

THE DARKER SIDE OF DAWN

BY

ANANDA K. GOOMAKASWAMY

Director, Research in Indian, Persian and Malabar Manuscripts
Mysore, India (Asia, East)

The Lord Baltimore Press
BALTIMORE, MD., U. S. A.

THE DARKER SIDE OF DAWN

BY ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY

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 Rg Veda *tad ekam*, "That One") in which the outwardly opposing forces are one imparible 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. Contemplation, 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, Good and Evil. The *contemplatio in caligine*, for example, is directed to the dark side of deity: and corresponds to the Indian cult of Siva-Rudra, or the

primeval Darkness remains in him as Rudra (X. 620, 3 and *Maitri* U. V. 2).

Evidence can be assembled from the *Rg-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 *Tvastṛ*'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 *naga*) 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, *apara* and *para* Brahman, are related from this point of view as a progenitive pair (Indian *mithuna*). 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 Cuchulain, 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 *Rg 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 *Rg* Vedic, but is conveniently resumed in *Puṇavīṣṭa Brāhmaṇa*, XXV, 15 where the Serpents, by means of a sacrificial session are enabled to

cast their mycterated * skins (*hūtā myān tacam*) and to glide forward (*ati-sṛp*), changing their forms, and thus "the Serpents are the Ādityas" (*sarvāt vā ādityāḥ*); cf. *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*, VII, 3, 2, 14, where Agni is found upon the lotus leaf, having "crept up out of the Waters" (*vadbhya upōdsṛptam*). 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 aśirṣo guhamāno anta*) 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 dhātare*, I, 24, 8); in other passages, Indra, Agni, Soma, and Varuṇa are similarly described as "footed" (*padavīḥ*, m.); cf. *padatī* (f.) as footprint, *vestigium pedi*, 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 Kujaru and Vṛtra are handless and footless (*ahastāni, apādāni*), and Vṛtra similarly in I, 32, 7. The *Satapatha 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 samabhāvat tasmatād ahis*). In the following shorter discussion, complete in itself, there is assembled a part of the corresponding evidence on the side of the semi-nine principles.

We now proceed to consider the case of Dawn (*uṣas*), whose lauds are so familiar to every student of the Rg Veda. It is well known that Night and Day or Dawn (*naktōgasā* 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 mātror abhāvat putra*, III, 2, 2, and *dvimātā, passim*); "One mother holds the Calf, the other rests (*kṣeti*). . . . Ye, variant pair, have made yourselves twin beauties (*vāpumīśi*), 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 vīśāpe* V, 1, 4), "with one of whom is he glaucous (*charī*), with the other bright

* For Notes, see p. 127.

(*sukra*) and shining (*svarcā*)¹, 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, 104, 38, "now becometh sterile (*starīḥ*), now begets (*sūtē*, tantamount to *soritā bhāvati* 'becomes Savitṛ'), he shapes his aspect as he will" VII, 101, 3 (cf. Atharva Veda, VI, 72, 1) "As the black snake displays himself, as summing such forms (*rāpuasi*) as he will by titan magic" "Immortal, uterine-brother (*sayonīḥ*) of the mortal, they move eternally conversely, men mark the one and fail to mark the other", I, 164, 38.² 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);³ the use of *uṣasā* (du. f.) here to mean Night and Day is paralleled by "days of diverse hue" (*visurūpā ahanti*, I, 123, 7 and VI, 58, 1), and "black day and white day" (*ahāś ca kṛṣṇāś ahar arjenām ca* VI, 6, 1). 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 (*yosā*), IV, 5, 13 where the Dawns (pl.) are called the consorts (*parīḥ*) of the immortal Sun VII, 75, 5 where the generous Dawn (*maṇḍhomi uṣā*) is called the maiden of the Sun (*sūryasya yosā*); in VII, 66, 4, she is again the Sun-maiden (*sūryasya yosā*), and in XV, VIII, 9, 12, the sister Dawns are called the Sun's consorts (*uṣasā sūryapatai*). The Dawn is also a sister of Bhaga and kinswoman (*jātī*) of Varuna (I, 123, 5), and is "Heaven's daughter", *passim*. In VII, 66, 4, she is the daughter of the Sun (*yosā . . . sūro dūhnā*), involving the incest motif more familiar in connection with Prajāpatti, cf. also V, 55, 6, where Pūṣan is called the second husband of his mother and the seducer of his sister (*mātūr dūtīṣu . . . sūsīm jātī*) "incest" being inevitable because of the kinship (*jātīत्वा*) 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 *saranyā*. In I, 93, 1, Sanīthā, III, 10, Night (*rātrī*), and Dawn (*uṣas*) or Day (*ahāś*) 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 *jaravatī* (VII, 75, 4) from *yr.* 'to inveterate'. In IV, 30, 8-11, Indra is praised as having "struck down Heaven's daughter, that ill-designing woman" (*striyam*

