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# THE DUAL DEITIES IN THE RELIGION OF THE VEDA

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

I.	Introduction. General Discussion of the problems connected with the dual deities . . . . .	5
II.	Heaven-and-Earth. . . . .	93
III.	Sun-and-Moon . . . . .	118
IV.	Dawn-and-Night (Dusk) . . . . .	124
V.	Mitra-and-Varuṇa . . . . .	145
VI.	Indra-and-Vāyu . . . . .	209
VII.	Indra-and-Varuṇa . . . . .	229
VIII.	Indra-and-Agni . . . . .	271
IX.	Indra-and-Bṛhaspati . . . . .	310
X.	A. Indra-and-Viṣṇu . . . . .	331
	B. Indra-and-Soma . . . . .	335
	C. Indra-and-Pūṣan . . . . .	340
	D. Indra-and-Parvata . . . . .	346
XI.	A. Soma-and-Pūṣan . . . . .	349
	B. Soma-and-Rudra . . . . .	356
XII.	Agni-and-Soma . . . . .	363
	General index . . . . .	389
	Index of text-places . . . . .	407



## CHAPTER I

### THE DUAL DEITIES IN THE RELIGION OF THE VEDA

*Introduction. General discussion of the problems connected with the dual deities*

One of the peculiar features of Vedism is the occurrence and celebration in pairs of a number of deities whose names are often joined in the form of that special kind of dual compound which has sometimes been styled 'Götterdvandva'<sup>1</sup>. Grammatical particulars may be omitted here<sup>2</sup>; a brief statement of some main points will suffice. This class of combination—which comprises also names of personages other than divinities and words for concepts or objects that lay within the scope of the Vedic authors—is not homogeneous. Of its subtypes the following must be mentioned. Most numerous are, in the R̥gveda, those copulative compounds which consist of two co-ordinated nouns in the dual, each with its own accent, e.g. *mitrā-vāruṇā* "Varuṇa and Mitra"<sup>3</sup>. The two duals are however often separated, e.g. RV. 7, 42, 5 *ā náktā barhīḥ sadatām uśāsā* "let Night and Dawn seat themselves upon the bed of sacrificial grass". In other cases the first member has assumed an unchangeable form: *mitrā-vāruṇābhyām* etc. also in cases other than the nominative-accusative. In a minority of instances, but comparatively oftener in the later saṃhitās, the compound has only one accent (on the last syllable of its final member): *indrā-pūṣṇós*. Sometimes the first member assumes the form of the stem: *indra-vāyú*<sup>4</sup>.

In the ritual these double deities play an important part. Terms used to indicate the sacrificial rites, offerings etc. connected with them are *dvidevata* "relating (belonging) to two deities" and *dvidevatya*, for instance *dvidevatya graha* "a ladleful for two deities".

The occurrence of these double divinities did not fail to attract the attention of those who studied and described the characteristic features

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<sup>1</sup> See e.g. R. Delbrück, *Vergleichende Syntax der indogermanischen Sprachen*, III, Strassburg 1900, p. 43.

<sup>2</sup> I refer to W. D. Whitney, *A Sanskrit grammar*, Leipzig 1924, p. 486 f.; J. Wackernagel, *Altindische Grammatik*, II, 1, Göttingen 1905, p. 149 ff.; A. A. Macdonell, *Vedic grammar*, Strassburg 1910, p. 155 ff.; L. Renou, *Grammaire de la langue védique*, Lyon-Paris 1952, p. 124 ff.

<sup>3</sup> For the order of the components of this compound see ch. V, p. 145.

<sup>4</sup> For a survey and particulars see S. G. Oliphant, in *Journal Am. Or. Soc.* 30, p. 155 ff.; 32, p. 33 ff. "In the R̥gveda Vāyu pairs off with Indra, forming with him a dual compound Indrā-Vāyū (no, Indra-Vāyū) in exactly the same way as Mitra pairs off with Varuṇa to form a morphologically identical compound Mitrā-Varuṇā" (R. C. Zaehner, *The dawn and twilight of Zoroastrianism*, London 1961, p. 149).

of Vedic mythology<sup>5</sup>. Without aiming at completeness I mention, to begin with, A. Kuhn<sup>6</sup>, Max Müller<sup>7</sup>, Von Schroeder, and Macdonell. In his well-known and epoch-making book Kuhn referred to a hymn, "... in welchem Agni und Soma gemeinsam angerufen werden, ein Verfahren, welches fast immer nur dann eintritt, wenn sich zwei Götter in ihrem Wesen aufs engste berühren, so dass die beiden zugeschriebene Wirksamkeit kaum noch einem von ihnen allein zugeschrieben werden konnte". Macdonell<sup>8</sup>, after stating that about a dozen gods are thus conjointly praised in at least sixty hymns of the Rgveda, furnishes his readers with a succinct survey of the main facts as far as they are relevant to a study of that corpus<sup>9</sup>. Oldenberg observed: "Besonders häufig erscheinen die Götter paarweise verbunden als gemeinsame Vollbringer derselben Taten und Empfänger derselben Opfer und Lobpreisungen"<sup>10</sup>.

We should not however confuse the phenomenon under discussion with complete fusion or identification of divine personalities. After some remarks on the interesting tendency to identify Vedic gods<sup>11</sup> with one another L. von Schroeder<sup>12</sup> broached the subject of the dual deities in the following way: "Diese eigentümliche Neigung, die Gestalten verschiedener Götter in einander übergehen, zusammenfliessen und verschmelzen zu lassen, zeigt sich auch in den merkwürdigen, im Veda sich vorfindenden Compositis, in welchen je zwei Götter in einem Worte dualisch zusammengefasst, gewissermassen als eine Gottheit dargestellt und angerufen werden. So war das Siegeslied des Vasiṣṭha an Indra-Varuṇa als eine Gottheit gerichtet. So finden wir häufig Mitra-Varuṇa als eine Gottheit; ebenso auch Indra-Vāyu, d.i. Indra und Vāyu als eine Gottheit... Und diese Verschmelzung ist dann eine so enge, so sehr

<sup>5</sup> It is true that some authors hardly paid attention to this phenomenon; among them are Ch. Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, I, London 1957, p. 57 and H. von Glasenapp, *Die Religionen Indiens*, Stuttgart 1943, p. 67. I cannot enter into a discussion of all opinions of the dual deities in general or of some of them in particular which have come to my knowledge. Part of them are explicitly mentioned or combatted in the following chapters, others implicitly doubted or rejected (e.g. S. Bhattacharji, *The Indian theogony*, Cambridge 1970, p. 42: "... Mitrāvaruṇau, where the light-and-darkness polarity is concretized").

<sup>6</sup> A. Kuhn, *Die Herabkunft des Feuers und des Göttertrankes*, Berlin 1859, p. 161 f.

<sup>7</sup> F. Max Müller, *Lectures on the origin and growth of religion*, London 1878, p. 291.

<sup>8</sup> A. A. Macdonell, *Vedic mythology*, Strassburg 1879, p. 126 ff.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. also A. B. Keith, *The religion and philosophy of the Veda and upanishads*, Cambridge Mass. 1925, p. 220.

<sup>10</sup> H. Oldenberg, *Die Religion des Veda*, Stuttgart-Berlin 1923, p. 94 f.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. e.g. RV. 1, 164, 46; 2, 1, 3 ff. "Thou Agni art Indra...; king Varuṇa..., Rudra..., Aditi etc."; 3, 5, 4 "Agni becomes Mitra when he is ignited"; 5, 3, 1; 2; 7, 12, 3; 10, 8, 5.

<sup>12</sup> L. von Schroeder, *Indiens Literatur und Cultur in historischer Entwicklung*, Leipzig 1887, p. 78.

wird der eine Gott dem anderen gleich gedacht und gestaltet, dass man z.B. von den beiden Mitra's spricht und darunter Mitra und Varuṇa versteht . . .". However, in cases such as R̥V. 7, 12, 3 "Thou, O Agni, art Varuṇa and Mitra", a god is regarded as representing other gods, as fulfilling their functions, as being a manifestation of their being and essence, is glorified as if he were another god, or were like that other god. These identifications do not as a rule correspond to devatādvandvas. In the case of dual deities both of them are conceived of as forming an intimately connected couple, as a (two-sided) unity, as acting conjointly etc. This is not to deny that the tendency to view the deities preferably as functions and to ascribe a function of one god to another may to a certain extent have facilitated the creation of divine pairs. The same point may be raised in connection with the existence of hymns devoted to more than one deity.

In conformity with the one-sided interest in historical and prehistoric development and the history and evolution of ideas which was so characteristic of authors writing in the last decades of the XIX<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the XX<sup>th</sup> century the main problem raised by several scholars was that of the origin of the phenomenon, or at least the question as to which of the dual deities must be regarded as the prototype. For Keith<sup>13</sup> the answer was not difficult: "The type of the dual deities . . . is given by the pair Dyāvāpṛthivī, heaven and earth, the primeval parents". This was also Macdonell's<sup>14</sup> view: "There can be little doubt that the analogy for this favourite formation was furnished by Dyāvāpṛthivī, Heaven and Earth, the pair which to every thought appeared so indissolubly connected in nature, that the myth of their conjugal union is found widely diffused among primitive peoples and has therefore probably come down to the Veda from a period anterior to that immediately preceding the separation of the Indo-European nations". Oldenberg, however, was not free from some hesitation: "Es ist wahrscheinlich, dass dieser oft wiederholte, in der Poesie wie im Ritus fest ausgeprägte Typus des Götterpaares durch ein einzelnes solches Paar von Natur zusammengehöriger Gottheiten hervorgerufen ist, dem dann willkürlicher zusammengestellte Götterkombinationen nachgebildet wurden". After this in itself quite reasonable supposition Oldenberg<sup>15</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Keith, o.c., p. 220.

<sup>14</sup> Macdonell, *Vedic mythology*, p. 126 and *A history of Sanskrit literature*, London 1900, p. 104. I do not see the good of attempts at regrouping the R̥gvedic hymns as falling into four or more strata, viz. Indra, Indra-Varuṇa, Varuṇa and Dyāvāpṛthivī etc., each one older than the succeeding stratum (M. Patel, in *Proc. Trans. XI<sup>th</sup> All-India Or. Conf.* 1941, I, Hyderabad 1943, Pres. Add. p. 9, who seems to take the line that those hymns which refer to the Battle of the Ten Kings are contemporaneous with that event "which took place in the heyday of Indra religion", and, besides, that the great divine figures were, broadly speaking, worshipped in succession. Neither supposition is tenable).

<sup>15</sup> Oldenberg, o.c., 4p. 95.

could not resist the temptation to regard Mitra-and-Varuṇa<sup>16</sup>, and perhaps also Dyāvā-Prthivī, as the prototypes of all divine pairs, first because it is, in the *R̥gveda*, most prominent and "am festesten verbunden", in the second place because "es sich in die indoiranische Zeit zurückverfolgen lässt" and, last but not least, because of its probable connection "mit den vornehmsten aller für ein solches Paar von Parallelgöttern in Frage kommenden Naturwesenheiten, mit Sonne und Mond". The last argument is nowadays completely untenable. With regard to the dual deities other than Mitra-and-Varuṇa Oldenberg observed that "die nachgebildeten Paare meist Indra in Verbindung mit einem anderen Gott zeigen, den man ehrt, indem man ihn in die Gemeinschaft des mächtigsten Gottes aufnimmt". Dismissing for a moment the question as to whether the wish to honour one of the two gods is the only, or even the main, motive of the 'creation' of a dual divinity, it must be noticed that the author's words "das Muster darf in Mitra-Varuṇa vermutet werden" cannot serve to put the secondary character of all other double deities beyond doubt. As to the pair Agni-and-Soma, it is true that it "in der jüngeren, die Spekulationen über das Opfer immer einseitiger hervorkehrenden Vedaliteratur zu besonderer Bedeutung gelangt", it does not necessarily follow that it is historically speaking the youngest pair. And what about the origin of the hypothetical 'prototype' Mitra-and-Varuṇa<sup>17</sup>?

Not all opinions of a general character advanced in the preceding century are completely rejectable. "Indem so leicht, was von einem Gott ausgesagt wurde<sup>18</sup>, auch von andern ausgesagt werden konnte, lag es nahe, einzelne unter sich verwandte Gottheiten, welche gewisse Eigenschaften oder Befugnisse gemein hatten, zu Dualgottheiten zu verbinden; so werden Indra (der Besieger jedes Feindes) und Agni (der Besieger des Dunkels und den finstern feindlichen Dämonen), so die beiden Fürsten, Indra der Held und Varuṇa der König, ... mit einander gepriesen und verehrt"<sup>19</sup>.

It has been suggested<sup>20</sup> that "the union of man and wife is the human

<sup>16</sup> See also ch. V, p. 153 etc.

<sup>17</sup> For a discussion of this question see ch. V.

<sup>18</sup> That a poet dealing in the same context with a double deity "nur Aussagen machen kann, die für beide Götter Gültigkeit haben" (B. Schlerath, *Das Königtum im R̥g- und Atharvaveda*, Wiesbaden 1960, p. 66) should not a priori be taken for granted.

<sup>19</sup> A. Kaegi, *Der R̥gveda, die älteste Literatur der Inder*, Leipzig 1881, p. 48. As to the precedence taken in the Soma sacrifice by Indra-Vāyu, who represent Dumézil's 'deuxième fonction', to Mitra-Varuṇa, who are the representatives of his 'première fonction', the French author expressed the following opinion (G. Dumézil, *Naissance d'Archanges*, Paris 1945, p. 47. Compare also the same, *Mythe et épopée*, Paris 1968, p. 51): "Quant au fait que le niveau Indra-Vāyu soit ici en tête, avant le niveau Mitra-Varuṇa, il correspond sans doute à l'affinité toute particulière d'Indra pour le soma, pour la liqueur où il puise l'ivresse nécessaire à ses victoires qui sont elles-mêmes nécessaires au salut du monde...".

<sup>20</sup> H. D. Griswold, *The religion of the R̥gveda*, Oxford 1923, p. 104.



analogy followed in the primeval conception of the marriage of Heaven and Earth" and that after the analogy of Dyāvāprthivī "Heaven and Earth" a considerable number of male deities were joined together so as to form dual gods, e.g. Mitrā-Varuṇā "Sunlight and Sky" (sic), or possibly . . . "Sun and Moon", Indrāgnī "Lightning-flash and Altar-fire", . . . Indrā-Viṣṇu "Lightning and Sun"; also one group of two female<sup>21</sup> gods Naktā-Uṣasā "Night and Dawn". Leaving at the moment the author's interpretations of these dvandva compounds out of consideration, it must be remarked that his theory would gain in probability if we had to do with married couples of gods or with divine pairs of males and partners of the opposite sex. However, with a few exceptions (Dyāvā-Prthivī, Naktā-Uṣasā) these double deities are couples of male divinities and in this they are clearly distinguished from such well-known divine couples as the Greek Zeus and Hera as well as from the post-Vedic pairs of gods and their śaktis<sup>22</sup>.

A more recent attempt at distinguishing between the deities which belong to this class, an attempt which likewise impresses us as aiming at the same time at an historical differentiation, was made by Renou<sup>23</sup>. After observing that "l'accouplement de deux divinités pour une 'invocation jointe' caractérise le panthéon védique" the French savant continues: "On a vu le cas de Dyāvāprthivī; l'apparition de Mitra et de Varuṇa, à peine moins fréquente, a été de plus grande portée. En troisième lieu viennent les groupes où Indra figure en tête. Dans le cas des Aśvins l'unification a été presque totale". If the last sentence is actually meant to express the opinion that historically speaking the Aśvins represent the final stage of a process, that they are the youngest pair of dual divinities, I have grave doubts about its correctness. As will be set forth in another section of this chapter the Aśvins, being twins and bearing the same names, cannot be simply put on a par with dual deities such as Mitra-and-Varuṇa, or Indra-and-Varuṇa. In contra-

<sup>21</sup> "Die auf den Gesamtbegriff bezogenen Adjektiven sind weiblichen Geschlechts", H. Grassmann, Wörterbuch zum Rig-Veda, Leipzig 1873 (21936), 703.

<sup>22</sup> After all that has been written on the improbability of astronomical hypotheses adopted as bases of arguments in discussing Vedic chronology and the history of Vedic religion a critical examination of theories such as that advanced by E. Ghosh, Studies on R̥gvedic deities, astronomical and meteorological, Journ. and Proc. Asiatic Soc. of Bengal, N.S. 28 (Calcutta 1932), p. 1 ff. need not detain us. "Taking all . . . facts together", the author says in conclusion of a section on Mitra and Varuṇa, "we may take Mitra to be the presiding deity of the winter solstice or vernal equinox. Considering that . . . Mitra destroys the darkness . . . and that Viṣṇu had three steps by the laws of Mitra, I take Mitra to be connected with the vernal equinox . . . Mitra is directly opposite to Varuṇa, who appears to be the presiding deity of the autumnal equinox . . ." (p. 35). "Mitra and Varuṇa's knowledge of the Aśvins may mean that the vernal equinox was placed on the asterism Aśvinī at that time. The seven sages becoming the lords of the country may mean that the *saptarṣi* (Great Bear) was nearest the polar star. This happened about 3000 B.C." (p. 36). I fail to see how these conclusions and contentions can be substantiated.

<sup>23</sup> L. Renou in L. Renou et J. Filliozat, L'Inde classique, I, Paris 1947, p. 328.

distinction to Mitra-and-Varuṇa, Agni-and-Soma etc. they are inseparable and only in a few passages<sup>24</sup> spoken of as two individuals. As a type they are moreover not less, and in all probability even more, widespread and 'ancient' than the intimate combinations of two gods of different name and character. In a later publication Renou<sup>25</sup> himself rightly admitted that in the case of the Ásvins, "the divine pair forms a single entity in which it is practically impossible to pick out the component elements". But he did not, as far as I am aware, give up the conviction that the pair of the Ásvins owes its origin to a 'confusion' or unification of two originally separate divine personalities. In a characterization of the dual deity Mitrāvaruṇau Renou<sup>26</sup>—not without some exaggeration, it is true, for there do exist differences between Varuṇa and Mitra<sup>27</sup>—expresses himself as follows: "On parvient malaisément à discerner les traits proprement mitriens et les traits varuṇiens (il est vrai que nous sommes beaucoup mieux documentés sur Varuṇa que sur Mitra). Rien ou presque rien dans le texte (i.e. the text of the R̥gveda) même ne nous aide à dissocier les deux fonctions; bien au contraire, elles se présentent confondues à un degré presque égal à celui des Ásvins".

On the other hand, some dual deities may be of infrequent occurrence and mentioned only in detached stanzas, it must be repeated that they also should not be confounded with occasional combinations of two divine individuals. Indra's proneness to enter upon a considerable variety of associations—Indrāgnī, Indrāvayū etc.—led Dumézil<sup>28</sup> not only to the statement that "aucun autre dieu n'est aussi friand de compagnie et ces diverses liaisons sont fort précieuses pour la connaissance d'Indra même et l'exploration de son ministère", but also to some remarks in which occurrences of dual deities are only incompletely distinguished from cases of occasional association, for instance, of Indra and Viṣṇu or of Indra and the Maruts. References to companionship or common activity of two individual gods should however be clearly distinguished from the cases of 'dualité-unité' represented by the double divinities. "Häufig werden zwei Götter im Dual zusammengefasst, wie Mitra-Varuṇa, Agni-Soma, Indra-Vāyu usw., und als Einheit angerufen"<sup>29</sup>. This is,

<sup>24</sup> See Macdonell, o.c., p. 49.

<sup>25</sup> L. Renou, *Religions of ancient India*, London 1953, p. 21.

<sup>26</sup> L. Renou, *Études védiques et pāṇinéennes*, VII, Paris 1960, p. 3.

<sup>27</sup> For which now see J. Gonda, *The Vedic god Mitra*, Leiden 1972.

<sup>28</sup> G. Dumézil, *La fonction guerrière chez les indo-européens*, Paris 1956, p. 8.

<sup>29</sup> P. Deussen, *Allgemeine Geschichte der Philosophie*, I, 1, Leipzig 1920, p. 104. See also F. Max Müller, l.c.: "Another expedient adopted by the ancient poets, and which seems quite peculiar to the Veda, is the formation of dual deities. The names of two gods who shared certain functions in common were formed into a compound with a dual termination, and this compound became the name of a new deity". In dealing with Indrāgnī A. Kaegi, *Der Rig-Veda*, Leipzig 1878, p. 48, supposed such a dualité-unité to be due to their (Indra's and Agni's) being the joint conquerors and victors of demons; that implies that he laid some emphasis on their co-operation.



indeed, the main point: the dual deities constitute 'des dualités-unités'. "Le dvandva subsume l'unicité du concept en ses deux espèces distinctes". "Les deux termes, étroitement associés, forment une unité conceptuelle" <sup>30</sup>. That double deities were conceived of as unities, as one single *devatā*, appears for instance from texts such as KS. 10, 2: 126, 12 "Agni-and-Soma are the brahman's own deity" (*agnīśomau vai brāhmaṇasya svā devatā*); MS. 2, 5, 5: 54, 2 "in that (he offers) a victim dedicated to Soma-and-Pūṣan he obtains and secures a full command of (the sacrificer's) physical faculties and 'virtue' by means of his own deity" (*yat saumāpauṣṇaḥ svayaivāsmāi devatayendriyaṃ vīryam āptvāvarunddhe*) <sup>31</sup>.

And another point of no less interest is, indeed, the ritual rôle and function of these double deities which at the time was very well understood by Bergaigne <sup>32</sup>: "Pour quel objet a-t-on pu composer tant d'hymnes adressés à des couples de divinités, sinon pour des offrandes présentées à ces deux divinités à la fois? Or il ne s'agit pas ici seulement de divinités mythologiquement inséparables comme les deux Aśvins, ou tout au moins mythologiquement réunies, comme Mitra et Varuṇa, mais de couples purement liturgiques: Indra et Agni, Indra et Varuṇa, Indra et Vāyu, etc. Rien ne nous prouve encore à la vérité que les deux divinités ainsi associées dans une même invocation le fussent en outre (in the period of the Ṛgveda), comme dans le rituel définitif, aux autres couples et à tous les dieux, pris ensemble ou isolément, dans une cérémonie étendue à la journée entière".

Dual deities are indeed in the ritual texts worshipped or spoken of as if they were single divine persons <sup>33</sup>. I must for a moment dwell upon this point. In various enumerations of gods occurring in ritual texts double deities make their appearance beside the more or less well-known

<sup>30</sup> E. Benveniste, *Le vocabulaire des institutions indo-européennes*, I, Paris 1969, p. 288; 287.

<sup>31</sup> KGS. 47, 11 informs us that in worshipping a god one should address him by his name, that is recite a stanza addressed to him; in the case of a double god one should use a stanza dedicated to a double deity, in the case of a plurality of gods a stanza to 'all the gods' (*nāmadheyena devatāṃ yajeta taddevatayā varcā ... agnīśomīyām aindrāgnīṃ vā dvīdevateṣu vaiśvadevīṃ bahudevateṣu*). Cf. also Bṛhad-devatā 2, 132 f.; 4, 7. See also W. Caland-V. Henry, *L'Agniśoma*, Paris 1906, p. 199 f.

<sup>32</sup> A. Bergaigne, *Histoire de la liturgie védique*, *Journ. asiatique*, 1889, I, p. 12.

<sup>33</sup> This did not however prevent an author from regarding the compounds *agnīśomau* and *mitrāvaruṇau* as denoting two deities each: TB. 1, 5, 9, 7 *tā vā etāḥ pañca devatāḥ, agnīśomāv agnir mitrāvaruṇau* (cf. the commentary: ... *upavasathīye 'hni dvāv agnīśomāv asya paśor devau, paredyuh savaneṣv agnīḥ savanīya-paśor devaḥ, ante mitrāvaruṇāv anūbandhyākhyapaśor devau*). — In this connection a point which demands some consideration is the absence, in several cases, of clear distinctions between one single deity or a group of deities. Thus, in the *tarpaṇa* formula handed down in ĀśvGS. 3, 4, 1 ff. the fields, herbs, trees, gandharvas and apsarasas were originally regarded as five divine powers, but, according to Kane (P. V. Kane, *History of dharmaśāstra*, II, Poona 1941, p. 690), as one deity (*devatā*) in modern times, the names being put in one dvandva compound.

single members of the pantheon. Thus in enumerating the animals which are to be tied to the sacrificial stake etc. with the names of the deities to which they are severally dedicated, VS. 24, 1 ff. makes (in this order) not only mention of Prajāpati, Agni, Sarasvatī, but also of the Aśvins to whom belong two goats, Soma-and-Pūṣan to whom is devoted one dark-coloured goat, Mahīdhara however explaining "of a white and dark colour" (*saumāpauṣṇaḥ : somapūṣadevatyaḥ, śyāmaḥ : śukrakṛṣṇaromājāḥ*). The next victims are a white and a black goat which are devoted to Soma and Yama; although the author uses a dvandva compound (*saurayāmau śvetaś ca kṛṣṇaś ca*), there can be no doubt that no real dual deity, conceived as a dualité-unité is meant: as pointed out by the commentaries the white animal belongs to Soma, the black to Yama<sup>34</sup>. After mentioning Vāyu, Indra, Viṣṇu, Soma (sic), Varuṇa, Savitar, and Br̥haspati, the author continues to allot to Mitrāvaruṇau she-goats (in the plural), viz. speckled ones, and those with small and with big spots. After these mention is made of the Aśvins, Rudra . . . , and Indra-and-Agni to whom is devoted a victim (singular) with a black neck, white flanks and brightly coloured thighs. And so on, and so on<sup>35</sup>. The two series of sanguinary sacrifices performed, according to the Vājasaneyī-Saṃhitā, 29, 58 f., on the second pressing-day of the Aśvamedha comprise only one single victim dedicated to a double deity, viz. as the ninth in the first series a he-goat of the saṃhita type to Indra-and-Agni<sup>36</sup>. In the same connection TS. 5, 6, 11 ff. makes mention of Prajāpati, Rudra, Varuṇa, the Sun, Mitra-and-Br̥haspati<sup>37</sup>, the Maruts . . . , Mitra, Indra-and-Br̥haspati, Indra-and-Vāyu, Mitra-and-Varuṇa, the Aśvins, the Viśve Devāḥ, Soma-and-Pūṣan, Indra-and-Varuṇa, Indra-and-Viṣṇu (twice), Viśvakarman, Dhātār, Indra-and-Pūṣan, Yama, Soma, Agni, the Vasus, the Rudras, Soma-and-Indra, Viṣṇu . . . , Indra, Agni-and-Indra, . . . Agni-and-Viṣṇu (cf. also MS. 3, 13, 3; KSAśv. 9, 1). It strikes us that the last place of the paragraphs 11–20 is always occupied by a double deity, whereas the paragraphs 15–20 do not comprise more than one of these paired gods. While sprinkling the horse in standing water (Aśvamedha) the officiant has to pronounce the formulas "Thee welcome to Prajāpati I sprinkle; thee welcome to Indra-and-Agni . . . , . . . to Vāyu, . . . to the Viśve Devāḥ, to all the gods" (VS. 22, 5)<sup>38</sup>. The motivation is furnished by ŚB. 13, 1, 2, 5 ff.: "Prajāpati is the most vigorous of the gods; it

<sup>34</sup> It is worth noticing that two animals (goats with bushy tails) are associated with Tvaṣṭar who is alone.

<sup>35</sup> See also P. E. Dumont, L'Aśvamedha, Louvain 1927, p. 138.

<sup>36</sup> The term *saṃhita* is traditionally explained as "strong-bodied" (*dṛḍhāṅgaḥ*, Mahīdhara, followed by R. T. H. Griffith, The texts of the White Yajurveda, Benares 1927, p. 301), but another explanation "un bouc au pelage de couleurs mélangées" (Dumont, o.c., p. 137) seems more probable.

<sup>37</sup> An unusual combination: *maitrābārhaspatyā dhūmratalāmās tūparāḥ* "the dusky-spotted hornless ones for Mitra-and-Br̥haspati".

<sup>38</sup> Cf. Dumont, o.c., p. 26.

is vigour he bestows on the horse; Indra-and-Agni are the most powerful (*ojasvitamau*) of the gods; it is creative and inauguratory power (*ojas*) he bestows on the horse; Vāyu is the swiftest of the gods; it is speed he bestows on it . . .". See also AVŚ. 14, 1, 54 "Let Indrāgnī, Heaven-and-Earth, Mātariśvan, Mitrāvaruṇau, Bhaga, both Aśvins, Bṛhaspati, the Maruts, brahman, Soma, cause this woman to thrive with progeny".

In the year following the conclusion of a horse sacrifice one should, in accordance with the circumstances, perform the seasonal sacrifices. "Some authorities"—probably the Vājasaneyins (cf. ŚB. 13, 5, 4, 28)—"are of the opinion that in spring a sacrifice should take place in honour of Agni; in summer, in honour of Indra; in the rains, of the Maruts or Parjanya; in autumn, of Indra-and-Varuṇa; in winter, of Indra-and-Bṛhaspati; and in the cool season, of Indra-and-Viṣṇu" (ĀpŚS. 20, 23, 11; cf. KŚS. 20, 8, 30). The above mentioned Śatapatha place does not furnish us with exactly the same enumeration of gods, but concurs with Āpastamba in associating the latter three seasons with dual divinities, and that in this order: Mitra-Varuṇa, Indra-Viṣṇu, Indra-Bṛhaspati. These sacrifices are nearly identical with those mentioned in ŚŚS. 16, 9, 26–32, except for that to be performed in winter which belongs to Bṛhaspati alone, Mitra-Varuṇa being honoured in autumn and Indra-Viṣṇu in the cool season. VaitS. 38, 8 prescribes sacrifices to Agni, Indra, the Maruts, Mitra-Varuṇa, Indra-Varuṇa, and Agni-Viṣṇu.

That these dual deities were generally speaking considered to be from the ritual point of view equivalent to single deities appears for instance also from those enumerations of gods in which they make their appearance side by side with one of their component members. Thus in VS. 7, 23 Indra is followed by Indrāgnī, Indrāvaruṇau, Indrābṛhaspatī etc. (cf. MS. 4, 6, 5: 86, 10 ff. etc.); 25, 5 Indrāgnī and Agniṣomau occur in the same context as Agni, Soma and Indra; in MS. 4, 9, 1: 121, 10 *varuṇas tvā dhṛtavrato dhūpayatu mitrāvaruṇau dhruveṇa dharmaṇā* "Varuṇa, of fixed observances, must perfume thee with incense; Mitrāvaruṇau with (their) firm fundamental order". In the litany called *prāṅgaśāstra*<sup>39</sup> the duality Indra-Vāyu comes in the second place after Vāyu alone. In a particular context the author of VS. 28, 19 states that Mitrāvaruṇau deserve to hold the office of hotar—as is well known, there normally is one such functionary—Bṛhaspati that of udgātar and the two Aśvins the *ādhvaryava*, i.e. the office of the *adhvaryu*<sup>40</sup>.

<sup>39</sup> See ch. VI.

<sup>40</sup> In ritual practice pairs of dual deities may sometimes be dealt with as parallels. For instance, BŚS. 15, 23: 227, 8 it reads in connection with the victims of an *aśva-medha*: *somāpauṣṇā dakṣiṇeṣāṃ mukhyā bhavanty aindrāpauṣṇā ultareṣāṃ*. The full-moon offering is sacred to Agni-and-Soma, the new-moon offering to Indra-and-Agni (cf. e.g. ŚB. 1, 8, 3, 1 ff.). At the third pressing, the *maitrāvaruṇa* recites a litany to Indra-and-Varuṇa, the *brāhmaṇācchaṃsin* a litany to Indra-and-Bṛhaspati, the *achāvaka* one to Indra-and Viṣṇu (AiB. 3, 50; KB. 16, 11 (16, 11, 25 ff.); GB. 2, 4, 14; PB. 8, 8, 6 f.).

The ritual significance of the phenomenon under discussion was, as already observed, understood at an early date. Bergaigne<sup>41</sup> was even strongly inclined to regard the requirements of the ritual as a matter of primary importance: "Pour quel objet a-t-on pu composer tant d'hymnes adressés à des couples de divinités, sinon pour des offrandes présentées à ces deux divinités à la fois?" Bloomfield's<sup>42</sup> view was not altogether dissimilar: "A host of hymns are addressed to pairs of divinities whose coupling is not always based upon any special natural affinity between them, but upon purely liturgic association: Indra and Agni, Indra and Varuṇa, Agni and Soma, and so on". It must however be observed, first that these combinations of gods do not always reflect the actual liturgical arrangement<sup>43</sup>, and in the second place that an adequate insight into the relations between the dual deities and the rituals in which they play a part and into their ritual function in general can only be gained by means of a thorough examination of all pertinent texts.

These considerations should not however prevent us from paying attention also to other aspects of the phenomenon, and especially to the remarkable absence of the names of a considerable number of gods in the list of the 'Götterdvandvas'. Varuṇa is, it is true, intimately associated with Mitra and connected with Indra, but other Ādityas (Aryaman, Bhaga) do not enter into any combination. Sūrya constitutes an infrequent couple with Candramas, but there is no pair with Savitar. Dumézil<sup>44</sup> was quite right in observing that one of the most remarkable points in this connection is "l'absence de toute articulation entre Indra et Rudra". Rather than searching, with the French scholar, for an explanation of this fact in the different social 'niveaux' of these gods<sup>45</sup>—"Rudra, à beaucoup d'égards, est aussi un dieu du deuxième niveau, mais... avec des plongées profondes et mystérieuses dans le troisième"—I would recall Rudra's incompatibility<sup>46</sup>.

At this point it will be well to remember that at least one scholar understood that the very nature and essence of this phenomenon, the function and the character of the Vedic dual deities, present some serious difficulties which—it may be added—should be smoothed away before chronological questions can be tackled with a reasonable chance of success. In contradistinction to those scholars who limited themselves to factual statements or comparatively simple attempts at explanation Hillebrandt<sup>47</sup>

<sup>41</sup> A. Bergaigne, *Recherches sur l'histoire de la liturgie védique*, Journ. asiatique, 1889, I, p. 12.

<sup>42</sup> M. Bloomfield, *The religion of the Veda*, New York-London 1908, p. 78.

<sup>43</sup> See also Renou, *Religions of ancient India*, p. 21.

<sup>44</sup> Dumézil, *La fonction guerrière*, p. 9.

<sup>45</sup> For my view of Dumézil's theories see e.g. *Bibliotheca orientalis*, 6, Leiden 1949, p. 124 f.; *Notes on brahman*, Utrecht 1950, p. 6 ff.; *Die Religionen Indiens*, Stuttgart 1960, p. 5.

<sup>46</sup> For the pair Somārudrā see ch. XI B.

<sup>47</sup> A. Hillebrandt, *Vedische Mythologie*, II, Breslau 1929, p. 4. On p. 267 (n. 2)



found himself confronted with serious problems: "Die Dualgottheiten führen in unsrer Auffassung der vedischen Mythologie immer noch ein sehr schattenhaftes und ausgeklügeltes Dasein; wir legen sie uns mehr zurecht, als dass wir ihre Bedeutung aus dem vedischen und rituellen Geist zu begreifen suchen. Wir können an so sicheren Beispielen, wie Dyāvāprthivī, Agniṣomau, Uṣāsānaktau, erkennen, dass Duale dieser Art in der Regel geschaffen werden, um gewisse Gegensätze in ihrer inneren Zusammengehörigkeit zu vereinen oder Dinge, die sich ergänzen, mit dem äusseren Zeichen der Einheit zu versehen, während sie in anderen Fällen nur das Ergebnis eines künstlichen Verschmelzungsprozesses sind, den Sänger oder Ritualisten vornehmen (Indra-Viṣṇu, Indra-Varuṇa). Es ist mehrfach gesagt worden, dass der Dual Mitrāvaruṇau der Ausdruck einer engen Verbindung von Firmament und Sonne sei, ein Bild des Himmelszeltes, an dem die Sonne ihre Bahnen wandle. Aber so nahe liegend uns diese Verbindung erscheinen mag, so hat doch der Inder diese beiden, so viel ich weiss, weder dichterisch noch mythologisch als zusammengehöriges Paar empfunden; einen Dual wie \*dyāvāsūryau suchen wir vergeblich".

In a discussion of the ambivalence which is so often characteristic of the ancient Indian gods <sup>48</sup>—in the case of Rudra this is an integral feature of his personality, but in other cases also a normally well-disposed divinity may take on an awful aspect (*ghorā tanū*)—Renou <sup>49</sup> was inclined to regard the association of divinities in pairs as another illustration of this tendency. In his opinion, the twofold aspect of protector and destroyer of some important deities of the post-Vedic period is comprehensible as the working of this "Vedic legacy of 'ambivalence' ". "The fact that Viṣṇu and Śiva later share in dominating the Indian religious scene may possibly have some foundation in memories of these old Vedic conceptions". It would appear to me that in some cases—for instance in that of the frequent pair Mitra-Varuṇa—this 'ambivalence' of the dual deity is, it is true, now and then undeniable, for instance when a tendency to polarization comes to the fore <sup>50</sup>—when Varuṇa is viewed as the punishing guardian and Mitra as the benevolent maintainer of the universal order—but that in other cases we could rather speak of collaboration of, or a complementary relation between, the two gods concerned.

It may be said here already <sup>51</sup> that dual divinities such as Mitrāvaruṇau essentially constitute biunities of conjoint principles which in their

the author reverts to the opposition "Zusammenfassung zweier Gegensätze oder einander ergänzender Dinge" and "priesterliche Kombination".

<sup>48</sup> For a 'positive' and a 'negative' aspect of the same deity, in casu the Mountain god of the Mundas, see Y. Ryuji, Cultural formation of the Mundas, I, Tokai 1970, p. 138 ff.

<sup>49</sup> Renou, Religions of ancient India, p. 20 f.; cf. p. 62. He was followed by A. Minard, Trois énigmes sur les Cent Chemins, II, Paris 1956, p. 10, note on § 16 a.

<sup>50</sup> Gonda, The Vedic god Mitra, esp. ch. II, and p. 113 etc.

<sup>51</sup> See ch. V etc.

functions and activities often complement each other. This prominent dualité-unité was not incorrectly characterized, not as "an aggregate or mere composition of an essence and a nature, but the one Mixta Persona of both" <sup>52</sup>. Attention was justly drawn <sup>53</sup> to R.V. 1, 176, 3 in which "Soma angeredet (ist) als derjenige, der in Indra eingeht (cf. st. 1) und ihm so im Kampfe hilft". As victorious warriors both gods are in this context identical and "nicht auseinanderzuhalten". "Die Aussage *yásya víśvāni hástayoḥ pāñca kṣitīndm vásu* 'in dessen Händen alle Güter der fünf Völker sind' (scheint) zunächst an Soma, dann aber zugleich auch an Indra gerichtet zu sein". We should, however, beware of exaggeration and generalization. A fusion such as meant in R.V. 1, 176, 3 is far from common. From passages such as TS. 6, 1, 11, 2 it is, for instance, sufficiently clear that the two components even of this frequent dvandva compound could be regarded as distinct divine individuals: "He severs it indeed when he makes what is connected with Varuṇa connected with Mitra".

Moreover, awe, the simplest form of religious feeling, is ambivalent in nature. What is holy attracts man and at the same time frightens him. "Physical shuddering, ghostly horror, fear, sudden terror, reverence, humility, adoration, profound apprehension, enthusiasm—all these lie in nuce within the awe experienced in the presence of Power. And because these attitudes show two main tendencies, one away from Power and the other towards it, we speak of the ambivalent nature of awe" <sup>54</sup>. This ambivalence is externalized so that the objects of worship and reverence are, as a rule, believed to be gracious *and* terrible, helpful and injurious, and therefore also feared and regarded with anxious terror. It is true that both aspects are not equally prominent in any Vedic god, but there is on the other hand no denying that this ambivalence is far from absent in many of them individually, even if they can, like Varuṇa <sup>55</sup>, at the same time be conceived of as members of divine pairs. "Like all the great gods, Varuṇa is an ambivalent god—and Indian thought has endeavoured to interpret this ambivalence either as a divine unity-induality or as a *coincidentia oppositorum*" <sup>56</sup>. Places are not wanting which are only intelligible if a reference to the double character of a deity is implied. See e.g. R.V. 1, 189, 7 where (in b) Agni is described as attacking men and in cd as being tractable and eager to oblige: "Agni funeste hors du cadre religieux, Agni 'domestiqué' pour le service divin" <sup>57</sup>. So

<sup>52</sup> A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Spiritual authority and temporal power in the Indian theory of government*, Amer. Or. Ser. 22, New Haven Conn. 1942 (New York 1967), p. 6, n. 6.

<sup>53</sup> Schlerath, *Das Königtum im Rīg- und Atharvaveda*, p. 33; 36; 43.

<sup>54</sup> G. van der Leeuw, *Religion in essence and manifestation*, London 1938, p. 48; cf. p. 509.

<sup>55</sup> See e.g. Keith, *Religion and philosophy*, p. 246 ff.

<sup>56</sup> M. Eliade, *The two and the one*, London 1965, p. 92.

<sup>57</sup> Renou, E.V.P. XII, p. 109.

the question arises as to why this ambivalence has in some cases contributed to, or even caused, the appearance of dual deities, even if one member of the duality is decidedly ambivalent in character, and in other cases not. And another problem that remains is: why are as a rule the two aspects of a really ambivalent character—the engaging and the frightening—not more or less systematically distributed over the two components of a Vedic dual divinity? “Agni has two forms, the defined (expressly declared) and that which is undefined (not expressly declared)” (KB. 1, 5 = 1, 5, 18 Sarma: *dvayaṃ vā agne rūpaṃ niruktaṃ cāniruktaṃ ca*).

