There is an analogous ritual use of "ringstones", which are regarded as *yonis* or female symbols of generation (see Marshall, *Mohenjo-Daro*, p. 62, and references there cited); those who are passed through such ringstones are, as it were, "born again". That such stones are really symbolic representations of the solar *loka-dvāra* through which one "escapes altogether" (*atimucyate*) is clearly seen in the case of the well-known example at Śatruñjaya, where the opening in the stone is called the "door of liberation" (*mukti-dvāra*).

For further references to the story of Apālā see Oertel in *Journ. Amer. Oriental Soc.*, XVIII, 26 f.

22. With all the purifications referred to above may be compared those performed by the Sāman and Ṛk antecedent to the consummation of their veiled union on the night of the sabbath (*upavasathiyām rātriḥ, sadasi, Jaiminiya Up. Brāhmaṇa*, I, 54). In this case (in many respects analogous to that of Yama and Yamī, RV. X, 10, but with a "happy ending"), that which Ṛk removes and casts forward (*pratyauhat*) becomes the "vision of living creatures" (*dhīr eva prajānām jīvānām eva*), and the whole is once more a story of creation.

23. Not an independent "Person", but an essential name of Agni, as explicitly recognized in I, 38, 13.

24. *Amūḥ pāre*, i. e. "on the farther shore", awaiting transportation over the flowing river, like, for example, Bhujyu, *samudra ā rajasah pāra ūkhūtam*, whom the Aśvins bring across in their winged ships, X, 143, 5. The thrice

seven adders or addans are no doubt the twenty-one rivers of X, 5, 5, 64, 8, and 75, 1, cf. X, 99, 4 where the young restless streams that Indra pours out hitherward are as yet "footless and carless", and IX, 77, 3 where the Soma streams are referred to as "beautiful like snakes" (*ahyo na cāravo*). If the latter comparison seems strange in view of what has been said so far, it must be remembered that the beauty of *nāginīs* becomes a cliché in later Indian literature, and that at least a *beauté de diable* must be attributed to Night, with whom the Sun is in love before her transformation takes place; just as in folk-lore the human hero is in love with the mermaid before she acquires a human form and soul. *Nirjarāyavaḥ* is literally "freed from the chorion", the commentators supplying "with skin sloughed from the body, chorionwise" and "as Devas, freed from the chorion". Comparison may be made with RV. X, 106, 6 "Do ye (Aśvins) make my corrupted chorion to be incorruptible" (*jarāyu ajaram marāyu*); X, 123, 1, where the Sun is new risen from the chorion, or in a chorion of light (*jyotir-jarāyū*); Atharva Veda, I, 12, 1 where the Sun is *jarāyu-ja*; *Sataṭha Brāhmaṇa*, VI, 6, 1, 24, where Agni is due to be born from the chorion (*jarāyūṇo jāyamāna*) which is called "putrid", like Sūryā's cast off garment in X, 85, 34, cf. AV. I, 11, 4; and especially *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa*, II, 438, where Saramā, "splitting open the chorion of the Waters" sets them free to flow. The word *jarāyu* itself derives from *jr* "to be inveterated"; such expressions as RV. I, 140, 8 *jarām pra muñcan*, and *Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa*, XXV, 17, 3, *jarām apāhat*, "put off eld", and such expressions as *jarāyu-ja* cited above, equally imply a birth and rejuvenation. In other words, the young unwedded streams are newly born; Indra's bride is one of them, or one like them, just as Urvaśī in X, 95, 6 is one of the "seven" Apsarases, in V, 42, 9, "Urvaśī of the streams". "Unrobbed" (*amuṣitā*) has reference to the powers of darkness that lie in wait to steal away the "names" of those that proceed, as in V, 44, 4, where Krivi *nāmāni vane pravaṇe muṣayati*.

25. For example, in VIII, 17, 5, *ṛdāku-sānu* is an epithet of Indra; the words appear to mean "serpent-shouldered" (*sānu*, primarily "high plain" or "table-land", metaphorically the upper part of the back, as in RV. I, 32, 9). There is an image answering to this description in the Mathurā Museum (see Vogel, *Ars Asiatica*, XV, Pl. XXXIX and p. 46). The female counterpart of this image (*ib.* Pl. XL) has long been known as the "Serpent Queen". And Sarparājñī, or "Serpent Queen" is a designation of Vāc and of Earth in *Sataṭha Brāhmaṇa*, IV, 6, 9, 16-17. The two images are then rightly to be called those of Indra and Indrāñi.

The Sarparājñī hymn is also called the Mānasa Stotra or "mental laud", because its verses are "recited mentally" (*manasā stuyante*, *Taittirīya Saṃhitā*, VII, 3, 1, 4, cf. *Sataṭha Brāhmaṇa*, II, 2, 1, 30); hence the name of the well-known Bengali snake-goddess, Manasā Devī, who is at once Indrāñi and the Earth, and of whom the Mathurā "Serpent Queen" may be regarded as one of the earliest known representations.

The Serpent Queen must also be recognized in Sasarpārī "the daughter of the Sun" and "Lunar Maiden" (*pakṣyā*; *pakṣa*, according to Sāyaṇa, is here the Sun, the usual sense of "Moon", as in *Buddha Carita*, II, 20, seems to be more acceptable, and would allude to Sasarpārī's *āsurya* origin), "who puts forth the New Life" (*nasyam āyur dadhāna*), RV. III, 53, 15-16; where Āyus is primarily Agni (see Bloomfield in *Journ. Amer. Oriental Soc.*, XX, p. 181), "the one and only Life" (*ekāyus*, I, 31, 5), and "Universal Life" (*viśvāyus*, I, 67, 5; IV, 28, 2; VI, 4, 2).

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