yad durhāyāmāne . . . auktaāram dīvāḥ), who is described as "flowing away" (*saret*) from her ruined chariot; viz. that chariot that she, "the Daughter of Heaven and Mistress of the Universe, yokes atar (*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, Usas is afraid of Indra's bolt, and goes her way (*takrāmat*), abandoning her lovely chariot, cf. II, 15, 6. Agni is commonly called "ravisher" or "spoiler" of Dawn (*usas mājāraḥ*); this has usually been rendered as "lover of Dawn", but *jāra*, from *ji* "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 *jārayitī* 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 nāhusaḥ*), makes the Dawns to be consorts of the Arya" (*aryapatnīr uṣasai cakāra*; Sāyaṇa equates *arya* with *sūrya*).² In I, 123, 1, Dakṣinā, synonymous with Usas in the same hymn "rises from the dark night as herself an Arya" (*ekṣṇād ud asthūt aryā*) where it is of course to be understood that she had been *anaryā*, it may be noted that Dakṣinā is Indra's mother by Yūjī in *Taittirīya Saṃhitā*, VI, 1, 3, 6, and that Dakṣinā 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, 70, 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, 50, 6, 5, "moving headless, with babbling tongue, she descends thirty grades" (*hitrī śiro jihvād evāvadac carat trimśat padā ny akramāt*; *hitrī śiro* combined with *ib.*, i. *apād*, cited below, giving us the analogy to Agni, *apād aśīrso gñhāvano antā* in IV, 1, 11); and similarly in I, 123, 8, where the sisters are said to "traverse thirty leagues (*trimśatai yojanāni*), alternately *—*to reappear in due course, *paritakmyāyām*, for the "ancient Dawn is born again and again (*puṇah puṇar jāyamāna purāṇī*) decking herself with the selfsame hue" (*samānaṁ varṇam*³ *abhi sumbhamānā*, 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 (*auechat*) at the coming of the Debt-collector" "king of the Gilit-

tering-folk'), and in VII, 109, 4, where "at the end of her wandering, the Daughter of the Sun chooses his glory (*śriyam*)"? The procession of Usas 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 ātī prathānā padvatīnām*), and this is nearly identical with VI, 59, 6. "This footless-maid came earliest forth to footed things" (*apād iyām purvā ā aśāt padvatībhyāḥ*, *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" (*āpa kṛṣṇān nirpijām devī avarityāvahī*, I, 113, 14, cf. VIII, 41, 10, where it is Varuṇa that "makes the black robes white" *svetān adhi mūyijas cakre kṛṣṇān*): for this is the same as putting off desuetude and impotence (I, 140, 8 *jarām pṛā muñcan Pañcarātiśa Brāhmaṇa*, XXV, 17, 3 *jarām apāhat*, etc.), it is really the snake-skin, the old skin, *jīrṇān tacam* as in *Pañcarātiśa Brāhmaṇa*, XXV, 15, that is taken off. It is similarly that Urvāśi and her sisters, in X, 95, 8-9, "evade Purūrūpas like snakes" (*tarasantī na bhūyulya*—but when they yield "display themselves as swans" (*ātayena na tānū, sumbhata*), or "with swan-skins" for *tānū* is often tantamount to "skin").