It would appear to me that the phenomenon under examination cannot be correctly understood as long as it is onesidedly regarded as an anomaly—a departure from what is normal in Vedic religion, viz. the existence of single deities or of gods constituting more or less definite groups—; as long as it is studied as something isolated, as something separated from other forms of duality in the ancient Indian culture and literature; and as long as it is not viewed in the light of similar facts existing in other parts of the world and a comparative study thereof.

It may therefore be permitted to repeat and amplify a passage published about twenty years ago<sup>58</sup>, in which I made an attempt to demonstrate that an insight into the significance of the complementary pair, of ‘dualité-unité’ leads to a better understanding of the ancient Indo-European numerical system. The so-called ‘pair system’ is indeed a widespread phenomenon which did not fail to attract the attention of many linguists and anthropologists. The symmetry of the human body, the duality of sex, the existence, in nature and society, of various pairs of entities, events and phenomena, such as heaven and earth, day and night, land and sea, the two parties in war, games, and commercial transactions, the two sub-divisions of the tribe in many communities etc. etc. must without any doubt have impressed on mankind the fundamental importance of the ‘pair concept’. The sets of two similar or corresponding things or phenomena naturally belonging or existing together—including also the two banks of a river, the two halves of broken sticks, branches or other objects, and so on—are indeed so numerous that in various parts of the earth the pair was regarded as the fundamental unit. “Chez les Mélanésien, la parité constitue l’unité. L’un n’est qu’un élément de cette dualité, qui est formée, en sa symétrie, de cet élément, et d’un autre. . . . Et ces deux éléments ne se ramènent pas à un plus un, mais à l’autre et l’autre. L’autre est la fraction d’un ensemble . . . Un n’est

<sup>58</sup> See J. Gonda, *Reflections on the numerals ‘one’ and ‘two’ in ancient Indo-European languages*, Utrecht 1953 (with a succinct bibliography); S. Kramrisch, in Volume W. Norman Brown, New Haven Conn. 1962, p. 109. Names of peoples such as Kuru-Pañcāla will, I hope, be dealt with elsewhere.

pas une qualité d'unité, mais d'altérité" <sup>59</sup>. Where people are under the influence of this way of regarding duality, what is dual in our eyes is one in theirs. Pairs of shoes, gloves etc. are designated as one object; merchandise such as fruits or fishes are counted in pairs, and such pairs are in every case "one". This view of the fundamental significance of the pair is reflected in many languages <sup>60</sup>, among which the Indo-European Irish which, while often denominating limbs and organs which occur in pairs by means of a noun preceded by "two", indicates one hand, eye, ear etc. by means of the prefix *leth-* "half" before that noun, e.g. *súil* "eye", *dí súil* "the eyes (of the same person)", *leth-súil* "a single eye" <sup>61</sup>.

Turning to the Veda I must recall the very frequent use of the words *ubhau* "both" and *ubhaya* "both, of both kinds, in both ways" accompanying words for persons or objects which occur in pairs <sup>62</sup>. Like the Greek counterpart *ἄμφο* <sup>63</sup> they emphasize the unity of the pair, the association or joint action of the two constituting the duality. They can attract attention to the fact that both members of a pair belong together or that they are involved or concerned in what is stated in the context: AV. 7, 70, 4 *ápāñcau ta ubhau bāhū* "turned away are both thine arms"; RV. 10, 166, 3 *ātraivá vó 'pi nahyāmy ubhé drtñi iva jyāyā* "Hier binde ich euch fest wie die beiden Bogenenden mit der Sehne" <sup>64</sup>. Or they emphasize the idea of "the one as well as the other": ChU. 8, 8, 4 *ubhau lokāv āpnoti imam ca amum ca* "he obtains both worlds, both this world and that yonder". In many cases *ubhau* or *ubhaya* are a means of indicating that the complementary character of the two units is to be given special prominence: ChU. 3, 18, 2 *ity ubhayam ādiṣṭam bhavaty adhyātmaṃ cādhidevataṃ ca* "this is the twofold instruction with reference to the individual and with reference to the divinities". Very often the syntactic unit containing one of these words is also characterized by the likewise frequent repetition of the particle *ca*. In repeating this particle

<sup>59</sup> M. Leenhardt, *Languages et dialectes de l'Austro-Mélanésie*, Paris 1946, p. XXXV.

<sup>60</sup> H. Hoyer, *Linguistic and cultural change*, *Language*, 24 (1948), p. 335 ff. made some interesting observations on the use of the dual in the languages of the American Indians (for instance that of the Apaches). The dual, which is indicative of an unmistakable segmentation, and generally speaking, is much more frequent than the plural, is also used in connection with 'supranatural' powers which are conceived of as existing and acting in pairs; sometimes also in connection with lifeless things of some importance (sky, wind, corn).

<sup>61</sup> Probably under the influence of a dual organisation of society (see above p. 17) a tradition of the African Ashanti says that the first headmen of the tribe were two chiefs, who exercised a dual control. Although they were distinct persons, "their two names have been taken hitherto to represent one man only" (F. A. Fuller, *Vanished dynasty*, London 1921, p. 3).

<sup>62</sup> There is also room for the observation that the ancient Indians were to a high degree aware of symmetry.

<sup>63</sup> See Gonda, *Reflections*, p. 24.

<sup>64</sup> K. F. Geldner, *Der Rig-Veda übersetzt*, III, Cambridge Mass. 1951, p. 393.



—which in itself marks the idea of complementary connection—the author lays some emphasis on that form of association<sup>65</sup>: RV. 1, 10, 4 *bráhma ca no . . . yajñám ca vardhaya* “Promote our sacred hymn as well as (“ainsi que”<sup>66</sup>) (our) sacrifice”; 1, 24, 1 *pitáram ca drśéyam mātáram ca*. Even the numeral *dvau* “two” is often used to call attention to the existence or completeness of a pair rather than the co-existence of two distinct entities<sup>67</sup>. At RV. 6, 67, 1 the closely associated gods Varuṇa and Mitra are called *dvā janā*—*dvau* being explained as *sahitau* “united” (Sāyaṇa)—and at 5, 62, 6, where they are said to be “two kings” (*rājānā . . . dvau*), the addition of *sahá* “conjointly, in concert, in company” removes all doubts about the poet’s intention: the attribute of sovereignty is appropriated to them conjointly and they wield their power in concert. The poet of 1, 164, 20 speaks of *dvā suparṇā sayújā sákhāyā* “two birds, united (yoke-fellows) comrades”. It may even be said that Vedic authors are often inclined to arrange entities which form part of a series or an enumeration in pairs: e.g. VS. 19, 10 “Let her . . . who guards these two, tiger and wolf, lion and winged hawk, guard this man from distress”.

A tendency to distinguish two halves or more or less equal parts is obvious in places such as RV. 4, 55, 3 *ubhé yáthā no áhanī nipṛta* “en sorte que les deux parties du jour nous surveillent”<sup>68</sup>; 5, 82, 8; the poet speaking of *ródasī ubhé* means the two complementary parts of the universe (3, 34, 1; 3, 53, 12 etc.).

In illustration of what has been said in the preceding paragraph some other texts may be quoted which, whilst exhibiting various syntactic constructions (e.g. copulative asyndeton, a dvandva compound) and various words expressing duality (e.g. *dvaya* “twofold, double”; *mithuna* “pair”), will show that the Vedic authors were much inclined to dwell on or to emphasize the idea of the complementary pair, wherever this occurred<sup>69</sup>. Thus, the poet of RV. 7, 37, 3 addressing Indra says *ubhá te pūrṇā vásunā gábhastī* “deine beiden Hände sind voll von Gut”<sup>70</sup>; cf. e.g. also AVP. 20, 6, 8; KS. 20, 12: 32, 16 *ubhābhyām hastābhyām*; “both arms” occurs in 8, 61, 18 *ubhá te bāhū* and 8, 77, 11 (Indra); and in VS. 16, 14 *ubhābhyām utá te námo bāhūbhyām* “homage be paid to both thine arms”; AVŚ. 7, 70, 4; KS. 17, 11: 255, 4; both ears in RV. 8, 72, 12 *ubhá kárṇā*; the ears and the nostrils in ŚB. 3, 5, 4, 1; both tusks and both jaws in AV. 8, 3, 3 *ubhóbhayāvin úpa dhehī dāmṣṭrau . . . (á)varam páram ca* “Apply both thy tusks, thou that hast them in both sides (jaws), the lower and the upper”; the two ranges of nails: JUB. 1, 12, 2, 7 (1, 36, 7) *dvayāś ca nakhāḥ*; hair and beard: TS. 6, 1, 1, 2

<sup>65</sup> For particulars see J. Gonda, The use of the particle *ca*, in Vāk, 5, p. 37 ff.

<sup>66</sup> Renou, E.V.P. XVII, p. 6.

<sup>67</sup> Gonda, Reflections, p. 21 f.

<sup>68</sup> Renou, E.V.P. V, p. 18.

<sup>69</sup> The examples given on the following pages may be multiplied, because there is no need to aim at completeness.

<sup>70</sup> Geldner, o.c., II, p. 219.

*keśaśmaśru*; both thighs: ŚB. 11, 1, 6, 33; the two feet: PB. 16, 15, 11; the testicles: AVŚ. 6, 138, 2 *ubhé . . . āṇḍyau*; urine and semen: cf. VS. 4, 13 (see the commentaries). Mention is made, at RV. 8, 5, 29 of the two wheels of the same chariot (viz. that of the Aśvins): *ubhā cakrā hiraṇyāyā*; at RV. 2, 10, 2; 8, 33, 18 of two horses put to a chariot—cf. 6, 27, 8 *dvayāṃ agne rathīno . . . dadāti* “Agni! Paarweise (Rosse) mit Wagen . . . schenkt (mir) . . .”<sup>71</sup>—; at ŚB. 3, 7, 4, 10 of two yoke-fellows; at 7, 2, 4, 29 two oxen—cf. also RV. 10, 101, 11—; of *iṣ(am) ūrj(am)* “refreshing drink and strengthening food”: GB. 2, 1, 6 *te 'smai prītā iṣam ūrjaṃ niyacchanti* “These, being delighted, give him . . .”. The two ends of a bow fastened by a string appear in a simile at RV. 10, 166, 3; cf. VS. 16, 9; AVŚ. 1, 1, 3; KS. 17, 11: 254, 18; and see TS. 4, 5, 1, 3.

Not infrequently heaven and earth are viewed as both halves of the visible world: RV. 1, 133, 1 *ubhé punāmi ródasī ṛténa* “with the *ṛta* I (Indra is speaking) clean both (complementary) halves of the universe”; 1, 159, 4; 3, 34, 1; 3, 53, 12; 3, 54, 7; 15 etc.; 2, 27, 15 *ubhé asmai pīpayataḥ samicī divó vṛṣṭīm* “Für ihm quellen vereint beide (Welten) des Himmels Regen”<sup>72</sup>; 3, 55, 20; 7, 99, 1 *ubhé . . . rájasi*. A prayer formulated at RV. 7, 104, 23 distinguishes between worldly and heavenly distress: *prthivī naḥ pāṛthivāt pātv āmhaso 'ntárikṣaṃ divydt pātv asmān*. We can follow Sāyaṇa in explaining the words RV. 6, 19, 10 *vásva ubháyasya* as (*vasvāḥ*) *pārthivasya divyasya ca*. See also 7, 82, 4, where Geldner prefers: “feindliches und eigenes (Gut)”; 7, 83, 5. Mention is also made of two horizons: AVŚ. 13, 2, 6; 13; of sun and moon: (probably RV. 10, 88, 11); AVP. 5, 26, 6 *sūryācandramasā ubhā . . .*; 16, 4, 5; it is of course not surprising that the texts dwell also on the co-existence of day and night<sup>73</sup>: AVŚ. 8, 2, 20 *áhne ca tvā rátraye cobhābhyāṃ pári dadmasi* “both to day and to night, to them both we commit thee”; AVP. 16, 4, 10; KS. 6, 1: 50, 2 *ahorātre*; 22, 3: 76, 19; MS. 3, 6, 6: 67, 10 *ahorātre mithunaṃ samabhavatām*; 67, 12; of the two months of a season: ŚB. 8, 2, 1, 16; of the two rainy seasons: 8, 3, 2, 5; of the two winter seasons: VS. 14, 27; of the two oceans: AV. 13, 2, 10; 30<sup>74</sup>.

One should not translate, with Geldner<sup>75</sup>, the words RV. 4, 53, 6 *jágata sthātúr ubháyasya* by “von beidem, was lebendig ist und was fest steht”, but rather, with Renou<sup>76</sup>, by “de l'un et de l'autre (groupes, celui du monde) mobile (et celui du monde) immobile”<sup>77</sup>. It is interesting

<sup>71</sup> Geldner, o.c., II, p. 127.

<sup>72</sup> Geldner, o.c., I, p. 311.

<sup>73</sup> The wheel of the year has twelve spokes (the months) and seven hundred and twenty children who exist in pairs: RV. 1, 164, 11 *putrá . . . mithunāso . . . sapṭá śatāni vimśatis ca*.

<sup>74</sup> I refer to H. Lüders, Varuṇa, Göttingen 1951–59, p. 301, n. 0.

<sup>75</sup> Geldner, o.c., I, p. 484.

<sup>76</sup> Renou, E.V.P. XV, p. 21 f.

<sup>77</sup> For this “Gegensatzpaar” and parallel texts now see J. Narten, in India major, Congratulatory volume — J. Gonda, Leiden 1972, p. 163 f.

to recall the numerous polar phrases for "the world or universe", or "alle Lebewesen"<sup>78</sup>: *jagat: sthātṛ; yāt: avasita; jana divya: pāṛthivaṃ jagat* etc.; for "heaven and earth": *pṛthivī: div; kṣā: div; gmā: div; ayam: asau*.

People may be divided into those who are ill-named and those who are well-named (AV. 8, 6, 4); into those who have gained a position in the world and those who are striving to gain one (ŚB. 9, 3, 4, 14); booty into "that which is collected and that which is brought together" (RV. 10, 84, 7)<sup>79</sup>.

The two parties concerned in a conflict are in the R̥gveda often indicated by "both battle-arrays", "both parties" etc. Compare 1, 131, 3; 2, 12, 8 *yām krāṇdasī samyati vihvāyete pāre āvara ubhāyā amitrāḥ* "Whom (Indra) the two battle-arrays, coming together, call upon divergently, both foes, the farther and the nearer"; 3, 32, 14 *nāvēva yāntam ubhāye havante* "les deux (partis opposés) (l')appellent comme (on appelle) un qui va en bateau (pour qu'il vous passe)"<sup>80</sup>; 4, 24, 3 *mitho yāt tyāgām ubhāyāso āgman* "wenn die beiderseitigen Männer sich gegenseitig aufopfern"<sup>81</sup>; 5, 37, 5 *ubhé vṛtau samyati*; 6, 25, 6; 7, 82, 9; 7, 83, 6 *yuvām havanta ubhāyāsa ājīṣu*; ŚB. 1, 3, 1, 27.

Reference is made to men and animals in the fixed combination *dvipad catuṣpad* "bipeds and quadrupeds": RV. 10, 37, 11; to domestic and wild animals: ŚB. 3, 8, 4, 16; TB. 3, 9, 3, 1 f. *ubhayān ... paśūn ... grāmyāṃś cāraṇyāṃś ca*; for wild and domestic animals see also: MS. 3, 9, 7: 125, 15 *ubhaye vā etaṃ badhyamānam anubadhyante ye grāmyāḥ paśavo ye cāraṇyāḥ*. AVP. 11, 7, 4 distinguishes two species of the same genus: "I have taken the venom of both the black snake and the viper" (cf. 16, 15, 10; 16, 16, 5). JB. 2, 184 distinguishes between food that is in the village and that which is (grows) in the jungle (*ubhayam annādyam ... yac ca grāmyaṃ yac cāraṇyam*). In order to secure both kinds of food one should offer sacrificial material which comes from the village as well as that which comes from the jungle (MS. 1, 11, 8: 170, 9). For the opposition *grāmya: āraṇya* see also MS. 3, 2, 5: 21, 18; 3, 4, 3: 47, 6; 3, 4, 10: *yat payo grāmyaṃ tenānnādyam avarunddhe, yan nīvārā āraṇyaṃ tena*. Milk and rice-grains are a twofold nourishing food (ŚB. 2, 5, 3, 4 *medho vai payo medhas taṇḍulās ... ubhayaṃ medham*); KS. 32, 7: 26, 7.

A good instance of a twofold nature ascribed to one and the same entity or of two different aspects of one and the same thing occurs in ŚB. 7, 2, 3, 2 "... these bunches of (kuśa)grass (contain) both kinds

<sup>78</sup> Collected by B. Schlerath, in Indo-Ir. Journal 6 (1962), p. 108. See also J. Gonda, Stylistic repetition in the Veda, Amsterdam Acad. 1959, p. 346.

<sup>79</sup> Cf. Geldner, o.c., III, p. 267: "die leblose und lebende Beute".

<sup>80</sup> Renou, E.V.P. XVII, p. 74. "Just as in daily life men on both banks hail a boatman: 'Hé, take me across!'" (Sāyana).

<sup>81</sup> Geldner, o.c., I, p. 451.

of food, for they are both water and plants" (*ubhayam v etad annam yad darbhā āpaś ca hy etā oṣadhayaś ca*).

The frequent combination "cattle and offspring" occurs in sentences such as AiĀ. 1, 1, 11 *prajāyate prajāyā paśubhir ya evaṃ veda* "he propagates himself with offspring and with cattle who knows thus"; 2, 17, 4 *prajāpatim . . . prajāyā paśubhir anuprajāyate prajātyai*; compare e.g. also GB. 2, 1, 6 *ete ha vā etasya prajāyāḥ paśūnām īśate* "these (gods) are lords of his offspring and cattle". "That which affords (the means of) subsistence is of two kinds (*dvayam*), viz. either rooted or rootless" (ŚB. 2, 3, 1, 10).

This habit of noticing pairs of opposites, or rather complements, and of making them elements of thought and argumentation allowed the Vedic authors always to detect other complementary pairs or to make various dichotomic distinctions. ŚB. 1, 6, 3, 23 "Twofold one should know, is this, there is no third; to wit, the moist and the dry" (*dvayam . . . ārdram caiva śuśkam ca*). "There is this twofold thing (the world), viz. the eater and that which is eaten . . ." (10, 6, 2, 1 *dvayam vā idam attā caivadyam ca*). Sometimes two pairs of 'opposites' are put in relation with one another: "Now, this food, when eaten, becomes of two kinds, — that part of it which is free from death (remains) above the navel . . ., but that part of it which is mortal . . . passes beyond the navel, and, having become twofold, enters this (earth), as urine and faeces" (ŚB. 10, 1, 1, 11).

From TB. 1, 1, 6, 4 it appears that the ideas *indriyam* "a full command of one's physical and psychical faculties" and *vīryam* "manly energy, potency" and "virtue"<sup>82</sup> could combine so as to form a sort of fixed duality: *ubhayam vā etasyendriyam vīryam āpyate yo 'gnim ādhatte*. It is worth noticing that the commentary uses a dvandva compound: *agnim ādadhānasyendriyavīryasya prāptyā bhavitavyam*.

One of those places which, while referring to pairs, are at the same time quite explicit on their original and fundamental unity is ŚB. 3, 2, 4, 8: "Milk and gold are of the same origin, since both have sprung from Agni's seed" (*payas ca hiraṇyam cobhayam hy agniretasam*); cf. also 2, 1, 1, 5; 2, 3, 1, 15.

Or the twofold origin of a substance is explicitly brought to the hearer's

<sup>82</sup> For *indriyam vīryam* (translated "pouvoir indraïque") see also A. Roşu, in *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung*, 7 (Berlin 1959–1960), p. 194 ff. and chapter VIII, p. 284 f. Sometimes *indriyam* is an adjective qualifying *vīryam* (ŚB. 5, 2, 3, 8), sometimes both words constitute an asyndeton of substantives (AiB. 1, 5, 17 f.). A. Minard (*Bull. Soc. Ling.* 51 (1955), *Comptes rendus*, p. 38 f.) ventured the opinion that *indriya*, a derivative of *indra*, preserves a more original meaning of the name of that god (something like "manliness") which, he thinks, derives from *nar-* "man":? According to Caraka, *Sūtrasthāna* 26, 62 ff. *vīrya* ("potency") is that by which an action is brought about; nothing at all is achieved without 'potency'. This seems to be medical usage.



notice: AVŚ. 19, 38, 2 (=AVP. 19, 24, 3) "If, O guggulu (bdellium, a fragrant gum resin), thou art from the river, or if also from the ocean . . .".

Elsewhere an author refers to the twofold character of a person entrusted with ritual functions. The sacrificer is Indra in a twofold way, both as a kṣatriya and as a sacrificer (ŚB. 5, 3, 5, 27 *indro vai yajamāno dvayena vā eṣa indro bhavati yac ca kṣatriyo yad u ca yajamānaḥ*); similarly, 5, 4, 3, 4; 7. Another instance of a double character is provided by ŚB. 10, 1, 4, 1 where it is argued that the sacrificer, just like, in the beginning, Prajāpati<sup>83</sup>, is (composed of) both the mortal and the immortal (*ubhayam . . . martyaṃ caivāmṛtaṃ ca*). Or, "Agni is both hotar and messenger to the gods" (ŚB. 1, 4, 5, 4 *ubhayam vā etad agnir devānāṃ hotā ca dūtaś ca*). And even, "Twofold (*ubhayam*) is this—father and son (. . . *ca . . . ca*), Prajāpati and Agni, Agni and Prajāpati, Prajāpati and the gods, the gods and Prajāpati—(for) whosoever knows this" (ŚB. 6, 1, 2, 27). Compare also 7, 2, 4, 30.

Also in cases such as ŚB. 2, 3, 4, 9 an author sees his way to explaining one term as double in meaning and to interpreting the duality as complementary: "He begins to pray with VS. 3, 11 containing the word "near to" (*upa*). Now the word *upa* means this (earth), and that in a twofold way (*iyam vā upa dvayena*): for whatever is produced here, that is produced near to (i.e. upon: *upa-jan-*) this (earth): hence . . .".

Sometimes however we grope in the dark as to the poet's intentions. The *ubhé . . . āndhasī* mentioned in RV. 7, 96, 1 are variously explained: soma and surā; drink and food; soma and milk; the waters at both banks of the river<sup>84</sup>.

Special attention may be invited to the frequent occurrences of complementary groups, that is to say of groups constituting two complementary parts. A well known example of these are the two classes of beings, gods and men. At ŚB. 7, 5, 2, 27 the sun is said to be the eye of both gods and men (*ubhayeṣāṃ haitad devamānuṣyāṇāṃ cakṣuḥ*); 6, 3, 1, 17 "fame among both gods and men". In ŚB. 11, 5, 4, 17 it is handed down that "these creatures are of two kinds, divine and human". The latter are born from the womb and the former, "being the metres (i.e. the verses of scripture) from the mouth . . .". Compare also AiB. 5, 28, 3 *ubhayān . . . devamānuṣyān*; JUB. 3, 5, 8, 11 (3, 27, 11) "therefore the 'true' ones, both gods and men, bring food for thee"; ŚB. 2, 3, 4, 4; 13, 4, 2, 16. When, at RV. 8, 39, 1 Agni is said to perform the duty of an intermediary between those engaged on the sacrificial place and its heavenly complement (viz. the collective body of the gods) (*ubhé . . . vidāthe*)<sup>85</sup> this no doubt means "between the sphere of the gods and that

<sup>83</sup> See further on, p. 32 f.

<sup>84</sup> For particulars see Geldner, o.c., II, p. 266; Renou, E.V.P. XV, p. 135; H. D. Velankar, Rgveda maṇḍala VII, Bombay 1963, p. 209.

<sup>85</sup> "zwischen den beiden gelehrten Ständen" (Geldner, o.c., II, p. 352); "zwischen beiden Verteilungen (. . . Himmel und Erde)" (P. Thieme, Untersuchungen zur

of men". After differentiating between gods and men the author of ŚB. 1, 3, 1, 3 continues: "He thereby rinses them (the spoons) with two substances (*dvayenaiva*) for the gods . . . , viz. with water and brahman, for the water is (represented by) the sacrificial grass, and brahman (by) the sacrificial formula, and with one for men, that is with water alone: and thus this takes place separately". Yet these two groups constitute a unity, they are of the same origin, they are one in the creator god: ŚB. 6, 8, 1, 4 *ubhayam v etat prajāpatiḥ yac ca devā yac ca manuṣyāḥ* "Prajāpati is both gods and men". The same brāhmaṇa makes at 13, 4, 2, 16 mention of four kinds of human guardians of the four regions and of four groups of divine guardians, to wit the Āpyas, Sādhyas, Anvādhyas and Maruts, adding that "both of these, gods and men, are of one mind and fulfil their duties for a year". The words *jānāsī ubhé* at ṚV. 2, 2, 4 were rightly explained as "l'une et l'autre générations (la divine et l'humaine)"<sup>86</sup>. Compare also VS. 8, 3 "Never art thou neglectful. Thou guardest both races (*ubhé jānmanī: devamanuṣyasambandhinī*, comm.) with thy care". Cf. also AV. 12, 2, 44.

One of the doctrines taught by the authorities to whom we owe the brāhmaṇas consists of the belief that the east is the quarter of the gods (e.g. ŚB. 3, 1, 1, 2; 6 etc.), the north the quarter of men (3, 1, 1, 2; 7) and "the north-east the region of both gods and men" (ŚB. 6, 4, 4, 22; 6, 6, 2, 3; 13, 4, 2, 15). It is perfectly clear that this intermediate region was not regarded as being the result of an addition of two other quarters of the universe, but rather as something related to, or participating in, both of them, and hence as 'belonging to' both gods and men. See also TS. 6, 1, 4, 3; 6, 4, 5, 4.

Besides gods and men there are such complementary pairs as gods and brahmanas: ŚB. 3, 3, 4, 20; cf. also 2, 2, 2, 6 "there are two kinds of gods, the gods and the learned brahmanas"; as that which breathes and does not breathe (10, 4, 2, 2) which after gods and men occurs as a specification of "all existing things" (*sarvāṇi bhūtāni*).

Mention has already been made of the grouping "men and animals": cf. also ŚB. 2, 4, 3, 11 *yāś ca manuṣyāḥ . . . yāś ca paśavaḥ*. There are two kinds of animals, the two-footed and the four-footed (ŚB. 7, 5, 2, 35). At 2, 5, 2, 3; 2, 6, 2, 2 two classes of creatures are distinguished, those that were born and those that were unborn. There are divine and human waters (11, 5, 9, 8).

Quite naturally a distinction was made between "enemies of both sorts", viz. those of Āryan descent and foreign antagonists: ṚV. 6, 19, 13

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Wortkunde und Auslegung des Rigveda, Halle S. 1949, p. 43); "entre les deux masses-de-distribution (des êtres)" (Renou, E.V.P. XIII, p. 70); for other explanations see M. Mayrhofer, Kurzgefasstes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen, III, Heidelberg 1964-, p. 209.

<sup>86</sup> Renou, E.V.P. XII, p. 42. For ṚV. 1, 147, 1 cf. ibidem, p. 38.

*vṛtrāṇy ubháyāni*: cf. 6, 19, 8 *jāmiṃr ájāmīn*; 6, 33, 3 *ubháyāṃ amitrān dāsā vṛtrāṇy áryā ca*.

Similar pairs of collectives are for instance "The year has two kinds of days, viz. the cold ones on the one hand and the hot ones on the other" (GB. 2, 6, 6 *dvayāny ahāni bhavanti śītāny anyāny uṣṇāny anyāni*). There are two kinds of soma, the pure and the mixed (RV. 8, 101, 10). "It is a dark grey one; for the grey has two kinds of hair, the white and the black, and two make a productive pair<sup>87</sup>. That is a manifestation of Prajāpati" (ŚB. 6, 2, 2, 2 *dvayāni vai śyāmasya lomāni śuklāni ca kṛṣṇāni ca dvandvaṃ mīlhunaṃ prajānanaṃ. tad asya prājapatyaṃ rūpam*). TS. 7, 5, 1, 1 deals with cows with and cows without horns. "There are two kinds of (objects) coming from trees, viz. the wheels of chariots and waggons, for both of these he . . . ensures safety" (ŚB. 5, 4, 3, 16). "There are two kinds of phālguna plants", it is stated in ŚB. 4, 5, 10, 2, "the red-flowering and the brown-flowering. The latter may be pressed, because they are akin to the soma plant". There are two kinds of herbs, one which is characterized by the fact that its fruit results from blossom, and the other which produces fruit from its roots (TB. 3, 8, 17, 4 *dvayyo vā oṣadhayaḥ, puṣpebhyo 'nyāḥ phalaṃ grhṇanti, mūlebhya 'nyāḥ*). "The asuras then defiled, partly by magic, partly by poison, both kinds of plants—those on which men and beasts subsist . . ." (ŚB. 2, 4, 3, 2 *ubhayīr oṣadhīr yās ca manuṣyā upajīvanti yās ca paśavaḥ*; cf. 12).

As to RV. 6, 1, 5 *rāya ubháyāso jánānām* see the commentary ascribed to Sāyaṇa on TB. 3, 6, 10, 2 (p. 407): "celestial and mundane possessions", but in his RV. commentary the same authority wavers between *paśvapaśurūpāni* and *ubhayavidhāni dhanāni gavādīni*; Geldner<sup>88</sup>: "Eher die eigenen und die der Feinde, vgl. 7, 83, 5"; and Renou<sup>89</sup>: "On peut penser aussi aux biens matériels et spirituels". In AV. 18, 4, 39 (funeral stanzas) "let the heavenly waters gratify both sides" (*āpo devīr ubháyāṃs tarpayantu*) the Fathers and their living descendents are meant. See also 1, 91, 23; 1, 122, 14; 4, 39, 5; 4, 44, 6 and 1, 26, 9; VS. 34, 23. The tendency to distinguish between two species of the same genus prompted some poet to speak, not only of the witchcrafts of the Aṅgirasas and those of the asuras, but also of "the witchcrafts which are self-made and those which are produced by others . . ." (AV. 8, 5, 9).

The occurrence of, and conscious distinction between, these and other pairs of collectives and general concepts no doubt facilitated the composition of lists such as AiB. 5, 25, 18 ff. "the unattained and the unattainable" (*anāptā cānāpyā ca*), "the unattackable and the irresistible" (*anādhṛṣyā cāpratidhṛṣyā ca*); "that which is unprecedented and has no rival"

<sup>87</sup> For the power of a pair see also ŚB. 2, 5, 2, 16. For performing a ritual act "twofold, even while doing it in one" ibidem, 3, 5, 2, 10.

<sup>88</sup> Geldner, o.e., II, p. 92.

<sup>89</sup> Renou, o.e., XIII, p. 120.

(*apūrvā cābhrātrvyā ca*) and other such 'pairs of oppositions' which came to be highly characteristic of the Indian way of thinking.

Passing mention may also be made of references to pairs of demons or other powers. Thus Agni is at RV. 10, 87, 24 requested to burn to death the demoniac pairs of evil-doers and the pairs of goblins (*prāty agne mithundā dāha yātudhānā kimīdīnā*). "Goblins of various kinds are usually conceived as forming an indefinite crowd, but are sometimes thought of as pairs"<sup>90</sup>. See also 7, 104, 23. It is difficult to suppress the information that according to Margaret Mead<sup>91</sup> with the Mountain Arapesh (a Papuan tribe) for whom magic consists primarily in the use of spells, spells are pairs of names and repetitive verbal statements.

It is further interesting to notice that—likewise in harmony with the tendency to dichotomy—the gods are in different ways divided into two groups or classes. Thus the author of TS. 6, 4, 6, 2 f. speaks of "both (sets of) gods, the lower and the higher" (*devair avaraiḥ paraiś ca*). ŚB. 13, 2, 11, 2 makes a distinction between gods who have the *svāhā*-call before their names and other gods who have it after their names ("Hail to the gods": *svāhā devebhyah* or "to the gods hail": *devebhyah svāhā*). According to GB. 2, 1, 6 "The gods of two kinds come to the abode of the sacrificer—the one soma-drinkers and the other non-soma-drinkers; the one eaters of offered food and the other non-eaters of offered food". In a similar way the author of AiB. 7, 19, 1 had already spoken of those who eat oblations and those who do not eat oblations (*hūtādaś cāhūtādaś ca*). See also TS. 5, 4, 5, 1 f. TS. 2, 6, 9, 8 distinguishes between gods "to whom he sacrifices" and gods "to whom he does not sacrifice"; 6, 4, 6, 3 between lower and higher gods. Cf. also AV. 7, 109, 2; VS. 29, 27.

The opposite and complementary groups of devas and asuras are too well known to be in need of a long comment<sup>92</sup>. See e.g. AiB. 2, 15, 4 *ubhaye devāsura yajñam upāvasan*. Yet it is interesting to recall that they both sprang from Prajāpati (ŚB. 1, 2, 4, 8; 1, 2, 5, 1; 1, 5, 3, 2; 1, 5, 4, 6; 1, 7, 2, 22; 1, 9, 2, 34 etc. etc.) and consequently were, so to say, groups of 'brothers'. Notwithstanding this brotherhood or 'consubstantiality'<sup>93</sup> the opposition and conflicts between devas and asuras are an ever returning theme of the Vedic authors. Thus ŚB. 5, 1, 1, 1 f. it reads: "Once upon a time the gods and the asuras, both of them sprung from Prajāpati, competed with one another. And the asuras, even through arrogance (*atimānenaiva*) . . . went on offering into their own mouths. They came to naught, even through arrogance. . . . But the gods went on

<sup>90</sup> Macdonell, o.c., p. 164.

<sup>91</sup> M. Mead, in Anthropol. Papers Amer. Mus. of Nat. Hist., 37, p. 343.

<sup>92</sup> See e.g. J. Gonda, *Die Religionen Indiens*, I, Stuttgart 1960, p. 75 f. and N. J. Shende, in *Journal Univ. Bombay*, 27, 2, p. 70 ff.

<sup>93</sup> Eliade, *The two and the one*, p. 89. Compare also A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Angel and Titan*, in *J. Am. Or. Soc.* 55 (1935), p. 373 ff. and *The darker side of dawn*, in *Smithsonian Misc. Coll.* 94, 1, Washington 1935.



making offering unto one another . . . Thus the sacrifice became theirs . . .". Entering upon their father's inheritance, viz. the two half-moons, the gods took possession of the waxing, the asuras of the waning half of that luminary (1, 7, 2, 22; compare 2, 1, 3, 1). In ŚB. 3, 2, 1, 18 the gods came, on the same occasion, in for 'mind' (*manas*) and the asuras for speech (*vāc*); the gods for heaven, the asuras for the earth . . . The descriptions of their mutual hostilities resemble accounts of the wars and intrigues of kings and noblemen. At 1, 4, 1, 34 it is related that, while the gods and the asuras were contending for superiority, the *gāyatrī*, which was the same as the earth, lay between them. "Now both of them knew that whichever she would side with, they would be victorious and the others would be defeated. Both parties then invited her secretly to come to them . . .". Cf. also 3, 5, 1, 21 etc. According to ŚB. 9, 5, 1, 15 f. the asuras had relinquished conformity with reality and truth and had embraced what is opposed to order-and-truth. (. . . *utsṛjya satyam anṛtam anvālapsanta*). "The gods spoke nothing but (*sarvam*) *satyam*, the asuras nothing but (*sarvam*) *anṛtam*". In JB. 2, 150 it is stated that in the beginning there were two kinds of descendants of Prajāpati, the gods and the asuras (*dvayā u ha vā agre prājāpatyā āsur devāś caivāsuraś ca*). Then the gods were, so to say, more intent on doing the will (of Prajāpati), the asuras were less intent on doing it. Prajāpati wished: "May the gods prosper and the asuras perish (*devā eva syuh, parāsurā bhaveyuh*) . . .". Here we have an initial stage of a religious dualism, an opposition and even contest between representatives of good and evil, an opposition which, as is well known, was at the very basis of Zarathustra's religious system where it was developed with great consistency: at the beginning of creation there were twin spirits, the sons of Ahura Mazda who chose between good and evil. The above Jaiminīya passage should be read in connection with PB. 18, 1, 2: "The gods and the asuras were the two kinds of sons of Prajāpati (*dvayāḥ putrāḥ*). The asuras were more numerous and stronger (*bhūyāṃso balīyāṃsah*), the gods were less (in number and strength)".

The tendency under discussion is not alien to the thought of the Vedic authors when they combine gods and other beings of high ritual or spiritual standing. The words *ubhāyasya jantóḥ* in RV. 7, 9, 1 c are in the following quarter of the stanza explained: *devésu . . . sukt̥su*, i.e. "the gods and those who have accumulated religious merits"; Agni as the sun awakens both groups or parties which, in mutual interdependence and in conjunction with each other, keep the daily rituals going and thereby guarantee, with Agni as an intermediary, that the gods will receive the oblations and men goods to live upon. Compare 2, 6, 7; 6, 15, 9 and 4, 2, 2. For a similar place see also RV. 1, 60, 2. The divinity of learned brahmanas is often asserted in the *brāhmaṇas*. "Verily, there are two kinds of gods (ŚB. 2, 2, 2, 6 *dvayā vai devāḥ*), for, indeed the gods are the gods, and the brahmanas who have studied and teach sacred lore are the human gods. The sacrifice

of these is divided into two kinds (*dvedhā vibhakta eva*): oblations are the sacrifice to the gods and gifts to the priests that to the human gods, the brahmins . . . Both these kinds of gods (*ubhaye devāḥ*), when gratified, place him in a state of bliss". Compare also *ibidem*, 2, 4, 3, 14; 4, 3, 4, 4.

The tendency to distinguish complementary pairs is so strong that sometimes a passage impresses us as stereotyped and deficient in clearness. Thus in explaining the words RV. 9, 81, 2 *devānām ubhāyasya jānmanah* Geldner<sup>94</sup> hesitated between "die himmlischen und irdischen Götter" or "die Götter und Menschen". Renou's<sup>95</sup> interpretation "la double génération des dieux (et des humains)" is preferable (cf., in pada d, *amūta itās ca*). As to 1, 31, 7 *ubhāyāya jānmane* see Geldner<sup>96</sup>: "Götter und Menschen oder Sänger und Opferherren", and Renou<sup>97</sup>: "l'une et l'autre race (la divine et l'humaine)". See also 5, 59, 7; 10, 92, 2. At 1, 189, 7 *tvām tām agna ubhāyān vi vidvān vēṣi* . . . Renou<sup>98</sup> is probably right in translating "O Agni, toi qui connais, les distinguant, ces deux (espèces d'êtres), les bons et les méchants, tu attaques . . .".

How fundamental a concept this 'dualité unité'<sup>99</sup> can be, not only in a numerical system but also in a people's view of life and the world, may be illustrated by a reference to the Highest Being(s) of the Indonesian people of the Dyaks (Borneo). Their two highest deities are conceived of not only as a duality but also as a unity. "Auf dem Vordergrund aller religiösen Handlungen steht diese Einheit der Zweiheit. Es ist immer die totale (notice this adjective!) Gottheit, die angerufen wird<sup>100</sup> und die am Geschehen in ihren Repräsentanten, oder auch als totale Gottheit selbst, aktiv teilnimmt. Die Schöpfungsmythe zeigt uns diese Einheit sehr deutlich. Sie wird uns auch demonstriert durch ihren Namen. Es wird unterschieden zwischen den beiden Namen der Höchsten Gottheiten —Mahatala und Djata, mit ihren eigenen Wohngebieten in der Oberwelt und Unterwelt—, zwischen dem Nashornvogel (Oberwelt) und der Wasserschlange (Unterwelt). Treten die beiden Gottheiten aber bei einer religiösen Handlung auf, dann sagt man . . . 'die Wasserschlange, die eine Einheit bildet mit dem Nashornvogel, die Wasserschlange, die auch der Nashornvogel ist'. Die Handlung wird also ausgeführt durch die Schlange-

<sup>94</sup> Geldner, o.c., III, p. 74.

<sup>95</sup> Renou, E.V.P. IX, p. 28; cf. p. 90.

<sup>96</sup> Geldner, o.c., I, p. 34.

<sup>97</sup> Renou, E.V.P. XII, p. 5.

<sup>98</sup> Renou, E.V.P. XII, p. 40.

<sup>99</sup> See also L. Lévy-Brühl, *Les fonctions mentales dans les sociétés inférieures*, Paris 1928, p. 219 f.

<sup>100</sup> Remember the above texts exhibiting dual deities invoked as if they were single gods.

Vogelgottheit. Auch der andere Name . . . 'Fürst der Sonne, König des Mondes' betont diesen dualistischen Monismus, der nun nicht nur bezeichnend ist für die Gottesidee, sondern für die ganze Kultur der Dajak. Überall konstatieren wir diese Zweiheit, die aufgehoben ist in der Einheit; überall finden wir in der ganzen Kultur und Religion die gleiche Ambivalenz zurück. Die totale Gottheit ist Wasserschlange und Nashornvogel, Oberwelt und Unterwelt, Mann und Frau, Sonne und Mond, Heilige Lanze und Heiliges Gewebe, Gut und Böse, Leben und Tod, Krieg und Friede, Heil und Unheil usw. Die gleiche Ambivalenz finden wir im Kosmos, der eine Einheit bildet in der Zweiheit: Sonne und Mond, Oberwelt und Unterwelt, Westen und Osten, Oberlauf und Unterlauf des Flusses. Wir finden sie auch im religiösen Leben: Gute Geister und Böse Geister, Leben und Tod; wir finden sie auch im sozialen Leben: Nashornvogelmenschen und Wasserschlangensmenschen (diese Unterscheidung wird vor allem auch bei den religiösen Handlungen gemacht, die von der ganzen Gemeinschaft ausgeführt werden. Die Gemeinschaft verteilt sich in die beiden Gruppen: Nashornvogel und Wasserschlange und sie tritt auf als Einheit . . . : 'die Wasserschlange, die auch der Nashornvogel ist'). Schliesslich finden wir sie auch im wirtschaftlichen Leben: Arbeitsverteilung und Güter der Oberwelt und Unterwelt, die in ihrer Einheit den Reichtum und Besitz des Menschen bilden. Die Quellen und die ganze Kultur betonen und unterstreichen diese Einheit. Es ist immer die totale-ambivalente Gottheit, die handelnd auftritt und in unserer Darstellung werden wir dann auch vornehmlich von ihr zu sprechen haben . . ." <sup>101</sup>. It seems worth adding some sentences from the same book to this long quotation: "Das heilige Volk . . . findet seine Begründung in der totalen Gottheit. Es ist das Spiegelbild dieser ambivalenten und bisexuellen Gottheit. . . . In seiner Totalität ist das heilige Volk die heilige, totale und ambivalente Gottheit" <sup>102</sup>. "Wenn die grossen religiös-kosmischen Handlungen ausgeführt werden müssen . . ., stellt der Priester in seiner Person und mit seiner Gruppe die Totalität der beiden Höchsten Gottheiten und des Stammes dar". The inhabitants of the neighbouring villages are invited as guests constituting two different groups (again called "Nashornvogel" and "Wasserschlange"). "Im heiligen Dienst treten sie als die totale Gemeinschaft und Gottheit auf. . . . Die totale Gemeinschaft hat sich versammelt und die Priester beschreiben in ihren Gesängen diese Zusammenkunft als das Auftauchen der Wasserschlange und das Sich-Herabneigen des Mahatala (oder Nashornvogel). Die Gruppen bilden eine Einheit und auch die Gottheiten treten als Totalität auf. Die Vereinigung ist nicht nur eine religiöse und soziale, sondern auch eine sexuelle. Die sexuelle Vereinigung kommt zum Ausdruck

<sup>101</sup> H. Schärer, Die Gottesidee der Ngadju Dajak in Süd-Borneo, Thesis Leiden 1946, p. 21 f.

<sup>102</sup> Schärer, o.c., p. 67; quoted on p. 175.

in dem massal ausgeführten Geschlechtsverkehr oder in der sakralen Prostitution der Priester und Priesterinnen . . ." <sup>103</sup>.

Other particulars concerning this conception of the Highest Being can be omitted, but it is perfectly evident that the 'Weltanschauung' of this Borneo people constitutes an extreme case of the tendency under discussion. The above quotations show with all clearness desirable that it is perfectly possible to conceive of the Highest Being, all its manifestations, nature, society and everything important as dual in character, as a 'dualité unité'.

A 'dualistic' idea of the Highest Being is also in other parts of the world <sup>104</sup> far from rare. "Diese braucht nicht . . . als Aufspaltung <sup>105</sup> verstanden zu werden. Die Vugusu (Bantukavirondo) nennen ihre höchste Gottheit Wele. Sie trägt die Züge des . . . Hochgottes und wird daher mit dem Prädikat *omuwanga* "weiss" versehen. Neben ihr steht Wele *gumali* "der schwarze Gott", der Gott des Unheils, der allerdings dem guten, weissen Gott an Kraft nachsteht. Wagner <sup>106</sup> ist bei der Untersuchung dieser Religionsverhältnisse zu der Meinung gekommen, dass diese beiden Gottheiten das Ende einer parallelen Entwicklung darstellen. Der gute Gott ist die Spitze in der Hierarchie der guten, der böse Gott die Spitze in der Hierarchie der bösen Geisten" <sup>107</sup>. This explanation gains in probability because dualism is a very prominent principle in the social life and view of the world of many African peoples <sup>108</sup>.

A largely insoluble problem relates to the possibility of combination of local, regional or tribal deities in a group. To what extent did the ancestors of Vedic men display ingenuity in integrating more or less disparate ideas of various origin and reconciling, if not conflicting, then different beliefs and views of divine figures and functions adhered to in different milieus? A general discussion of this problem would lead me too far afield, but so much is certain that no cases of 'fusion' and duality based on geographical factors such as are so characteristic of ancient

<sup>103</sup> Schärer, o.c., p. 175 f.

<sup>104</sup> Other instances will be mentioned further on.

<sup>105</sup> According to D. Westermann, So, der Gewittergott der Ewe, in Zs. für Ethnologie, 70 (1938), p. 153 the thunder-god So of the Ewe in Africa has split himself into a pair of deities, the male component of which is called Sogblā, the female Sodza. They manifest themselves in the vehement and in the gentle thunder. Sogblā is a denizen of heavens, from where he throws his weapons upon the earth. Gaining more importance his female counterpart is responsible for rain and fertility. Such a 'splitting up' may in the course of time give rise to the existence of two separate gods with different functions (E. Dammann, Die Religionen Afrikas, Stuttgart 1963, p. 25). Compare also G. Widengren, Hochgottglaube im alten Iran, Uppsala-Leipzig 1938, p. 70 ff.

<sup>106</sup> G. Wagner, Die Religion der Bantu von Kavirondo, in Zs. für Ethnologie, 71 (1939), p. 218.

<sup>107</sup> Dammann, o.c., p. 25 f.

<sup>108</sup> M. D. W. Jeffreys, Dual organization in Africa, in African studies, 5 (Johannis-burg 1946), p. 82 ff.



Egypt are, as far as I am able to see, found actually to occur in ancient India. "The Egyptians possessed a perfect passion for dualism and divided everything—heaven, earth, the kingdom, the province and temples, etc. They regarded the whole world as, in principle, divided, the representative gods of the two hemispheres being usually Horus and Set"<sup>109</sup>. As king of Upper and Lower Egypt the pharao, "the lord of the two lands" personated Set, the god of the former and Horus, the god of the latter part of the thoroughly dual country. His titles likewise emphasized his double authority. He wore a double crown. On his forehead blazed a jeweled tiara bearing the symbols of the goddess of the delta and of the divine lady of the south. The question whether there was anything analogous in Vedic India was implicitly raised by Hillebrandt<sup>110</sup> who expressed the opinion that "die Zusammensetzung Indra-Varuṇa nicht wie die der Ásvins oder Mitra-Varuṇa's ursprünglichen (i.e. an 'inherited') Charakter (hat), sondern die Verbindung zweier aus ganz verschiedenen Kreisen stammender Götter (bedeutet), die nun von den Theologen verschmolzen wurden". The next sentence "Die Gegensätze treten hier noch hervor" is obviously intended to adduce an argument for this thesis. I for one have not found any datum from which to draw the inference that geographical distinctions ("verschiedene Kreise") have been a notable factor in the process. I have found only one interesting place which should not be omitted here. It regards Bhava and Śarva (AV. 4, 28, 7 etc.): some texts of the Śaunakiya Atharvaveda (cf. e.g. 6, 93, 2; 15, 5, 2) seem to take them to be separate gods, but the author of 11, 2 (AVP. 16, 105, 6) invokes them together as forms of Rudra (see also AVŚ. 11, 2, 16; AVP. 20, 56, 5; 20, 58, 4) and the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa (1, 7, 3, 8) assures us that this god was given the former name among the Bāhikas of the west and the latter among the eastern people. The dvandva compound *bhavāśarvau* occurs also AVŚ. 4, 28, 1; 7 "I praise Bhava-and-Śarva"; 10, 1, 23 etc.

In view of these facts another question may be raised, viz. whether there are any possibilities in favour of the hypothesis that a dual organization of the ancient Indian social or political<sup>111</sup> units has influenced, promoted, or even led to, the belief in double deities. This question is no doubt legitimate, because a dual organization not infrequently functions

<sup>109</sup> Van der Leeuw, o.c., p. 90.

<sup>110</sup> A. Hillebrandt, *Lieder des Rgveda*, Göttingen-Leipzig 1913, p. 87.

<sup>111</sup> A dual (social) organization, i.e. a social division into two complementary parts (moieties). Dual organization, commonly found in Melanesia, Australia, N. and S. America occurs also in tribal India. See G. J. Held, *The Mahābhārata*. An ethnological study, Thesis Leiden 1935, p. 64 ff.; J. H. Hutton, *The Angani Nagas*, Oxford 1921, Index, p. 471. See e.g. R. H. Lowie, *Social organization*, New York 1948, esp. p. 240 ff.; C. Lévi-Strauss, *Les organisations dualistes existentielles?*, *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, 112 (The Hague 1956), p. 99 ff.; Jeffreys, *Dual organization in Africa*, p. 82 ff. and 157 ff. For the possibility of political alliances see Griswold, o.c., p. 198, n. 2.

in religious ceremonies. Moreover, with this social division—which is a recurring institution that has arisen in different places—is often associated a wider dualism relating natural phenomena and ritual customs<sup>112</sup> to the moieties; various ‘antitheses’ such as male: female, sun: moon, war: peace, water: land, east: west, are sometimes linked with it; and cases are not absent in which the moieties bear the names of two culture heroes, to whom are ascribed some characteristics of the respective groups. The only answer I can give to the above question is that I have found no indication whatever of socio-political factors of this kind which may have contributed to the creation of the divine figures to which this book is devoted. This factor may have existed, but if it has left traces, these have escaped my attention. On the other hand, the typically Vedic social and political relations between the two highest classes of society, brahmans and kṣatriyas, cannot be left out of consideration. We shall have to revert to them.

I am convinced that the main roots of the phenomenon under discussion lie elsewhere. There are in the religious literatures of the ancient Indo-European peoples many passages in which the ideas of duality, of two being, or forming unity, or of a unity being achieved by combining or putting two together are more or less evidently expressed. Confining myself to ancient India I draw attention to the famous hymn of creation, RV. 10, 129, 1<sup>113</sup> in which the origin of the universe is explained as the evolution of *asat* and *sat*, terms which to a certain extent correspond to our “chaos” and “cosmos”. As long as this pair of opposite and other dualities, space and the vault of heaven, death and continuation of life did not exist and day and night could not be distinguished, the one, which is their common origin and in which there is no duality or differentiation whatever, breathed by its own nature. Prajāpati, who is explicitly said to have, ‘in the beginning’, existed alone (ŚB. 2, 2, 4, 1 *prajāpatir ha vā idam agra eka evāsa*) and to embrace all things (RV. 10, 121, 10 *prajāpate nā tvād etāny anyo viśvā jātāni pāri tā babhūva*), is elsewhere described as being both gods and men (ŚB. 6, 8, 1, 4 *ubhayam v etat prajāpatir yac ca devā yac ca manuṣyāḥ*), as both the defined and the undefined, the limited and the unlimited (7, 2, 4, 30 *ubhayam v etat prajāpatir niruktaś cāniruktaś ca*<sup>114</sup> *parimitaś cāparimitaś ca*); one half of him is mortal, the other ‘immortal’ (10, 1, 3, 2 *ardham eva martyam āsīd ardham amṛtam*). In the same passage it is added that Prajāpati “became twofold, viz. clay and water” (10, 1, 3, 2 *dvayaṃ bhūtvā mṛc*

<sup>112</sup> See e.g. W. Müller, in Krickeberg (see n. 148), p. 215; Jeffreys, o.c., p. 97 f.

<sup>113</sup> For a study of this text see J. Gonda, *De kosmogonie van Rgveda 10, 129* (with a bibliography and an English translation of the hymn), in *Tijdschrift voor Filosofie*, 28 (Louvain 1966), p. 670 ff. (Correct, on p. 695, st. 2, 1. 2 the: that; st. 3, 1. 4 eternal: internal; p. 696, st. 5, 1. 4 greatness: greatnesses).

<sup>114</sup> For these concepts see L. Renou and L. Silburn, *Nirukta and anirukta in Vedic*, in *Sarūpa-bhāratī* (L. Sarup Mem. Vol.), Hoshiarpur 1954, p. 68 ff.

*cāpaś ca*). Cf. 7, 4, 2, 21; 7, 5, 1, 31. According to 10, 1, 3, 2 one half of Prajāpati was mortal and the other half free from death. With that part which was mortal he was afraid of death, and, "being afraid, he became twofold, clay and water, and entered the earth" (11, 1, 3, 2). When the same primeval god had no delight because he was alone, he desired a second and was as large as a man and a woman in close embrace (BĀU. 1, 4, 3; cf. 17; see further on).

These dualities, this twofold character of fundamental ideas, were an important element of Vedic thought. Not infrequently the twofold character of an entity, or a twofold presence of objects etc. which are not regarded as incongruous, are made an argument: ŚB. 6, 4, 1, 3 "with two (viz.) formulas he digs: two-footed is the sacrificer . . . and twofold is also that form of his (since it consists of) clay and water". Ibidem, 12 "And, again, (he does so) because that form of theirs is twofold, (there being) a black antelope skin and a lotus-leaf". On the other hand, actual duality is not rarely explained as due to, or originating in, original or primeval unity. At BĀU. 1, 4, 1 ff. it reads—again in connection with the great figure of the primeval Person—: "In the beginning this (world) was only the Self (*ātmā*), in the form of a person. . . . He desired a second. He was as large as a man and a woman in close embrace. He caused himself to fall into two parts (*dvedhā*). From that arose husband and wife. Therefore, as Yājñavalkya used to say, this (body) is one half of oneself, like one of the two halves of a split pea (or something similar) . . .". And ibidem, 17 "In the beginning this (world) was just the Self (*ātmā*), one only. It (he) desired, 'I would that I had a wife, then I would procreate . . . So long as one does not obtain one of these, one thinks oneself to be incomplete'".

The question might arise as to whether the widespread, though different, opinions of twins have substantially contributed to the belief in, and worship of, double deities. As is well known the birth of twins was very often "regarded as something so uncommon that some explanation of a divine character quite outside the action of mortal man, was the only possible one to account for the phenomenon"<sup>115</sup>. It no doubt was not only the exceptional occurrence of such a birth<sup>116</sup> which led so-called

<sup>115</sup> N. M. Penzer, *Poison-damsels*, London 1952, p. 93.

<sup>116</sup> In the Atharvaveda the hymn 3, 28 Ś. — which is not found in the Paippalāda recension — is to avert the ill omen of, or ill-luck caused by, a twinning animal. For this text see M. Bloomfield, *Hymns of the Atharvaveda*, Oxford 1897, p. 145 f.; 359 f.; W. D. Whitney—Ch. R. Lanman, *Atharvaveda Samhitā*, Cambridge Mass. 1905, p. 134 f.; M. Bloomfield, *The Atharvaveda and Gopatha-Brāhmaṇa*, Strassburg 1899, p. 77; R. Harris, *Boanerges*, Cambridge 1913, p. 183 f. It is prescribed by Kausika in the chapters of portents, in the ceremonies of expiation (*śānti*) for the birth of twins from kine, mares, asses, and human beings, which appears to

primitive men to regard twins as uncanny <sup>117</sup>, but also their sometimes striking mutual affection, their inseparability, a parallelism in the course of their lives, their actually or supposedly simultaneous death, and so on. Many sets of twins survive, for instance, in various mythologies, not only as builders and founders (Rome!), but also as givers of rain or heroes of the fertility of the soil <sup>118</sup>. They act as patrons of fertility <sup>119</sup>—"puisque, par une association d'idées facile à comprendre, une telle naissance suggère la fertilité, la richesse, le bonheur" <sup>120</sup>—and as patron saints of horses <sup>121</sup> and chariots—in this connection reference has been made to Lettish folk songs dealing with 'Sons of God' who ride upon a chariot and set free the daughter of the Sun <sup>122</sup>: remember the Greek Dioscuri and Helena on the one hand and the Vedic Ásvins with Sūryā on the other. Twins—for instance the Greek Dioscuri—were often credited with medical powers <sup>123</sup>. They are believed to be the guardians of public faith and

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have been a portentous occurrence (109, 5; 110, 4; 111, 5). In AVPar. 67, 3, 2 the birth of twin children or calves is one of the portentous events which are the subject of this *sānti* text and in AiB. 7, 9, 8 the question is put as to which expiation has to take place in the case of such an occurrence. Cf. also J. von Negelein, *Die abergläubische Bedeutung der Zwillingsgeburts*, in *Archiv f. Religionswissenschaft* 5 (1902), p. 271 ff.

<sup>117</sup> I need not enter here into a discussion of the feelings and opinions nursed in various so-called (semi-)primitive and archaic communities of twins in general, the less so as there exists, on this point, a considerable variety of beliefs and practices (see e.g. R. Thurnwald, *Black and white in East Africa*, London 1935, p. 295). Multiple births often are held to signify future prosperity or impending misfortune, so that some groups welcome twins treating them with special consideration, whereas others, influenced by superstitious beliefs, feel impelled to perform propitiatory ceremonies which may even lead them to put these children to death. It is especially a twin of a girl and a boy which is feared or believed to bring misfortune. For India see e.g. J. von Negelein, in *Journ. Am. Or. Soc.* 34, p. 246 and in *Orient. Lit. Zeitung* 11, p. 455; T. C. Hodson, *The Nāga tribes of Manipur*, London 1911, p. 133 f.; N. E. Parry, *The Lakhers*, London 1932, p. 386; G. W. Briggs, *The Doms*, London 1953, p. 272; P. R. T. Gurdon, *The Khasis*, London 1914, p. 127; V. Elwin, *India's North-East frontier in the nineteenth century*, Oxford 1959, p. 350; S. Fuchs, *The Gond and Bhumia of Eastern Mandla*, London 1960, p. 250; J. H. Hutton, *The Angani Nagas*, Oxford 1969, p. 217: Twins are uncommon but the occurrence of twins is not disliked and even regarded as extremely fortunate; if both are boys it is a matter for congratulation. See e.g. AVPrāy. 5, 5, and U. Schneider, at I.I.J. 10, p. 1 ff.

<sup>118</sup> See e.g. R. Harris, *The cult of the heavenly twins*, Cambridge 1906; the same, *The dioscurei in the Christian legends*, London 1903; the same, *Boanerges*; A. H. Krappe, *Mythologie universelle*, Paris 1930, p. 53 ff.; the same, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, 30, p. 232.

<sup>119</sup> Cf. Harris, *Cult*, p. 30 ff.

<sup>120</sup> Krappe, *Mythologie*, p. 55; cf. also p. 59 f.

<sup>121</sup> Cf. Harris, *Dioscurei*, p. 12 f.

<sup>122</sup> Cf. e.g. Harris, *Boanerges*, p. 297 ff.

<sup>123</sup> These would probably be explained as "a survival of their mantic art" (Harris, *Cult*, p. 55). See also Krappe, *Mythologie*, p. 62 f.



truthfulness<sup>124</sup>. It cannot however be maintained that these and other widespread characteristics of twin heroes or deities are typical of the Vedic double deities.

What is especially interesting is the occasional use of the grammatical singular instead of a dual in speaking of twins. This no doubt points to a conception of twins as one person which seems to have been widespread<sup>125</sup> and which may explain also "the institution of the Dioscures sharing a common wife between them"<sup>126</sup>. In this connection it is also worth noticing that the divine twin brothers of the Kallina in South America are represented by one single 'Geisterstein'. "Der gemeinsame Stein der beiden göttlichen Brüder soll offenbar eine Einheit zum Ausdruck bringen"<sup>127</sup>.

Another indication of the belief in their 'oneness' is the custom among many peoples to give twins names which are to a considerable extent similar and sometimes even completely identical<sup>128</sup>. Since to possess a similar name means to be partly identical with another being, identical names may point to a belief, on the part of the parents who gave the name, in identity or 'oneness' of a pair of twins. Saxo Grammaticus 5, 122<sup>129</sup> has handed down an interesting German trace of this custom: "Westmar had twelve sons, three of whom had the same name, Grep, in common. These three were conceived at once, and delivered at one birth and their common name declares their simultaneous origin". In the *Heimskringla*, *Haraldsaga*, 18 we are told that there were twins, called Halfdan the Black and Halfdan the White. This type of name-giving was not restricted to human children. There is a multitude of cases in which gods, demi-gods, heroes, saints have common names, or names only slightly varied from a common basic form. In this point also the difference between 'divine twins' and dual deities is unmistakable. In the Mithras cult we find the two youths Cautes and Cautopates; the Romans had their Romulus and Remus, Picumnus and Pilumnus, Mutunus and Tutunus. Although in some cases "the reason for their similarity of name may lie nearer to their birth"<sup>130</sup> or origin than to their common function, fate or course of life, there are many cases in which the circumstances in life—this expression to be taken in a large sense—of historical or legendary persons were regarded as a convincing motive.

<sup>124</sup> Cf. Harris, *Cult*, p. 55 ff.

<sup>125</sup> Krappe, *Archiv*, p. 233, n. 7.

<sup>126</sup> This 'institution' was studied by Krappe in his book *Mythologie universelle*, p. 82.

<sup>127</sup> J. Haekel, in *Archiv für Völkerkunde*, 13, Vienna 1958, p. 36. The shamans of this people possess small stones, which each of them are believed to represent one 'Spirit'.

<sup>128</sup> Harris, *Cult*, p. 18; 58; the same, *Dioscurei*, p. 1 ff.

<sup>129</sup> Quoted by Harris, *Cult*, p. 58. For Celts and Germans see also Diodorus Sic. Bibl. 4, 56 and Tacitus, *Germ.* 43.

<sup>130</sup> Cf. Harris, *Cult*, p. 59.

The Christian martyr-saints Cantius, Cantianus and Cantianella are said to have obtained these similar names "with the view of their suffering together"<sup>131</sup>. This custom may be supposed to have led to the use of a common name in the dual<sup>132</sup>. In other cases such children are given a fixed name. Thus in Benga (West Africa) all twin children are Ivaha or Ayěnwě<sup>133</sup>. Or they receive names which are different in form but identical in meaning. Besides these possibilities there is evidence for a practice of speaking of the Divine Brethren, the Great Twin Brethren, the Twins etc.

A succinct survey of beliefs connected with twins in various parts of the world may be greatly helpful in deepening our insight into the nature of the Indian Ásvins and in clarifying the striking differences between this type of deities and the Vedic dual gods. Divine personalities under the form of 'Zwillingsfiguren' form, to begin with, part of the sacred images of the natives of Australia. Over thirty years ago Davidson<sup>134</sup> found a double image of the so-called Lightning Brothers. The name of one of these 'twins', Godjad, is (or was) in other parts of the country used to denote heaven or the Highest<sup>135</sup>. The so-called Lightning Men Mama-ragan and Djambil of another region of Australia may be considered to constitute "gedankliche Parallelen in Einzelgestalt", whereas "paarige Darstellungen, wenn auch in Tierformen", do not fail to occur also<sup>136</sup>. In its outward form this twin figure bears some resemblance to other members of this pantheon, viz. the "pairs of brothers"<sup>137</sup>. Besides, there are a pair of bearded 'Kulturheroen', sometimes called 'Primeval Men', who may assume the form of men or animals and are supposed to have wandered about on the earth to introduce language, rites, etc. In many Australian religions pairs of demiurges are much in prominence, but these are not conceived of as ordinary twins but as so-called *jalburu*, that is men of the same grade of initiation who have adopted a 'Lebensgemeinschaft' and entered into many mutual engagements. These beliefs can probably not be disconnected from traditions about "two men"<sup>138</sup>, for instance "(die) zwei mythischen Eidechsenmänner als die Schöpferwesen der Überlieferung der Njigina am unteren Fitzroy-River, die Blitzbrüder in W-Arnhem-Land, . . . die alten Brambrambal-Brüder in W-Viktoria. Am Torres-See in Südastralien kannten die Eingeborenen das Habichtmännerpaar der Wildju gibela, wörtl. 'Adler-zwei', das im

<sup>131</sup> Cf. Harris, *Cult*, p. 60.

<sup>132</sup> See also Krappe, *o.c.*, p. 56.

<sup>133</sup> R. H. Nassau, *Fetichism in West Africa*, p. 206.

<sup>134</sup> D. S. Davidson, *Aboriginal and Tasmanian rock carvings and paintings*, *Memoires Amer. Philos. Soc.* 5, Philadelphia 1936, p. 111 ff.

<sup>135</sup> (H. Nevermann,) E. A. Worms and H. Petri, *Die Religionen der Südsee und Australiens*, Stuttgart 1968, p. 215 f.

<sup>136</sup> Worms and Petri, *l.c.*

<sup>137</sup> Worms and Petri, *o.c.*, p. 236; 245; 257; 268.

<sup>138</sup> Worms and Petri, *o.c.*, p. 143; 257; 258; 259; 268.

Morgenstern lebt", etc. From the above survey it will become clear that these 'twins' are not only a religious, but also a social concept.

Harris<sup>139</sup> at the time collected a large number of data concerning beliefs and customs in connection with twins and twin cult in Africa. Among these are references to their being born in an abnormal manner, to taboo on children born at one birth, a taboo which is shared by their mother—twins are an abnormality<sup>140</sup>—; to isolation of these children (and their mother)<sup>141</sup>; to twin sanctuaries and germs of a twin priesthood<sup>142</sup>; to the belief that when twins are born one is the product of the mother's intercourse with a man<sup>143</sup>, and the other of her intercourse with an evil spirit<sup>144</sup>—in Greece Polydeuces is son of Zeus, his twin Castor of a king, Tyndareos<sup>145</sup>—; to rites of purification in connection with twins; to the primogeniture rights of the second-born; to their power over rain. The author concludes his survey by stating that "almost all these peculiarities will turn up in other parts of the world, and some will be especially significant, on account of the place which they hold in Greek and Roman mythology"<sup>146</sup>.

Twin heroes, not infrequently represented as divine brothers, play a considerable part in the religions of the original inhabitants of America<sup>147</sup> where they are believed to control the weather, to be helpful in hunting, to bring good luck. They are variously associated with natural phenomena etc. Thus the southern Maya tribes have handed down a tradition concerning two brothers, who rise from the dead to become sun and moon<sup>148</sup>. According to a myth of the Zuñi of New-Mexico the Sun Father created divine twins, viz. the war-gods Ahayuta (notice their common name), whom he ordered to go for the human beings who hitherto lived in the nether regions, and to establish them in the terrestrial world<sup>149</sup>.

<sup>139</sup> Harris, *Boanerges*, p. 49 ff. See also E. Dammann, *Die Religionen Afrikas*, Stuttgart 1963, p. 9; 46; 72; 74; 100; 190; 246.

<sup>140</sup> Cf. also Krappe, *Mythologie*, p. 80 ff.

<sup>141</sup> Cf. also Krappe, *Mythologie*, p. 57.

<sup>142</sup> Harris, *Boanerges*, p. 80 f.

<sup>143</sup> Cf. Harris, *Cult*, p. 4 f. and Krappe, *Mythologie*, p. 59; "La superstition des Indiens de l'Amérique et des Hottentots, suivant laquelle le mère des jumeaux est forcément coupable d'adultère, se retrouve dans la France du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle, peut-être comme survivance" (see also Krappe, *Archiv f. Religionswiss.* 30, p. 231).

<sup>144</sup> Cf. Krappe, *Mythologie*, p. 64 f.; Harris, *Boanerges*, p. 60; 62.

<sup>145</sup> Compare also the Greek story of the twins Trophonios (son of Apollo) and Agamedes (son of a mortal man Erginos) as handed down by Pausanias 9, 37, 2 ff. In the Peloponnesian version of the story the same belief comes out.

<sup>146</sup> Harris, *Boanerges*, p. 127.

<sup>147</sup> For North America see also Harris, *Boanerges*, p. 142 ff.; for Mexico, *ibidem*, p. 152 ff.

<sup>148</sup> W. Krickeberg, in Krickeberg, H. Trimborn, W. Müller, O. Zerries, *Die Religionen des alten Amerika*, Stuttgart 1961, p. 81. For South America see also Harris, *Boanerges*, p. 132 ff.

<sup>149</sup> Müller, in Krickeberg usw., o.c., p. 231.

The Yamana or Yahgan of South America (Tierra del Fuego) are not alone in their belief in a pair of 'mythical' brothers, called Yoalox, whom they regard as concerning themselves with the initiation of the young members of the tribe <sup>150</sup>.

Especially interesting are the figures of the twin brothers Tamusi and Yolokan-tamulu who are very prominent in the religious thought of the Caribs of Surinam and related peoples <sup>151</sup>. It is assumed that the universe is so to say based on a virgin, unborn mother goddess, who at the same time is a goddess of the waters; she is supposed to be a pretty woman, but the lower part of her body has the form of a serpent. Like that animal which periodically changes its skin she renews herself at intervals of time. Being in a sense the 'personification' of eternity she is the very essence of time, has given birth to all things, contains everything existent, is able to assume every form and resides in the waters. This goddess, whose name is Amana, is the mother of a pair of twins, called Tamusi and Yolokan-tamulu. Both of them are sovereigns and hence to be regarded as gods. They are associated with cosmic polarities. The former has been born at day-break, the latter at dusk. Tamusi, of human shape, is the creator of all good things and the mythical ancestor of the tribe. Residing in the moon he is also the lord of the heavenly paradise, a radiant realm to which the souls of the virtuous deceased are admitted. He combats the evil spirits who bring about the end of the present creation, but Tamusi always succeeds in calling a new universe into being. His brother is, as indicated by his name, the 'Grandfather' (i.e. Lord) of those spirits who manifest themselves in the provinces of nature. He brings about darkness, evil and disaster; though likewise supposed to live in heaven, he inhabits its dark interior. There seems to be every reason to define his character as the 'personification' of the active, energetic, but non-manifest or 'transcendent' power of the mother-goddess Amana <sup>152</sup>. It has, not without probability, been asserted <sup>153</sup> that Yolokan-tamulu is not Tamusi's opponent but rather the indispensable complement of his brother or of the world of light represented by the latter. Without his

<sup>150</sup> J. M. Cooper, The Yahgan . . ., in Handbook of South American Indians, I, Bull. Amer. Ethnol. Smithsonian Inst. 143, Washington 1946, p. 99.

<sup>151</sup> C. H. de Goeje, Philosophy, initiation and myths of the Indians of Guiana and adjacent countries, in Intern. Archiv für Ethnographie, 44, Leiden 1943, esp. p. 35 ff.

<sup>152</sup> See also J. Haekel, Purá und Hochgott, in Archiv für Völkerkunde, 13, Vienna 1958, p. 31. For a creator god and his servant helping him, ibidem, p. 25 ff. and cf. p. 41; 48. According to this author (o.c., p. 49) "scheint das Glaubenssystem der Kariben Surinams (die Vorstellung von einem göttlichen namenlosen Zwillingbrüder- und Schöpferpaar) . . . die Idee eines obersten Gottes mit seinem Bevollmächtigten als Grundlage zu haben"; "(es) ist vielleicht als Amalgamierung der 'altkaribischen' Hochgottkonzeption mit dem Urmutter-Zwillingsheroenmythus aufzufassen".

<sup>153</sup> Haekel, o.c., cp. 32.



brother Tamusi would be just so inconceivable as light without darkness. It is on the other hand beyond doubt that Tamusi, also named "the Grandfather of all grandfathers", is the greater of the two and that he is supposed to possess essential attributes of a Highest Being. It is finally worth mentioning that both divine figures are in ritual practice represented by one single object, viz. a stone <sup>154</sup>.

In the religious belief of the Yaruro (South-America) a great goddess, called Kuma, is supposed to have created the universe with the assistance of two brothers, who in their turn produced the earth and the waters <sup>155</sup>. Being conceived of as water-snake and a jaguar they gave their names to the two exogamous matrilinear halves of the Yaruro tribe. As protagonists and establishers of a dual organization of the tribe—i.e. of a division into two moieties <sup>156</sup>—they have many parallels in other parts of South America, where twin heroes or brother heroes are a frequent element in the socio-religious conceptions of the native tribes <sup>157</sup>. To mention only one other instance: Keri and Kame, both of them ancestors of two neighbouring groups of Caribs, are as a mythical 'Kulturheroen-Zwillingspaar' associated, the former with the moon, the latter with the sun <sup>158</sup>.

It may be added that if the information furnished by De Goeje <sup>159</sup> is right, the Kaliñas and Arawaks believe that all spirits are couples, man and woman, and multiply. The author adds: "This is acceptable, for those spirits are the essence of all life, including procreation".

The belief in the exemplary or institutional activity of a primeval pair of twins may assume the character of a full-fledged dualism. Thus the American Irokese ascribe the events in the initial stage of the mundane drama to the deeds of two antagonistic twins, one of whom used to ruin or disorder what the other had created or instituted <sup>160</sup>. "Text (des Mythus) und Ritual (sind) energisch um die göttliche Zwillinge gruppiert" <sup>161</sup>. These divine twins were even 'painted over' and 'stylized' so as to become God and the devil <sup>162</sup>. The European idea of 'evil' is however far from synonymous with the ideas represented by the 'wicked' twin brother

<sup>154</sup> See above, p. 35.

<sup>155</sup> P. Kirchhoff, Food-gathering tribes of the Venezuelan Llanos . . . , Handbook of S. Amer. Indians, IV, Bull. Bur. Amer. Ethnol. Smithsonian Inst. 143, Washington 1948, p. 462 f.

<sup>156</sup> Among the remains of a dual organization still surviving are, in Nigeria, the 'tribes' Bwol and Dimuk which claim to trace their origin back to the twin sons of a common ancestor (Jeffreys, o.c., p. 101 f.).

<sup>157</sup> O. Zerries, in Krickeberg usw., o.c., p. 301.

<sup>158</sup> Zerries, o.c., p. 366.

<sup>159</sup> De Goeje, o.c., p. 37.

<sup>160</sup> W. Müller, in Krickeberg usw., o.c., p. 212 ff. For antagonism between twin brothers in general see Krappe, o.c., p. 84 ff.

<sup>161</sup> Müller, in Krickeberg usw., o.c., p. 241.

<sup>162</sup> W. Müller, Die Religionen der Waldlandindianer Nordamerikas, Berlin 1956, p. 132 f.



because nocturnal feasts belonging to him are celebrated to counteract diseases<sup>163</sup>. In the parallel myth and religious belief of the natives of Central California one of the pair of primeval beings is a real High God, a creator of world and mankind, while the other, assisting or opposing, occupies a lower position<sup>164</sup>.

An ancient Assyrian ritualistic text records the birth of the lovely and beautiful twin gods Šaḥr and Šalim<sup>165</sup>. Šaḥr is dawn, Šalim dusk, "oder es sind die entsprechenden Repräsentanten des Venusplaneten, Morgen- und Abendstern . . . (Sie) entsprechen 'Arizos und Monimos von Edessa und anderen Orten, d.h. "stark" und "gnädig", und 'Arizu und Aršu ("huldvoll"? ) in Palmyra, die Götter von Morgen- und Abendstern"<sup>166</sup>. After a repeated account of the generation, pregnancy and birth, it is narrated how the twins are, because of their insatiability, exposed in the desert. This "heilige Wüste" "soll vielleicht den Rand des Kulturlandes bezeichnen, die Wüste, die ins Jenseitsgelände überführt, das hiesse, die Zwillinge werden an den Himmel versetzt und erhalten Brot und Wein als Opfer"<sup>167</sup>.

With regard to the famous ancient Iranian representatives of an extreme form of religious dualism, Ahura Mazdā and Angra Mainyu (or Ormazd and Ahriman), it may be recalled that, while Zarathustra had proclaimed an irreducible opposition between them (Yašna 30, 3 ff.; 45, 2), later Zoroastrianism presented them as the two co-eternal principles of good and evil, the former being the creator, the other the destroyer. It is true that in Zarathustra's theology Ahura Mazda is the Highest Power<sup>168</sup>, but "die Bezeichnung der beiden 'Geister' als Zwillinge (Yasna 30, 3) drückt ihre Ebenbürtigkeit aus; ganz ebenso kennzeichnet der Umstand, dass sie bei ihrer völligen Verschiedenheit doch gleichermassen, und als einzige Wesen, *mainyu* 'Geist' heissen, ihre Entsprechung in der Verschiedenartigkeit, ihre Gleichsetzung im Widerspruch. Und eben dasselbe ist auch darin enthalten, dass sie 'die beiden ersten' oder 'anfänglichen' heissen . . . ; beide sind sie 'zuerst' da"<sup>169</sup>. "Die Geschichte

<sup>163</sup> Müller, in Krickeberg usw., o.c., p. 222.

<sup>164</sup> Müller, in Krickeberg usw., o.c., p. 258.

<sup>165</sup> See e.g. W. F. Albright, The myth of the Gracious Gods, in *Journal of the Palestine Or. Soc.* 14 (1934), p. 133 ff.; Ch. Virolleaud, *La naissance des dieux gracieux et beaux*, in *Syria* 14 (1933), p. 128 ff.; H. Gese in Gese, M. Höfner, K. Rudolph, *Die Religionen Altsyriens, Altarabiens und der Mandäer*, Stuttgart 1970, p. 80 ff. (with a bibliography).

<sup>166</sup> Gese, o.c., p. 80 f. See also p. 139; 168 f.

<sup>167</sup> Gese, o.c., p. 82.

<sup>168</sup> Particulars and problems must be left undiscussed.

<sup>169</sup> H. Lommel, *Die Religion Zarathustras*, Tübingen 1930, p. 23. See e.g. also H. S. Nyberg, *Die Religionen des alten Iran*, Leipzig 1938, p. 102 ff.; 106 f.; 382; 384 (whose views of the origin of these twins I cannot share); A. Christensen, *Die Iranier*, in I. v. Müller's *Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft*, III, I, 3, München 1933, p. 225.

dieser geistigen Welt wird zum Drama, als zwischen den beiden erstgeschaffenen Geistwesen die Kluft des Gegensatzes aufreißt" <sup>170</sup>. Although it is impossible to say whether or not the myth of the two twins was original to Zarathustra himself <sup>171</sup>, I hold some form of 'borrowing', a reformulation of some traditional twin myth, in accordance with his own theology to be probable. If such a myth existed it may have been widely different from the ideas the Vedic Indians had formed of the Ásvins. What is less uncertain is that the name of another ancient Iranian figure, viz. Nāhaiθya (Nāñhaiθya) corresponds to the Vedic Nāsatya, another name of the Ásvins, so that this Nāhaiθya may be supposed to have had, in the prehistoric period, some features in common with the Indian Nāsatyas <sup>172</sup>, although it is true that we are completely in the dark about many particular traits of his character. "Ihrem Wesen können wir nur durch ihre zoroastrischen Sublimierungen Haurvatāt 'Wohlfahrt, Gesundheit' (rather 'Wholeness' <sup>173</sup>) und Amərətāt ('Immortality' or rather 'Continuance of life') näherkommen" <sup>174</sup>. Even those who with regard to the latter identity (or substitution) would express themselves less unreservedly <sup>175</sup> will admit that there are some interesting points of agreement between these Iranian figures <sup>176</sup> and more or less divine

<sup>170</sup> W. Hinz, *Zarathustra*, Stuttgart 1961, p. 107.

<sup>171</sup> Cf. R. C. Zaehner, *The dawn and twilight of Zoroastrianism*, London 1961, p. 42. See also Index, p. 369.

<sup>172</sup> For this name see M. Mayrhofer, *Kurzgefasstes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen*, II, Heidelberg 1963, p. 156. For the identification see e.g. Oldenberg, *Religion des Veda*, 3p. 24 f.; 207, n. 1; 211, n. 1; Keith, *Religion and philosophy*, p. 38; 114; 117; J. Gonda, *Die Religionen Indiens*, I, Stuttgart 1960, p. 92.

<sup>173</sup> See J. Gonda, *Reflections on sarva-* in Vedic texts, *Indian Linguistics* 16 (Volume-S. K. Chatterji, Madras 1955), p. 53 ff., esp. 66 f.

<sup>174</sup> G. Widengren, *Die Religionen Irans*, Stuttgart 1965, p. 18, subscribing to the views of G. Dumézil, *Naissance d'archanges*, Paris 1945, p. 89; 91 f.; 157 ff. Compare also G. Dumézil, *Mythe et épopée*, Paris 1968, p. 87 ff.

<sup>175</sup> J. Duchesne-Guillemin, *La religion de l'Iran ancien*, Paris 1962, p. 197 f.: "il y a entre les mythes indiens des Ásvins et les légendes musulmanes relatives à Harūt et Marūt (formes médiévales de Haurvatāt et Amərətāt), des traits de ressemblance — and these are Dumézil's main argument in favour of the identification — trop précis pour être attribuables au hasard". However, could not, in view of the ubiquity of the theme of the twins and the popularity of the main motives of the Muslim legend on the one hand and the story of Sukanyā and the Ásvins (Mbh. 3, a. 125) on the other, the possibility of two varied parallel legends be considered also? Is the assumption of an Indian and an Iranian variant of one and the same 'original' story a necessity?

<sup>176</sup> Widengren, l.c., incorrectly speaks of two Nāhaiθyas. In *Vendidad* 10, 9 and 19, 43 Nāñhaiθya clearly is a demoniac being. According to Bundahišn "the business of this demon is this, that he gives discontent to creatures". Dumézil, who is rarely at a loss for a solution, supposes, in order to get out of this double difficulty, that this figure was, in Iran, 'reduced to a singular' (o.c., p. 93), adding "on aimerait certes mieux voir ce nom conservé au duel et opposé de préférence aux jumeaux Haurvatāt-Amərətāt: tel qu'il est, il n'est cependant pas dépaycé et occupe une place attendue" (viz. among the six archidemons, who are opposed to

twins in India on the one and in other countries on the other hand.

Turning now to the Vedic Ásvins—who indeed are omnium consensu the most prominent Indian representatives of the twin myth—I shall give up any attempt at discussing the numerous hymns and other places in which these deities occur and at repeating irrelevant particulars which can be found in the works of my predecessors<sup>177</sup>. What I intend is first to emphasize those points in which they differ from the dual deities proper and in the second place to draw attention to some details and considerations which may be helpful in gaining a better insight into their character and mythological signification.