In I, 185, where Day and Night (*uahanī*) are if not absolutely identified with, at least very closely assimilated to Heaven and Earth (*dyāvāpythāñ*, or *rodasī*), it is said in the second verse, that "The twain (unspecified), though not proceeding (*anorānta*) and footless (*apādī*), yet support a mighty Germ (*garīha* = 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 (*visvāyate*, i. e. for Agni), that Earth (*kṣāḥ*) that had neither hands nor feet (*uhaśtā yad apādī*, cf. III, 30, 8, cited above) might wax" (*vardhata*), and III, 55, 14 where "As having feet (*padīt*) she standeth up erect (*ūrddhvā tashthu*), 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, "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 (*vyajyātē*) . . . this Kṛtyā hath come to be with feet and consorts with her husband as a bride" (*kṛtyā eṣā padvatī bhūtvā jāyā viśate patim*). The text goes on to describe the inauspicious aspect of the Sun himself when united with this same Kṛtyā, *ob initio*:

"Inglorious *casnati* becomes his form when it glitters in (*trusati*) this evil (*pūfaya amnya* 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 vāvate patim*). It is in fact only "when the parents that cohabit in the dark are separated that they pass over the Babe" (*kṛṣṇapratutāvayīc ca sya saksitā abhā tarate abhi mātarā śisum*, I, 140, 3); "In the Angels' mansion were the First, from their diremption rose the others" (*ekyatrād cām uparā udyan*, 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 (*sukravāsah*, I, 113, 7), when as in I, 92, 11 "She wakes, uncovers Heaven's ends¹ and drives her sister far away shines out in the bright-eye of her seducer" (*jārasya eakṣasā vi bhāti*, cf. X, 180, 2, *antās carati vocationysa*). That is indeed her marriage when she becomes a woman clothed with the Sun, when as in VII, 81, 2, "The rising Sun, resplendent 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 prīṇād apānati*, 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 (*patidvīṣah*)² reflects, "What if we go and wed with Indra?" 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 universe³; the reference to her own body indicating her extreme youth. Indra draws her through the three apertures (*khā*)⁴ of his (solar) chariot, and so cleansing (*pūtī*), her makes for her a "scinty skin" (*sūrya-*

(*tracam*). According to the quite intelligible legend cited by Sāyana, 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" (*pāpāñ varṇam*); with the two first cleansings she becomes successively a lizard (*godhā*) and a chameleon (*krkalāsa*), with the third cleansing she becomes *sainślistikā* (evidently "whitened"; the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa* version has *sainślistikā*, apparently "fit to be fondled") and her form is called the "most beautiful of all forms". In the nearly identical version of *Puñcarītiśa Brāhmaṇa*, IX, 2, 14, the woman's name is Akūpārā (in literal significance identical with "Aditi", "In-finite"), she is an Āngirasi (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 (*sāmulyam*, to be connected rather with *samala*, "foul", than any word implying "woollen") is significantly described as "rasping, coarse, prickly, poisonous, and inedible", the curious expression "inedible" (*na . . . attave*) corresponding to

Itharva 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" (*sunc . . . 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 *sūrvatracum* above cf. *Atharva Veda*, II, 2, 1, where the Gandharva Visvāvasu (=Vena, the Sun, *ib.* II, 1) is himself "sun-skinned" (*sūrya-tvak*); in *Puñcarītiśa Brāhmaṇa*, XXIII, 16, 5, where the sacrificers "make a skin for themselves" (*tracam eva kurute*) a "sun-skin" is to be understood; like that of those who are sun-skinned" in *Itājasaneyi Sañhitā*, X, 4.²³