Attention should first and foremost be drawn to the continual use of dual forms. The Ásvins are addressed (RV. 1, 46, 7; 7, 67, 1; 3; 7, 70, 6; 8, 86, 1), implored (1, 34, 3; 4; 5; 1, 46, 6; 7, 67, 6; 10), invited (1, 34, 11; 1, 46, 15; 1, 112, 1; 5, 75, 2; 6, 62, 11), invoked (1, 34, 11; 1, 157, 4; 1, 182, 4; 5, 75, 1; 6, 62, 5; 7, 68, 1) together; their common name is Ásvinau (Ásvinā) and the verbal form used in these connections is almost regularly the dual. The poets urge their audience to sacrifice to both Ásvins (at the same time and with the same oblation): 5, 77, 1; cf. 7, 68, 2 and they are expected to reward the sacrificers conjointly: 1, 47, 1; 3; 8, 8, 15. When other names are applied to them these are likewise in the dual: 1, 158, 1 *vásū rudrá*<sup>178</sup>; 5, 75, 3. The isolated occurrence of their other name Nāsatya at RV. 4, 3, 6 in the singular (*párijmane nāsatyāya*) can hardly with Oldenberg<sup>179</sup> be regarded as a trace of an “ursprünglich getrennten Dasein der Ásvin” notwithstanding the epic and purāṇic<sup>180</sup> tradition which gave the twins the names of Nāsatya and Dasra<sup>181</sup>. This tradition, which was already known to Śaunaka (Bṛhaddevatā 7, 6: from Vivasvat’s semen which had fallen on the ground and smelt by Saranyū, both deities having assumed the form of a horse, there came into being two youths, Nāsatya and Dasra, who are praised as the Ásvins<sup>182</sup>), impresses me as having arisen under the influence of

the six so-called archangels, as the counterpart of Ārmaiti; see p. 92). I for one cannot, to my regret, join those who are prepared unreservedly to subscribe to this kind of argument and construction.

<sup>177</sup> See e.g. Macdonell, Vedic mythology, p. 49 ff.; Oldenberg, Religion des Veda, 3p. 207 ff.; A. Hillebrandt, Vedische Mythologie, 2I, Berlin 1927, p. 54 ff.; T. Elizarenkova, in Mélanges-L. Renou, Paris 1968, p. 262 f.

<sup>178</sup> Cf. Renou, E.V.P. XVI, p. 24.

<sup>179</sup> Oldenberg, o.c., p. 211 f.

<sup>180</sup> See e.g. MārkaPur. 108, 10; VāyuPur. 84, 77; cf. W. Kirfel, Das Purāṇa Pañcalakṣaṇa, Bonn 1927, p. 292 f.

<sup>181</sup> See e.g. E. W. Hopkins, Epic mythology, Strassburg 1915, p. 168 f. In the Rgveda the epithet *dasra* “exhibiting marvellous skill” is almost limited to this pair of gods. For the names see also V. Henry, in Mém. de la Soc. de Linguistique, 9, p. 105 f. and P. S. Subrahmanya Sastri, in J. Or. Res. (Madras) 15, p. 18 ff.

<sup>182</sup> See also Yāska, Nirukta, 12, 10 and Sāyaṇa, on RV. 7, 72, 2; Nirukta 12, 2 *vāsātyo anya ucyate, uṣaḥputras tv anya iti* “One is called Son of Night, the other Son of Dawn” (cf. Geldner, o.c., I, p. 261).

the existence of the double-named dual deities<sup>183</sup>. As to RV. 4, 3, 6, there is much to be said for Renou's<sup>184</sup> observation: "Nāsatya . . . a été laissé au singulier parce que l'énumération ne comprend que des singuliers"<sup>185</sup>.

The same epithets and qualifications are applied to them and these are also in the dual<sup>186</sup>: RV. 1, 46, 2 *yā dasrā sīndhumātārā manotārā rayīnām / dhiyā devā vasuvīdā* "they who exhibit marvellous skill, whose mother is the rivers (the River?), who by their thought realize possessions, the gods who through their poetic vision find goods"<sup>187</sup>; 1, 112, 3; 5, 73, 2; 6, 62, 4 f. They are compared to other beings who are likewise indicated by a dual: 5, 78, 1 ff. *hamsdv iva patatam . . . hariṇdv iva gaurdv iva* "fly like (two) geese, . . . like (two) antelopes, like (two) buffaloes"; 1, 183, 5; 5, 74, 9; 10, 40, 3. "The most constant feature is their duplicate nature: they are compared to eyes, hands<sup>188</sup>, feet, wings, and animals which go in pairs"<sup>189</sup> (swans, eagles, dogs, goats<sup>190</sup>). In RV. 2, 39, "dessen ganze Kunst—if Geldner<sup>191</sup> is right—in gesuchten Vergleichen besteht"—this text and the Aśvin hymn 10, 106 are "de véritables litanies de duels"<sup>192</sup>—the dual of the similes "ist nicht immer in deren Natur begründet, sondern durch die Zweiheit der Aśvin bedingt": the Aśvins are to be invited like two messengers, implored to bring those speaking over (i.e. to save them) like two ships etc. Yet part of the objects with which they are compared are complementary in nature. In RV. 2, 39, st. 3 these objects are the horns of an (the same) animal; 4 parts of (a pair of) wheels; 5 hands and feet of a (the same) body; 6 lips, breasts, nose (dual), ears, in st. 2 even twin goats (*ajēva yamā*), etc. This is also the case in 3, 58, 2 where the oblations are said to go to them like a son who goes to his parents; 10, 39, 6. This complementary character is especially in prominence in 10, 106, 2; 3; 9 where they are compared to two bulls drawing the (same) plough, to the wings of a bird; to two feet and two ears (of the same person).

<sup>183</sup> Vivasvat and Saranyū were already the parents of the twins Yama and Yamī and Saranyū had a twin brother Trīśiras (Bṛhaddevatā 6, 162 f.).

<sup>184</sup> Renou, E.V.P. XIII, p. 93. Compare also Hillebrandt, o.c., <sup>2</sup>I, p. 55 "Dass die Einzelnamen auch in alter Zeit *dasra* und *nāsatya* lauteten (K. F. Geldner, Vedische Studien, Stuttgart 1901, III, p. 72; cf. auch V. Henry, in Mémoires de la Soc. de Linguistique, 9, p. 105 ff.) lässt sich nicht erweisen".

<sup>185</sup> If Mbh. 3, 278, 18 *rūpeṇānyatamo 'śvibhyām* is a case of haplology (*ananyatamaḥ*) the translation "in beauty (as) one of the Aśvins" (Hopkins, o.c., p. 169) might be replaced by "... not different from the Aśvins".

<sup>186</sup> For a survey see J. Gonda, Epithets in the Rgveda, The Hague 1959, p. 115 ff.

<sup>187</sup> Cf. J. Gonda, The vision of the Vedic poets, The Hague 1963, p. 146.

<sup>188</sup> Hence also the ritual formula "By the impulse of god Savitar, with the arms of the two Aśvins..." (e.g. MGS. 1, 22, 5).

<sup>189</sup> Keith, o.c., p. 113 f.

<sup>190</sup> Cf. also Macdonell, o.c., p. 49.

<sup>191</sup> Geldner, o.c., I, p. 326.

<sup>192</sup> A. Bergaigne, Religion védique, II, Paris 1881, p. 494.



However, places are not lacking, where the two Aśvins are compared to a collective concept, grammatically denoted by a singular: 2, 39, 5 the wind; 8, 9, 8 *nābhaḥ* "clouds" or even to one single object: 8, 73, 17 *aśvínā sū vicākaśad vṛkṣām paraśumām iva* "looking out for the Aśvins as a man with an axe for a tree"; 10, 39, 14 where the poem offered to them is compared to a maid who is given to a youth; 10, 40, 2 where the same simile combines with a reference to a man who marries his brother's widow; at 1, 183, 1 they are even requested to fly like a (one) bird; cf. also 1, 34, 1.

Yāska (12, 1) already observed that the two Aśvins are mostly praised conjointly, and that their time and functions are identical (*tayoḥ samānakālayoḥ samānakarmaṇoḥ samstutaprāyayoḥ* . . .). In this they differ from most dual deities. Indra and Agni, or Varuṇa are in the majority of cases addressed separately. Their deeds, exploits and activities are indeed ascribed to both of them: 1, 112, 8 through their intervention the blind can see, the lame can walk; 1, 47, 5; 1, 112, 4 ff.; 1, 116, 7 ff.; 16; 1, 117, 3; 17; 5, 78, 6; 6, 62, 6; 7, 68, 7; 7, 71, 5 relating that they made Cyavāna young again and gave a horse to Pedu; 8, 9, 6 and 8, 86, 1, where they are said to be physicians. Also if there is question of a twofold deed or if their favours are bestowed on two persons they are represented as acting conjointly: 1, 112, 23 referring to the assistance lent to Kutsa and four other persons; 1, 116, 9; cf. 1, 117, 11; 14. This joint action obviously was so self-evident that at 10, 85, 14 Pūṣan claims them as his fathers (*putrāḥ pitārāv avṛṇīta pūṣd*). It is therefore not surprising that they are said to act unanimously: 1, 92, 16; 1, 116, 19; 7, 74, 2, and to have the same aims in view (10, 106, 1).

Even in a reference to the outward appearance which they assume, probably in order to conceal their identity, the poet uses a singular form: 1, 46, 9 *svām vavṛīm kūha dhitsathāḥ* <sup>193</sup>.

They drive one chariot which they have in common: 1, 34, 5; 1, 47, 9; 5, 75, 1; 5, 76, 1; 5, 77, 3; 7, 67, 8; 10, 106, 11. This chariot has seats which are closely united (1, 34, 9); these are three in number, because Suryā mounts this vehicle also (1, 34, 5; 1, 116, 17; 1, 117, 13; 1, 118, 5 etc.), the female deity who chose both of them as her husbands (1, 119, 5; 7, 69, 4; 4, 43, 6; 7, 68, 3).

A complementary presentation of facts and events is also absent in cases such as 5, 73, 3 describing the different occurrences in connection with the two wheels of their chariot: both of them are concerned with both wheels. Nor are the two components of a so-called polar phrase (5, 73, 1 "far and near") attributed to the two Aśvins individually; 1, 112, 25; 1, 116, 4; 8, 9, 6.

Whereas indologists dealing with the problems offered by the Aśvins have mainly concentrated upon their 'origin' or 'physical basis', some

<sup>193</sup> Cf. Renou, E.V.P. XVI, p. 9.



students of comparative mythology have rightly incorporated them in their publications on the widespread beliefs in twin heroes or deities<sup>194</sup>. It is indeed for anyone who takes pains to take cognizance of the pertinent literature difficult not to see that this pair of gods is the Vedic representative of that almost international mythological concept. But, although it must be admitted that "even the most stalwart sceptics in this field have not found it in their hearts to deny the connection of these divinities and their female relative with the Dioscuri . . . and their sister Helena"<sup>195</sup>, this 'parallel' as well as the "striking similar myth of the Baltic peoples"<sup>196</sup> were mainly alleged in support of the hypothesis that Indians, Greeks and Letts have preserved "modulations of one and the same common mythological kernel"<sup>197</sup>, or in favour of some supposition about the 'physical basis' of the divine pair<sup>198</sup>.

However, even a very succinct survey of the main deeds and traits of character attributed, in the R̥gveda, to the Ásvins shows that, whatever their Indo-European antecedents, many striking features recur in the mythological twin figures of a large variety of other peoples. I limit myself to the following points: They are young (RV. 7, 67, 10) and beautiful (6, 62, 5; 63, 1)<sup>199</sup>, strong, powerful (10, 24, 4), very mighty (6, 62, 5): the inseparable Greek Dioscuri were likewise represented as youths, renowned for their physical qualities. They exhibit marvellous skill and are able to work wonders: in that they do not differ from twin heroes and deities in other parts of the world<sup>200</sup>. They are often called bulls, promote fertility<sup>201</sup> in men as well as in animal and plant life, and are peculiarly connected with honey, which, being the essence of plants and saps, was often considered to represent or to promote fertility<sup>202</sup>: compare the data mentioned by Krappe, *Mythologie*, p. 61 ff.;

<sup>194</sup> I refer to the above-mentioned books and articles by Harris, Krappe etc.

<sup>195</sup> Bloomfield, *The religion of the Veda*, p. 113.

<sup>196</sup> Bloomfield, *o.c.*, p. 114.

<sup>197</sup> Cf. Bloomfield, *o.c.*, p. 115. See also Hillebrandt, *Vedische Mythologie*, III, Breslau 1902, p. 379 f. and <sup>2</sup>I, p. 55: "Ich neige wie andere zu der Ansicht, dass es sich hier um altarische Götter handelt, die wir bei Griechen, Germanen und Letten wiederfinden (cf. the bibliographical note), obwohl die Namen keinerlei Gemeinschaft mehr bezeugen"; and Keith, *o.c.*, p. 117: "It is important to note that in part at least the Indo-European character of the deities is beyond all reasonable doubt"; Griswold, *o.c.*, p. 256: "Since a common name is lacking, it is possible that the myth existed only in germ before the Indo-European clans separated".

<sup>198</sup> See e.g. Oldenberg, *Religion des Veda*, <sup>3</sup>p. 212 ff.; Macdonell, *Vedic mythology*, p. 53; cf. also O. Schrader-A. Nehring, *Reallexikon der indogermanischen Altertumskunde*, II, Berlin-Leipzig 1929, p. 238.

<sup>199</sup> See also H. Oldenberg, in *Nachr. Göttingen* 1918, p. 64 f. (= *Kleine Schriften*, Wiesbaden 1967, p. 859 f.).

<sup>200</sup> See above.

<sup>201</sup> Cf. also Gonda, *Epithets*, p. 120.

<sup>202</sup> See J. J. Meyer, *Trilogie altindischer Mächte und Feste der Vegetation*, Zürich-Leipzig 1937, III, p. 301 and J. Gonda, *Aspects of early Viṣṇuism*, Utrecht 1954 (<sup>2</sup>New Delhi 1969); K. N. Dave, *Vedic mysticism*, I, Nagpur 1955.

Harris, Boanerges, p. 234 ff.; Cult, p. 30 ff.<sup>203</sup>. This function may explain the statement that they are dancers (RV. 6, 63, 5 *nārā nṛtū*)<sup>204</sup>.

They drive a golden, three-wheeled chariot and, although there is no trace of their being horsemen, their name undeniably stamps them as possessors of, related to, steeds or as figures who know how to manage these animals; cf. Krappe, *Mythologie*, p. 67 ff.<sup>205</sup>. Their car is however only in a minority of cases drawn by horses, more often by birds, swans, eagles. Since an animal accompanying a god not infrequently is a theriomorphic representation of his nature the question may arise as to whether there is some justification in a reference to the instances of theriomorph twins—these appear especially as horses or aquatic birds—collected by Krappe, o.c., p. 56; 67 ff.; 70 ff.; 73 ff.; 91 ff.<sup>206</sup>, whose attention was also arrested by RV. 4, 43, 3 *divā ājātā divyā suparnā*; moreover, in Mbh. 1, 3, 60 they receive the laudation of the blind Upamanyu who calls them, inter alia, “primeval gods, heavenly eagles” (*divyau suparnau*). I doubt whether the story of Vivasvat and Saranyū<sup>207</sup> has any conclusive force.

Whereas their presence is ubiquitous, the time of their appearance is par excellence the early dawn, when they waken the goddess Uṣas. Their special connection with the light of heaven appears also from the statement that they dispel darkness (RV. 3, 39, 3 *tamohānā*): compare the ‘catasterism’ and especially their identification with the morning star described by Harris, *Dioscuri*, p. 32; 36 f.; 40; 64, and Krappe, o.c., p. 91 ff.

In most cases the Āśvins are the ‘descendants’ (sons) of Dyaus (Heaven, e.g. RV. 1, 182, 1 *divó nāpātā*; cf. Krappe, o.c., p. 66), and once (1, 46, 2) they are said to have the Sea or River as their mother (*sindhūmātarā*). Elsewhere however (10, 17, 2) they are the twin sons of Vivasvat and Tvastar’s daughter Saranyū<sup>208</sup>. This fatherhood of Dyaus notwithstanding some uncertainty with regard to their ancestry reminds us of the ancient confusion as to the paternity of Castor and Pollux (the latter being the son of a swan (Zeus) and Leda). There is further the remarkable place RV. 1, 181, 4 stating that one of the Āśvins is the son of Dyaus, the other of Sumakha (. . . *anyāḥ śumakhasya sūrīr divó anyāḥ subhāgaḥ putrá ūhe*: “dissociation inattendue des Āśvin, l’un d’origine humaine, l’autre

<sup>203</sup> With part of whose combinations and conclusions I hesitate to agree.

<sup>204</sup> I would not follow Geldner, o.c., II, p. 166 in translating “ihr (wie) Tänzer (geputzte) Manner”. For the significance of dancing see e.g. W. O. E. Oesterley, *The sacred dance*, Cambridge 1923; G. van der Leeuw, *Religion in essence and manifestation*, London 1938, p. 374 f.; the same, *In dem Himmel ist ein Tanz*, München 1931 (Dutch edition, Amsterdam 1930); F. Heiler, *Erscheinungsformen und Wesen der Religion*, Stuttgart 1961, p. 239 ff. (with a bibliographical note).

<sup>205</sup> See also above, p. 34. In European antiquity Castor was renowned for horsemanship, Pollux for boxing.

<sup>206</sup> See also above, p. 36.

<sup>207</sup> See above, p. 42.

<sup>208</sup> See above, p. 42.

divine”<sup>209</sup>) which seems to be in harmony with the above-mentioned fact<sup>210</sup> that twins—also human twins—were often reputed to be, it is true, of one mother, but of different father and that of a pair of heavenly twins one is mortal, the other immortal. The few other passages which may point, not as is supposed by Macdonell<sup>211</sup>, to their originally having been separate, but to a different birth have already been discussed by my predecessors: 5, 73, 4 *nānā jātauḥ*. Dumézil<sup>212</sup>, whilst emphasizing those cases in which twins, “bien qu’unis de la façon la plus étroite, ont . . . des spécialités et parfois des destins différents, complémentaires, voire opposés”, rightly stresses the greater differences in character between the epic ‘transpositions’ of the Aśvins, Nakula and Sahadeva. (Notice that in 10, 117, 9 the disparity in strength of twins is admitted). Is he also right in suggesting that the Mahābhārata enables us to “déceler des traits théologiques ou mythiques très anciens, antérieurs aux hymnes et éliminés des hymnes”? Or was the great epic in this respect composed under the influence of popular ideas of twins, of parallel or variant twin myths in which this peculiarity was more prominent<sup>213</sup>?

Mention has already been made<sup>214</sup> of the relations between the Aśvins and the maiden called Sūryā or the daughter of Sūrya. She is their wife, but also the wife of Soma, and in the latter case the twins act as groomsmen (RV. 10, 85, 9; 26). Another goddess often connected with them is Uṣas (1, 44, 2 etc.), who is even called their comrade or companion<sup>215</sup> (4, 52, 2; 3 *sākhā . . . aśvinoḥ*), but at 3, 39, 3 is—if Sāyaṇa is right—their mother. This confused relationship with the other sex is likewise typical of divine twins, whose mother<sup>216</sup> is often a well-known figure and who are in many traditions associated with a woman who sometimes is their sister<sup>217</sup>, sometimes their common wife. “Dans l’évolution européenne de ces légendes, la figure de la mère tend de plus en plus à être remplacée par celle de la soeur des jumeaux”<sup>218</sup>. Compare Krappe, o.c., p. 81 ff.

<sup>209</sup> Renou, E.V.P. XVI, p. 28. See also Yāska, Nirukta, 12, 3.

<sup>210</sup> See p. 37.

<sup>211</sup> Macdonell, o.c., p. 49.

<sup>212</sup> Dumézil, Mythe et épopée, p. 87; cf. p. 89.

<sup>213</sup> “Suivant une série de superstitions faciles à comprendre, les jumeaux étaient censés se ressembler au point qu’il était difficile de les distinguer. Mais, dès qu’il importait . . . de distinguer l’un des dieux-jumeaux de l’autre il devenait nécessaire d’imaginer quelque signe décisif . . . toujours secondaire pourtant” (Krappe, Mythologie, p. 55 f.).

<sup>214</sup> See p. 34.

<sup>215</sup> For *sākhā* see J. Gonda, Mitra and mitra, in Indologica Taurinensia I, Torino 1973, p. 71 ff.

<sup>216</sup> See above, p. 37; 38.

<sup>217</sup> Cf. Harris, Dioscuri, p. 4.

<sup>218</sup> Krappe, Mythologie, p. 81. I do not however subscribe to all opinions offered by this author on p. 81 ff. Compare also the speculative article Les Aśvin et la Grande Déesse, by J. Przyluski, Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies, 1 (1936), p. 129 ff., esp. p. 135.

Of the miracles worked by them I mention only the following <sup>219</sup>: they give the wife of the eunuch a child and make the barren cow yield milk (1, 116, 13; 1, 112, 3). Being typically succouring deities they restore the old sage Cyavāna to youth (1, 116, 10 etc.; as to Kali: 10, 39, 8): cf. Krappe, o.c. p. 62. They are the most reliable helpers in need. In particular, they rescue from the sea (see 1, 116, 3 f.; 1, 117, 14; 1, 119, 4; 2, 39, 4 etc.: cf. Krappe, o.c., p. 68; 91; Harris, Boanerges, p. 195 ff.; the Dioscuri also succoured shipwrecked sailors <sup>220</sup>) and from all other kinds of distress <sup>221</sup>. They are divine physicians (8, 18, 8; 8, 22, 10; ŚB. 4, 1, 5, 8 ff.; 12, 7, 1, 11; 12, 7, 2, 3; 12, 8, 2, 16), who cure the blind, sick, and maimed (10, 39, 3): cf. Krappe, o.c., p. 62 ff.

The question as to the 'original' nature of the Aśvins, their 'natural substratum' or the idea which they 'in the beginning' stood for presented already difficulties to Yāska and his predecessors and has remained a matter of controversy up to modern times <sup>222</sup>. In Indian antiquity they were supposed to be the points of contact between two periods of time (*kālasandhau*); or to be those divine energies which pervade everything, one with moisture and the other with light (cf. Yāska 12, 1). Their name "the owners of horses" was explained as "the possessors of rays of light". They were believed to represent sky and earth (see also KS. 13, 5: 185, 24; ŚB. 4, 1, 5, 16 <sup>223</sup>), or sun and moon (a view supported by Ludwig <sup>224</sup>, Hillebrandt <sup>225</sup> and others <sup>226</sup>), or day and night, "while the 'historians' (*aitihāsikāḥ*) say that they were two virtuous kings", a view endorsed by Geldner <sup>227</sup>, who, denying their connection with the Dioscuri, asserts that they are merely "die indischen Notheiligen". Yāska himself <sup>228</sup> seems to have regarded them as the divinities of the half-dark and half-light

<sup>219</sup> For a long list see Macdonell, o.c., p. 51 ff.

<sup>220</sup> K. Jaisle, *Die Dioskuren als Retter zur See*, Thesis Tübingen 1907; J. R. Harris, in *Essays and Studies*—W. Ridgeway, Cambridge 1913, p. 549 ff.

<sup>221</sup> They seldom deliver from enemies in battle and in this they differ from Castor and Pollux. For 1, 112, 1 see Renou, E.V.P. XII, p. 103; 10, 143, 5 is no evidence for Krappe's contention (p. 97 "Les Aśvins . . . protègent les combattants"); for 8, 35, 12 etc. see A. Bergaigne, *La religion védique*, II, Paris 1881 (1963), p. 435.

<sup>222</sup> For a brief survey see E. N. Ghosh, in *Ind. Hist. Quat.* 6 (Calcutta 1930), p. 172 ff. and V. H. Vāder, *ibidem* 8, p. 272. "Maints côtés de leur mythologie restent inexplicables", J. Varenne, in H. Ch. Puech, *Histoire des religions*, Paris 1970, p. 598.

<sup>223</sup> Cf. J. Eggeling, *The Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa translated*, Oxford 1885 (2<sup>nd</sup> Delhi 1963), p. 276 f.

<sup>224</sup> A. Ludwig, *Der Rigveda*, III, Prag-Leipzig 1878, p. 34.

<sup>225</sup> Hillebrandt, o.c., III, p. 379 ff.

<sup>226</sup> See also R. Shamashastry, in *Q. Journ. Myth. Soc. of Bangalore* 20, p. 80 ff.

<sup>227</sup> In R. Pischel and K. F. Geldner, *Vedische Studien*, II, Stuttgart 1897, p. 31.

<sup>228</sup> Cf. Macdonell, *Vedic mythology*, p. 53 f.: "The twilight and the morning star theory seems the most probable".



twilights before dawn <sup>229</sup>. Oldenberg <sup>230</sup> and others <sup>231</sup> tried to show that their figures maintained connections with the morning and evening stars. Others, among whom Weber <sup>232</sup>, thought that they were the twin stars in the constellation Gemini <sup>233</sup>. The French scholar Renel <sup>234</sup> was of the opinion that these gods "personnifient, de la façon la plus vague et plus générale, les deux éléments du sacrifice, dont l'union est manifestée par les premières flammes, ... l'élément liquide et l'élément igné...". E. N. Ghosh <sup>235</sup> made an attempt to show their original identity with the twin-stars of *Aśvinī* (which "are inseparably united and are bright with distinct colours"), arguing that their curious triangular car is the poetical reinterpretation of the likewise triangular figure formed by the three stars of the constellation *Bharaṇī* lying just behind the twin-stars of *Aśvinī*. According to Vader <sup>236</sup>—who untenably believed in their arctic origin—they are the zodiacal light and the counter-glow (*Gegenschein*), according to Gadgil <sup>237</sup> they are intimately associated with plant life, representing the life-processes in the vegetable kingdom. Bergaigne <sup>238</sup> preferred to see in them "le feu sous ses deux formes, céleste et terrestre". Machek <sup>239</sup> was strongly inclined to regard them as native and typically 'aristocratic' Indo-European deities, identifiable with the *Dioscuri* and, within the ideal picture of the Indo-European family, represented as princes occupied with horse-riding. And so on <sup>240</sup>.

Abstaining from a critical evaluation of these theories and referring to the polemics contained in the books and articles mentioned in the footnotes I confine myself to a brief statement of what would for the time being be my own view of the problem <sup>241</sup>. It would, then, appear to me that on the basis of the almost universal convictions with regard to twins in general and of the notions of, and beliefs in, twins of divine

<sup>229</sup> See also L. Myriantheus, *Die Aśvins*, München 1876, p. 35 f.: "diejenige Erscheinung doppelter Natur ..., welche aus Dunkel und Licht gemischt ist, d.h. das Zwielight"; E. W. Hopkins, in *Journal Amer. Or. Soc.* 15, p. 269 ff.; G. C. Jhala, in *Journal Bombay Univ.* 1 (1933).

<sup>230</sup> Oldenberg, *Religion des Veda*, p. 210.

<sup>231</sup> See Macdonell, o.c., p. 53.

<sup>232</sup> A. Weber, *Indische Studien*, 5, p. 234.

<sup>233</sup> See also R. K. Prabhu, in *Summaries*, 15<sup>th</sup> All India Or. Conf., Bombay 1949, p. 12 f. and S. F. Michalski, *Aśvins et Dioscures*, in *Rocznik Orient.* 24 (1961), p. 7 ff. (not convincing).

<sup>234</sup> Ch. Renel, *L'évolution d'un mythe. Aśvins et dioscures*, Paris 1896, p. 67 etc.; p. 68 "ceux qui ont des chevaux, c'est-à-dire des flammes".

<sup>235</sup> Ghosh, o.c. Cf. R. K. Prabhu, at J. Or. Inst. Baroda, 15, p. 203 ff.

<sup>236</sup> Vader, o.c.

<sup>237</sup> V. A. Gadgil, in *Summaries*, 13<sup>th</sup> All India Or. Conf. (1946), Nagpur 1950.

<sup>238</sup> Bergaigne, o.c., II, p. 494 ff.

<sup>239</sup> V. Machek, *Origin of the Aśvins*, *Archiv Orientalní*, 15, p. 413 ff.

<sup>240</sup> See also Macdonell, o.c., p. 53 f.; Keith, o.c., p. 116 ff.

<sup>241</sup> Generally speaking it is hardly possible to interpret all details of a Vedic deity harmoniously.



origin revealed by many collections of anthropological material, the prehistoric Indo-Europeans formed ideas of such a divine or heroic pair (or pairs) characterized by supranormal abilities, of which the Ásvins are the Indian variant; that these figures were apt to associate themselves with, to be co-ordinated or identified with, a large variety of phenomena<sup>242</sup> of a twofold nature or capable of such an interpretation—for instance with phenomena of the firmament<sup>243</sup>; that the tendencies to associate macrocosmic and natural phenomena<sup>244</sup> with occurrences in the human world and to interpret the latter as resulting from divine action and interference contributed much to the wealth of mythological and 'legendary' feats ascribed to them—miraculous rescues and healings might give rise to traditions of the sort recorded in the R̥gveda<sup>245</sup>—; that in the course of time these gods assumed greater personality; that it is, on the other hand, impossible and even methodically incorrect to try to find for every incident or trait of their character an explanation based on natural phenomena or anthropological parallels, because the complexity of mythopoeic thought, the constant pressures of remodelling ideas, popular and poetic inventiveness and symbolical combination as well as the gaps in our knowledge of the pertinent mythical narratives<sup>246</sup>, the possibly one-sided interests of the poets etc.<sup>247</sup> will always defy all attempts to recover the sequence of the ideas and more or less exactly to reconstruct the development of the conceptions formed by Vedic men and their ancestors of these deities; that it is, a fortiore, impossible to explain their

<sup>242</sup> Needless to say that nowadays the assumption of "a physical basis of the Ásvins" (Macdonell, o.c., p. 53) is no longer self-evident. I have grave doubts about Van der Leeuw's (o.c., p. 171) positiveness in asserting that duality, predominantly appearing as a pair of twin brothers whose unity and estrangement have given occasion to many myths is (generally, or always?) based on the relationship of the sun and moon.

<sup>243</sup> For the relations between heavenly bodies and 'Zwillingsvorstellungen' see e.g. F. Jeremias, in A. Bertholet and E. Lehmann, *Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte, begründet von Chantepie de la Saussaye*, 4I, Tübingen 1925, p. 521 f.; 562 (on Assyrian religion) "... repräsentieren (die Götter der vier Weltpunkte) auch für sich die beiden Jahreshälften, wie sie paarweise als Zwillinge zusammengehören: Marduk und Nebo, Ninurta und Nergal"; 565 f.; 601; (Phoenicia) 632. For the 'cosmical sides of the character' of the Ásvins see the data collected by K. F. Geldner—J. Nobel, *Der Rig-Veda übersetzt*, IV, Cambridge Mass. 1957, p. 38 ff.

<sup>244</sup> Cf. also Oldenberg, o.c., p. 211, n. 1.

<sup>245</sup> Those who believe in the miraculous power of gods will hardly feel drawn to preserving the memory of some real historical physicians by ascribing the deeds of those mortals to a pair of gods, as is supposed by C. H. Tawney—N. M. Penzer, *The Ocean of Story*, III, 2Delhi 1968, p. 258.

<sup>246</sup> Keith, o.c., p. 117 "to recognize that there may be a mythical foundation to a story and to discover that foundation, when the episode is given in the form of a mere reference in a few words ... are totally different things".

<sup>247</sup> The question as to how far "les auteurs des hymnes se sont parallèlement désintéressés de la théologie différentielle des dieux souverains Mitra et Varuna" (Dumézil, o.c., p. 87, n. 1) will be implicitly dealt with in ch. V.

deeds and characters integrally from one definite 'natural substratum' <sup>248</sup>. Particulars such as the 'original' motivation of their names Áśvinau and Nāsatyau, their 'original' relation with the horse, the nature of their connection with Sūryā <sup>249</sup> and the 'idea' represented by this figure <sup>250</sup> remain obscure <sup>251</sup>.

Another problem, to wit how are we to know for a certainty if some function or quality attributed to the Áśvins was inherited from a prehistoric, say common Indo-Iranian, period, or was integrated at a later moment, need not detain us, because prehistoric developments are in this context not primarily relevant.

One of the difficulties in determining the influence of the belief in the superhuman abilities of twins upon the origin and spread of the phenomenon of double deities resides in the fact that not infrequently there is no evidence to show that definite pairs of gods were twins at all. Yet, many references to youthful divine brothers are so similar to unmistakable traditions concerning twins that it is hardly possible to doubt that in popular belief they were regarded as born at one birth or, at least, as very closely connected with one another <sup>252</sup>. Moreover, brothers who, without being twins, resemble each other to the point that they are confounded always are apt to be put on a par with twins <sup>253</sup>. In this connection passing mention may be made of pairs of demons such as occur for instance in AV. 2, 24: *śrabhaka* and *śrabha*; *śevṛdhaka* and *śevṛdha*, etc. Demons of various kind, though usually believed to form an indefinite crowd, are sometimes regarded as living and acting in pairs. Since the ancient Indians, like other peoples, were inclined to assume that to possess a similar name means to be partly identical with another being <sup>254</sup>, there are good reasons for supposing that these pairs often were, tacitly or explicitly, thought to be brothers or sisters. It is difficult not to assume that in popular belief part of such pairs were even regarded to be, or at least to behave like, twins. The irrational opinions of twins and similarity of names were so ancient, so numerous and so widespread that the Vedic Indians must have inherited them from their prehistoric ancestors. Moreover, the non-Aryan inhabitants of the continent may have contributed to the number of twin-like demoniac beings.

<sup>248</sup> Keith, o.c., p. 118 is quite right in observing that Weber's suggestion (A. Weber, *Über die Königsweihe, den Rājasūya*, Abh. Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss., Berlin 1893, p. 100) "is open to the quite fatal objection that there is nothing but the twin nature to commend it".

<sup>249</sup> See above, p. 34; 47.

<sup>250</sup> See also Bloomfield, *Religion of the Veda*, p. 115.

<sup>251</sup> However, Lommel's article *Nāsatya*, in *Festschrift-W. Schubring*, Hamburg 1951, p. 29 ff. is worth considering.

<sup>252</sup> Cf. Harris, *Cult*, passim; Krappe, *Mythologie*, p. 54.

<sup>253</sup> See Krappe, o.c., p. 58 f.

<sup>254</sup> For other instances, parallels etc. see Gonda, *Stylistic repetition in the Veda*, p. 391 ff.

Our present concern is, however, primarily with double deities. In the preceding part of this chapter I have stressed the differences between twin figures proper and the dual deities of the Veda. One of the reasons why I have enlarged so long on the twin figures has been to put beyond doubt that twins are widely credited with a number of typical qualities which are not ascribed to the dual deities of the Veda. It cannot be maintained that the latter have one common name; that they do not occur individually; that they are, generally speaking, rescuers, physicians, promoters of fertility; that they are feared or regarded as ominous because of their birth; maintain significant, though somewhat mysterious relations with the other sex; are supposed to be river saints or patrons of navigation<sup>255</sup>, builders or inventors of the plough<sup>256</sup> and so on. Yet the question must be raised as to how far the beliefs about twins may have influenced or modified the current ideas of dual deities. This question can also be formulated as follows: to what extent did the more special importance attached to twins modify, in the field of Vedic 'mythology', the more general phenomenon of the so-called pair-system which in daily practice as well as in speculative thought was so characteristic of many archaic and 'semi-primitive' societies<sup>257</sup>?

And, indeed, there are some indications which allow us to say that, according to expectation, this modificatory influence of the 'twin concept' has not been entirely absent. There is, to begin with, some similarity between RV. 1, 181, 4 stating the different origin of the Ásvins: "born here and there (in different places) they perfectly matched with one another in body and names" (*ihéha jātā sām avāvaśitām . . . tanvā nāmabhiḥ svaiḥ*<sup>258</sup>) and 6, 59, 2, informing us with regard to the dual deity Indra-and-Agni: "commun (est) votre père, vous (êtes) frères, (vous êtes) jumeaux (même, bien que vous ayez) des mères çà et là"<sup>259</sup> (*samānó vām janitā bhrātārā yuvāṃ yamāv ihéhamātarā*<sup>260</sup>). Without entering into particulars<sup>261</sup> I point out the difference: Indra-and-Agni are, in contradistinction to the Ásvins, said to have the same father; that they are of different mothers is more evident than in the case of the latter gods because *ihéha jātā* does not necessarily point to the existence of two mothers (cf. 5, 73, 4 where the Ásvins are said to be *nānā jātau*)<sup>262</sup>.

<sup>255</sup> Cf. Harris, Boanerges, p. 195 ff.

<sup>256</sup> Cf. Harris, Boanerges, p. 235 ff.

<sup>257</sup> The fact that in India some groups make it a custom to call twin brothers for instance Rām(a)-Lakṣmaṇ(a), twin sisters Gaṅgā-Yamunā (Fuchs, l.c.) cannot of course furnish us even with the weakest argument in favour of the supposition that the phenomenon of the dual deities is no more than a variant of the 'twin concept'.

<sup>258</sup> See above, p. 46 and Renou, E.V.P. XVI, p. 27 f.

<sup>259</sup> Renou, E.V.P. XIV, p. 53.

<sup>260</sup> See ch. VIII, p. 272.

<sup>261</sup> For which see Geldner, o.c., I, p. 261; II, p. 160; Renou, E.V.P. XVI, p. 27 f.

<sup>262</sup> Otherwise Bergaigne, o.c., II, p. 506.

That two divine beings can be "born here and there" and yet be considered twins appears from 5, 47, 5 stating in connection with Heaven and Earth who bear the Sun: *ihéha jāté yamīyā sábandhū* "(deux êtres féminins) qui sont nées (l'une) ici, (l'autre) là, (tout en étant) jumelles (et) parentes"<sup>263</sup>. In 6, 59, 2 there is, strictly speaking, a paradox<sup>264</sup>, but the fact remains that there Indra-and-Agni are called twins.

Although RV. 1, 109, 4, addressing Indra-and-Agni as Ásvins (*tāv asvinā . . . ā dhāvatam*) can hardly be taken, with Bergaigne<sup>265</sup>, as pointing to an identification of the Ásvins and this double deity, there is no denying that the occurrence of this name is suggestive: Indra and Agni are in any case said to be like this famous pair of twins<sup>266</sup>. Or, as Macdonell observed: "They are once called Ásvins, possibly in allusion to their close relationship"<sup>267</sup>. Nor can I subscribe to the view<sup>268</sup> that the hapax *indranāsatyā* in 8, 26, 8 (with the verb and the epithets in the dual) evidences the identification of Indra and one of the Ásvins; one should prefer the interpretation "Indra and both Nāsatyas" (compare also *indrāmarutaḥ*, 2, 29, 3)<sup>269</sup>, which in any case shows that Indra could be regarded as closely allied with the Ásvins. Rejecting Bergaigne's interpretation of that divine pair as "le feu céleste et terrestre"<sup>270</sup>. I would judge the passages on the rescuing and healing activities of the individual gods Indra and Agni and their other "fonctions analogues à celles des Aṣvins" adduced by the French savant<sup>271</sup> to point to parallelism rather than identification<sup>272</sup> or "assimilation du couple des Aṣvins à celui d'Indra et Agni". Of greater relevance is the fact that the epithet *jenyāvasu* "dont les biens sont inhérents (à eux-mêmes)"<sup>273</sup>, which is at 7, 74, 3 (=VS. 33, 88) given to the Ásvins, belongs at 8, 38, 7 to Indra-and-Agni. It is not however possible to assert that this compound is "une appellation caractéristique des Aṣvins"<sup>274</sup> because there are no other occurrences (cf. also *jenyam vāsu*, 2, 5, 1: Agni and 8, 101, 6: the

<sup>263</sup> Renou, E.V.P. V, p. 28; cf. also IV, p. 75.

<sup>264</sup> Geldner, o.c., II, p. 160.

<sup>265</sup> Bergaigne, o.c., II, p. 494 f. See Geldner, o.c., I, p. 142 and Renou, E.V.P. XIV, p. 122. I have grave doubts about the conclusive force of the occurrence of Ásvin (in the singular) in 7, 1, 12 and 1, 53, 4 (Bergaigne, o.c., p. 495; cf. Renou, E.V.P. XIII, p. 138).

<sup>266</sup> See also ch. VIII, p. 272.

<sup>267</sup> Macdonell, o.c., p. 128.

<sup>268</sup> Bergaigne, o.c., II, p. 495.

<sup>269</sup> Cf. Geldner, o.c., IV, p. 263 and Renou, E.V.P. XVI, p. 62.

<sup>270</sup> Bergaigne, o.c., II, p. 508 f.; see above, p. 49.

<sup>271</sup> Bergaigne, o.c., II, p. 495.

<sup>272</sup> Bergaigne, o.c., II, p. 499. I fail to see, for instance, why the mention of Indrāgnī and Sarasvatī in 8, 38, 10 should prove their identity with the Ásvins and Sūryā.

<sup>273</sup> Renou, E.V.P. XIV, p. 57.

<sup>274</sup> Bergaigne, o.c., II, p. 498 f.



Ādityas (?)). Bergaigne<sup>275</sup> was of the opinion that "le couple des Aṣvins a dû avoir son origine indépendante, quoique analogue à celle du couple d'Indra et Agni"; it would appear to me that as a religious conception the twins are the older pair.

For similar reasons I must reject the identification of the Ásvins with Agni and Soma, assumed by the same scholar<sup>276</sup>. The fact that "on peut tirer du rôle qu'Agni et Soma ou les phénomènes qu'ils représentent jouent, sous leurs noms vulgaires, dans les hymnes adressés aux Aṣvins, des relations constatées entre eux et le couple des divinités tutélaires" is no more decisive than occasional cases of similarity of functions or activities. These remarks are however not to deny that definite mythical tales connected with the Ásvins may have been borrowed from a cycle of tales in which similar deeds were ascribed to other gods.