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 (*pādāparicārikā*); three having died are reborn in the same status according to their virtue but Sujātā, because she had performed no deed of virtue" (*kusalakamassa akutattā* 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 elevings of Apala),⁴ and because of her virtue is very beautiful (*ubhurupa*), her father (who corresponds to Tvastṛ 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" (*asuravapan* = *asurya-cūḍānam* 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 Uśas is more than once in RV. addressed as "well-born", or if we treat this as a name, as "Sujātā" (I, 123, 3, *uso devī . . . sujātā*; VII, 77, 6, *dico duhitu . . . usah sujātā*); this merely confirmatory evidence was remarked only after the identification had already been in mind for some years. Conversely, the designation of Uśas as Maghoni in VII, 75, 5, is already suggestive of Maghavan, i. e. Indra. We are also inclined to identify the *kanya* and *sujātā* of our texts with the *sukanya* daughter of Saryata, who becomes the wife of Cvayana in *Sutapatha Brāhmaṇa*, IV, 1, 5; but as this involves a discussion of the identity of Cvayana, 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 *Sutapatha Brāhmaṇa* IV, 1, 5, 1, the inveterated (*jīryah*) Cvayana is "of Kṛtyā's aspect" (*kṛtya-rūpah*); that *jahe*, "he was left behind" corresponds to X, 53, 8, "leave we there the impotent" (*atra jahāma . . . asvrah*), and X, 124, 4, "I leave behind the Father" (*pitaram iahāmi*), and that the name Cvayana or Cvayana, "fallen away", corresponds to X, 124, 4 where "Agni, Varuna, and Soma fall away" (*vyavante*). Cf. too the "five-fold offering" made by Sūrya to Brahmaṇaspati⁵ in RV, I, 40, 3.

Itharva Āśra I, 27 offers unmistakably a condensed account of Indrāgnī's procession and marriage. Verse 1 opens, "On yonder shore (*amūl pāre*) are three seven adders (*prādākṣvāḥ*) that have cast their skins ("nirjarāyavah"). All that the cast skins are good for is to

blindfold the vicious beings that beset the paths, the highwaymen (*paripanthinah*) 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 (*vahatam pṛṇataḥ grhān*): let Indrāṇi go forth foremost unconquered, unrobbed, to the East". Here *vahatam grhan* is a quite technical expression implying "lead home the bride". Pṛṇa is a designation either of the Sun, cf. *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*, VIII, 7, 2, 1 where the "world-filling" (*lokān-pṛṇa*) brick represents the Sun, who "fills the worlds" (*lokān pūrṇayati*); 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 rūjasi apṛṇat*, III, 2, 7, *pṛṇakṣi rodusī 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 *Pañcaviniśī Brāhmaṇa*, XXV, 15, ample support for which can be cited from the Rg 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.

NOTES

1. The Angels (*ājarah*) in RV. although from one point of view, that is to say throughout the duration of their aeternity (*amṛtattva*), incorruptible (*āśat amṛta, amṛta, amṛtya*), 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, ṛśrīyus, RV. *passim**) "Being inveterated, is forthwith born youthful" (*injurvan yo muhur ḍ yuṣṭa bhūt*, II, 4, 5), and with respect to the aeternity of his manifestation is also said to be "of a young youth" (*yaśat ājarah*, V, 44, 3), and called "Life-universal, deathless amongst them that die" (*ṛśrīyus yo amṛta marteṣu*, VI, 4, 2). Similarly in X, 124, 4 "Agni, Varuna, and Soma decline" (*ceyavante*), in IV, 19, 2 the inveterated deities are re-emanated (*acasṛjanta iccraayo na devāḥ*), and in V, 74, 5 "from him that hath declined" (*ceyavāñdt*) ye (Āśvins) loosed the covering cloak, when ye made him young (*yuṣṭa*) again, and stirred the bride's desire"

2. All references unspecified are to the *Rg Veda Sāhītā*.

3. For the significance of the *vestisūm pēdi* in Vedic, Zen, and Christian tradition see my *Elements of Buddhist iconography*, 1935, p. 16 and Note 140.

4. These two forms of his are the same as the two forms (*dve rūpe*) of Utralmaṇi, "immortal, imageless" (*amṛta, amṛta*) and "mortal, in a likeness" (*amṛtya, mṛta*) of *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, II, 3, 1, cf. *Maitri Upaniṣad*, VI, 3, 15, and 22. The immortal form is that of Varuṇa, Death, the *para-* and *nirguna-*Brahman; the mortal that Mārtanda (=Vivasvan, Sūrya) whom "Aditi bore hitherward unto repeated birth and death", RV., X, 72, 6; Purūravas "when in altered aspect I kept with mortals", X, 95, 16; Puruṣa, whom the Angels sacrificed, X, 6; 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 *nirguna-*Brahman of the *Upaniṣads*, "Mitra is the Day and Varuṇa the Night", *Śāṅkarīmīśa Brāhmaṇa*, XXV, 10, 16.

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, 104, 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 *Uttarādīta 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 (*īśaram = aśrūyam*) destroy life, rather would I for their sake sacrifice my own life to the Asuras", very closely parallel those of Arjuna in the *Bhārata Gītī*, 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 Vibhīṣaṇa in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, and Usas, Kāvya, who is the priest of the Asuras but is won over to the side of the Devas in *Pañcarātiśa Brāhmaṇa*, VII, 5, 20 *Baṇḍuk Śi. S.*, XVIII, 46, and *Jamītī Brāhmaṇa* I, 125-126; cf. Viśvarūpa, Vṛtra's brother, called "priest of the Devas" in *Taittirīya Saṁhitā*, 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 *Bhāgavat Gitā*, I, 28 ff., shrinks from the slaughter of "kinsmen and teachers"; cf. *Sātapattha 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 "betrayor of a friend" (*mitra-dhruk*), and *Pañcarātiśa Brāhmaṇa*, XII, 6, where Namuci reviles him as "guilty hero-slayer of the guiltless" (*vrāhaam adruhe druhā*), provide a literal prototype for *Bhāgavat Gitā*, I, 38, where Arjuna shrinks from the "sin of the betrayal of a friend" (*doṣam mitra-drohēḥ*). 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, Dhṛitarāṣṭra 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 (*anuya trata*) in RV. *passim*, as may be seen by an analysis of those verses in which are found the words *andha*, and *trāhī* or *stari* (it may be noted in this connection also that *śroga*, "halt", generally coupled with *andha*, "blind" in the texts alluded to, corresponds to *afūḍi* "footless", as cited in the present article). Can we not indeed identify Pāṇḍu with the "golden-handed son" (the Sun) whom the Asvins gave to Lāṭ "whose consort was unmanned" (I, 117, 24)? The victory of the Pāṇḍavas corresponds to RV., X, 124, 4, where Agni, Varuṇa, and Soma decline (*yoṣante*) and the "kingdom is reversed" (*pary ḫtrūt rāṣṭram*). The epic naturally concludes with the final return of the Pāṇḍavas to Heaven, their disappearance *ab intra*, accompanied by Draupadi, whose *alter nōmen* Kṛṣṇa confesses her Asura origin, and who as the wife of the five Pāṇḍava brothers may be compared to Usas or Sūryā, successively the wife of Soma, Gaudhravī, Agni, and a "mortal" (sc. Vivasvan, Purūravas, Yama), X, 85, 40, and elsewhere also referred to as the consort of the Asvins; or may be compared with Vāc, as participated in by the Five Kindreds (*panca 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 Mūḍādevi, the Buddha's mother who does not survive, derives by her name itself from the Asura wife, while the co-wife Pajāpati, called in the *Buddhacarita*, II, 16, her *saṁapradhāvī* tantamount to *saṁaryā*, lives; and that Devakī, the mother of Kṛṣṇa, is the sister of the Asura Kāliṣa, in whose realm both parents are imprisoned, while the child is taken over water (the Yamunā, although in flood, becoming torid) 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 Hinduism the

position of Isatariya 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 Varuna = Brahman, the latter those of Indrāgnī. Nor need we be confused by the fact that when the relation of Agni to Indra is considered *पत्ता* and *पत्रा*, 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. *Satpatha 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 (= Mṛtyu = Vṛtra, etc.) and the "Ahi-nāga" (*śic* in *Mahāraṇya*, I, 15, 7) of the Jāṭila 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" (*pari dvart rāṣṭram*), IV, 1, 2 "O Agni, turn thy brother Varuṇa round about" (*vihāratarāṇi varuṇam aume ā vāyutva*), cf. *litarcya Brāhmaṇa*, IV, 5 where, the Angels and Titans being of equal heroism, "there was a delay in turning back" (*na vāyavartanta*) the latter: and this extroversion is a right-hand or sunwise turn, as in III, 16, 2 = IV, 6, 3, "Agni, choosing rightwise the angelic office" (*praduṣṣijit devatātām wāyāḥ*), or X, 22, 14, "Thou (Indra) smotest Śusū to the right (*praduṣṣijit*) for Viśvāyu" (i. e. Agni). Cf. *Satpatha Brāhmaṇa*, III, 2, 1, 13 and VII, 5, 1, 37.