As to Heaven-and-Earth<sup>277</sup>, although they are parents, being often called *pitarā*, *mātarā*, *janitrī* (see also 7, 53, 2; 10, 65, 8) and also separately addressed as father and mother (cf. e.g. 1, 159, 1 ff.), and although the gods are their sons<sup>278</sup>, they are also said to be twins: 9, 68, 3 *yamyā saṃyatī* "the two uniting (joining) twin sisters (i.e. brother and sister)"<sup>279</sup>. The words in 5, 47, 5 "two other (feminine) beings, twins, born here and there and (yet) being of the same family" (. . . *anyē ihēha jātē yamyā sábandhū*) are in all probability a reference to that same pair<sup>280</sup>. And in 1, 185, 1 the question is posed as to who is the elder of the two: *katarā pūrvā katarāparāyoh*.

It is difficult to say to what extent a passage such as R.V. 10, 125, 1 where Vāc claims to bear, i.e. to support, three divine pairs, among which the Ásvins (*ahám mitrāvaruṇobhā bibharmy ahám indrāgnī ahám áśvinobhā*), is more than an occasional "trait de ressemblance entre les . . . couples"<sup>281</sup>. Not all references to twins are clear: thus at 10, 8, 4 translators have followed Sāyaṇa (day and night) or thought of the Ásvins or of Yama and Yamī<sup>282</sup>. The poet of 6, 62, 8 and 9 however interrupts his eulogy upon the Ásvins to address Heaven-and-Earth (Rodasī, notice their common name in the dual) and Mitra-and-Varuṇa.

That the twin concept did influence the thought and phraseology of the poets is also apparent from the following passages which however should at the same time warn us against hasty and far-reaching conclusions on the strength of a few indications. At R.V. 5, 57, 4 the Maruts, though

<sup>275</sup> Bergaigne, o.c., II, p. 499.

<sup>276</sup> Bergaigne, o.c., II, p. 437 ff.

<sup>277</sup> See chapter II.

<sup>278</sup> Cf. Renou, E.V.P. IX, p. 75.

<sup>279</sup> Simply "twins": S. S. Bhawe, The Soma-hymns of the R̥gveda, III, Baroda 1962, p. 142.

<sup>280</sup> Cf. also Renou, E.V.P. IV, p. 75.

<sup>281</sup> Bergaigne, o.c., II, p. 506, n. 3.

<sup>282</sup> Cf. Geldner, o.c., III, p. 130; Renou, E.V.P. XIV, p. 70.



forming a troop, are compared to twins (*yamā iva sūsadṛśāḥ supēśasāḥ*). Renou's interpretation<sup>283</sup> is no doubt right: "bien semblables (entre eux) comme des jumeaux". This idea is elaborated at 5, 59, 6; 5, 60, 5 where it is said that among them none is eldest or youngest (for they "are equal in age": *sāvayasāḥ*, 1, 165, 1). Here "twins" is suggestively used in a wider sense. At 10, 13, 2 "twin sisters" are in a simile to suggest and illustrate the idea of equivalence, congruence and identity of function of a pair of complementary objects<sup>284</sup>.

In the following chapters of this publication attention will be drawn to more or less complete points of agreement and other similarities existing between passages dealing with the Aśvins and those devoted to one of the dual deities. Thus, for instance, ṚV. 6, 60, 14 ab (Indrāgnī) is for the greater part identical with 8, 73, 14 (Aśvins): *ā no gāvyebhīr āśvyair vasavīyair (sahāsrair) ūpa gachatam*. Passing mention must also be made of ṚV. 10, 132 which is addressed to Mitra-and-Varuṇa, but "in 1 ab Heaven-and-Earth are praised and in 1 cd the Aśvins" (Bṛhadd. 8, 47). A somewhat more thorough examination of the pertinent text-places brings to light a considerable number of correspondences between places dealing with Indrāgnī and those praising or mentioning the Aśvins. Compare: 5, 86, 5 a *tā vṛdhāntāv ānu dyūn*: 1, 158, 1 a ... *purumāntū vṛdhāntā*; 6, 59, 10 b *stomebhīr havanaśrutā* = 8, 8, 7 d; 7, 93, 4 d *prā no nāvyebhīr tiratam deṣṇaiḥ*: 7, 67, 9 *prā yé bāndhum sūnṛtābhis tirānte*; 7, 94, 3 c *mā no rīradhatam nidé* = 8, 8, 13 d; 7, 94, 2 a *śṛṇutām jaritūr hāvam* = 8, 85, 4 a. For the pāda 8, 38, 4 a *juṣēthām yajñām iṣṭāye* = 5, 72, 3 b (this sūkta being dedicated to Mitrāvaruṇau) compare 8, 35, 4 a *juṣēthām yajñām* ...

Finally, the fact may not be left unmentioned that in the so-called *dvidevatagrahas* of the Soma sacrifice<sup>285</sup>, that is, in an important ritual tradition, the *āśvinagraha* is the third in the series which begins with the *aindravāyava* and *maitrāvaruṇagrahas*. That means that the cult of the twin gods is closely connected with that of two double gods of different name<sup>286</sup>.

It may be permitted to insert here a short digression which will introduce another subject. It is true that passages are not absent in which Mitrāvaruṇau is the only pair of gods mentioned beside the natural

<sup>283</sup> Renou, E.V.P. X, p. 34.

<sup>284</sup> For a ritual application and discussion of the twin idea see PB. 16, 4, 10 and LŚS. 8, 1, 19–26, translated by W. Caland, *Pañcaviṃśa-Brāhmaṇa*, Calcutta 1931, p. 431. The twelve months, two to a season, are called six pairs of twins (ṚV. 1, 164, 15; AVŚ. 10, 8, 5).

<sup>285</sup> W. Caland and V. Henry, *L'Agniṣṭoma*, Paris 1906, p. 199 ff. See e.g. ŚŚS. 7, 2, 1.

<sup>286</sup> For worship of the Viśve Devāḥ after Indrāgnī and Mitrāvaruṇau see e.g. ĀpŚS. 11, 21, 3 ff. But compare also PB. 25, 10–12; ĀpŚS. 23, 12, 4 (three Sarasvatisattras, viz. to Mitrāvaruṇau, Indrāgnī and Aryaman). See e.g. also ĀśvGS. 2, 2, 4; PB. 11, 2, 3; Kauś. 74, 15.

dualities day and night (*ahorātre*) and heaven and earth (cf. VS. 6, 21), but this is no argument in favour of the hypothesis that these three pairs are older than the others or of the thesis that these natural pairs or at least one of them set the example for Mitrāvaruṇau<sup>287</sup> and after this pair<sup>288</sup> for the other dual gods. It does not seem possible to try to decide this chronological problem on the strength of arguments based on internal evidence such as transference, adaptation etc. In the chapters which are to follow attention will be drawn to textual correspondences between the dual deities. Although the reader might subjectively be under the impression that the Áśvins or another pair set an example for other dual deities there is no reason to disagree with Bloomfield<sup>289</sup>: "Phrases about the dual gods tend to repetition in a superior degree . . . The themes of the repetitions are of the most general, almost vacuous sort, just such as are universally applicable . . .". So the R̥gvedic passages dealing with different dual divinities have definite epithets or even quarters of stanzas in common. They do not allow us to trace the origin, history and development of the phenomenon under examination. Even if it were possible to come to a more or less probable conclusion with regard to the mutual relations between such passages and especially to an answer to the question of priority it would, generally speaking and making allowance for the probability of exceptions, be difficult to hazard the conclusion that one of these passages must have been modelled upon the other, or have borrowed from the other hymn. There would be a still greater risk of erring if occasional instances of textual priority would induce us to argue in favour of definite suppositions with regard to the relative priority of one divine pair and posteriority of another. And nobody knows how many so-called repetitions and reminiscences of other R̥gvedic places are in reality reproductions of what is irretrievably lost.

The light some common epithets throw on the view of the Vedic authors of the dual personages in general necessitates a short digression on two stereotyped figures, or rather a stereotyped pair, occurring in the *āpri* hymns<sup>290</sup>, viz. the divine hotars. See e.g. RV. 2, 3, 7; 3, 4, 7. With the Áśvins these figures have the identity of their appellation in common. Already at an early moment the significance of these two divine sacrificers was a matter of conjecture and speculation. The Bṛhaddevatā (3, 11) agrees with Yāska, Nir. 8, 11, in considering them to be the terrestrial and the 'middle' (atmospheric) (forms of) Agni, born from the celestial (*divya*) Agni; "they are therefore celestial (*daivya*) by birth". Modern

<sup>287</sup> Cf. also ch. V, *passim*.

<sup>288</sup> For the hypothesis that Mitra, representing the sun, and Varuṇa, the all-encompassing heaven, "formed a more prominent feature of a phase of belief lying beyond the period reflected in the hymns of the R̥gveda" see J. Eggeling, *The Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* translated, V, Oxford 1900, p. XX ff.

<sup>289</sup> M. Bloomfield, *Rig-Veda repetitions*, Cambridge Mass. 1916, p. 629.

<sup>290</sup> See chapter IV.

scholars were of the opinion that they might be two priestly figures, representing either the hotar and another priest or the human priest and his fire <sup>291</sup>. Geldner <sup>292</sup> and Potdar <sup>293</sup> were not however so wide of the mark: "die beiden göttlichen Hotr sind wohl mit bekanntlicher Breviloquenz der menschliche und der göttliche Hotr, d.h. Agni, und da sie oft als die ersten bezeichnet werden (1, 188, 7 ...) deren Urbilder, der erste menschliche Hotr und das erste Opferfeuer". They are indeed invited to perform the sacrificial rite etc. (1, 13, 8 etc.); that Agni is regarded as a hotar is very well known (see RV. 1, 1, 1 etc.). Now, it is interesting to notice that part of the epithets and characterizations used in connection with these hotars are elsewhere applied to the god Agni, part to the human hotar. The adjective *suḥiḥva* "bright-tongued" characterizes Agni, e.g. in RV. 1, 14, 7 and even in the āprī hymns 1, 142, 4 and 10, 110, 2, but at 1, 13, 8 the two hotars are given this epithet; even the well-known epithet *jātavedas* is at 7, 2, 7 used to characterize the pair. Whether or not the other hotar is the human priest *jātavedasā* must mean "Agni Jātavedas and his companion". In one and the same āprī hymn Agni is, and the hotars are, called *prathama* "the first" (st. 3; 7). Potdar seems right in recalling 1, 13, 4 where the god is said to have been established as hotar by Manu (*manurhitah*). Strictly speaking the words *vātasya pātman īlītā* in 5, 5, 7 can only be applicable to a god: "dans le vol du vent, ô divins Oblateurs de l'Homme, arrivez" <sup>294</sup>. The adjective *daivya* "divine", which is always used in this connection (1, 13, 8 etc.), as their standing characterization, is of course not properly applicable to a mortal functionary. On the other hand, *kāru* <sup>295</sup>—see 10, 110, 7—is first and foremost a human functionary: a *kāru* is a eulogist, who also composed his hymns, and whose co-operation was indispensable in the case of rites being executed. That his voice was a valuable asset to the performance of his task appears not only from 2, 43, 1, but also from the āprī hymn 10, 110, 7 "the two divine hotars, well-voiced ... fashioning the act of worship for man to worship, the two *kārus*, urging to the sacrificial rites". It should not however be forgotten that at 10, 12, 2 Agni is said to be a better hotar priest (than the human functionary) because of his voice (*vācā*). It may be true that *ṛtvij* "can be predominantly construed with the mortal hotar" <sup>296</sup>, the term is—e.g. RV. 1, 1, 1—also a characterization of Agni. These last observations do not alter the fact that the duality,

<sup>291</sup> Cf. M. Haug, *The Aitareya-Brāhmaṇam of the Rigveda*, I, Bombay 1863, Introduction, p. 13, quoting AiB. 1, 18 and K. R. Potdar, *Āprī hymns in the Rgveda*, *Journal of the Univ. of Bombay*, 15 (1946), 2, p. 29 f.

<sup>292</sup> Geldner, *Der Rig-Veda übersetzt*, I, p. 14.

<sup>293</sup> Potdar, l.c., not mentioning Geldner's opinion referred to in the preceding note.

<sup>294</sup> Renou, E.V.P. XIV, p. 45.

<sup>295</sup> See J. Gonda, *The meaning of Vedic kāru*, *Journal Ganganatha Jha Res. Inst.* 25 (1969), p. 479 ff.

<sup>296</sup> Potdar o.c., p. 29.

the two hotars, are given epithets which are properly speaking due either to the god or in a minority of cases to the mortal hotar, if indeed these two are meant by the poets<sup>297</sup>.

Some other additions to this section may be inserted here. A place such as ŚB. 6, 6, 1, 4 may be quoted in illustration of the belief, rarely expressed by the ancient authorities, that the second element of a biunity is of secondary importance: "He prepares both that of the sacrifice and those of Agni (*ubhayāni . . . adhvarasya cāgneś ca*), for this rite is both a rite of sacrifice and a rite of fire; first (comes) that of the sacrifice, and then that of the fire, for the rite of the fire is an accessory rite (*upāyī hy etat karma yad agnikarma*)"<sup>298</sup>. In discussing the mutual relations between the gods constituting divine pairs we shall have to revert to this point.

A discussion of divine or holy triads<sup>299</sup> would be outside the scope of this book. In addition to the three German brothers Grep<sup>300</sup>, and cases such as Jabal, Jubal and Tubal in Genesis 4, 20 ff., there are, for instance the three Brigits presiding over poetry-and-wisdom, medical skill and smithcraft in Irish history<sup>301</sup>. The number of the Greek Cabiri—divinities worshipped especially in Samothrace, Lemnos and Boeotia—varied, but one tradition gave four names. The Greeks called them also *Μεγάλοι θεοί*, replacing their names by a common title. The Vedic counterpart of these triads is the small group of mythical, (semi-)divine beings of the Rbhus. There is moreover a curious feature of the *kaukilī sautrāmaṇi*: MŚS. 5, 2, 11, 18 "(He brings) a he-goat (near) for the Áśvins, Sarasvatī and Indra, a ewe for Sarasvatī, Indra and the Áśvins, a bull for Indra, the Áśvins and Sarasvatī"<sup>302</sup>. In any case groups of three are in India a much rarer phenomenon than divine pairs.

The case may even present itself in which a group of three was by an authority reduced to a duality. Thus Prajāpati being alone created, successively living beings which became the birds, living beings which became the small crawling reptiles other than snakes "and a third (race)"

<sup>297</sup> I am not completely sure that further confirmation of this view comes from the *praiṣa* sūktas MS. 4, 13, 2; KS. 15, 13; TB. 3, 6, 2 (Potdar, o.c., p. 30) which is, it is true, quite explicit in saying that one of the pair may be expected to make the sacrifice well performed by food and the other to place it in heaven in the midst of the gods. This text is one of the secondary Āpri hymns and it is, as far as I am able to see, not possible to prove that the poet has drawn from genuine and uninterrupted tradition.

<sup>298</sup> In ŚB. 10, 1, 2, 3 the idea of priority is expressed somewhat otherwise, but here the author deals with three entities.

<sup>299</sup> Van der Leeuw, o.c., p. 170 f.

<sup>300</sup> See above, p. 35.

<sup>301</sup> See Harris, Cult, p. 61 f.

<sup>302</sup> Dealing with double aspects of one and the same divinity Dammann (Die Religionen Afrikas, p. 25) informs us that in Africa, for instance with the Nilotic peoples, side by side with a black and a red god there is, in certain circumstances, also a white (or grey) god; however such a tripartition is a rare occurrence.



which (now) are the snakes. Yet "Yājñavalkya, on his part and contrary to the sacred tradition, declared them to be of two kinds only" (ŚB. 2, 5, 1, 1 f.)<sup>303</sup>.

At this point two other aspects of duality call for closer attention, two aspects which cannot be disconnected from each other. If dichotomous habits of thought, and an unremitting consciousness of any form of duality<sup>304</sup> are among the prominent characteristics of a human society; if the occurrence of pairs is in the view of life and the world of a people most important, these habits of thought cannot leave the ritual unaffected; pairs existing in nature or society are apt to be correlated with ritual acts and ritual techniques invented to bring these pairs about, to create such pairs as may be useful or 'productive', will not fail to develop. TS. 1, 6, 9, 3 f. informs us that in the Full and New Moon sacrifices there are twelve 'pairs' (*dvandvāni*). That is to say twenty-four ritual acts are distributed in such a way that they form couples: "He lets the calf go free and puts the pot on the fire; he puts down the rice and beats the millstones together etc.". The number, two pairs of twelve, is fixed because it is correlated with the twelve pairs (*dvandvāni*) of those sacrifices which are to be performed in the twelve months of the year. "These sacrifices are to be produced", they say". These ideas are elaborated with remarkable consistency<sup>305</sup>. The authority to whom we owe the passage

<sup>303</sup> I must abstain from discussing divine androgyny which according to M. Eliade, *Patterns in comparative religion*, London-New York 1958, p. 420 f. is "simply a primitive formula for the divine bi-unity". For some observations on this phenomenon in Vedic literature see my book *The Savayajñas*, Amsterdam Acad. 1965, passim. A point of special interest concerns the 'double nature' or sexual ambivalence of many deities of the Tibeto-Burmese mountaineers of Assam. "Zahlreiche dieser Gottheiten stellen ein Paar mit einem männlichen und einem weiblichen Aspekt dar, werden aber immer in einem Atem genannt und niemals getrennt verehrt. Selbst in dem sonst als Einheit erscheinenden Hochgott der Konyak Naga Gawang ist diese Doppelnatur vielleicht nur verhüllt, aber nicht abwesend, heisst doch *ga* (oder *kha*) Erde und *wang* Himmel. Gawang wird nicht nur die Erschaffung des Menschengeschlechtes zugeschrieben, sondern er gilt auch als Hüter der Sittlichkeit und der Stammesvorschriften, deren Verletzung er noch in diesem Leben bestraft" (Chr. v. Fürer-Haimendorf, *Die Religion der (indischen) Primitivvölker*, in A. Bareau, W. Schubring und v. Fürer-Haimendorf, *Die Religionen Indiens*, III, Stuttgart 1964, p. 279 f. and see also the same, *Die Hochgottgestalten der Ao- und Konyak-Naga von Assam*, in *Mitteilungsblatt der Ges. f. Völkerkunde* 8 (1938)). Though not unknown to the so-called primitive communities of India proper this phenomenon of 'Doppelnatur' appears to be less developed in the larger part of the country.

<sup>304</sup> No more than passing mention can be made of combinations such as AVŚ. 5, 30, 2 ff. *unmocanapramocanē ubhé* "deliverance and release", or AVP. 19, 20, 14 *pramehaṇasya tā vidur ubhayor mehanasya ca*.

<sup>305</sup> Some curious texts may find a place here. TS. 6, 2, 1, 1 the wife of the sacrificer, being the mistress of the household gear, is to hold on to the (soma) cart.



ŚB. 1, 6, 3, 30 explained the fact that there are many kinds of creatures with teeth on both sides as a result of the recitation of a *ṛc* verse as the *anuvākya*, and of another *ṛc* as a *yājñyā*<sup>306</sup>, "for the *ṛc* means bone and the tooth also is bone, so that he thereby produces bone on both sides". This statement, however, induced him to add that there are two types of creatures, namely such as have teeth on one side only and such as have teeth on both sides. Now, Eggeling<sup>307</sup> already observed that this distinction was not new. It indeed occurs in RV. 10, 90, 10 where it is stated that from the Puruṣa sprang the horse and all other animals with two rows of teeth on the one hand and cows, goats, and sheep on the other.

In the second place, pairing in animal life being the best known form of achieving a 'productive union', it is not surprising that this process is again and again compared to, or even identified with, cohabitation, and that other reminiscences of sexual married life serve to make more clear what is meant. See e.g. ŚB. 1, 1, 1, 8 "After pouring out some of it (the water, into a jug) he puts it down north of the gārhapatya fire. For water (*āp*) is female and fire (*agni*) is male . . . ; hence a copulation productive of offspring (*mithunam prajananam*) is thereby effected . . ."; see also *ibidem* 20; 21; 22.

While dealing with the morning litany the author of ŚŚS. 6, 3, 1 ff. hands down a collection of mantras to be pronounced by the officiant when he addresses the quarters of the universe according to the indications contained in the formulas (cf. 6, 2, 3). They run as follows: "In this eastern quarter Sun and Moon are my regents. Sun and Moon must protect me against that quarter. Let him go, of the deities, to Sun and Moon who at that side attacks us". In a similar way Yama and Mr̥tyu (Death) are in parallel sentences said to be the regents of the South; Mitra and Varuṇa (as elsewhere: . . . *ca* . . . *ca*) of the West; Soma and Rudra of the North; Br̥haspati and Indra of the zenith; Vāyu and Vṛṣṭi (Rain) of the intermediate region; Agni and Annam (Food) of the earth. The question arises why in these formulas pairs of gods are required. It may be suggested that the North, the region of Rudra (cf. e.g. ŚB. 5, 4, 2, 10), is said to be protected by Soma (cf. e.g. ŚB. 8, 6, 1, 8); that Mr̥tyu is already at RV. 10, 165, 4 (AV. 6, 28, 3) closely associated, if not identified, with Yama: *tāsmāi yamāya nāmo astu mr̥tyāve*—cf. also AV. 6, 93, 1 *yamó mr̥tyúr aghamarāḥ* . . .—, and at MS. 2, 5, 6: 55, 13

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According to the commentary the following words, viz. "The share of the wife in the sacrifice makes a pair" mean: "the sacrifice and the wife constitute a pair". Why does the sacrificer who is consecrating himself cover himself with the text 'Thou art Viṣṇu's refuge, the refuge of the sacrificer' (VS. 4, 10)? The answer is given at ŚB. 3, 2, 1, 17: "He who is consecrating himself becomes both (*ubhayaṃ*) Viṣṇu and a sacrificer, for when he is consecrated, he is Viṣṇu and when he sacrifices he is the sacrificer".

<sup>306</sup> For these terms see p. 253 f.

<sup>307</sup> J. Eggeling, *The Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* translated, I, Oxford 1882, p. 171, n. 2.

unequivocally identical with the ruler of the deceased: *mṛtyur vai yamaḥ*<sup>308</sup>; that Mitra is very often closely connected with Varuṇa, the protector of the West (e.g. ŚB. 8, 6, 1, 7); that it is not surprising to read that the sun is the regent of the East and that sun and moon are also in the Veda more than once coupled with one another (cf. e.g. RV. 10, 85, 18); that Bṛhaspati, who is so often Indra's associate, is at RV. 10, 67, 10 spoken of as ascending to heaven, to the upper regions (*dyāṁ áruḥṣad úttarāṇi sādma*). Vāyu is indeed a god of the intermediate region<sup>309</sup>, but here he is not, as elsewhere, connected with Indra, but with Rain, a potency which, in the oldest corpus of Vedic literature, is quite naturally mentioned in the same context as Wind: 9, 22, 2 *etē vātā ivorāvaḥ parjanyaśyeva vṛṣṭāyaḥ* "these (streams of Soma) are broad like winds, like Parjanya's rain-showers". At ŚB. 8, 2, 3, 5 rain is said to be in the wind, and in the same work both powers, being coupled together, are stated to be freed for the living beings from evil and death by means of a determinate hymn form (8, 4, 2, 6)<sup>310</sup>. Finally, Agni—who often assumes a terrestrial form<sup>311</sup>—is associated with the earth in ŚB. 6, 3, 2, 2; 6, 7, 4, 7, is at 10, 1, 1, 10 said to be a pair with the body, which in the same context is identified with food (*annam*).

So, in reading the above passage one is under the impression that the author, while coupling together powers which are more or less traditionally connected with the seven directions, consciously deviated from the more usual procedure which is characterized by the allocation of one single deity to every direction<sup>312</sup>. It is difficult to guess at what prompted him to do so; perhaps it was the desire to honour or invoke both Yama and Mṛtyu, both Soma and Rudra, or both Mitra and Varuṇa which led him to seven parallel double invocations. But there can be no doubt that in his eyes these double invocations supplied a need, that they made the prayer more effective. The difference between this passage and places such as TS. 5, 7, 15 is clear: there single gods are co-ordinated with entities of which there is one only, viz. parts of the victim's body such as the tail and the anus, whereas double deities are welcome in the case of knees, thighs and other parts of which there are two (compare also KB. 12, 8 etc. etc.).

Already in the R̥gveda references are made to two officiants acting conjointly: see e.g. 9, 97, 37. In 1, 173, 2 it reads *prā mandayūr manāṁ gūrta hōtā bhārāte māryo mithund yājatraḥ* "Le hotar qui aime réjouir entonne la prière; le jeune (Indra) soutient le couple (d'officiants)"<sup>313</sup>;

<sup>308</sup> As is well known this identification is not foreign to later literature, for instance the Mahābhārata, although in other passages both deities are clearly distinct.

<sup>309</sup> See chapter VI, p. 220 ff.

<sup>310</sup> I refer to Macdonell, o.c., p. 84.

<sup>311</sup> Macdonell, o.c., p. 91 f.

<sup>312</sup> Sometimes a vague plural is preferred (AV. 3, 26); cf. also ŚB. 13, 4, 2, 16.

<sup>313</sup> Renou, E.V.P. XVII, p. 49.

*mithunā*: the adhvaryu and the hotar <sup>314</sup>. In 1, 83, 3 ab *ādhi dvāyor adadha ukthyaṃ vāco yalāsrucā mithunā yā saparyātaḥ* "À deux (hommes) tu as confié la parole hymnique, couple (d'officiants) tenant la cuiller-sacrificielle, qui pratiquent (le rite)" <sup>315</sup>: "Beide werden als Einheit behandelt, obwohl a eigentlich nur auf den Hotr, b auf den Adhvaryu passt" <sup>316</sup>. The idea of sexual union is however not always absent: the achāvāka represents sexual union since he belongs to Indrāgnī who are two and (represent) a productive union (*mithunam prajānanam*, ŚB. 4, 3, 1, 3) <sup>317</sup>. As will be seen in the following chapters the same type of attribution of qualities proper to one of the members of a pair to both of them is not uncommon in the case of dual deities. At RV. 2, 2, 12 the adjective *ubhāya* is used to bracket the praising officiants and their patrons—who in a way are co-operating—together: *ubhāyāso ... stotāro ... sūrāyaś ca*. Similarly, 7, 1, 20=25, and compare also 1, 122, 14.

That "l'union fait la force" (see also ŚB. 14, 1, 3, 1 quoted below) is also apparent in the case of an officiant or a magical operator who allies himself with an amulet or a potent herb in order to achieve a definite effect. Says the author of RV. 10, 145, 5 (AVŚ. 3, 18, 5) "We both, becoming full of overwhelming power ("siegestark", Geldner), will overpower my rival"; AVŚ. 19, 32, 5 <sup>318</sup>. The same idea emerges from an account of the co-operation of two gods. "He (the sacrificer) said to Varuṇa-and-Mitra: 'Do you both together execute this part of our sacrifice', viz. the maitrāvaruṇa's function. 'Let it be so', they replied. After having become united and strong, enduring, they passed over death..." (GB. 2, 3, 13 *tau sayujau sabalau bhūtvā prāsahā mrtyum atyātām*) <sup>319</sup>. The last sentences of GB. 2, 6, 6 clearly indicate that "with a second" a god may become more powerful, energetic and persevering. After Indra had joined Varuṇa, Bṛhaspati and Viṣṇu so as to form three pairs—with the result that the hymns under discussion came to belong to Indra-and-Varuṇa etc.—this evil was remedied.

From an instructive passage in the Taittiriya-Saṃhitā it appears that the term *mithuna*, even if it does not refer to a male and a female, could easily evoke the idea of completeness and, hence, of welfare or prosperity.

<sup>314</sup> "Udgātr und hotr", Geldner, o.c., I, p. 250, but compare p. 106.

<sup>315</sup> Renou, E.V.P. XVII, p. 31.

<sup>316</sup> Geldner, o.c., I, p. 106.

<sup>317</sup> See also ch. VIII, p. 274.

<sup>318</sup> Yet, not any combination of two entities should be set down as a valid, fruitful or efficacious pair. Bhālabeya fell from his cart and broke his arm because he had combined an *anuṣṭubh* and a *triṣṭubh* verse to form the invitatory and offering formulas for the same sacrificial rite. This was a violation of the proper course of the sacrifice because these two formulas should be verses of the same metre (ŚB. 1, 7, 3, 19).

<sup>319</sup> At ŚB. 8, 1, 4, 4 the peculiarity of the body to be more vigorous than the limbs is said to be due to the fact that in the centre there are two *stomas* and two *prsthās*.

"The gods could not find prosperity (*puṣṭim*). They saw it in the pair (*mīthuna*). They could not agree about it. The Aśvins said, 'Ours is it; do not claim it'. It became the Aśvins' only. He who desires prosperity should offer to the Aśvins a twin cow (*yamīm vaśām*). Verily he has recourse to them with their own share (*svena bhāgadheyena*) and they bestow prosperity upon him. He prospers in offspring and cattle (*puṣyati prajāyā paśubhiḥ*)" (TS. 2, 1, 9, 3 f.). A pair is, indeed, in order to achieve prosperity (a well-nourished condition and generation: MS. 1, 6, 4: 92, 18; 1, 6, 8: 99, 11 *mīthunam . . . puṣṭyai prajātyai*).

In most cases however the term *mīthuna* appears in connection with procreation or productivity. MS. 1, 9, 6: 137, 8 "Prajāpati, having performed austerities, having prepared (divided) himself (and) having paired, propagated himself with offspring and cattle" (*tapo vai taptvā prajāpatir vidhāyātmānam mīthunam kṛtvā prajāyā ca paśubhiḥ ca prajāyata*): being alone he obviously was not productive, so the only way of achieving his purpose was to divide himself so as to become a pair. Cf. also 1, 9, 3: 132, 7 ff. The counterpart of this mythical story occurs at BĀU. 1, 4, 11 "In the beginning this (universe) was brahman, one only. That, being one, did not develop (expand)".

On a variety of occasions, one should by means of ritual techniques bring about a pair or pairing. "He who knows the pairing (*mīthunam*) of the fore-sacrifices is propagated with offspring, with cattle, with pairings . . . He offers to the kindling-sticks as many, to the sacrificial strew as one, and that makes a pair. That is the pairing of the fore-sacrifice" (TS. 2, 6, 1, 4). "He who knows the pairing of the cups is propagated with offspring, with cattle, with pairings" (TS. 6, 5, 11, 3). "The sacrificial butter is the seed of the cow, the rice grain of the ox; that is a pair; the eye(s) is (are) a pair; by means of a pair they produce for him a paired eye" (MS. 2, 1, 7: 8, 11; cf. 3, 6, 1: 59, 9; TS. 2, 2, 9, 4 and see KS. 10, 1: 125, 10 *mīthunam vā etad yad ghṛtaṁ ca taṇḍulāś ca, dhenvā ghṛtaṁ payo 'naḍuḥaḥ taṇḍulāḥ*); "the anuṣṭubh (metre) is Speech (*Vāc*, feminine!), the pañkti Prajāpati, thus he let Prajāpati go into Speech for the sake of procreation. That is a pair. From that pair the sacrificer propagates himself with offspring, with cattle" (MS. 2, 3, 7: 35, 11; cf. KS. 12, 5: 167, 16). Compare also MS. 2, 5, 5: 54, 14. ŚB. 1, 4, 1, 2 "Voice (or speech, *vāc*, feminine) and breath (*prāṇaḥ*, masculine) are a pair (*mīthunam*), so that a productive union (*mīthunam prajānanam*) of the sāmidhenis is thereby effected at the outset". The invitatory and offering formulas (*anuvākyā* and *yājyā*) being females make up two pairs with the *vaśat* call (*vaśatkāra*: ŚB. 1, 7, 2, 11); compare also 1, 2, 5, 15; 1, 3, 1, 18; 1, 5, 3, 15; 1, 9, 2, 21 f.; 2, 5, 1, 16; 2, 5, 2, 17. Ibidem 1, 9, 2, 6 "He worships four deities. Four doubtless means a couple (*mīthunam*), for a couple means a pair (*dvandvam*) and two and two (*dve dve*) indeed they are. Thus a productive union . . ."; 14, 1, 3, 1 "A pair means strength (*dvandvam vai vīryam*), for when two take hold of each other they exert



strength, and a pair (couple) means a productive union". Other places of interest are: KS. 6, 5: 54, 2 *tan mithunam yad yajusā ca manasā ca*; at MS. 1, 8, 3: 119, 4; KS. 6, 3: 52, 2 water and milk are said to constitute a pair; MS. 3, 9, 5: 121, 8; 4, 3, 5: 44, 12 ff.; 4, 5, 4: 67, 17; KS. 5, 4: 46, 16; 6, 7: 56, 11; 8, 10: 94, 13; 9, 11: 112, 13; 9, 14: 116, 3; 12, 8: 170, 8; 12, 13: 175, 7; 21, 11: 52, 1; 24, 4: 93, 19; 26, 1: 122, 3; TS. 2, 5, 8, 5; 2, 6, 1, 4; 6, 1, 10, 2; 6, 5, 8, 4; 7, 5, 9, 4. TS. 5, 1, 8, 4 *ūnātiriktā mithunāḥ prajātyai* "the pairs are deficient and redundant, for propagation".

In ŚB. 2, 3, 1, 23 it is explicitly taught that on a definite occasion a second libation is to be made because it is to effect a 'pairing', for a couple forms a productive pair (*dvandvaṃ hi mithunam prajananam*). Elsewhere (2, 4, 4, 6) it reads: "He offers on two days of the full moon and on two of the new moon, for two means a pair, so that a productive pair is thereby obtained". In the following paragraphs the same statement is made in connection with Agni and Soma; with Agni's cake and Indra's *sānnāyya* (a definite libation), being two deities; with Indra and Agni. See also 2, 2, 4, 5.

In TS. 1, 6, 8, 2 it is stated that the 'weapons' of the sacrifice are collected in pairs in order to make the form of the *yājyānuvākyaś*, and "thus there is a pair" (*mithunam*). If one were to collect them one by one, they would have the *pitaras* as their divinity; if all together (they would have) men as their divinity. Neither result is desired. In placing the kindling-sticks one should pronounce a yajus formula for one of the two, but handle the other in silence, "to make a pair" (*mithunatvāya*, TS. 2, 6, 6, 3). In order to gain this purpose disparity is required also in 2, 6, 6, 4 "There is uniformity (*jāmi*) in the sacrifice, in that there are two sacrificial cakes (offered) in order. Between them he offers the silent sacrifice, to break the uniformity (*ajāmitvāya*) and to make a pair". How much importance was attached to 'pairing' is also apparent from places such as TS. 3, 5, 2, 3 "Thou art blowing forward; thou art blowing after", he says, in order to make a pair"; and 5 "Thou art the *trivṛt*, thou art the *pravṛt*", he says, in order to make a pair"; 5, 1, 6, 4 "He hands (the pan) over with one set (of stanzas), and addresses it with another, in order to make a pair"; 5, 4, 8, 5 "He offers the even and the odd . . ."; 7, 5, 4, 2 "The one and the other are drawn, . . ., for propagation"; see also 6, 3, 5, 3; 6, 5, 8, 4. Cases of ingenuous ritual procedures are not wanting. One should, on the occasion of a definite rite, "offer at the union of the waters and of the plants to attain both" (TS. 2, 1, 9, 3 *apām cauṣadhīnām ca saṃdhāv ālabhata ubhayasyāvaruddhyai*).

This leads to the well-known ritual expedient in case it was desired "to run with the hare and hunt with the hounds". "If he were to place the heart-spit on the earth, he would cause pain to the earth; if on the waters, he would cause pain to the waters. He places it in the meeting place of dry and wet (that is there where water and land just meet), to appease both" (TS. 6, 4, 1, 5). This direction should be observed even



if such a place cannot be found. In that case a pouring of water on the earth will serve <sup>320</sup>.

The fact that one wave of a river moves against the stream, another along the stream is according to MS. 4, 4, 1: 50, 3 to form a pair (*mithunatvāya*). Since these waves are closely associated with generative power (*ojas*) and manly virtue (*vīrya*) and with the offspring of a buffalo-cow respectively, the ritual use of these waters which constitute a pair (*mithuna*) is a means of bestowing not only *ojas* and *vīrya* but also a pair upon the realm (of the sacrificer). The preparation of *manthin*, that is a mixture of soma and ground meal is likewise said to be *mithunatvāya* (MS. 4, 6, 3: 80, 19), because this draught is a 'pair' (*mithunaṃ vai somaś ca saktavaś ca*) <sup>321</sup>. Similarly 4, 7, 4: 97, 9 in connection with ghee and soma (cf. TS. 6, 5, 8).

The jars (masculine) and pots (feminine) used in sacrificing are given distinctive marks in order to ascribe to them male and female characteristics. Hence TS. 5, 6, 2, 3 *kumbhaś ca kumbhīś ca mithunāni bhavanti mithunasya prajātyai* "The jars and pots make pairs, for the propagation of pairing"; MS. 3, 4, 10: 57, 14 *yat kumbhāś ca kumbhyaś ca tan mithunaṃ. yad dvandvaṃ prajātyai* "The bigger and the smaller jars are a pair; a couple is for the sake of procreation". Cf. also TS. 6, 5, 11, 3.

In a number of places we find some emphasis placed upon the pairing of beings who are conceived of as divine personages. Thus at TS. 1, 6, 4, 4; 1, 7, 4, 5 it reads: "The wives of the gods (and) Agni, the lord of the house, are the pair of the sacrifice. By sacrificing to these deities may I be propagated with a pair". Thus a productive union may by ritual means be effected between a god and a goddess. Says the author of ŚB. 2, 5, 1, 11: "Then follows a potful of boiled rice for Sarasvatī and another for Pūṣan. Sarasvatī is a woman, and Pūṣan a man. Thus . . .". "There is an oblation to Sinīvālī . . . The last is to Indra, and thereby there is a pair" (TS. 2, 4, 6, 2). Or an allusion to a couple of gods may suffice to bring about a union: ŚB. 2, 3, 1, 37 quoting and explaining VS. 3, 10 *rātryendravyeti tad rātryā mithunaṃ karoti*.

The divine pair Sarasvat and Sarasvatī, which is eulogized in RV. 7, 96—or more exactly in 7, 95 and 96, 4–6 and 1–3 respectively—recurs in some brāhmaṇa texts. In the R̥gveda the river goddess, lauded in three hymns and in numerous detached stanzas <sup>322</sup>, is of far greater importance than her male counterpart Sarasvat. The latter makes the impression

<sup>320</sup> For details see J. Schwab, *Das altindische Thieropfer*, Erlangen 1886, p. 161 f.

<sup>321</sup> The cups of pure soma (*śukra*) and of soma mixed with meal (*manthin*) are identified, on the one hand, with Prajāpati's eyes, and on the other with sun and moon (MS. 4, 6, 3: 80, 13). In a passage dealing with the same 'cups' the author of KS. 27, 7: 146, 17 states *yah pātrāṇāṃ grahāṇāṃ somānāṃ mithunaṃ veda tasmād eva mithunāt prajāyate*.

<sup>322</sup> I refer to Macdonell, *o.c.*, p. 86 ff. For Sarasvat see also AVP. 1, 40, 2.

of being a 'secondary' figure<sup>323</sup>; in 1, 164, 52 he is identified with the sun and Agni. ŚB. 7, 5, 1, 31, discussing the rites of the agnicayana, identifies Sarasvat with the mind, Sarasvatī with speech and the pair with the Sārasvata wells or fountains, which are mentioned at VS. 13, 35 (*sārasvatau tvotsau prāvatām iti. mano vai sarasvān. vāk sārasyaty. etau sārasyatā utsau . . .*). The same identification with mind and speech recurs at 11, 2, 6, 3 and 11, 2, 4, 9 where it is moreover correlated with the full and new moon which are mind and speech (11, 2, 4, 8); this led some people to prepare a mess of rice for the male partner on the day of full moon, for the female on the day of new moon (11, 2, 4, 9). Whereas in this text the oblation offered to this pair is based on the principle of substitution, elsewhere their constituting a divine pair is given greater prominence: TS. 2, 4, 6, 1 f. "There are (offerings) to Sarasvant and Sarasvatī (notice the word used in the text). That is a divine pair. Verily in the midst he bestows upon him a divine pair, for growth, for propagation" (*sārasvatau bhavata. etad vai daivyaṃ mithunam. daivyaṃ evāsmāi mithunam madhyato dadhāti, puṣṭyai prajānanāya*). The dakṣiṇā to be given after offering an oblation to the divine pair Sarasvant and Sarasvatī is a pair of oxen (TS. 1, 8, 1, 2; cf. 3, 5, 1, 4)<sup>324</sup>.

The above texts may be a help in understanding why so often special significance is attached to double occurrence or performance, doubling or simultaneity, in short, to a twofold character of an event or an object. The author of KB. 20, 1 (20, 1, 17 ff.) states that three definite sacrificial rites should be performed twice, adding as a motivation and an indication of the results aimed at that "thereby they (respectively) obtain a double portion of proper food, wild and domesticated animals; a double portion of proper food, plants and trees; a double portion of proper food, that which moves in the waters and that which swims". That means that the double performance of a rite automatically duplicates its results. That the double form or nature of a sacral object "serves for prosperity" is explicitly stated at TS. 2, 1, 9, 3 "The sacrificial post is bifurcate, for there are two deities (Mitrāvaruṇau); verily this serves for prosperity" (*viśākho yūpo bhavati, dve hy ete devate samṛddhyai*)<sup>325</sup>. "The *prṣṭhas* go onwards, the *chandomas* go onwards; with both forms they go to the world of heaven"<sup>326</sup>. Mention is also made of the use of two *sāmans*

<sup>323</sup> Cf. also Renou, E.V.P. XV, p. 135.