Remembering that Night and Dawn are the two wives of Indra (*Vājasaneyi saṁhitā*, III, 10, cited above) it is obvious that RV. X, 145—in application a spell directed against a co-wife (*sapatiṇibālhanam*)—is by first intention an imprecation launched by Indrāgnī herself, to whom the hymn is attributed, against her rival sister Night, while X, 120, attributed to Śaci Paulomī (Indrāgnī) 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 (*uṣasimāltā*) are both favorably regarded "Daughters of Heaven" in X, 70, 6, but this is as being seated together at the altar (*yonan*) that is analogically *ab intra*, for *yoni* as altar corresponds to "navel" (*nābhi*) "where Aditi confirms our kinship" (*jāmitvā*) X, 64, 13, and it is at the "navel of Order" (*ṛtasya nābha*) that "I thoroughly purify" (*sajī punāmi*, X, 13, 3).

10. The word *nābhi* (*ab intra*) contrasts with *uṣasah*, both in m. pl. acc. *Nahusa* (m.), from a root *nah* implying 'bondage', is a designation of Agni's father in I, 31, 11 and V, 12, 6; in *om. pl.* it may therefore appropriately designate at the same time "nights" (as rendered also by Day 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 *janmanī* years but are set back yielding

place to the true dawns that are the Sun's brides and Agni's "second mothers". It is further noteworthy that in some later texts Nalusa is or becomes a serpent. In literal significance and as an essential rather than personal name *kalasa* may be compared to *varuna* and *trna* as derivatives of *tr*.

11. The *samānāt vargam* daily put on is of course the *āryam vargam* of III, 34, 9 as distinguished from the *asuryam vargam* of IX, 71, 2 (= *pāpām vargam* 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 *suryā* in Bloomfield's second sense of "like (Vivasvant) in character or class" (*Journ. Amer. Oriental Soc.*, XVI, p. 178).

12. *Ryancaya*, lit. "debt-collector": either Brhāspati-Brahmanaspati, as in II, 23, 11 and 17 (*rnayā*, *rnacid* *rnayā*), or Indra himself (*rnacid* . . . *rnayā*, IV, 23, 7), the toll being exacted in either case from the fiend (*druh*). Monier-Williams, for *ryancaya*, 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. *Kuṭha* 1 p., 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* . . . *nityam* *na sunuś pitre* *upasthe*, ib.). This *nityam*, incidentally, recurs in *Kuṭha* 1 p., V, 13, "Eternal amid the transient" (*nitya'* *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 mā akṛtā kartrāni*, IV, 18, 2, cf. "Why not that I must be about my Father's business?" Luke II 40); in connection with Uśas, "Delay not to go about thy labour" (*mā cirām tanutā apah* V 70, 6); again in connection with Indra, "Do what thou hast to do" (*kariṣya kṛyāhi*, I, 165, 9), who indeed "does what must be done" (*cokrīt yat kariṣyān* 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* 1 p. III, 2, 13, "What they praised was Action (*karma*)", and the doctrine regarding *karma* *yoga* in the *Rāgavād Gītā*. Cf. also *Buḍalamassā akārttā* (= *kuḍalasya akortatāt*) in *Jātaka*, text, I, 205; *akārya* as "sin" in *Mṛchchikā* I 17, 4; and *akarayasañcaram* as "sins of omission" in *Sādhanamāla* No. 68 (Gackwad's Oriental Series, XXVI, p. 201).

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

**paramatā* and consumption (*vakṣyati*) and united to life (*ayuṣa*)*, vi. RV. VII. 50. 2 "Release us from the bonds of death, not those of life" (*vāṇihenot mātva mukṣya na amṛtāt*), that is in effect also "May we pass over from Varuṇa from Death to Agni Vāśvīmara, to Life".

19. I. e. Agni, *ab intra*, and eager (*iechan*, etc.) to proceed.

20. Converse of *rahumāne antā* in IV. 1, 11. The "ends" are either as here the halting places of the Sun, or as in *Jaiminiya 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.