<sup>324</sup> Explaining VS. 12, 63 "unanimous with Yama and Yamī uplift him (the sacrificer) to the sublimest vault of heaven" ŚB. 7, 2, 1, 10 identifies Yama with Agni and his twin sister (see RV. 10, 10) with the earth; "by these two everything here is kept in check".

<sup>325</sup> Is there a link between this use of the bifurcated *yūpa* for the famous double deity and its occurrence in the Pāñcarātra religion, where it integrates all four *vyūhas* into a single unity, so as to symbolize the all-pervading God? See S. Gupta, in Bull. Adyar Libr. 35, p. 189 ff.

<sup>326</sup> For this translation see A. B. Keith, The Veda of the Black Yajus School, Cambridge Mass. 1914, p. 601, n. 2.

(3, 1, 7, 2) which are identified with sky and earth (7, 3, 5, 3; 7, 4, 2, 3).

The co-existence of these *sāmans rathantara* and *bṛhat* <sup>327</sup> led the author of JB. 1, 294 f. to develop the following argument: there are two classes of animals (cattle), the *rathantara* ones and the *bṛhat* ones, but with regard to human beings these two *sāmans* disagreed. Finally they entered these together, with the result that men have a *rathantara* as well as a *bṛhat* voice (*ubhayīm vācam vadati yā ca rāthantari yā ca bārhati*).

Definite stomas (hymns of praise) are twofold, viz. the even ones and the odd ones (JB. 2, 81 *tasyobhaye stomā bhavanty ayujaś ca yugmantaś ca*). The author continues: The twofold stomas are a divine procreative pair (*daivyaṃ mithunaṃ prajānanam*), to add that the same statement applies to both *rathantara* and *bṛhat* (*ubhe bṛhadrathantare*). Already in the R̥gveda the *gāyatrī* and *triṣṭubh* are distinguished as a complementary pair. RV. 2, 43, 1 *ubhé vācau vadati . . . gāyatrām ca triṣṭubham ca: gānam ca śrautam ca* (Sāyaṇa); "die auf der Gāyatrī- wie die auf der Triṣṭubh-strophe gesungene Weise" (Geldner) <sup>328</sup>. If one recites both *gāyatrī* and *triṣṭubh* stanzas, the author of ŚB. 6, 2, 1, 24 argues, one kindles one's vital power (viz. by the *gāyatrī*s) as well as one's body (viz. by the *triṣṭubh*s), because the *gāyatrī* is the former and the *triṣṭubh* the latter. Cf. also 6, 2, 2, 5; 10. In a passage dealing with the collection of the clay which is to serve a ritual purpose it reads: "he gathers (it) with *gāyatrī* stanzas for a brahman (who is connected with that metre), with *triṣṭubh* stanzas for a nobleman (who is connected with it). If he desires for a man, 'May he be in a better position', he would gather for him with both sets; verily he bestows upon him brilliant energy (*tejas*) and power (*indriyam*) together" (TS. 5, 1, 4, 5). According to AiB. 6, 8, 1 there are two kinds of concluding stanzas of the *hotrakas*, viz. those of the rites which last several days and those of the one day rites. Compare also 6, 23, 7.

"That Agni is *Prajāpati*, but *Prajāpati* is both of this, defined and undefined, limited and unlimited" (ŚB. 6, 5, 3, 7 *ubhayam v etat prajāpatir niruktaś cāniruktaś ca parimitaś cāparimitaś ca*). This statement is continued in an interesting way: "Thus when he makes (bricks) from (clay) prepared with formulas, he thereby makes that form of his (*Prajāpati*'s) which is defined and limited; and when he makes them from (clay) prepared without prayer, he thereby makes up that form of his which is undefined and unlimited. Verily then . . . (he) makes up the whole and complete <sup>329</sup> Agni". Needless to say that this passage is introduced

<sup>327</sup> "In jedem Agniṣtoma in der Reihenfolge der mehrtägigen Soma-opfer kommt immer zuerst dasjenige, bei welchem das erste *Prṣṭha*-stotra auf der *Rathantara*-singweise gesungen wird; dennoch lautet die Zusammensetzung immer *bṛhadrathantare*, während man *rathantarabṛhati* erwartete. Die Reihenfolge beruht aber auf einer grammatischen Regel" (W. Caland, Das Jaiminiya-Brāhmaṇa in Auswahl, Amsterdam Acad. 1919, p. 33, n° 25, n. 1. See Pāṇini, 2, 2, 34).

<sup>328</sup> Geldner, o.c., I, p. 330.

<sup>329</sup> For the idea of completion see below, p. 71 ff.

by the words: "He makes these (bricks) from (clay) prepared with formulas, the others from (clay) prepared without (formulas) ...". Compare also 7, 2, 4, 30; 10, 1, 3, 3; 14, 1, 2, 18.—"Then there are these two formulas, and they are ... speech; thus what twofold form of speech there is, the divine and the human, loud and low, that is these two" (7, 1, 2, 18).

Other instances of ritual pairs or dualities are the following. The curved wooden ladle for pouring sacrificial butter into the fire (*juhū*) is to be placed upon the vessel called *upabhṛt* (see e.g. ĀpŚS. 1, 15, 7; 2, 13, 3; 24, 1, 25; cf. also TB. 3, 7, 6, 8 and the commentary: *ayam prastara ubhayasya (juhūpabhṛllakṣaṇasya) dhartā*). For these two sacrificial ladles (*darvī: juhūpabhṛtau*, Sāyaṇa) cf. RV. 5, 6, 9; cf. VS. 15, 43; TS. 2, 2, 12, 7; for the two pressing stones (*grāvau*) AVŚ. 6, 138, 2. In consequence of a mythological event which has been told in ŚB. 1, 2, 4, 1 priests make use of two objects in performing a sacrifice, viz. of the sacrificial post and the wooden sword, and noblemen in battle of two other objects, viz. a chariot and an arrow (*ibidem*, 2). In VS. 11, 30 the antelope skin and the lotus leaf which are touched by the officiant while reciting the text are said to be "a shelter and a shield (*śarma ca ... varma ca*), uninjured both". For consecration and austerity (*dikṣātapaśi*) see TS. 6, 1, 1, 2.

The worship of the divine powers in order to maintain the universe, life, society and personal interests may be viewed as twofold in nature. "These two, the singing of praises and the utterance of worship, constitute the sacrifice" (ŚB. 1, 9, 1, 4 *ubhayam vā etad yajña eva yat sūktavākaś ca namovākaś ca*). At ŚB. 12, 7, 2, 10 the *sautrāmaṇī*<sup>330</sup> is described as being both an *iṣṭi* offering (consisting of butter, fruits etc.) and an animal sacrifice, that is as both a vegetarian and a bloody sacrifice. See also *ibidem*, 21. At ŚB. 3, 9, 4, 4 the oblations and sacrificial gifts offered are said to constitute a twofold whole (*dvayam ... ca ... ca*).

The double performance of a ritual act can be necessary because the purpose of the rite is twofold<sup>331</sup>. Thus, on the occasion of definite rites

<sup>330</sup> See Gonda, *Die Religionen Indiens*, I, p. 173.

<sup>331</sup> Curious mythical tales were invented in order to account for the existence of some form of natural duality: TS. 5, 5, 4, 1 "The Waters were the wives of Arjuna. Agni longed for them. He had sexual intercourse with them. His seed escaped; it became this (earth). The second (seed) that escaped became yonder (sky)". — Equally curious traditions were handed down on the ritual 'behaviour' of these dualities. Notice also the following remarkable passage: "(In the primeval period) Day and Night (in the commentary figuratively explained as two persons) desired: 'May we escape (the future) day-and-night; may day-and-night not overtake (i.e. destroy) us'. They scattered (to be offered) this oblation (of rice etc. boiled with butter and milk) to day-and-night, (consisting) of two kinds of rice, viz. light-coloured and black, into the milk of two cows of the same mother (comm.) viz. a white and a black one. Thereupon they escaped day-and-night. Him day-and-night do not overtake who worships with this oblation and knows this thus. He (the



it is essential to attain, by means of a complicated twofold ritual performance, "both forms of the year" (TS. 7, 5, 1, 4). Or the sacrificer conquers both worlds by means of a twofold consecration, viz. by water (Varuṇa) and fire (Agni) (5, 6, 2, 1). "If he (the officiant) were to cast it on the gārhapatya fire, he would be rich in cattle in this world; if on the āhavanīya, he would be rich in cattle in yonder world. He casts it on both; verily he makes him (the sacrificer) rich in cattle in both worlds" (TS. 6, 1, 8, 5; 6, 4, 2, 5 f.). Similarly, 6, 6, 4, 1; 7, 3, 5, 2. Compare e.g. also KS. 34, 5: 39, 16 "... in that he has consecrated himself and wears the skin of the black antelope, that is the splendour of brahminical order, in that he girded on his armour and has his bow with the string stretched, that is the splendour of nobility ... that is in order to secure both splendours"; one might compare KS. 9, 3: 106, 14. The sacrifice is viewed as a twofold process of ascent and return: the man who knows this and some particulars regarding the ritual use of some sāmāns conquers both 'worlds' (*ubhayāṃl lokān*) in ascending and returning order (*ye cordhvā ye cārvāṇcaḥ*; JB. 1, 146). Compare also JB. 3, 56. TB. 2, 1, 3, 2 f. *yat pratiṣṭhacati tat paśavyaṃ, yaḥ juhoti tad brahmavarcasi; ubhayam evākaḥ* "in that he pours upon (mixes), that relates to cattle, in that he sacrifices (pours into the fire) that relates to *brahmavarcas*; he has done both" is explained as follows: *pratiṣṭhena paśavyatvaṃ homena brahmavarcasam ity ubhayam api karoty eva*. In order to procure, on behalf of the sacrificer, a double share in happiness (*bhāgadheyam*), viz. that of the evening and that of the morning, one should, in the evening, perform the agnihotra rites with the milk of two cows (MS. 1, 8, 9: 129, 5).

On the other hand, an explanation was sometimes desired to demonstrate that a definite rite, though apparently one and single, actually was double in nature. As to why he should perform the *śunāsīrya* offering<sup>332</sup>, "the prosperity (*śrī*) which accrued to the gods on performing the sākamedha offerings<sup>333</sup> ... is *śuna*, and the essence (*rasa*) which belonged to the year gained by them is *sīra*" (notice the pseudo-etymology!). "Now that same *śrī* ... and that same *rasa*, ... both these (*tad ubhayam*) he takes

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sacrificer) offers here (with the formulas) 'To Day, svāhā! To Night, svāhā! To Escape, svāhā!' (TB. 3, 1, 6, 2 *ahorātre vā akāmayetām. aty ahorātre mucyevahi. na nāv ahorātre āpnuyātām iti. te etam ahorātrābhyāṃ caruṃ niravapatām, dvayānām vrihiṇām, śuklānām ca kṛṣṇānām ca, savātyor dūgdhe, śvetāyāi ca kṛṣṇāyāi ca. tato vai te aty ahorātre amucyete. nainam ahorātre āpnutaḥ ya etena haviṣā yajate, ya u cainad evaṃ veda. so 'tra juhoti: ahne svāhā rātriyaḥ svāhā. atimuktyai svāheti*).

<sup>332</sup> See e.g. A. Hillebrandt, *Ritualliteratur*, Strassburg 1897, p. 119; Gonda, *Die Religionen Indiens*, I, p. 139; 164.

<sup>333</sup> See Hillebrandt, o.e., p. 117 f.; Gonda, o.e., p. 146; 163: "Die ... Cāturmāsya (the three sacrifices performed at the beginning of the three seasons) setzen den universellen Prozess des Reifens während des Jahres ins Werk; dadurch gewinnt der Opferer das Jahr (ŚB. 2, 6, 3, 1) ... Am ersten Tage des nächsten Jahres folgen Śunāsīrya, das das alte Jahr abschliesst und das neue inauguriert, und andere Opfer ...".



possession of and makes his own. That is why he performs the *śunāsīrya* rite" (ŚB. 2, 6, 3, 2; similarly, in 4).

It is also important to notice that significance was attached to the simultaneity of two acts. The reason why, for instance, one of the officiants has to put potsherds on the *gārhapatya* fire and the *adhvaryu*, at the same moment, two mill-stones on the black antelope skin is at ŚB. 1, 2, 1, 1 f. said to be this: the potsherds (plates) are related to the skull bones and the ground rice is nothing else than the brain. Since the combination of skull and brain forms one limb, they think "‘Let us put that (which is) one together! Let us make it one!’ Thus they think, and therefore the two acts are done simultaneously". That in particular cases simultaneity of ritual acts was a necessity is also apparent from ŚB. 1, 2, 2, 5: "These two acts are done simultaneously. The reason . . . is that one half of the body of the sacrifice no doubt is that butter, and the other half is this burnt offering. (They think:) ‘Let us take to the fire that half and this half, these two’. For this reason those two acts are done simultaneously, and thus this body of the sacrifice is joined together". What is worth noticing is that here simultaneity is closely associated with the constitution of a whole by means of two complementary parts. In certain circumstances the simultaneous use of two objects of ritual significance leads to a double effect. If, in a definite rite, one anoints with coagulated milk (which is a food of the village) mixed with honey (which is a food of the jungle) "one wins both" (TS. 5, 2, 8, 6 *dadhnā madhumisreṇābhyanakti . . . grāmyaṃ vā etad annaṃ yad dadhy āraṇyaṃ madhu; yad dadhnā madhumisreṇābhyanakty ubhayaśvāvaruddhyaī*). Similarly, 5, 2, 9, 3; 5, 4, 5, 2; 5, 5, 10, 5.

The poet of VS. 40, 11 makes mention of two cults, the combination of which is expressly enjoined, "since the fruits can be obtained only by one and the same person successively, and not by different persons practising each cult independently"<sup>334</sup>: *saṃbhūtiṃ ca vināśaṃ ca yas tad vedobhayaṃ saha*. In st. 40, 14 he states that the man who practises the sacred rites (=nescience, Uvaṭa and Mahīdhara) and conjointly cultivates the science (of the deities) attains the fruits of both; overcoming death by nescience, he gains endless life by science: *vidyāṃ cāvidyāṃ ca yas tad vedobhayaṃ saha / avidyayā mṛtyuṃ nītvā vidyayāmṛtam aśnute*<sup>335</sup>.

In cases such as ŚB. 2, 4, 4, 5 referring to a brahman who was *purohita* both to the Kurus and the Śrījayas we can easily imagine that his position was held to be higher than that of one who is the *purohita* of one kingdom.

Elsewhere some information is given on a single entity which divides or doubles itself so as to become twofold. "The *Virāj* (a particular metre) dividing itself, stayed among the gods with brahman, among the asuras with food. The gods desired, 'May we acquire both brahman and food' "

<sup>334</sup> R. T. H. Griffith, *The texts of the White Yajurveda*, Benares 1927, p. 366.

<sup>335</sup> Cf. also places such as RV. 9, 67, 25; ŚB. 3, 8, 3, 33; 3, 9, 3, 29 f.

(TS. 7, 3, 9, 1). (It may be remembered that the *virāj* is "all food": e.g. ŚB. 13, 6, 2, 3).

Texts such as ŚB. 5, 3, 1, 10 *te vā ete dve salī ratne ekaṃ karoti sampadaḥ kāmāya* "these two (viz. the keeper of the dice and the slaughterer) while being (the) two jewels (of the king, i.e. royal dignitaries<sup>336</sup>), he makes one for the purpose of completion (completeness or perfection)" may likewise be regarded as testifying to the importance of unity consisting of, or produced by, duality.

Passing mention may in this connection be made of the well-known direction to perform and, in the same connection, omit performing a definite ritual act in order to achieve a double effect. In a discussion of the offering to Vāstospati it is stated that the right animal should be yoked, the left not yoked; "verily one does both (*ubhayam*) and appeases him completely" (TS. 3, 4, 10, 4; cf. MS. 1, 5, 13: 82, 6). See e.g. also TS. 6, 5, 9, 4; 7, 3, 1, 3.

The significance of the idea of "the pair" is also illustrated by the mythological narrative recounted at ŚB. 1, 5, 4, 6 ff. When, in one of their contentions for superiority, the gods and asuras were not able to overcome each other, the asuras proposed to regard that party as defeated which could not follow up the uttered speech of the others by making a pair. Then, on behalf of the gods, Indra said: "One" (*eka*, masc.); the others replying "One" (*ekā*, fem.) "found that (desired) pair". Thus they continued up to and including four, but when Indra had pronounced the numeral five (*pañca*), "the others found no pair, for after 'four' there is no pair, for then both (masculine and feminine) are *pañca*. Then the asuras were defeated...". What remains single and cannot be completed is sterile, unhelpful, insufficient.

Although ritual practice is in the brāhmaṇas always in the background there are many passages of a somewhat wider scope in which some form of duality is made an element in the argumentation, distinguished for the sake of a definite conclusion, or co-ordinated with, or opposed to, another duality<sup>337</sup>. The dualities occurring in these passages belong, if we would judge them by our classifications, partly to the domains of myths or rites, partly to the provinces of psychology or physiology; they may also be social, economic, or ontological in nature.

"In the beginning there were two kinds of beings here (*dvayyo ha vā idam agre prajā āsuḥ*), the Ādityas and the Aṅgirases. The Aṅgirases

<sup>336</sup> See J. C. Heesterman, The ancient Indian royal consecration, Thesis Utrecht 1957, p. 49, n. 2.

<sup>337</sup> In a separate article I purpose dealing with the relations between this 'Vedic duality' (including such 'opposites' as *sat* and *asat*) and the 'pairs of opposites' or 'dualism' in general in post-Vedic thought.

then were the first to prepare a sacrifice . . ." (ŚB. 3, 5, 1, 13). Interestingly enough both groups are at 12, 2, 2, 9 explicitly said to have sprung from Prajāpati (*ubhaye prājāpatyāḥ*); that means that they were 'brothers'. "The Ādityas and the Aṅgirasas", the author of PB. 24, 2, 2 informs his readers, "combined this sacrificial session" (i.e. performed it together: *sattraṃ samadadhata*). Of the Ādityas it was the twenty-one-day rite; of the Aṅgirasas, the twelve-day rite. The Ādityas became prosperous in this and yonder world; the Aṅgirasas became prosperous in this and yonder world (*aṅgirasas 'pi svabhāgena lokadvayasamṛddhiṃ prāpnūvan*, comm.). It is a double sacrificial session (*dvayaṃ sattraṃ*). As much welfare as they (the participants) get by a double *sattra*, so great is the welfare reached by these (days, viz. through this rite).

That the tendency to divide various categories of beings, entities, facts, phenomena into two groups, or to distinguish among them two complementary classes is indeed one of the characteristics of the brāhmaṇa literature may also appear from passages such as the following. If a definite accident should happen both at the morning and evening ceremonies, both categories of gods are deprived of their share (TB. 3, 7, 1, 7).—"Spring, summer and the rains (represent) the gods; autumn, winter and the cool season (represent) the Fathers" (ŚB. 2, 1, 3, 1). The presumed ritual consequences of this bipartite grouping and some other additional inferences are described in the subsequent paragraphs of this section. In 9 the author concludes his argument as follows: "In the opinion of others both these (*ubhaye*) (viz. classes of) seasons have the evil dispelled from them, for . . . as soon as he (the sun) rises he dispels the evil from both these (*ubhayeṣāṃ*)".

In the brāhmaṇa literature cases of dichotomy in the literal sense of the term are not uncommon: ŚB. 1, 2, 2, 4 "he now divides it into two halves (*dvedhā karoti*), if there be two oblations . . . He then touches them . . . with the respective formulas (VS. 1, 22) 'This to Agni'. 'This to Agni-and-Soma'. Separately indeed they take that sacrificial food . . .; then they thresh it together; then they grind it together; then he again divides it; for this reason he thus touches (them separately)"; 2, 5, 2, 41; 2, 5, 3, 6 "They put that (pap) on two plates or two dishes in two equal parts"; 3, 8, 3, 19; 4, 1, 3, 14.

Argumentation with twofold entities or with distinctions between complementary phenomena is far from rare. According to JB. 1, 127 "The gāyatrī metre comprises two melodies (viz. the *gāyatra* and the *āmahiṇyava* <sup>338</sup>); it is this 'breath' (*prāṇa*) which goes downwards. That is why people bring about, by means of this, something double (*dvayam*), viz. faeces and wind (flatulence). The bṛhatī comprises two melodies (viz. the *raurava* and *yaudhājaya*); it is this breath which goes forwards. That is why people bring about, by means of this, something double;

<sup>338</sup> Cf. W. Caland, *Das Jaiminiya-Brāhmaṇa in Auswahl*, Amsterdam Acad. 1919, p. 32.

they ejaculate semen and they urinate . . .". Cf. also ŚB. 1, 3, 3 and 4. JUB. 1, 53, 1 (1, 17, 1, 1) it reads: "Verily, this (All) was twofold in the beginning: the existent and the non-existent<sup>339</sup> (*dvayam vāvedam agra āsīt sac caivāsac ca*). Of these two the existent, that is the *sāman*, 'mind' (*manas*), exhalation (*prāṇaḥ*); and the non-existent, that is the *ṛc*, speech, inhalation (*apāṇaḥ*). That which is mind and exhalation, that is the same, and that which is speech and inhalation, that is the same (*tad yan manaś ca prāṇaś ca tat samānam*). That resort (*āyatanam*) is mind and expiration, this resort is speech and inhalation . . .". See also passages such as PB. 2, 15, 3, dealing with the 'vital airs' on both sides, i.e. above and below the navel (cf. ŚB. 9, 4, 3, 6). The metra *kakubh* and *uṣṇih* which served Indra as a means of lifting the vajra in order to kill Vṛtra are at JB. 1, 158 f. not only said to have arisen from Indra's feet, but also regarded as identical to a milch-cow and a bull. By means of the grammatical device of the repeated *ca* and the adjectives *dvaya* or *ubhaya* couples of entities of religious importance can be formed and expressed to which a definite function is assigned in the ritual or in a ritual argument. That our existence is governed by conditions of time and space was very well known to Vedic man, though expressed as follows: "These worlds are enveloped by the seasons and the quarters (the regions of the universe); in both of them he firmly establishes the sacrificer" (PB. 12, 4, 9). According to ŚB. 2, 1, 3, 1 ff. three seasons (see above), the increasing half-moon, the day and the forenoon represent the gods, three other seasons, the decreasing half-moon, night and the afternoon the Fathers.

The fact that the hotar recites two ukthas with one hymn each, whereas his assistants (the hotrakas) recite one uktha with two hymns is at GB. 2, 6, 6 explained as follows: the hotar is identical with the sun, who is one only; therefore he recites one hymn. The hotrakas are the rays which, though being single, have, each of them, two colours; therefore the hotrakas recite one uktha with two hymns.

A most interesting combination is that which induced the author of ŚB. 6, 4, 4, 10 to dwell at some length upon VS. 11, 47 *ṛtaṁ satyam ṛtaṁ satyam* . . .: "... *ṛta* indeed is this Agni, and *satya* is yonder sun; or, rather, the *ṛta* is yonder sun, the *satyam* is this (Agni); but, indeed, this Agni is both the one and the other (*ubhayam v etad ayam agniḥ*). That is why he says '*ṛtaṁ satyam ṛtaṁ satyam*'". *Ṛta* and *satya* are complementary concepts<sup>340</sup> and Agni and the sun are on the other hand two aspects of fire.

More than once the twofold character of an entity is made an argument in a passage dealing with two material objects used in ritual practice: "With two (formulas) he digs,—two-footed is the sacrificer, and the

<sup>339</sup> Thus H. Oertel, in Journ. Am. Or. Soc. 16, p. 130.

<sup>340</sup> See my observations in Oriens 13-14 (Leiden 1960-1961), p. 400 ff. and now also W. Norman Brown, in Congr. Vol.-J. Gonda, p. 62 ff.



sacrificer is Agni . . . And twofold also is that form of his, (consisting) as it does of clay and water" (ŚB. 6, 4, 1, 3 dealing with the digging of the lump of clay, one of the ritual acts to be performed by those who construct the great fire place; cf. also 6, 4, 1, 12). See 6, 2, 1, 8: "And having gathered both that clay and water, he made a brick; hence a brick consists of these two (*ubhayam*), clay and water (. . . *ca* . . . *ca*)". Compare also 10, 1, 3, 3. It may be added that in stating the twofold nature of an entity the observation is explicitly made that "there is no third": "Twofold, verily, is this, there is no third, to wit the real (truth) and untruth. And verily the gods are the real (truth) and man is the untruth" (at 1, 1, 1, 4; 3, 3, 2, 2; 3, 9, 4, 1 *dvayam vā idam na tṛtīyam asti satyam caivāṇṛtaṃ ca; satyam eva devā anṛtaṃ manuṣyāḥ*); similarly, 1, 6, 3, 23.

There are ritual acts which must be performed "twofold" even while they are done "in one" (ŚB. 3, 5, 2, 10).

In a comparable way the authorities deal with the mixing of both kinds of sap or water (ŚB. 3, 9, 3, 30); "there are two kinds of sap, that which is in (the) plants and that which is in water" (4, 4, 5, 20 . . . *ubhayam rasam . . . yaś ca . . . yaś ca* . . .). That which affords the means of subsistence is according to ŚB. 2, 3, 1, 10 of two kinds, namely, either consisting of roots, or rootless, a distinction which, in the next sentence, appears to apply also to cattle which are rootless and plants which are stated to be rooted. Compare 12, 7, 2, 9 where cultivated and wild grain are said to be both kinds of food, and PB. 6, 9, 9. There are seven domesticated animals and seven wild animals, and there are seven metres to win both sets of animals (TS. 6, 1, 8, 1 . . . *ubhayasyāvaruddhyai*). Similarly, 5, 2, 5, 5; 6, 3, 7, 5; 7, 2, 2, 1. And notice also passages such as *dvayā u ha vai paśavo: rāthantarā anye, bārhatā anye* "there are two kinds of animals, the rathantara ones on the one hand and the bṛhat ones on the other" (JB. 2, 84).

Some places may follow here in order once again to show the full ritual import of this dichotomous way of thought. It is 'mind' and 'word' which, when yoked together, convey the sacrifice to the gods (ŚB. 1, 4, 4, 2 *manaś ca haiva vāk ca yujau devebhyo yajñam vahataḥ*). "These two, the singing of praises and the utterance of worship, constitute the sacrifice" (1, 9, 1, 4 *ubhayam vā etad yajña eva yat sūktavākaś ca namovākaś ca*); "The reason why he touches his face is twofold . . ." (1, 9, 3, 7 *dvayam tad yasmān mukham upaspr̥ṣate*; cf. 10; 18). Compare also 4, 4, 3, 15. "When he pours ghee on the uttaravedi, he does it twofold even while doing it in one (viz. by pouring the ghee cross-wise: 3, 5, 2, 10 *tad vā etad ekam kurvan dvayam karoti yad uttaravedim vyāghārayati*). He then offers or addresses (the horses) . . .: this is twofold, because he either offers or addresses. Whether he offers or addresses, the significance is the same . . ." (5, 1, 5, 21).

Thus these identifications and dichotomous arguments are always apt



to be practically or ritually evaluated or to find their ritual application. "All this (universe) is twofold, unguent and brilliance (*snehaś caiva tejaś ca*); both of these are obtained by day and night. In that they undertake the *atirātra* (a definite sacrificial rite performed over-night), (it) is for the obtaining of unguent and brilliance" (KB. 17, 5 = 17, 4, 20 ff. Sarma; GB. 2, 5, 3). At ŚB. 3, 9, 4, 4 it is argued that a pressing stone gives twofold, viz. oblations and sacrificial gifts, because the pressing produces an oblation and offering an oblation leads to a sacrificial gift.

Not infrequently such a division into two classes, groups or entities is correlated with two gods, who then tend to be represented as a couple, if not as a unity. There are two things in the cow, viz. ghee which is the brilliant energy of Agni, and milk which is the brilliant energy of Soma. "He who knows thus the brilliant energy of Agni-somau becomes brilliantly energetic" (TS. 2, 5, 2, 7). The first libation (*pūrvāhuti*) which is made is the deity of the agnihotra . . . and the second libation (*uttarāhuti*) is indeed equivalent to (Agni) Sviṣṭakṛt . . . Moreover, this second libation is made in order to effect a pairing, for a couple forms a productive pair (ŚB. 2, 3, 1, 23 . . . *tan mithunāyaivaiṣā dvitīyāhutir hūyate, dvandvaṃ hi mithunaṃ prajānanam*). "For twofold indeed is this (clotted ghee), to wit, both ghee and sour milk,—and a productive union means a couple: thus a productive union is thereby effected" (3, 8, 4, 7). These two libations, then, constitute a couple, the past and the future, the born and the to-be-born, the actual (that which has come into existence, the, accomplished) and the hope, the today and the tomorrow,—(these are) "after the manner of that dyad" (2, 3, 1, 24 *tvaḍ dvayam evaite āhuti, bhūtaṃ caiva bhaviṣyac ca jūtaṃ ca janīṣyamāṇaṃ cāgataṃ cāsā cādya ca śvaś ca tad dvayam evānu*): a text suggestive of the high importance attached to the idea of duality.

But it is not merely gods in the sense we would attach to this term which Vedic man tended to combine so as to constitute biunities. Other potencies regarded as divine are elements of similar arguments. In describing the preparation of sacrificial cakes the author of ŚB. 1, 2, 2, 2, while quoting VS. 1, 21 *sam āpa oṣadhibhiḥ . . . prcyaṇtām* "Let the waters mingle with the plants (viz. the rice) etc.", states that the waters indeed unite with the ground rice, the plants with the sap, viz. that ground rice with the water, for water is their sap, the shining ones (the waters) with the moving (the plants), "and these two are thereby mixed together". Neither plants when eaten alone satiate, nor water when drunk alone; "only when the two are united they satiate, for then they are sapful" (ŚB. 3, 6, 1, 7).

Natural pairs are sometimes correlated with double deities. When the king, being consecrated, is invested with bow and arrows the officiant (*adhvaryu*) strikes his <sup>341</sup> two arms while pronouncing the formula "Mitra's

<sup>341</sup> Here I follow, with Eggeling (The Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa translated, III, Oxford 1894, p. 88, n. 1) and others, Sāyaṇa; according to other ancient commen-

thou art, Varuṇa thou art", "for the bow is within the two arms and by his two arms a prince pertains to Mitra-and-Varuṇa" (ŚB. 5, 3, 5, 28 . . . *bāhubhyām vai rājanyo maitravaruṇaḥ*; similarly, 5, 4, 1, 16; 5, 4, 3, 5; etc.<sup>342</sup>). The vital powers combining in pairs may be conceived of as belonging to dual deities: "These vital powers in man belong to dual deities; word and the breaths to Indra-and-Vāyu; eye and 'mind' to Mitra-and-Varuṇa, hearing and the ātman to the Aśvins" (KS. 27, 5: 144, 6 *ye vā ime puruṣe prāṇās te dvidevatyā, vāk ca prāṇās caindravāyavaś cakṣuś ca manaś ca maitravaruṇaś śrotraṃ cātmā cāśvinah*).

In connection with these frequent associations or identifications of dual deities with other dualities places such as AV. 2, 16, 1 f. demand consideration: "O inspiration-and-expiration (*prāṇāpānu*), protect me from death, hail! O Heaven-and-Earth (*dyāvapṛthivī*), protect me by listening, hail!". Here a physiological pair and a cosmic pair, the latter being also one of the well-known double deities, are mentioned in close succession and in parallel invocations; that means, they are put on a par.

That however the relations between dual deities and natural or ritual pairs were not entirely fixed, but admitted, pour besoin de la cause, of a certain latitude can easily be concluded from KB. 28, 9 (28, 6, 28 ff.)<sup>343</sup>. Describing the sacrifice as a man the author identifies the *ājya* with his speech, which is "one only", to draw the inference that the *ājya* is recited with one deity only (*ekadevatyam*). He continues: "The maitravaruṇa and the achāvāka are the two arms; these are twofold; therefore they recite (stanzas) for two deities at the morning pressing" (. . . *dvidevatyāḥ śamsataḥ*), adding that the same functionaries are the two thighs and hence recite (stanzas) for two deities<sup>344</sup>. The brāhmaṇacchampsin on the other hand is said to be the organ of generation in the middle and to recite (stanzas) to two deities because from that organ two 'forms' arise, viz. the male and the female.

In describing the horse sacrifice the authorities assign the various parts of the victim to a host of deities, among whom are also 'potencies' or 'concepts' which for the occasion are put on a par with the well-known divine figures. Thus the victim's breath is (quite naturally) to gratify Vāta, the pupils of his eyes Lightning. In the long enumeration (cf. VS. 25, 1 ff.)—the total number of deities is 131!—the following dual deities make their appearance<sup>345</sup>: Heaven-and-Earth who are (symbolically) gratified with the victim's eyelashes (which are stated to be "effectual, and irresistible"); "the deity called Nāsike, i.e. the "Two Nostrils"

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tators the ends (arms) of the bow are meant. Cf. also Heesterman, The ancient Indian royal consecration, p. 95.

<sup>342</sup> I refer to my book The Vedic god Mitra, Leiden 1972, p. 19 f.

<sup>343</sup> Cf. AiB. 6, 4.

<sup>344</sup> Not "to one deity" (A. B. Keith, Rigveda brahmanas, Cambridge Mass. 1920, p. 518).

<sup>345</sup> Cf. also E. Dumont, L'Aśvamedha, Paris-Louvain 1927, p. 203 f.

(commentaries) with its 'inspiration' (*apāna*); the (deity called) Ears with its "internal ears" (organs of hearing); Indra-and-Agni with the first rib on its left side, Agni-and-Soma—who are mentioned twice—with the sixth rib and the hind quarters; Heaven-and-Earth with its right flank, the two Curlews—regarded as semi-sacred birds <sup>346</sup>—with the hips; Indra-and-Bṛhaspati with the thighs; Mitra-and-Varuṇa with the groins; the two cakravākas—another pair of semi-sacred birds—with the cardiac bones.

TB. 1, 5, 9, 7, dealing with a sacrifice in honour of a double deity, adds the following explanation: "Twofold, one should know, is the sacrificer in this world, viz. bones and flesh. The sacrificer puts together (*saṃskurute* "makes perfect") his bones and flesh".

Combinations of single and dual deities <sup>347</sup> will arrest our attention also in the following chapters. By way of introduction mention may be made here of the so-called *triṣaṃyuktam havis* (TS. I, 8, 8; TB. 1, 7, 2, 1 ff.; ĀpŚS. 18, 10, 5 etc.) which consists of six sacrifices, viz. three pairs of havis oblations (burnt offerings), severally followed by a cake or caru (an oblation of boiled rice, barley etc.): one offers to Agni-and-Viṣṇu on eleven potsherds (plates) (*agnāvaiṣṇavam ekūdaśakapālaṃ nirvapati*), to Indra-and-Viṣṇu on eleven potsherds, to Viṣṇu on three potsherds; to Agni-and-Soma on eleven potsherds, to Indra-and-Soma on eleven potsherds, to Soma a caru; to Soma-and-Pūṣan an oblation (*caru*), to Indra-and-Pūṣan a caru, to Pūṣan a caru. See e.g. also ŚB. 5, 2, 5, 1-17; KŚS. 15, 2, 11 ff. etc. <sup>348</sup>.

AVPaipp. 10, 13, a prayer and curse consisting of ten parallel and with the exception of the proper names identical stanzas is another interesting instance. The poet implores one after the other the following deities to gird themselves on his behalf: Dyāvāpṛthivī, Vātāpavamānau, Indrāgnī, Mitrāvaruṇā, Bhavāśarvā, the Āśvins, the Maruts, the Pitaras (Fathers), Sūryacandramasau (Sun and Moon), Ahorātre (Day and Night). Two details are worth noticing: first, there are no single deities, the eight dual divinities being accompanied by two well-known groups, the Maruts and the Fathers, and in the second place, there are two uncommon combinations. Pavamāna is another name of the wind, Vāyu (cf. e.g. TS. 7, 5, 20 <sup>349</sup>)—we should not think here of Soma pavamāna—and both names Vāta and Vāyu denote, it is true, the physical phenomenon as well as the deity, but the former is chiefly the element and the latter the god. In contradistinction to Vāyu who is associated with Indra, Vāta is, intelligibly enough, only connected with Parjanya, the god of rain (RV. 10, 66, 10). It may therefore be said that in the ritualistic systematization of the authorities to whom we owe the brāhmaṇas the

<sup>346</sup> Cf. Rām. 1, 2, 9 ff.

<sup>347</sup> See above, p. 11 f.

<sup>348</sup> Cf. Eggeling's note, The Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa translated, III, Oxford 1894, p. 54. For a detailed description see Heesterman, o.c., p. 41 ff.

<sup>349</sup> Cf. also Agni pavamāna = breath (ŚB. 2, 2, 1, 6; 10).

dual deities could also supply a need in case they wanted to co-ordinate single, double or plural entities with divinities: cf. KS. 13, 8: 190, 1 ff. . . . *sā yā dvirūpā sābhavat tasmāt sā maitrāvaruṇī . . . yā bahurūpā sābhavat tasmāt sā vaiśvadevī*. It can hardly be a matter of chance that the animal sacrifices to be performed in autumn, winter and the cool season should be dedicated to double deities, the other to single gods (ŚB. 13, 5, 4, 28; ĀpŚS. 20, 23, 11)<sup>350</sup>.

It is worth noticing that the first stanza of RV. 7, 35 which is a long prayer for divine assistance addressed to all the gods, many of whom are stereotypically and in parallel sentences addressed individually, contains the names of four paired deities, viz. Indrāgnī, Indrāvaruṇā, Indrāsomā, and Indrāpūṣaṇā. This can hardly be due to the merest chance. On the contrary these pairs, almost symmetrically distributed over the four quarters of the stanza, may be supposed to have pride of place because the author attached much value to an impressive exordium.

The above explanatory observations are not to exclude the possibility of other contributing forces in this process. Just as in daily life, in politics and time of war, the acquisition of an ally or associate might mean a welcome addition to one's power and influence, just as Vedic man must always have been aware that union means force, gods could easily be supposed to contract a friendship or an alliance with one another or to enter into engagements. At RV. 7, 83, 1 it reads: *yuvāṃ narā páśyamānāsa dpyam prācā gavyāntaḥ prthupārśavo yayuḥ | dāsā ca vṛtrā hatām dryāṇi ca suddsam indrāvaruṇdvasāvatam* "When they saw you, O Lords, your alliance (friendship), those who are desirous of cattle went forwards, men of broad breasts. 'Slay the barbarian and the Aryan antagonists and assist (favour) Sudās, O Indra-and-Varuṇa'".

According to adherents of the Yajurveda a double oblation to Mitra and Brhaspati forms part of the dikṣā ceremony of the rājasūya<sup>351</sup>. The offering consists of a special mixture of husked rice grains which belong to Brhaspati and unhusked rice grains which are Mitra's (TS. 1, 8, 9, 1 f.). This ritual fact necessitated the use of the compound Mitrā-brhaspati (ŚB. 5, 3, 2, 4; 8) and the derivative *maitrā-bārhaspatya* (TS. 1, 8, 9, 2; 5, 6, 11, 1 etc.). At ŚB. 5, 3, 2, 4, a motive is given for this ritual act. This double deity is said to be "the path of the sacrifice", because Mitra is brahman (neuter), Brhaspati is brahman and brahman and the sacrificial rite are identical. "Thus he (the sacrificer) returns to the path of the sacrifice . . . and is consecrated; therefore he prepares

<sup>350</sup> See above, p. 13.

<sup>351</sup> For particulars see Gonda, *The Vedic god Mitra*, p. 82.



a caru for Mitra-and-Bṛhaspati". See also ĀpŚS. 22, 25, 11: although the same author at 18, 11, 12 ff. speaks of separate oblations for both gods, "war die Absicht des Verfassers . . . wohl, dass das Maitrābārhaspatyam eine einzige Iṣṭi bildet"<sup>352</sup>. See also 18, 11, 8 f.

Sometimes the text itself warrants the supposition that the relation of a ritual entity to a double deity enables gods and men to achieve a definite object with a greater chance of success. "The ukthas, which are three in number, are (each of them) related to two gods" (*dvidevatyāni*), viz. Indra-and-Varuṇa, Indra-and-Bṛhaspati, Indra-and-Viṣṇu (*aindrā-varuṇam* etc.). This procedure enabled the gods to take (away, viz. from the asuras) the six 'cows of plenty' (*kāmadughās*), viz. cow, horse, goat, sheep, rice and barley. These six cows of plenty stand near to the man who knows thus (ready to serve him)" (JB. 1, 181). In the same connection PB. 8, 8, 8, whilst identifying the ukthas with cattle, states that the man who desires to obtain cattle should perform such a sacrifice. A mythological connection between the ukthas and the cows of plenty was also present to the mind of BŚS. 18, 47: Indra transforms three of the four cows of plenty into the three ukthas and gives the fourth—the origin of agriculture—to Manu.

It is hardly necessary to point out that in the oldest corpus references to co-operation or to simultaneity of action such as RV. 1, 44, 2 are quite common: "(O Agni,) in conjunction with both Aśvins, with Uṣas, procure us . . . renown" or 1, 157, 1 are very frequent; cf. also cases as 1, 156, 4 f.; 1, 161, 6. Juxtapositions of the type 6, 28, 5 "These cows appeared to me to be Bhaga, these cows Indra" (*gāvo bhāgo gāva indro me achān*) ("Bhaga ist der Schenker, Indra der Kuhschenker vorzugsweise"<sup>353</sup>) and, in connection with these, identifications such as "Indra is Bhaga" (3, 36, 5); common dedications as occur e.g. 5, 43, 9 *prā . . . nāmaūktim . . . pūṣṇā utā vāyōr adikṣi* or combinations of the type 5, 46, 4 *utā no viṣṇur utā vāto . . . māyas karat*; 5, 51, 8 (Aśvins and Uṣas); 5, 46, 5 (Bṛhaspati and Pūṣan); 6 (Bhaga and Aditi); 5, 49, 1 (Savitar and Bhaga; cf. 5, 82, 1; 7, 38, 1); 6, 52, 6 (Indra and Sarasvatī) may have contributed to the development of the phenomenon of dual divinities. Yet not all closely associated deities came to assume the character of divine dualities or to occasion the rise of devatādvandvas. Although Indra and the goddess Sarasvatī are closely associated in RV. 2, 30, 8 and 6, 52, 6, a devatādvandva Indra-and-Sarasvatī has not, as far as I am able to see, arisen. Other instances are the creation of the two 'illusions' Suparṇī and Kadrū in ŚB. 3, 2, 4, 1: *ta* (the gods) *ete māye asṛjanta suparṇīm ca kadrūm ca* and, in 3, 2, 4, 6, Soma and Vāc (*somaś ca vāk ca*) which are said to be with the gods. In these cases also dvandva compounds do not seem to have come into existence.

<sup>352</sup> W. Caland, *Das Śrautasūtra des Āpastamba*, II, Amsterdam Acad. 1928, p. 136.

<sup>353</sup> Geldner, o.c., II, p. 128.



Similar observations may be made in connection with *indranāsatya* (RV. 8, 26, 8) "Indra and the Āsvins" on the one hand and *āsvinā vāyūnā . . . sajoṣasā* etc. on the other. The close relations between Uṣas and the Āsvins (see e.g. RV. 1, 92) have not led the poets to combine their names so as to form a dvandva.

In other cases however devatādvandvas did develop although their occurrences are limited to a few places. Thus, according to TS. 5, 6, 20 enumerating the many victims to be offered to a large number of single or dual deities (*āsvamedha*) the white-spotted hornless animals are dedicated to Indra-and-Sūrya. The adjective *aindrāsūra* occurs also at BSS. 15, 23: 227, 6; 15, 28: 232, 3. KS. 49, 10 prefers *aindrasaura*. Quite intelligibly a white and a black victim are offered to Sūrya and Yama (ŚB. 13, 2, 2, 7; cf. VS. 24, 1 *saurayāmau*).

A similar occasional combination is, at TS. 5, 6, 18, "the black-spotted hornless ones are for Agni and Viṣṇu (*āgnāvaiṣṇavāḥ*)", the preceding animals being dedicated to Soma-and-Indra, Indra-and-Viṣṇu, Agni-and-Indra who are of more frequent occurrence. However, an *āgnāvaiṣṇava* cake is also mentioned at KB. 7, 2 (7, 3, 2); ŚB. 3, 1, 3, 5; cf. 5, 2, 3, 6; 5, 2, 5, 2; 6, 6, 1, 2; 5 etc. It is the ordinary cake-offering prescribed for the *dikṣā* of the normal soma-sacrifice and has its *raison d'être* in a definite belief in a special relation of the gods Agni and Viṣṇu to the sacrifice<sup>354</sup>. See also 3, 3, 4, 21; 3, 6, 3, 19, where Viṣṇu is identified with Soma. "Its ritualistic explanation (*brāhmaṇam*) is the same as what

<sup>354</sup> In a chapter devoted to the relations between the text of the Ṛgveda and the *brāhmaṇas* Oldenberg (H. Oldenberg, *Die Hymnen des Ṛgveda*, I, Berlin 1888, p. 361) at the time argued that the *pratīkas agnir mukham prathamam devatānām* and *agnis ca viṣṇo tapa uttamaṁ mahat* (AiB. 1, 4, 7; the text is given in full in *ĀsvSS.* 4, 2, 3), which do not occur in the Ṛgveda, should "im äussersten Fall an die späteste Grenze der Ṛgliteratur (geschoben werden); entscheidend ist aber, dass in beiden (Versen) das Wort *dikṣā* auftritt. Begriff und Bezeichnung der *Dikṣā* lässt sich nicht in den Ṛgveda zurückverfolgen . . . Hier sehen wir nun sehr klar, wie die jüngeren Liturgiker, um nicht bei der *Dikṣā* Verse, welche zu diesem Ritus wirklich passten, ganz entbehren zu müssen, mit eigenem Machwerk aushalfen; die Götter der betreffenden Verse sind die leitenden Gottheiten der *Dikṣā*, Agni und Viṣṇu: eine dem Ṛgveda fremde Götterzusammenstellung . . . Es mag bei dieser Gelegenheit darauf hingewiesen werden, dass überhaupt die zwischen Reihen von Ṛgversen auftretenden jüngeren Verse häufig an Gottheiten gerichtet sind, in Bezug auf welche der Ṛgveda versagte, so dass man den Grund sieht, aus welchem eben hier die Liturgiker den Kreis der *Rik*texte verliessen". Hillebrandt (A. Hillebrandt, in *Gott. Gel. Anz.* 1889, I, p. 401) however, had his doubts: "ich bin nicht überzeugt, dass die Verbindung . . . Agni-Viṣṇu an und für sich spät ist". Places testifying to ancient relations between both gods are, *inter alia*, RV. 5, 3, 3 and 10, 1, 3, discussed by Bergaigne, *Religion védique*, II, p. 416 who even went so far as to conclude that "Vishṇu ne diffère pas essentiellement d'Agni", which (notwithstanding RV. 2, 1, 3) is an untenable proposition. In *Aspects of early Viṣṇuism* (Utrecht 1954, <sup>2</sup>Delhi 1969), p. 111 I observed that Viṣṇu, being the sacrifice, is quite naturally often allied with those gods who maintain close connections with this institution, viz. Agni and Soma. For Viṣṇu and Agni see p. 112 ff.

is (implied) in a preparatory ceremony”<sup>355</sup> (6, 6, 1, 5). A clear motivation is furnished at 3, 1, 3, 1 “Agni is the lower half and Viṣṇu the upper half of the sacrifice” and the sacrificer wishes to become consecrated after encompassing all the deities and the entire sacrifice” and therefore this special cake is offered. However, this pair, though foreign to the Ṛgveda, is the deity of AV. 7, 29, the two stanzas of which recur as a connected passage in TS. 1, 8, 22, 1 (*kāmyeṣṭis*<sup>356</sup>, “special wishes”; cf. 2, 5, 12, 1; MŚS. 5, 1, 6, 26) and ŚŚS. 2, 4, 3 (*anvārambhaṇīya iṣṭi* or initiatory ceremony preceding the first performance of the sacrifices on the days of full and new moon, consisting of a cake for this dual deity accompanied by “O Agni-and-Viṣṇu, this is your mighty majesty; protect ye the sacred names of ghee” and “O . . . , great is your dear presence; ye accept the ghee . . .”). These stanzas, beginning *agnāviṣṇū māhi tād vaṃ mahitvām* (cf. KS. 4, 16: 41, 3) and *agnāviṣṇū māhi dhāma priyām* (cf. MS. 4, 10, 1: 142, 5; KS. 4, 16: 41, 5) are at Kauś. 32, 3 used in a remedial rite for various diseases; at 59, 19 in a *kāmya* rite. In Vait S. 8, 1 they accompany an offering to this dual deity at the beginning of the parvan ceremony<sup>357</sup>. Dealing with the construction of the great fire-place (the so-called Schichtung des Hochaltars) according to the traditions of the Kāṭhas<sup>358</sup> TB. 3, 11, 3 and ĀpŚS. 17, 17, 8 use the stanza *agnāviṣṇū sajoṣasā* “O Agni-and-Viṣṇu, (may these songs gladden you) in unison” (TS. 4, 7, 1, 1 etc.) in connection with the ghee being ladled out. The stanza is said to consecrate the production of a “stream of wealth” (*vasor dhārā*; see also ĀpŚS. 19, 13, 3; TB. 3, 11, 9; 9)<sup>359</sup>. For an explanation see TS. 5, 7, 3, 2 “. . . what deity has the stream of wealth? Wealth is Agni; this stream is his; wealth is Viṣṇu, this stream is his; with a stanza addressed to Agni-and-Viṣṇu (*agnāvaiṣṇavyarcā*) he offers the stream of wealth. Verily he unites them with (their proper) portion. Verily also he makes this libation to have a regular abode (*āyatanavatiṃ karoti*). He secures that for the desire of which he makes this offering”. It is clear that the relation to wealth which both gods have in common has facilitated their union. For these stanzas see also MŚS. 5, 1, 1, 33; 5, 1, 6, 26; 31. Attention may finally be drawn to some texts of the Black Yajur Veda: whereas TS. 1, 1, 12, 1 (TB. 3, 3, 7, 6; ĀpŚS. 2, 13, 7) has the elliptic dual *viṣṇū* the parallel passages KS. 1, 12: 6, 20; KKS. 1, 12: 8, 17 have *agnāviṣṇū*<sup>360</sup>: the adhvaryu must step to the south side of the vedi and addresses the gods: “Let me not with my foot offend you”.

<sup>355</sup> See also Caland and Henry, o.c. p. 15.

<sup>356</sup> See chapter p. 254 f.

<sup>357</sup> For details see W. Caland, *Das Vaitānasūtra des Atharvaveda*, Amsterdam Acad. 1910, p. 22.

<sup>358</sup> See W. Caland, *Das Śrautasūtra des Āpastamba*, III, Amsterdam Acad. 1928, p. 183.

<sup>359</sup> Cf. also A. B. Keith, *The Veda of the Black Yajus School*, Cambridge Mass. 1914, p. 380.

<sup>360</sup> See also H. Oertel, in *Sitz. Ber. München* 1934, 6, p. 71.

“Er schreitet tatsächlich über die Veda hin, daher der Entsühnungspruch”<sup>361</sup>. We must remember that Viṣṇu is the sacrifice and Agni the fire, so that the combination of these two gods is a natural result of the situation referred to.

It seems convenient here to insert some short discussions of other dual divinities which, while being of minor importance, enable us to gain an insight into their origin and development. There exist very clear instances of occasional co-operation of two well-known gods, who are invoked together in such a way that the text itself provides us with a comprehensible motivation of their joint efforts. Agni-and-Parjanya (*agnīparjanya*) are at R.V. 6, 52, 16 (cf. BrhDev. 5, 118<sup>362</sup>) implored to be favourable to the product of the poet's inspiration; “(I hope, expect that) one (of you) produces the essence of sacred food (*iḷā*), the other the embryo<sup>363</sup>. Accord us the refreshing draught which leads to offspring”. Sāyaṇa's explanation is worth quoting: “Parjanya produces the food, because by means of rain plants grow and from these food is obtained; Agni produces the embryo. The food eaten by men and digested by the digestive (stomach-) fire<sup>364</sup> transforms itself into semen and this becomes an embryo in the womb”. “Der Gedanke in c wird durch *prajḍvatir iṣaḥ* in d erläutert”<sup>365</sup>. It is somewhat surprising not to find this stanza in the ritual texts. In connection with R.V. 5, 42, 14 (Viśve devāḥ) the Brhaddevatā 5, 38 f. informs us that the deity of this stanza is variously stated by the authorities, Gālava being of the opinion that it was Parjanyaḥ (sic: *parjanyaḥ*). As the stanza makes mention of clouds, water, and lightning this supposition is not illegitimate, although the name *iḷas patih* occurs in the stanza.

Among those double deities which are mentioned in detached stanzas is also Parjanāvātā, whose name occurs once in the reverse, but grammatically more normal, order Vātāparjanya. In the R̥gveda this pair is invoked in no more than four passages. At R.V. 6, 49, 6 they are addressed as bulls of the earth and besought to ‘impel’ or rather “to refresh, give new life to” the fertile soil<sup>366</sup> so that this may become drenched (*pārjanyaavātā vṛṣabhā pṛthivyāḥ pūriṣāṇi jinvatam āpyāni*). Along with Indra-and-Vāyu, Varuṇa, Mitra and Varuṇa, they are in another hymn dedicated to the Viśve Devāḥ etc. invoked and given the epithet *vṛṣabhā pūriṣāṇā* (10, 65, 9) which in my opinion is not meant to qualify

<sup>361</sup> Caland, on ĀpŚS. 2, 13, 7.

<sup>362</sup> There is no reference to this stanza in the Sarvānukramaṇi.

<sup>363</sup> Cf. also Bergaigne, La religion védique, III, p. 25 f.

<sup>364</sup> Cf. J. Jolly, Médecin, Strassburg 1901, p. 40 f; 55; 75.

<sup>365</sup> Geldner, o.c., II, p. 156.

<sup>366</sup> On *pūriṣāṇi* see L. Renou, Journ. as. 1939, p. 387 ff. and E.V.P. IV, p. 81 f.: “un domaine ou terroir riche, fécondant”, a general sense which must underlie uses such as the above. Translations such as “watery vapours” (Macdonell, Vedic mythology, p. 129) and “Wasserquellen” (Geldner) are very improbable.

the others. Again "bulls" and "contributive to fertile soil"<sup>367</sup>. After another enumeration of deities they are in 6, 50, 12 (again addressed to the *Viśve Devāḥ*) entreated to make the refreshment, refreshing draught or affluence abundant—or rather, prosperity in the form of nourishment<sup>368</sup>—(*pipyatām iṣam naḥ*). At 10, 66, 10 (also dedicated to the *Viśve Devāḥ*) this dual deity is, as *vātāparjanya*, invoked as connected (probably as "lords", although "allies" or "comrades" would be possible also<sup>369</sup>) with "the buffalo, the thunder(er)", or, if we follow Geldner<sup>370</sup> and Renou<sup>371</sup>, the translation must be "(die Herren) des gewaltigen Donners", "(maîtres) du buffle tonnerre", in any case not<sup>372</sup> *Dyaus*. These places need no comment: Rain and Wind, two aspects of the same natural phenomenon, co-operating, nay discharging the same duties and fulfilling the same expectations, are so closely associated as to keep the poets of these passages from alluding to any difference between them. It is worth noticing that the stanzas or *pādas* containing the above references to this combination of Rain and Wind—the element, characterized by swiftness and violence, not *Vāyu*, the more personified deity of this physical phenomenon—are not repeated in other hymns, not even in stanzas dealing with *Vāta* or *Parjanya* individually. No less remarkable is that the *pādas* containing the name of this dual deity are not quoted in post-*Ṛgvedic* literature and that the gods are left unmentioned in the speculations of the *brāhmaṇas* and the descriptions of the rites. As *Vātāparjanya* they occur twice in the *Atharvaveda*. Imploring a number of gods—among whom, in 3, the *Maruts*, *Agni*-and-*Soma*, *Varuṇa*—for protection the poet of AV. 6, 93, 3 expresses the hope that he cum suis "may be in the favour" of this dual deity. The text is in *KauśS.* 50, 13 used in a rite for safety and good fortune ("um Sicherheit und Glück auf einer Geschäftsreise zu haben"<sup>373</sup>). In AV. 10, 4, 16, which is directed against snakes and their poison, *Indra*, *Varuṇa* and *Mitra* (*mitrāś ca vāruṇāś ca*), as well as *Vātāparjanya*, are stated to have put the snake in the power of the person speaking. The text—which in *AVP.* 16, 16, 6 has: *Indra etc. crushed the snakes*—is prescribed by *Kauśika* (32, 20) in a rite to neutralize poison. The conclusion may be that, given the occurrence, in Vedic thought and language, of double deities, it is far from surprising that these two natural phenomena which, during the wet monsoon, are so closely connected, were incidentally viewed as a *dualité-unité*.

<sup>367</sup> I am less sceptical than Renou, *E.V.P.* IV, p. 122 about the admissibility of this meaning.

<sup>368</sup> Cf. Renou, *E.V.P.* IV, p. 85.

<sup>369</sup> For a genitive elliptically dependent on an absent noun see J. Gonda, *Ellipsis, brachylogy ... in the Ṛgveda*, Amsterdam Acad. 1960, p. 41.

<sup>370</sup> Geldner, *o.c.*, III, p. 241.

<sup>371</sup> Renou, *E.V.P.* V, p. 59; "*mahiṣa ... est ici adjectif*" (*ibidem*, IV, p. 124).

<sup>372</sup> With A. Ludwig, *Der Rigveda ... übersetzt*, IV, Prague 1881, p. 228, and Macdonell, *l.c.*

<sup>373</sup> W. Caland, *Altindisches Zauberritual*, Amsterdam 1900, p. 175.



The dvandva *viṣṇūvaruṇā* (*yuvam adhvarāya naḥ*) occurs at MS. 4, 14, 6: 223, 5 and TB. 2, 8, 4, 5 instead of *indrāvaruṇā* etc. of RV. 7, 82, 1 (with an identical pāda b). The stanza is to accompany a sacrifice of a barren cow to these two gods to be performed by a person who has rivals or enemies (comm. on TB., p. 856 *yo bhrātrvyān syāt sa spardhamāno vaiṣṇavavaruṇīm vaśām ālabheta* . . .). The compound recurs at MS. 4, 14, 6: 223, 9 and 12 and TB. 2, 8, 4, 6 (twice). Both gods are said to co-operate in AiB. 3, 38, 3 (*viṣṇur vai yajñasya durīṣṭam pāti varuṇaḥ sviṣṭam* "Viṣṇu guards what is ill offered in the sacrifice, Varuṇa what is well offered"); 7, 5, 4; AV. 7, 25, 1 and 2 (*viṣṇum agan vāruṇam pūrvāhūtiḥ* "to Viṣṇu, to Varuṇa has gone the first invocation"); cf. VS. 8, 59 (*viṣṇū agan vāruṇā pūrvāhuta!*) and ŚB. 4, 5, 7, 7 (idem: "If any (soma) be spilt let him pour water on that . . . with a (i.e. this) verse to Viṣṇu and Varuṇa").

The figure of Agni-Varuṇa is at ŚB. 4, 4, 5, 19 distinguished from Varuṇa: "He may also perform those same . . . offerings . . . to Varuṇa and Agni-Varuṇa" (*varuṇam agnīvaruṇau*). "Why he does not (after a formula addressed to Varuṇa: 16) say 'to Agni', it is lest Varuṇa might seize Agni" (17). So this occasional occurrence of a double divinity was, in the view of this author, a ritual necessity. Likewise dealing with the purificatory bath KB. 18, 10 (18, 7, 21 ff.) observes "In that he worships Varuṇa in the water, he satisfies him in his own sphere. In that he worships Agni-and-Varuṇa (*agnīvaruṇau*), Agni becomes a sharer in all oblations". Although these gods are not infrequently (see RV. 4, 1, 2 ff.; 4, 3, 5; 7, 88, 2) mentioned in the same passage the dvandva is foreign to the Rg- and Atharvasaṃhitās. Attention may however be drawn also to TS. 1, 5, 2, 5 (dealing with the rekindling of the sacred fire) "He who removes the fire is the slayer of the hero among the gods, Varuṇa is the exactor of the recompense; he should make an offering to Agni-and-Varuṇa; he delights him who slays and him who exacts the recompense with their own portion": since both gods are concerned in the ritual act the oblation is offered to both of them (cf. also ĀpŚS. 5, 29, 6). A similar reason for an *agnīvaruṇa* oblation is mentioned at MS. 2, 1, 4: 6, 9 ff. *agnīvaruṇam caruṇ nirvapet samāntam abhidruhyāmayāvi vānṛtaṃ vā eṣa karoti yaḥ samāntam abhidruhyati. devatā vā eṣa āraḍ yo 'nṛtaṃ karoty. agnir vai sarvā devatā. atra vai sāpi devatā yām ārat tata enaṃ muñcati. yad vāruṇo varuṇād evainaṃ tena muñcati*: the man who falls ill after seeking to injure a neighbour must deliver himself from the evil sent by both gods, by Agni because he represents all the gods and by Varuṇa because he is the well-known punisher. Compare also KS. 13, 6: 186, 22 ff. From MS. 2, 3, 1: 27, 9 ff. and other places<sup>374</sup> it appears that a vaiśya whose god is Agni has to propitiate by means of an oblation the double deity under discussion if he has got into trouble, a kṣatriya

<sup>374</sup> I refer to W. Caland, *Altindische Zauberei*, Amsterdam Acad. 1908, p. 103 ff. We shall have to revert to these rites.



Indra-Varuṇa, a brahman Mitra-Varuṇa: the god of the social class combines with the punishing god who is always to be propitiated. See also KS. 12, 1: 162, 2; MŚS. 5, 2, 1, 3. A similar thought is expressed at TS. 6, 6, 3, 3 (ĀpŚS. 8, 8, 8); MS. 4, 8, 5: 112, 16 (discussing the final bath; see above): by sacrificing to Varuṇa one is freed from Varuṇa's noose, by sacrificing to Agni-and-Varuṇa "verily straightway (or, evidently) he frees him from Varuṇa's noose" (TS.: *āgnīvaruṇau yajati sākṣād evainam varuṇapāsād muñcati*, but MS. *ubhayata evainam varuṇād muñcati*). These authors seem to recognize the principle that the repetition of a sacrificial act, the second act being dedicated to the same god and one of his colleagues, is especially effective. In case in the *punarādheya* rite (the re-establishment of the fires) a sacrifice is made to Agni-and-Varuṇa the offering stanza is RV. 4, 1, 4 "Do thou, O Agni, appease the wrath of Varuṇa" (ŚŚS. 2, 5, 31): that means that the help of the second god is invoked in order to propitiate the great punisher of sins and transgressions, the god who sends illness and mishap (see also BŚS. 3, 3: 71, 5; 20, 19: 41, 11). Cf. also ŚŚS. 8, 11, 6. It is therefore not surprising that an oblation to this double deity is alternatively prescribed instead of one to Agni alone (ĀpŚS. 15, 18, 8). Compare also MŚS. 1, 7, 4, 40: "He offers to Varuṇa; he offers the remainder to Agni-and-Varuṇa, instead of to (Agni) *sviṣṭakṛt*" (the text deals with the offering to Varuṇa on the occasion of the lustral bath: Varuṇapraghāsa) and 2, 5, 4, 28 "He offers the cake on one potsherd to Varuṇa, its remainder to Agni-and-Varuṇa". See also MŚS. 5, 1, 3, 24; 27. (Cf. ĀśvŚS. 6, 13, 7; BŚS. 8, 20: 260, 17 f.; VaikhŚS. 16, 25: 235, 8 *kṛtsnam puroḍāśam avadāyāgnīvaruṇau sviṣṭakṛtau yajati*).

A rare or abnormal compound may on the other hand point to the occurrence of a definite deity in the pantheon of a limited group of worshippers or in a special ritual context. Beside a normal compound *vāyusavitṛ* (but also *vāyusavitra*, var. in MS. 3, 15, 11: 181, 2 f.)<sup>375</sup>, used with reference to an offering to Vāyu and Savitar, we also find the curious *vāyosāvitṛa* (TS. 7, 5, 22, 1 and KSAśv. 5, 19: 171, 7 f.)<sup>376</sup>. The two gods are indeed eulogized conjointly in AVŚ. 4, 25 and AVP. 4, 34<sup>377</sup>. This hymn is used as one of the *mṛgāra* texts mentioned by Kauś. 9, 1 which are to avert evil, the refrain of AVŚ. 4, 25 invoking Vāyu and Savitar to "free us from distress"<sup>378</sup>.

Occasionally, the name of a god may constitute part of a dvandva compound the second member of which does not refer to a deity but to a human being. Thus, in RV. 5, 31, 9 *indrākutsā*, an instructive case

<sup>375</sup> Wackernagel, o.c., II, 1, p. 114; 155; 168; II, 1, Nachträge, p. 18; 47.

<sup>376</sup> Wackernagel, o.c., I, Nachträge, p. 194; II, 1, p. 18; 47 f.; II, 2, p. 117.

<sup>377</sup> See also N. J. Shende, The foundations of Atharvāṇic religion, Bull. Decc. Coll. Res. Inst. 9, p. 231 = Poona n.d., p. 35.

<sup>378</sup> For some particulars see W. Caland, Altindisches Zauberritual, Amsterdam 1900, p. 17; W. D. Whitney-Ch. R. Lanman, Atharva-veda Saṃhitā, Cambridge Mass. 1905, p. 190; 193.

because the warlike hero Kutsa, who belongs to the Indra myth<sup>379</sup> and is said to be similar to Indra (4, 16, 10) does not only call upon this god for assistance (1, 106, 6) but rides also on the same vehicle as Indra (4, 16, 11) etc., acting even as his charioteer (2, 19, 6). This form of joint action or bi-unity (the warrior and his charioteer) quite intelligibly induced the poet of 5, 31, 9 to invoke them conjointly. There can hardly be any doubt that the co-operation of the two members of a real devatādvandva could, at least in part of the cases, be conceived as similar or be understood as something analogous.

Some words must finally be said on the much less frequent occurrence of devatādvandvas in the plural, denoting a combination of a single god and a group of divine beings with whom he is often associated. The very frequent association of Indra with the group of deities, the Maruts<sup>380</sup> (see e.g. RV. 3, 32, 2; 3, 35, 9; 3, 47, 1 f.), made the compound *indrāmarutaḥ* (RV. 2, 29, 3, with a plural ending)<sup>381</sup> possible: *yuyām . . . mitrāvaruṇādīte . . . indrāmarutaḥ . . .* The stanzas RV. 1, 23, 7–9; 165; 171, 3–6 are traditionally dedicated to Indra and these associates. The derivative *aindrāmaruta* “belonging to Indra and the Maruts” occurs at MS. 2, 5, 8; 58, 10 *aindrāmārutam . . . ālabheta*; KS. 13, 3: 181, 16; PB. 21, 14, 12 “the bulls are destined for Indra-and-the-Maruts”; the cows for the Maruts (alone); BŚS. 18, 25: 14 etc.: this combination of divinities occupies a modest place in the ritual. The association of Agni and the Maruts, who are the gods of RV. 1, 19 (the names occur in the refrain); 8, 103, 14 (cf. also the mantra ĀśvŚŚ. 9, 6, 2; ŚŚS. 11, 2, 13), led, in the texts known to us, only to the derivative *āgnimāruta* in brāhmaṇas (GB. 2, 4, 13) and secondary literature<sup>382</sup>. This combination of gods occurs also RV. 3, 26; 6, 48 without any attempt, on the side of the poets, to fuse them<sup>383</sup>. Yet Agni is in later texts called *marutvant* “accompanied by the Maruts” and at RV. 8, 103, 14 *marutsakhi* “whose companions are the Maruts”. “Le lien s’explique par la nature complexe des Maruts. S’ils appartiennent d’un côté au cycle guerrier et relèvent d’Indra, ils conservent d’autre part une forte empreinte naturaliste, ils ont pour attributs, armes et décor le feu (atmosphérique), bref, ils sont

<sup>379</sup> See Macdonell, Vedic mythology, Strassburg 1897, p. 146 f.

<sup>380</sup> I refer to Macdonell, Vedic mythology, p. 80 f.: “in fact Indra accomplishes all his celestial exploits in their company”. H. D. Velankar, A family hymn of the Agastyas, Proc. Tr. XII<sup>th</sup> All-India Or. Conf. Benares 1943–4, I, Benares 1947, p. 223 f., discussing RV. 1, 165, says that the Agastyas probably were the first to offer a sacrifice jointly to Indra and the Maruts in view of the great and constant help which Indra derives from them. The supposition would gain in probability if we had no grave doubts about the historical reliability of all that has been handed down in connection with the Agastyas and if it were an established fact that in this respect they had no predecessors.

<sup>381</sup> Wackernagel, Grammatik, II, 1, p. 156; II, 1, Nachträge, p. 44; II, 2, p. 118.

<sup>382</sup> For particulars see A. Hillebrandt, Vedische Mythologie, II, <sup>2</sup>Breslau 1929, p. 290.

<sup>383</sup> See also Bergaigne, Liturgie, p. 131 f.

à cet égard du ressort d'Agni" <sup>384</sup>. Nor is \**viṣṇumarutaḥ* found actually to occur notwithstanding *viṣṇave marútvate* in 5, 87, 1. Other figures which are said to accompany Indra on his chariot are the Ṛbhus (RV. 3, 60, 4), who are his friends in 3, 54, 17 <sup>385</sup>; cf. also 3, 52, 6 *indra ṛbhumān*; 3, 60, 5 ff. and, although \**indrārbhu* does not seem to occur, the derivative *aindrārbhava* is at Bṛhaddevatā 4, 123 applied to the last-mentioned stanzas. See also AiB. 6, 12, 13.

It seems worth while to cast a glance at the presence of dual deities in the post-Vedic pantheon. In so doing it cannot be my task to discuss the well-known divine couples of Hinduism or to dwell, for instance, at length upon the figure of Harihara, the combination of Viṣṇu and Śiva, who, as compared with the combinations discussed in this book, is not completely characterized as "a subordinate figure, lacking consistent treatment" <sup>386</sup>. His images do not seem to appear before the 6<sup>th</sup> century A.D. <sup>387</sup>, whereas epigraphic evidence dates back to no earlier period than the 10<sup>th</sup> century. "En dépit des analogies védiques (les dieux jumelés), il s'agit d'une association secondaire, car le nom qui la désigne . . . est plutôt récent . . ." <sup>388</sup>. In the Harivaṃśa, a. 181 (2, 125) this figure is glorified as follows: "I do not see any difference between Śiva resembling Viṣṇu and Viṣṇu resembling Śiva. I shall proclaim that same form, consisting of Harihara (Hari-and-Hara: *hariharātmakam*), the eternal and divine one. Viṣṇu is Rudra and Rudra is also Pitāmaha (Brahmā). Just as water falling into water does not cease being water, thus Viṣṇu, united with Rudra, becomes Rudra without changing his nature, etc.". Arguing that "Viṣṇu is Rudra's essence, and Rudra is Viṣṇu's essence", and that "they are one single being which has doubled and is infinite and omnipresent"; that Viṣṇu does not exist without Śiva nor Śiva without Viṣṇu; and that "from the very beginning these two divinities are but one"; and paying homage to Kṛṣṇa and Rudra "who are combined" (closely united: *saṃhata*- st. 29 ff.; 40 ff.) the author, however, uses dual forms to characterize this double divinity which he describes as *devau hariharau*. Numerous assertions of the identity of the two great gods found in later literary works "fournissaient un aliment à une synthèse qui n'a pourtant pénétré nulle part la substance religieuse" <sup>389</sup>.

<sup>384</sup> Renou, E.V.P. X, p. 3 (with other particulars).

<sup>385</sup> Cf. also Bergaigne, Religion védique, II, p. 412 and K. R. Potdar, in Journal Univ. Bombay, 21, 2, (1952), p. 24.

<sup>386</sup> L. Renou, Religions of ancient India, London 1953, p. 21.

<sup>387</sup> I refer to J. Gonda, Die Religionen Indiens, II, Stuttgart 1963, p. 118; Ch. Eliot, Hinduism and Buddhism, II, London 1921 (<sup>3</sup>1957), p. 164.

<sup>388</sup> L. Renou, in L. Renou et J. Filliozat, L'Inde classique, I. Paris 1947, p. 518.

<sup>389</sup> Renou, L'Inde classique, I, p. 518.

Like this figure other fused or composite gods of the Hindu period differ from the Vedic double gods in that they express identity, or constitute combinations into one single manifestation of the Divine Being, rather than co-operative duality<sup>390</sup>. Thus composite images of Sūrya, the Sun<sup>391</sup>, with other gods, which have been found in many places depict for instance the Sun's mounts (*vāhanas*) in combination with Śiva's līṅga; or both gods are explicitly identified under the name Mihireśvara<sup>392</sup>. A four-handed composite relief of both deities is kept in a niche of a temple at Nāgdā; two hands bearing emblems of Śiva, two emblems of Sūrya. A relief in the Jhālavar museum represents Sūrya-Viṣṇu. Purāṇic stotras identifying these gods contain stanzas and formulas such as *yasya sūryo bhaved rūpaṃ tasmai sūryatmake namaḥ hṛtpadme śivasūryāya namaḥ* (SauraPur. 2, 48; AgniPur. 73, 16). Sūrya-Nārāyaṇa was for instance worshipped at Madaun, Sūrya-Brahmā in the region of Dinājpur<sup>393</sup>. Tantric influence was not foreign to the development of concepts such as Mārtaṇḍa-Bhairava<sup>394</sup>. Images and formulas as well as literary evidence—in the Kūrma-Purāṇa, for instance attempts are made to reduce Śiva and Brahmā to manifestations of Viṣṇu—testify to the belief that these gods are—also in combinations of more than two persons, e.g. Sūrya, Viṣṇu, Śiva and Brahmā—manifestations of one and the same Supreme God. Individual convictions and preference for definite gods has no doubt contributed to the promulgation of this form of worship. The difference in character between the Vedic double gods and these Hindu 'combinations'<sup>395</sup> is not hard to understand. As soon as a community comes to worship a Sole High God, an Īśvara, there is no longer occasion for complementary or co-operative forms of union of two divine figures which, though perhaps unlike in power and influence, are essentially each other's equals. When a god is recognized as the Īśvara any other deity claiming a high rank is liable to become an aspect, 'double' or manifestation of this High God. If in such a community two gods are regarded as representatives of the One Highest Being the only conclusion possible is the admission that they are essentially identical. And so there is no difference even between Śiva and Viṣṇu: *sa eva hi mahādevaḥ sa eva hi mahāhariḥ*, both gods appearing in each other's form (*śivāya viṣṇurūpāya śivarūpāya viṣṇave*: SkandaUp. 4; 8).

This insight did not however prevent authors of devotional literature

<sup>390</sup> See also J. Gonda, *Viṣṇuism and Śivaism*, London 1970, p. 108 f.

<sup>391</sup> Lalita Prasad Pandey, *Sun-Worship in ancient India*, Delhi 1971, p.120 ff.; 243 f.

<sup>392</sup> D. K. Biswas, *Sūrya and Śiva*, in *Ind. Hist. Quart.* 24 (1948), p. 142 ff.

<sup>393</sup> H. D. Bhattacharyya, in R. C. Majumdar and A. D. Pusalker, *The history and culture of the Indian people*, IV, Bombay 1955, p. 331 ff.

<sup>394</sup> Biswas, *ibidem* 26 (1950), p. 166 ff.

<sup>395</sup> This difference escaped F. Heiler, *Erscheinungsformen und Wesen der Religion*, Stuttgart 1961, p. 163.



or promulgators of some forms of popular religion from introducing the belief, well known to the Vedic authors, that union means force. A legend explaining how the union of Viṣṇu and Śiva in a single anthropomorphic manifestation came to pass runs as follows: A fierce demon, named Gula, was invulnerable even to these two gods. As he conquered the universe and set up a new, demonic order, crushing gods and men under his despotism, Viṣṇu and Śiva combined their essences into a single, unforeseen manifestation and succeeded in defeating the tyrant <sup>396</sup>.

What interests us more is the statement that "Rudra is of the essence of Agni and Viṣṇu essentially is Soma (*somātmakaḥ*); the whole world is composed of (or essentially is) Agniśoma (*agniśomātmakam*)" (Hariv. 2, 25, 33 ff.). It seems clear that the ancient Vedic combination of the two great ritual deities <sup>397</sup> survives, in a way, in this post-Vedic combination of the two main figures of the Hindu pantheon, or rather that theologians or philosophers had, by means of this identification, made an attempt to establish the continuation of an important Vedic idea. The adjective *agniśoma* "belonging to Agni and Soma" occurs also in the Mahābhārata, 13, 100, 9 . . . *siddhānnād vaiśvadevaṃ vai kuryād agnau yathāvidhi/ agniśomaṃ vaiśvadevaṃ dhānvantaryam anantaram | prajānāṃ pataye caiva prthag ghomo vidhiyate*.

Although I must abstain here from investigating this 'survival' of a Vedic concept more systematically <sup>398</sup>, special attention may, by way of digression, be invited to the significance attached to the duality Agni-and-Soma in Pāñcarātra Viṣṇuism. According to the cosmological theory as expounded in the Lakṣmītantra <sup>399</sup> there are three types of creation, viz. the pure, which, consisting of all the emanations and incarnations of God's Śakti, is purely transcendental, the mixed which takes place in six stages, and the impure which is a gradual condensation of Śakti transforming herself into determinate beings. In each of the six stages of the second form of creation Śakti projects herself into various manifestations though maintaining her character as the transcendental inner principle. The second stage ("sheath": *kośa*) in the second account of the creation of the universe is given the name of the well-known concept of *māyā*. *Māyā* represents the starting-point of the material creation based on the three *guṇas* of the Sāṃkhya school of thought. In contradistinction to the first stage (*kośa*), which consists of Śakti herself in her transcendental form, Śakti is now said to combine both God's Agni and Soma aspects. The former represents His *kriyāśakti* or

<sup>396</sup> See H. Zimmer, *The art of Indian Asia*, I, New York 1955, p. 147 f.

<sup>397</sup> See chapter XII.

<sup>398</sup> The complementary relation between Viṣṇu the preserver, and Śiva, the transformer so well-known in Hinduism, cannot be discussed here. For some observations see J. Gonda, *Viṣṇuism and Śivaism*, London 1970, p. 102 ff.; 110 f.

<sup>399</sup> This text was edited by V. Krishnamacharya, Adyar 1959. For an annotated translation see S. Gupta, *Lakṣmī Tantra*, Thesis Utrecht 1972; cf. p. XXVII ff.

dynamic power, and the latter His *bhūtīśakti* or power to sustain (cf. Lakṣmītantra, 28, 55). The assumption of this duality did not however lead the Pāñcarātra philosophers to the conclusion that God's Śakti, now called Mahālakṣmī, is, as the source of creation, a male-female unit. Although she is believed to possess male and female characteristics, which she combines in herself in the form of Agni and Soma (Lakṣmītantra, 4, 37 *agnīśomamayau bhāvau divyau śrīpūṣṣalakṣaṇau*) she remains single. It may be noted that, in the phenomenal creation, she represents also Puruṣa and prakṛti. In this condition of consisting of, or being pervaded by, Agni and Soma she is called "emanated" (23, 12 *agnīśomamayī śaktir viśṣṭākhyā*)<sup>400</sup>. "In between" these are creation and dissolution (24, 56). In ch. 29 the distinction between Agni and Soma, otherwise called *kriyāśakti* and *bhūtīśakti*, is elaborated. While engaged in creating the universe God's Śakti, Lakṣmī, becomes manifest in two forms characterized by her two activities, creation and sustenance, revealing her sovereign will (*aiśvarya*) and omnipotence (*tejas*). That is to say, in the state of creation, i.e. Agni, *tejas*—primarily the creative glow—becomes somewhat prominent, and in the state of sustenance, i.e. Soma, she inclines toward the supremacy of *aiśvarya*. The state of *kriyā* is called Agni, because it burns all miseries (29, 8; 10); the other state Soma because it increases, strengthens or gladdens the world (*jagad āpyāyanti*). This mystical and cosmological reinterpretation of an ancient ritual duality induces the author to distinguish in both conditions—now called śaktis—three states (29, 33 ff.). The Agni states are lightning, terrestrial fire and the digestive fire. The Soma states are the disc of the moon, the plants and, inside the living beings, the duct called *idā*<sup>401</sup> which is said to be of the nature of nectar<sup>402</sup>. There are Vedic reminiscences. Agni is called the mouth of all deities, Śakti's Agni aspect bears also the name Triṣṭubh, her Soma aspect is also Anuṣṭubh. The mantra relating to the latter is called *mṛtyuñjaya* (cf. RV. 7, 59, 12), it "overcomes death". Other associations and identifications need not detain us, but it is worth observing that in this Viṣṇuite milieu *kriyāśakti* is given the name of Sudarśana, that means is identified with Viṣṇu's disc (29, 55) which pervades and sustains the whole world (30, 62). Mention should also be made of a special mantra belonging to this pair of deities (29, 67 *saumyāgneyo manuḥ*), which "is instrumental in procuring all objects of enjoyment, whether pertaining to heaven, to the atmosphere or this world". However, in 31, 3 it reads: "In the heart of Sudarśana exists Śakti in the form of the Puruṣa, identical with Soma and Agni, who acts according to the requirements of the moment, i.e. in her Soma form she gratifies her devotees, in her Agni form she punishes the wicked"<sup>403</sup>. Elsewhere (35, 45)

<sup>400</sup> Cf. also Lakṣmītantra, 23, 28; 24, 16; 28, 22; 40, 50; 112.

<sup>401</sup> One of the principal 'channels' of the vital spirit (in yoga).

<sup>402</sup> Cf. Gupta, p. 158, n. 9.

<sup>403</sup> Cf. also 31, 10; 25.

the Agni-and-Soma form, belonging to God's Śakti (Lakṣmī—who consists of the totality of Agni-and-Soma (*samyag agnīṣomamayīm*: 40, 30<sup>404</sup>)—, abiding in all, is described as consisting of great bliss and as being indefinable and incomparable. It is not surprising to read that this divine duality is also believed to play a part in the meditative practices of this religion (37, 32)<sup>405</sup>.

It may parenthetically be observed that the same pair of deities is also adopted by the Indian physicians. According to Suśruta, Sū. 15, 9 blood is of the nature of Agni-and-Soma. The medical author Caraka, Sūtrasthāna 40, 5 informs us that according to some experts "even a substance of a manifold nature never surpasses the two great forces (called) Agni and Soma, as the universe—which is of the nature of Agni and Soma—(never surpasses) that which is manifest and not manifest".