21. The husband (*pati*) with whom she is at variance is no doubt the Gaudharya the jealous protector of unwedded maidens, cf. X. 85, 21-22, "Rise up from hence, Visvāvasu; this maiden hath a husband . . . Seek in her father's home another willing maid". Compare also X. 95, 2, where Urvāśi (who corresponds to Usas, 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 Urvāśi is in fact taken back into the Gaudharya 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 Gaudharya 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. 104, 38 and X. 85, 17-18); he is the "dying god" the Year, the father of "Life" (*ayus*).

22. 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 uncasing her charms (I. 62, 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 Sāyaga takes it, she has gone to take her morning bath). Urvāśi and her sister *apsarases* are similarly described in X. 95. 6. 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 *Jaiminiya Up. Brāhmaṇa* I. 50, "In the beginning, the woman went about in the flood desirously seeking a husband (*stri . . . sahcaranti iechanti salile patina*, perhaps a reflection of RV. V. 37. 3. *vadhuḥ iyām patīm iechanti* "This woman desiring a husband", whom Indra makes his chief queen). The woman's boldness, of which the incunabula survives in the later rhetorical allusions to the inconsistency of Śrī-Lakṣmī is admirably illustrated in the early Indian representations of *apsarases*, best perhaps in the Mathurā Museum example. J. 2.

23. Cf. *Utharā Ueda*, III. 17, 5. "Tvastṛ made a marriage for his daughter, and all this universe went forth" (*cidān vīśvam bhūvanam tī yāti*), where in spite of Bloomfield, *Trans. Ind. Oriental Soc.*, XVI, p. 183, I venture to think that *tī yāti* is atransitive and has *vīśvam bhūvanam* as subject. It is in the same way that Urvāśi "bestows upon her husband's father wealth, when her lover (Uṣṇi) wins her from the nearby home" (X. 95. 4), i. e. from the Gaudharya world, from within, cf. the reference to the "origin of Vāc in "another's house" (RV. X. 306. 4).

24. Apālā is drawn three times: "through the opening of the chariot, the opening of the wain, the opening of the wain" (*tri vāthayā, khe vāsati*.

khe yugasya). In *Jaiminīya Up. Brāhmaṇa*, I, 3, the *kha anasah* and *kha rathasya* are identified with the *divuś 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” (*risvā rūpāni 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 (Āditi) with sun-rays” (*sūro ninikta raśmibhih*).

In all probability *kha rathasya*, *kha anasah*, *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-īva yoni-jātāḥ* in *Buddha Carita*, 1, 30.

Since writing the above I find in *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa*, II, 410, *yathā rathā-nābhau arāḥ pratīṣṭhā*, “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 R̥k antecedent to the consummation of their veiled union on the night of the sabbath (*upavasatihīyānū rātriḥ, sadasi. Jaiminīya 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 R̥k 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 īukhitam*, whom the Aśvins bring across in their winged ships, X, 143, 5. The thrice

seven adders or addanes 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 earless", 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 *nāgīns* 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. *Nirjarāyavāh* 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, 100, 6 "Do ye (Āsvins) make my corrupted chorion to be incorruptible" (*jarāyv ajaram marāyū*); 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*; *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*, VI, 6, 1, 24, where Agni is due to be born from the chorion (*jarāyugo 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 *jī* "to be inveterated"; such expressions as RV, I, 140, 8 *jarām̄ pra muñcan*, and *Pañcavīṁśa Brāhmaṇa*, XXV, 17, 3, *jarām̄ apāhat*, "put off old", 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". "Unrulbed" (*amuśitā*) 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 pravuṇe muśayati*.

25. For example, in VIII, 17, 5, *prdāku-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, *Arts 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 Sarparājī, or "Serpent Queen" is a designation of Vāc and of Earth in *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*, IV, 6, 9, 16-17. The two images are then rightly to be called those of Indra and Indrājī.

The Sarparājī hymn is also called the Mānasa Stotra or "mental laud", because its verses are "recited mentally" (*manasā stuyante, Taittiriya Samhitā*, VII, 3, 1, 4, cf. *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*, II, 2, 1, 30); hence the name of the well-known Bengali snake-goddess, Mānasa Devī, who is at once Indrājī 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 Sasarparī "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 Sasarparī's *āsurya* origin), "who puts forth the New Life" (*nacyam āvur dudhāna*), 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).