I must now return to the occurrences of the Vedic dual deities in post-Vedic times. Whereas the Aśvins who "though there are but two of them, have the *gaṇa* characteristic of being treated as one"<sup>406</sup>, are a Vedic survival of which "almost nothing is said which has not already been said in the sacred tradition", their names, functions, deeds and unity of existence being "Vedic-epic traits" handed down without important alterations, and the duality Mitra-and-Varuṇa have not completely sunk into oblivion—the story of their common fatherhood even enjoyed a certain popularity<sup>407</sup>—, the other pairs with the exception of Agni-and-Soma hardly left their traces in the Mahābhārata (cf. 2, 7, 19 *agnīṣomau tathendrāgnī mitraś ca savitāryamā*), and are, as far as I am able to see, very rare occurrences in other post-Vedic literature<sup>408</sup>. This fact is not devoid of interest because it shows that the Vedic dual deities were, indeed, typically Vedic, whatever their origin and more or less similar counterparts in other religions and literatures. Supplying a need in the speculations and practices of the Vedic theologians and ritualists they were closely associated with that ritual and obviously lacked that vitality and general popularity which could ensure their survival.

Long ago Oldenberg<sup>409</sup> invited attention to the fact that in the tenth maṇḍala of the R̥gveda, in which some other divinities come to the fore, Mitrāvaruṇau recede into the background and references to the Aśvins

<sup>404</sup> Cf. also 45, 100 *agnīṣomadvayāntaḥsthām*.

<sup>405</sup> Cf. also 38, 6.

<sup>406</sup> E. W. Hopkins, *Epic mythology*, Strassburg 1915, p. 167.

<sup>407</sup> Gonda, *The Vedic god Mitra*, p. 121 f.

<sup>408</sup> Viṣṇu-Smṛti 67, 3 prescribes oblations to Agni, Soma, Mitra, Varuṇa (sic, separately), Indra, Indrāgnī, the Viśve Devāḥ etc. Varāhamihira, BS. 8, 23; 8, 45; 98, 4 mentions Śakrāṇalau, Indrāgnī, Śakrāgnī. "In their joint capacity they (Indra and Agni) preside over the 10<sup>th</sup> yuga of the 60-year cycle and the constellation of Viśākhā" (Ajay Mitra Shastri, *India as seen in the Bṛhatsaṃhitā of Varāhamihira*, Delhi 1969, p. 118).

<sup>409</sup> H. Oldenberg, *Hymnen des R̥gveda. Metrische und textgeschichtliche Prolegomena*, I, Berlin 1888, p. 267.

have become strikingly less frequent. Mention is, it is true, made of the former in 10, 51, 2; 61, 2; 64, 5; 93, 6; 125, 1; 130, 5; 132, 2, but no hymns are dedicated to them, and as to the *Áśvins*, they are the gods of 10, 24, 4-6; 10, 39-41; 10, 106; 10, 131, 4 and 5; (with *Dyāvābhūmī*) 10, 132, 1; 10, 143. That is to say, they are celebrated in only five entire hymns, whereas in the whole of the *Ṛgveda* in which they are next to *Indra*, *Agni*, and *Soma* the most prominent gods judged by the frequency of invocations, they are the deities of over fifty hymns. Their name occurs more than 400 times in the whole corpus (923 pages in Aufrecht's edition), but only 50 times in the tenth book (171 pages). In addition to Oldenberg's observations it may be noticed that the minor dual deities (*Indra-Pūṣan*, *Indra-Parvata*, *Soma-Pūṣan*, *Soma-Rudra*) as well as *Indra-Soma* and *Indra-Bṛhaspati* are foreign to the tenth book; that *Indra-Viṣṇu* occurs, in that part of the *Ṛgveda*, only in an enumeration at 10, 66, 4 where the *dvandva* may also simply denote the two individual gods; and that even *Indra-Varuṇa*, a double deity of considerable frequency in this corpus, is completely absent. *Indra-and-Vāyu* occurs twice; *Indrāgni* and *Agniṣomau*, *Uṣāsānaktā*, *Dyāvāpṛthivī* and *Sūryāmās* are not absent. The *Atharvaveda* points in the same direction: the minor pairs fail to attract the attention of the authors, the star of *Indra-Pūṣan* (one original occurrence: 6, 3, 1, and one place in common with the *Ṛgveda*: 19, 10, 1), *Indra-Varuṇa* and *Indra-Soma* (only in *Ṛgvedic* stanzas) is on the wane; there are three occurrences of *Uṣāsānaktā*; *Mitra-Varuṇa*, *Indrāgni*, *Dyāvāpṛthivī* and *Agni-Soma* still enjoy some popularity. However, "le duel *mitrāvaruṇā* n'est attesté que faiblement, à des fins purement formelles"<sup>410</sup>: they are, to mention only this, "lords of rain" (5, 24, 5) and eulogized conjointly in 4, 29. It should be remembered that differences of thematic material, like unlikeness in vocabulary, can reflect not only chronological, but also social and cultural differences.

<sup>410</sup> L. Renou, in Festgabe-H. Lommel, Wiesbaden 1960, p. 123.



## CHAPTER II

### HEAVEN-AND-EARTH

According to Macdonell<sup>1</sup> "there can be little doubt" that the analogy for this favourite formation, viz. the devatā-dvandvas, was furnished by Dyāvapṛthivī, Heaven-and-Earth<sup>2</sup>, "the pair which to early thought appeared so indissolubly connected in nature, that the myth of their conjugal union is found widely diffused among primitive peoples and has therefore probably come down to the Veda from a period anterior to that immediately preceding the separation of the Indo-European nations". His compatriot Keith<sup>3</sup> was of the same opinion: "The type of the dual deities . . . is given by the pair Dyāvapṛthivī, heaven and earth, the primeval parents". Griswold<sup>4</sup> went a little further in saying that "the union of man and wife is the human analogy followed in the primeval conception of the marriage of Heaven and Earth . . . There must have been 'David and Jonathan' friendship<sup>5</sup> among men in the Vedic age. At any rate, after the analogy of Dyāvapṛthivī 'heaven and earth' a considerable number of male deities were joined together so as to form dual gods".

Apart from the desirability of a thorough philological examination of the pertinent texts from which to derive arguments in support of the above thesis which cannot be regarded as proved on the basis of "there can be little doubt", there is reason for repeating<sup>6</sup> that, with the exception of Uṣāsānāktā "Dawn-and-Night", all other instances of these devatā-dvandvas denote pairs of male divinities. Keith<sup>7</sup> did, on the other hand, well to remind his readers of the fact that the two individual gods, Heaven and Earth, are comparatively little mentioned in comparison with the pair: Dyaus has no hymn, Pṛthivī one only, and the pair have

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<sup>1</sup> A. A. Macdonell, Vedic mythology, Strassburg 1897, p. 126.

<sup>2</sup> The opinion ventured by R. Shama Sastry, Dyāvapṛthivī, in Proc. and Transact. 12 A.I.O.C., Poona 1947, I, p. 206 ff. who, joining H. Jacobí and B. G. Tilak in their attempts at fixing the date of the Rgveda on the basis of astronomical arguments, takes *dyaus* and *pṛthivī* to be Vedic technical terms for the winter and summer solstices, can be left out of consideration. See also ch. I, p. 9.

<sup>3</sup> A. B. Keith, The religion and philosophy of the Veda and upanishads, Cambridge Mass. 1925, p. 220.

<sup>4</sup> H. D. Griswold, The religion of the Rigveda, Oxford 1923, p. 104.

<sup>5</sup> This comparison is not completely analogous because the name of one of the gods is not as a rule familiar only for the friendship between him and a mighty divinity.

<sup>6</sup> See chapter I, p. 9.

<sup>7</sup> Keith, l.c.

six. His remarks on the 'sex' of this dual deity are, in my opinion, less felicitous and will in the following pages be implicitly criticized: "Other names are Dyāvākṣāmā, Dyāvābhūmī or Rodasī<sup>8</sup>, in which the male character of Dyaus, never perfectly established, has yielded to the prevailing femininity of Pṛthivī". The statement "The pair are two fathers, two mothers" is due to a false notion of the elliptic dual<sup>9</sup>: both forms *pitārā*, as well as *matārā*, mean "parents". It may, in this connection, be briefly recalled<sup>10</sup> that in their use of the elliptic dual the poets of the Ṛg- and Atharvavedas show that they were conscious of the 'syllepsis'. In the majority of cases they even seem to have, consciously or unconsciously, taken pains that these expressions should not be misunderstood, for instance by adding the dual of the unexpressed member of the syllepsis in the same context. Thus at ṚV. 3, 7, 1 *mātarā*, referring to Heaven-and-Earth as the parents of Agni, is followed in the next pāda by *pitārā* with the same meaning and reference. Or the unexpressed member of the duality may be represented by a heterogeneous adjective qualifying the unexpressed member (e.g. 7, 53, 2 *pūrvajā pitārā*).

An examination of the problem as to whether the duality Heaven-and-Earth set the example for all the pairs of gods which are the subject of this publication should not leave out of consideration the frequency of the dvandvas denoting the twofold universe and especially their significance in Vedic thought and ritual. As to the latter point it has often been observed that Heaven and Earth "never attained to a living personification or importance in worship"<sup>11</sup>. "Himmel und Erde sind für den vedischen Glauben göttliche Mächte von nur schattenhafter Bedeutung ... Zu ausgeprägter Geltung im Kultus sind (sie) nicht gelangt"<sup>12</sup>. Moreover, Hopkins<sup>13</sup> defended the thesis that there is no evidence whatever that Dyaus in the Ṛgveda is a decadent Supreme, a position which in the light of a comparative study of Indo-European religion he has in the view of various scholars occupied in prehistoric times<sup>14</sup>. While the Greeks raised Zeus out of a group of gods to be chief, the Indian Dyaus was, Hopkins rightly observes, never supreme, but only one of many 'protectors' (*pitaras*, fathers), whose 'fatherhood' is not more pronounced than is that of other gods. Although it is perfectly true that

<sup>8</sup> See also E. Ghosh, in Journal and Proc. Asiatic Soc. of Bengal, N.S. 28 (1932), p. 11 ff.

<sup>9</sup> For this use of the dual see e.g. B. Delbrück, Altindische Syntax, Halle a.S. 1888, p. 98; S. G. Oliphant, in J. Am. Or. Soc. 32 (1912), p. 33 ff.

<sup>10</sup> See Oliphant, o.c., esp. p. 34.

<sup>11</sup> Macdonell, o.c., p. 127.

<sup>12</sup> H. Oldenberg, Die Religion des Veda, Stuttgart-Berlin 1923, p. 244 f.

<sup>13</sup> E. W. Hopkins, Notes on Dyaus ... in Proceedings Am. Or. Soc. 16 (1896), p. CXLVII.

<sup>14</sup> For a brief survey of the relevant facts W. Havers, in F. König, Christus und die Religionen der Erde, Freiburg Br. 1951, II, p. 11 ff.

Dyaus was not a Supreme Father but a father paired with Mother Earth<sup>15</sup> and it is also beyond doubt that "no worship of Earth as a great divinity over the gods is found", the statement that "father" does not mean any more than "protector"<sup>16</sup> or is a form of "hyperbolic phraseology" is in my opinion incorrect. It must on the other hand be conceded that cases such as RV. 1, 164, 33 "Dyaus is my father, my mother is the Earth" are comparatively few in number (cf. 1, 191, 6; 5, 43, 2; 6, 51, 5).

Yet Hillebrandt<sup>17</sup> was no doubt right in observing that, although, it is true, "Himmel und Erde in der Mythologie der vedischen Stämme nur wenig bedeutet (haben)", "sie im Kult nicht so vernachlässigt sind, wie es scheinen könnte". As will appear from the following pages there exist several sacrifices for this dual deity and the ritualists have summarized their views pertinent to them in the *sūktavāka* and in the *nivid* formulary contained in the *Dyāvāpṛthivīsūkta* of the *Vaiśvadevaśāstra*<sup>18</sup>. It seems even important to observe that they are the only divine pair which is given a place in the *nivid* formulas<sup>19</sup>, and that these formulas are rightly considered to have preceded many hymns of the *Ṛgveda*. Moreover, RV. 1, 160, which is addressed to this dual deity, has long since and with sound arguments been suspected to be a poetical version of the corresponding *nivid* formula<sup>20</sup>. The question may however arise if, to be tenable, the thesis that all other *devatādvandvas* were modelled upon *dyāvāpṛthivī* does not necessarily presuppose a much more prominent place of this pair in the pantheon and cult of the prehistoric ancestors of the Vedic poets and ritualists. Even if this supposition be in itself, at least for a more remote period, legitimate<sup>21</sup>, about the period immediately preceding the Vedic literature, in which at least part of these *dvandvas* must have come into existence, we grope in vain for information<sup>22</sup>.

<sup>15</sup> Hopkins, o.c., p. CXLV.

<sup>16</sup> For "father" see also J. Gonda, Some observations on the relations between 'gods' and 'powers' in the Veda, The Hague 1957, p. 8 f. etc.

<sup>17</sup> A. Hillebrandt, *Vedische Mythologie*, II, Breslau 1929, p. 388.

<sup>18</sup> See also TS. 3, 4, 3, 3; AiB 1, 29, 4; AV. 13, 1, 46; 52, to be quoted in the following pages.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. I. Scheftelowitz, *Die Nīvidas und Praiśās, die ältesten vedischen Prosatexte*, in *Zs. deutsch. morgenl. Ges.* 73 (Leipzig 1919), p. 30 ff., esp. p. 31; 34.

<sup>20</sup> M. Haug, *The Aitareya Brahmanam*, Bonn 1863, II, p. 38; Scheftelowitz, p. 35.

<sup>21</sup> It is probably implied by L. Renou, in L. Renou and J. Filliozat, *L'Inde classique*, I, Paris 1947, p. 488 "Dyaus 'le Ciel' demeure fort en retrait; on ne le trouve qu'en contre-partie de la Terre...". Compare e.g. also H. von Glasenapp, *Die Religionen Indiens*, Stuttgart 1943, p. 63.

<sup>22</sup> The section on the Indo-Iranian Sky-gods in E. O. James, *Prehistoric religion*, New York 1957, p. 216 ff. is disappointing. The prominence of a sky god with some ancient Indo-European peoples, and the hypothesis of his being the 'primitive Indo-European' supreme god (see e.g. O. Schrader-A. Nehring, *Reallexikon der indogermanischen Altertumskunde*, II, Berlin-Leipzig 1929, p. 234 f.) and the worship of a goddess Earth do not inevitably lead to the conclusion that already

Anyhow, the Vedic thinkers and theorists fostered the idea that originally heaven and earth formed a unity, that is to say that they were close together (TB. 1, 1, 3, 2), or were not separated: "Vṛtra lay covering all this space . . ." (ŚB. 1, 1, 3, 4); then no rain fell, there was no heat (AiB. 4, 27, 5). Hence frequent references to their going apart<sup>23</sup>: Indra, the mighty god, separated them (RV. 5, 31, 6; 10, 44, 8 etc.), or they are simply stated to have "gone apart" (VS. 14, 30; ŚB. 8, 4, 3, 16 etc.). "Heaven and earth were together; going apart they said: 'Let us share together what is worthy of sacrifice . . .'" (TS. 5, 2, 3, 3; TB. 1, 1, 3, 2). "(Once) these two worlds were together (i.e. not separated by the intermediate region); when they went apart they said: 'Let us contract a marriage on equal terms'" (PB. 7, 10, 1), the commentary explaining "Let us agree to render each other services". Heaven and earth are adjacent and it is man's duty by ritual means to co-operate in keeping them in this position (cf. e.g. ŚB. 1, 2, 1, 16; PB. 15, 4, 8)<sup>24</sup>. This belief in their original unity as well as the time-honoured<sup>25</sup> and widespread<sup>26</sup> conviction that heaven and earth form a pair in the sense of a married couple—cf. e.g. RV. 1, 164, 33 "Heaven is my father, my progenitor . . .; this great Earth is my 'kinship', my mother . . ."; ŚB. 1, 8, 1, 41; cf. e.g. ŚSS. 8, 19, 1—and the more general references to their constituting a couple<sup>27</sup> (e.g. RV. 3, 54, 7)<sup>28</sup> were a natural consequence of the insight that heaven and earth are the complementary, essentially inseparable halves of the universe. The characterization of this double deity recorded in the ancient *nivid* formula<sup>29</sup> does not leave us in doubt. Here Heaven and Earth are stated to be father and mother, son and generative energy, a bull and a milch cow (*dhenus ca ṛṣabhaś ca*), a bringer of wealth (or

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in the common Indo-European period the pair Heaven and Earth generally held first place in cult and religious speculation. See also F. Cornelius, *Indogermanische Religionsgeschichte*, München 1942, p. 63 f.

<sup>23</sup> For texts see K. F. Geldner, *Der Rig-Veda übersetzt*, Cambridge Mass. 1951, I, p. 379 f.; Kramrisch (see ch. I, n. 58), p. 111 f.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. also BĀU. 6, 4, 21.

<sup>25</sup> "Probably from an ever remoter antiquity (viz., than the "earlier Indo-European period") is derived the notion of heaven and earth as primeval and universal parents" (A. A. Macdonell, *A history of Sanskrit literature* (London 1899), New Delhi 1961, p. 67).

<sup>26</sup> Cf. e.g. H. Th. Fischer, *Het heilig huwelijk van Hemel en Aarde*, Thesis Utrecht 1929; R. Pettazzoni, *Dio, Formazione e sviluppo del monoteismo nella storia delle religioni*, I, Bologna 1929, p. 130; 210; 241 ff.; A. Bertholet und E. Lehmann, *Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte begründet von Chantepie de la Saussaye*, II, Tübingen 1925, Register, p. 670, s.v.; M. Eliade, *Traité d'histoire des religions*, Paris 1949, p. 212 f.; F. Kiichi Numazawa, *Die Weltanfänge in der japanischen Mythologie*, Luzern 1946; W. Stöhr, *Die Religionen Indonesiens*, Stuttgart 1965, p. 123 f. etc.

<sup>27</sup> Incorrectly: "weiblich", Geldner, o.c., I, p. 397.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. also RV. 3, 1, 7; 3, 7, 1.

<sup>29</sup> J. Scheftelowitz, *Die Apokryphen des Rgveda*, Breslau 1906, p. 137.



a "nurse") and abundance, impulsion or inspiration <sup>30</sup> (*dhanyā ca dhiṣaṇā ca*, curiously enough, two grammatically feminine terms), having much semen and yielding abundant milk, beneficent and causing delight (*śambhūś ca mayobhūś ca*), full of strength and full of nutritive juice, depositing semen and bearing semen <sup>31</sup>. On the other hand they remained present in the minds of Vedic man to remind him of the continuous existence of this pair and of the absolute indispensability of the co-operation of its members. By means of definite ritual acts man must, as already observed, help to maintain the present structure of the universe. "Should he desire rain, let him . . . (pronounce) the text (VS. 2, 16) "Be ye in harmony with each other (*saṃjānāthām*), O Heaven-and-Earth"; for when these are in harmony with each other, then indeed it rains" (ŚB. 1, 8, 3, 12). Having taken clarified butter with the dipping-spoon one should pronounce the formula "O Heaven-and-Earth, be ye full of ghee", and thereby endows these divinities with strength (*ūrj*) and sap (*rasa*), so that the creatures may subsist upon them being thus full of sap and affording subsistence (ŚB. 3, 6, 1, 21; 3, 8, 2, 16). By a definite ritual act requiring the recitation of ṚV. 1, 159 one imbues Heaven-and-Earth with vigour so that the creatures may subsist upon them (4, 3, 2, 12). The officiant should guard against any harm which might be done to heaven and earth; if, for instance, they tremble for fear of the pressing-stones, he should propitiate them and so prevent evil consequences from occurring (ŚB. 3, 9, 4, 18). On the other hand the gods under discussion are expected to convey man's oblations to the gods: ṚV. 2, 41, 20 *dyāvā naḥ pṛthivī imām . . . yajñām devēsu yachatām*.

That it is impossible to draw a hard-and-fast line to the natural substratum and the deity, to heaven and earth and Heaven-and-Earth, appears with all clearness desirable from ṚV. 10, 66. Whereas in st. 9 heaven and earth are, like the waters, plants, trees etc. said to have been created, st. 6 states that these are, like the sacrifice, the gods, the sacrificers, Parjanya, "manly" or "vigorous" (*vṛṣan*), and st. 4, making mention of Aditi, Dyāvāpṛthivī, the Great Ṛta, Indrāviṣṇu and others, gives them a place among some deities of note. This is not to say that the poets always resort to the dvandva compound or to dual forms: at 1, 22, 13 the co-operation of both deities is invoked as follows: *māhī dyāvāḥ pṛthivī ca*; it is worth noticing that after the dual *tāyoḥ* in st. 14, st. 15 is dedicated to the Earth alone. At ṚV. 1, 160, 1 *tē hi dyāvāpṛthivī viśvāśambhuva ṛtāvarī* . . . "Tels sont le Ciel et la Terre, ces deux (entités)

<sup>30</sup> For *Dhiṣaṇā*, which occurring about a dozen times in the Ṛgveda, may have been a divine representative of some aspect of furtherance, impulse or abundance, I cannot follow K. F. Johansson, *Über die altindische Göttin Dhiṣaṇā*, Uppsala-Leipzig 1917 and S. P. Niyogi, *A critical study of the nīvids*, Calcutta 1961, in translating the name by "intelligent, wise". Compare also Renou, E.V.P. VIII, p. 88.

<sup>31</sup> For "father" see e.g. ṚV. 1, 90, 7; 1, 164, 33; for bull 5, 36, 5; for rich in semen 4, 17, 4, etc.

bénéfiques à nous, tenants de l'Ordre..."<sup>32</sup> the dual compound is accompanied by the adjective *ṛtāvārī* (*ṛtāvan*) which elsewhere is applied to gods such as Varuṇa, Indra, Bṛhaspati, Soma, Agni, Mitrāvaruṇau, Uṣas, Sarasvatī. There cannot however be any doubt whatever that the use of this adjective does not necessarily prove the substantive to evoke the idea of a completely conscious being. Wind (10, 168, 3), and the rivers (3, 33, 5) are characterized by the same adjective, which generally speaking qualifies those natural phenomena and parochial deities which, quite rightly, were considered to maintain, or to act and behave, each in his own way, in conformity with, the Ṛta.

When, at ṚV. 1, 52, 14, it reads that heaven and earth do not reach Indra's 'expanse' (*vyacas*) this statement must, of course, be taken literally; the possibility of the implication "no other gods, not even the divine pair Heaven-and-Earth, can equal him" should not however be excluded. The same idea is otherwise expressed at 1, 61, 8: Indra embraces heaven and earth; these do not stand round (that is, they can not 'encircle') his greatness. The reader of ṚV. 1, 101, 3 may be under the impression that the poet attributes to *dyāvāprthivī* a certain degree of will, of autonomy, of 'personality', i.e. as individual existence as a conscious being, at least if he follows Geldner<sup>33</sup> or Renou<sup>34</sup> in translating: "Des grosser Manneskraft Himmel und Erde (sich fügen) . . ."; "Lui auquel Ciel et Terre (ont assigné) une grande force-mâle . . .". Heaven and earth are in any case put on a par with Varuṇa who in pāda b is said to prove himself Indra's inferior. In 10, 82, 1 Heaven and Earth are described as expanding themselves as soon as they have been created as (in the form of) ghee. In a text such as ṚV. 1, 112, 1 the duality under discussion is completely put on a par with the great god Agni "I implore Heaven-and-Earth that they will think of us first"<sup>35</sup>, (I implore) Agni . . .". The poet of 10, 113, 1 says that Heaven-and-Earth, together with "all the gods", were pleased with Indra's vital energy or impetuosity. The poets of 5, 49, 5 and 10, 35, 2 express the wish to enjoy the favour of Heaven-and-Earth (. . . *avasā madema*). When a power concept is said to be without enmity and lets itself be invoked there can be no doubt that it is conceived of as a divine person: 9, 68, 10 *adveṣe dyāvāprthivī huvema*; 10, 45, 12. At 10, 47, 8 *Dyāvāprthivī* are requested to approve of a prayer for a firm residence addressed to Indra. See also 10, 70, 10. In translating 10, 35, 1 *mahī dyāvāprthivī cetatām* Renou<sup>36</sup> goes so far as to write "Que le Ciel et la Terre, (ces) grandes (divinités), fassent attention à (notre) oeuvre!". Elsewhere *Dyāvāprthivī* is as a dual deity completely put on a par with a number of gods, among whom Indra, Agni etc.: 10, 63, 9.

<sup>32</sup> Renou, E.V.P. XV, p. 116.

<sup>33</sup> Geldner, o.c., I, p. 130.

<sup>34</sup> Renou, E.V.P. XVII, p. 35.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. Renou, E.V.P. XVI, p. 8.

<sup>36</sup> Renou, E.V.P. V, p. 50.

However, this distinction between substratum and deity, between conscious and unconscious beings—which we are inclined to emphasize and to exaggerate—is of no consequence with regard to their biunity. This appears from many texts, for instance from TB. 1, 6, 6, 2 “the gods, being defeated, took refuge with heaven and earth”; ŚB. 6, 3, 3, 6 “they sought him (Agni) in the sky and the earth, and found him”, explaining VS. 11, 17 “along the sky and the earth thou hast extended”. They were fashioned or created together, at the same time, or by the same maker (RV. 4, 56, 3; 10, 110, 9); compare e.g. also ŚB. 3, 9, 4, 18 and statements such as ŚB. 12, 8, 3, 22 “he thus establishes himself in these two, heaven and earth, within which is all this (universe)”; 13, 3, 4, 1 “all the gods are established in heaven and on earth, and that is why the last oblation is offered to Heaven-and-Earth”; 2, 5, 1, 17; 5, 3, 5, 36. “As large as sky and earth, so large is it” (RV. 10, 114, 8) indicates a measure. The unity of the pair is sometimes emphasized by an adjective expressing the idea of “united, combined”: TB. 2, 4, 8, 5 *ime 'nu dyāvāpṛthivī samīcī tanvāne yajñam puruṣeśaṣaṁ dhiyā*; ibid. 6; or simply by the addition of *ubhe* “both” (e.g. AV. 2, 10, 1). That they could even be regarded as an indistinguishable whole appears from places such as JB. 3, 271 where all ‘worlds’ are said to be heaven and earth, or from AiB. 1, 16, 6 where the gods are related to have grasped Agni when born by means of this pair.

The idea of their being a pair developed or gave rise to a metaphorical phraseology. Thus the end of the sky is said to be the place where “sky and earth embrace” (*saṁśliṣyataḥ*, JUB. 1, 1, 5, 5). Soma the king is the embryo of Heaven-and-Earth (AiB. 1, 26, 5).

The biunity of the pair expressed by the dvandva compound is, as a matter of course, also preserved when sky and earth combine, in the same context, with other complementary pairs, which are less frequent and less traditional: ChU. 7, 4, 2 *dyāvāpṛthivī, vāyus cākāśaṁ ca, āpas ca tejaś ca* “. . . air and space, water and heat”; 8, 1, 3 *dyāvāpṛthivī . . . ubhāv agniś ca vāyus ca sūryacandramasāv ubharu, vidyun nakṣatrāṇi* (notice the different constructions distinguishing between various connections); cf. also BĀU. 3, 8, 9.

There is no need to dwell on the identifications of objects existing in pairs with the pair of heaven and earth: e.g. ŚB. 14, 2, 1, 16 etc. where two lifting-sticks are said to be heaven and earth which serve as an instrument by which, in the pravargya rite, the caldron is lifted from the fire (see also VS. 38, 6; ĀpŚS. 13, 16, 1). They are the two oblation holders of the gods (AiB. 1, 29, 4). Cf. e.g. also VS. 25, 1; AiB. 8, 9, 3 Heaven and earth, *prāṇa* and *apāna* (expiration and the breath called *apāna*), day and night, food and drink, *brahman*, *kṣatra*. *Dyāvāpṛthivī* are said to be *prāṇa* and *udāna* (ŚB. 4, 3, 1, 22; 14, 2, 2, 36). Being co-ordinated with the *sāmans bṛhat* and *rathantara* they are wings (ŚB. 10, 3, 2, 4). They are the *priyam dhāma* (own, dear or favourite place where

to make their presence manifest) of Mitra-and-Varuṇa (PB. 14, 2, 4)<sup>37</sup>. See e.g. also places such as ŚB. 8, 6, 1, 17; KB. 26, 2 (26, 2, 13). The question could arise whether some importance may be attached to places such as VS. 38, 14; ŚB. 14, 2, 2, 27 where after two pairs of formulas referring to closely connected or complementary pairs of entities (*iṣe: ūrje*, i.e. refreshing draught: forcing food; *brahman: kṣatra*), Heaven-and-Earth are mentioned in one final mantra.

Special attention may be drawn to ŚB. 4, 1, 5, 16 "the Aśvins are really (*pratyakṣam*) these two, heaven and earth, for it is these two Aśvins that have obtained possession of everything (*āśnuvātām*)". Whether or not this statement was suggested by RV. 6, 70, 5, where Heaven-and-Earth are called upon to prepare the sweet drink (*madhu*) just as is the case with the Aśvins<sup>38</sup>, is for our purpose less interesting than the explicit identification with those famous inseparable twins, who because of their duplicate nature—their most important feature—are compared to eyes, hands, feet, wings, and animals which go in pairs. It may be parenthetically noted that Heaven-and-Earth, who in Vedic texts (see e.g. ŚB. 4, 5, 7, 2) were included among the thirty-three gods, are in the epic tradition ousted from this position by the Aśvins<sup>39</sup>.

Although the principles underlying the attribution of a large number of animals to various gods to which they are dedicated (VS. 24 etc.) awaits a closer investigation, so much is clear that in a number of cases divinity and animal are in some way or other naturally associated; for instance, the fish belongs to the Lord of Rivers (24, 34). If therefore the question may be put, whether the tortoise, which is dedicated to Dyāvāpṛthivī (ibidem; MS. 3, 14, 15: 175, 10), should not properly speaking belong to the Earth alone, the answer must be in the negative because the lower shell of this animal is said to represent the earth, the upper one the sky (ŚB. 7, 5, 1, 2). In KSAśv. 7, 10 the porcupine is (because of its arched body?) the animal of this dual deity.

The above is not to deny that occasionally there existed, not only a state of being separated, but even a strong feeling of dislike on the side of one of the partners. "(Once) the gods said to Heaven and Earth: 'Unite, bring forth the sāman'. Yonder (Heaven) strongly abhorred this (Earth). He said: 'Verily they do much on her of this kind and of that; they spit on her, they go about on her, they sit on her. Cleanse her now; she is unclean' . . .". It was not before she was clean that the two united and generated the sāman (JUB. 1, 16, 1, 2 ff.).

In RV. 2, 2, 7 it depends on the shade of meaning expressed by *prācī*

<sup>37</sup> See J. Gonda, The meaning of the Sanskrit term *dhāman*, Amsterdam Acad. 1967, p. 70, etc.

<sup>38</sup> Thus J. Eggeling, The Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa, II, Oxford 1885 (New Delhi 1963), p. 276 f., n. 4.

<sup>39</sup> I refer to E. W. Hopkins, Epic mythology, Strassburg 1915, p. 55.



to what extent we should attribute a 'personal character' to Dyāvāprthivī. Geldner<sup>40</sup> and Renou<sup>41</sup> ("O Agni, rends enclins (à nous) le Ciel et la Terre"), following Sāyaṇa (*asmadanukūle*) decided in favour of their personality. A similar observation is applicable to 3, 30, 4 *tāva dyāvāprthivī pārvatāsó 'nu vratdya nímileva tasthuḥ*: I have, for reasons which I need not repeat, grave doubts about the correctness of the interpretation: heaven and earth, the mountains "richteten (sic) sich nach dem Gelübde zu dir, indem sie gleichsam festgebaut waren" or "die göttlichen Himmel, Erde und Berge unterstützen (sic) Indra von sich aus bei der Erfüllung seines Gelübdes dem Menschen gegenüber"<sup>42</sup>. This view of the passage is different from Renou's<sup>43</sup>: "Le ciel . . . se sont toujours tenus sous ton allégeance, comme une (colonne) fixée-en-terre" which I cannot endorse either. In my opinion the two parts of the universe are described as submitting (*tasthuḥ* + dat.), in subordination (*anu*) to the functional conduct of the god who organizes the world, so as to be fixed (dug in) so to say (*iva*). Cf. 10, 65, 8 *dyāvāprthivī vārunāya sāvrate*.

The poet of 3, 25, 3, stating that Agni illumines Heaven and Earth, which contain all men (belong to all men, *viśvājanye*), styles them *devī* "two goddesses", an epithet also given to them when they are called *rodasī* (e.g. RV. 4, 55, 6). In RV. 10, 1, 7 *dyāvāprthivī* is followed by *mātārā*<sup>44</sup> which here may be taken to mean "parents". RV. 10, 64, 14 *dyāvāprthivī mātārā mahī devī* does not in my opinion mean: "ce Ciel (feminin), cette Terre, les deux grandes mères divines"<sup>45</sup>; in this context—compare the following words: "(qui) vont avec la génération des dieux"—the elliptic dual "des führenden Gliedes" (in casu *mātar*)<sup>46</sup> seems perfectly intelligible. The qualification *mātarau* does not of course exclude the possibility of the use of the elliptical *pītārā* (10, 65, 8). In 10, 110, 9 *dyāvāprthivī* are said to be *jānitṛī* "a procreative pair" (Geldner)<sup>47</sup>. In 1, 185, 5 they are "sisters" which here should, in a similar way, be taken as equivalent to the German Geschwister. Heaven and Earth are, moreover, "sufficiently personified to be called leaders of the sacrifice and to be conceived as seating themselves around the sacrifice (4, 56, 2; 7), and as coming to their worshippers along with the heavenly folk (7, 53, 2),

<sup>40</sup> Geldner, o.c., I, p. 278.

<sup>41</sup> Renou, E.V.P. XII, p. 43.

<sup>42</sup> Both interpretations are proposed by H. P. Schmidt, *Vedisch vratā und awestisch urvātā*, Hamburg 1958, p. 69.

<sup>43</sup> Renou, E.V.P. XVII, p. 68.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. Renou, E.V.P. XIV, p. 60.

<sup>45</sup> Renou, E.V.P. V, p. 56.

<sup>46</sup> See above, p. 94 and compare also J. S. Speyer, *Vedische und Sanskrit-Syntax*, Strassburg 1896, p. 5; cf. also Delbrück, *Altindische Syntax*, p. 98.

<sup>47</sup> In RV. 3, 3, 11 they are said to be the parents, abounding in seed, of Agni, but compare also the remarks made by Hopkins, *Proc. Am. Or. Soc.* 16, p. CXLVI.

or taking the sacrifice to the gods (2, 41, 20)"<sup>48</sup>. But also in these contexts they are represented as a single unit.

The poets frankly admit their ignorance of the chronological relation between the two deities: "Of these two, which is prior, which posterior?" (RV. 1, 185, 1; Yāska 3, 22), Durga observing: "The question is whether they were born simultaneously like twins, or one after the other". Nor did the poets object to representing this dual deity as acting, not only in unison, but as a unity: when Indra was about to raise his vajra against Vṛtra, Heaven-and-Earth did not permit him to do so (TB. 2, 7, 3, 2). They are, in invocations, given the same epithets: they are, for instance, primeval, keeping within or maintaining the universal order, parents of the gods (TB. 3, 5, 8, 3; 3, 5, 13, 3 *upahūte dyāvāprthivī pūrvaje ṛtāvari devī devaputre*). They are invoked conjointly, e.g. ŚB. 1, 9, 1, 20; TB. 2, 4, 7, 8 *asme dyāvāprthivī bhūri vāmaṃ samdruhāthām gharmadugheva dhenuḥ*; TB. 2, 5, 2, 2.

Intelligible though it is, it may however be observed that all occurrences of the 'vocative' have reference to the dual deity. This is, together with the (other) gods, implored to help or favour men: RV. 1, 31, 8; 9, 69, 10; 10, 67, 12 (*devair dyāvāprthivī prdvatam naḥ*); to bring wealth: 1, 159, 5 (*asmābhyam . . . rayīm dhattam*); glory and dominion: 1, 160, 5 (*māhi śrávaḥ kṣatrām . . . dhāsatho brhát*). See also 1, 160, 5; 1, 185, 11; 2, 32, 1; 7, 52, 1; 7, 53, 2; 3; 8, 42, 2; 10, 93, 10. In 6, 50, 3 Heaven-and-Earth are addressed as characterized by wide and firm dominion (*kṣatrām urū brhád . . .*). At 10, 93, 1 where they are also given their other name *rodasī*, they are implored to be wide and to appear like two young women.

Yet there are a few cases in which a property or qualification which properly belongs, or seems to belong, to one member of the duality, is used in connection with both. According to TB. 1, 1, 3, 2 Heaven bestowed its particular sacrificial essence (sacred element, *yajñīyam*) on Earth; it became the salt (in the earth), but in ŚB. 2, 1, 1, 6 the same substance is said to be the juice or essence (*rasa*) of "those two, heaven and earth". For this idea, which attests to a belief in the close association and co-operation of the two divinities, Heaven and Earth, see e.g. also ŚB. 2, 4, 3, 8; 10. Statements such as "they bear themselves all that is a name" (we would say: that has a name<sup>49</sup>; RV. 1, 185, 1 *viśvaṃ tmánā bibhṛto yád dha náma*) create the impression of being suggested by the fact that the earth bears everything (breathing, cf. ŚB. 7, 4, 2, 35), and is the place of abode for gods (ŚB. 14, 3, 2, 4) and men. As the earth is at KB. 4, 14 (4, 9, 16) said to be a "firm foundation" or "support" (*pratiṣṭhā*)—here for the harvest to grow—it is not impossible that the statement

<sup>48</sup> Macdonell, Vedic mythology, p. 127. The same author (p. 126) misunderstood RV. 5, 84, 3: the Earth is not praised for sending the rain of heaven from her cloud, but lightning and rain are said to appear for her (benefit).

<sup>49</sup> "The whole aggregate of everything that corresponds to the meaning of a word": cf. Sāyaṇa: *yat kiṃcit padārthajātam asti*.

"heaven and earth are two supports (*pratiṣṭhe*)" which occurs e.g. KB. 3, 8 (3, 10, 9); 5, 2 (5, 2, 20); 8, 1 (8, 1, 14) is another case of transference from one member of the duality to the other, or rather of the qualification of the pair by a term which is properly, or was originally, applicable to one of them. Compare also GB. 2, 1, 20 *pratiṣṭhe vai dyāvāpṛthivī*.

That the pair of heaven and earth was conceived as being the basis of all or as containing the whole universe is for instance apparent from ŚB. 4, 2, 2, 15; 11, 5, 4, 4; 14, 2, 2, 27<sup>50</sup>, where the guru, addressing the pupil who has approached him for tuition, commits him by means of a mantra (cf. PGS. 2, 2, 21; HGS. 1, 6, 5), to this divine pair, "on which this All rests".

In this mantra (HGS. 1, 6, 5) the deity under discussion occurs together with a number of other divinities, among whom Antaka, Aghora, Yama, the Waters, the Herbs, the Trees. It is worth while to make a rapid survey of some other places in which it is said to bear other gods company. In a prayer for protection: RV. 4, 54, 6 it reads: Indra, Dyāvāpṛthivī, Sindhu with the Waters, Aditi with the Ādityas. See also 5, 51, 11; 6, 75, 10; 10, 37, 6; 10, 92, 11. The injunction addressed at 9, 97, 42 to Soma to inebriate (and stimulate) Vāyu, Mitra-and-Varuṇa, the Maruts, the gods and Dyāvāpṛthivī can, with Renou<sup>51</sup>, be explained so as to understand "gods" as Viśve Devāḥ (or as "the other gods"). On the other hand, 7, 35, 5 combines, in a prayer for happiness, heaven and earth, the atmosphere, the useful plants, trees and the "lord of space", in determining whom we need not follow Sāyaṇa, who identifies this figure with Indra. At 7, 44, 1 the duality Dyāvāpṛthivī figures after Dadhikrā, the Aśvins, Uṣas, Agni, Bhaga and other gods, and before the Waters (*āpah*) and the Sun (*svah*), but compare 10, 36, 1. At 9, 81, 5 Dyāvāpṛthivī, characterized as "all-moving", constitute the beginning and the wide atmosphere (*urò antārikṣam*) the end of a series of deities (Aryaman, Aditi etc.) invoked in the final stanza of a hymn. In 10, 2, 7 Dyāvāpṛthivī, the Waters and Tvaṣṭar are said to have engendered Agni. RV. 10, 36, 1 is interesting in that it mentions, not only *dyāvāpṛthivī* but also the rarer synonymous *dyāvākṣāmā*, and that beside *uṣāsānuktā*, the Waters (twice!), the mountain, the sun (*svah*)<sup>52</sup>, and Varuṇa, Mitra, Aryaman, the Maruts, Indra, the Ādityas. In these enumerations provinces of the universe or entities belonging to the terrestrial sphere are comparatively frequent.

The name of this dual deity occurs also in two formularies handed down in the *tarpaṇa* sections ĀśvGS. 3, 4, 1 and ŚGS. 4, 9, 3; this *tarpaṇa*—a ceremony intended to satiate or refresh the gods and the deceased

<sup>50</sup> The first place (*yajor idam sarvam adhi*) was translated by Eggeling, o.e., II, p. 292 "whereon this All rests", the identical other places (ibidem, V, p. 87; 485) less appropriately "within which all this universe is contained".

<sup>51</sup> Renou, E.V.P. IX, p. 50.

<sup>52</sup> "Dominance des Entités naturelles", Renou, E.V.P. IV, p. 114.

by oblations of water—may be regarded as taking place after study of the Veda<sup>53</sup>. In the latter formulary Heaven-and-Earth follow gods such as Agni etc., and divinized ritual concepts (metres etc.), and the sacrifices, but precede the nakṣatras, the atmosphere, provinces of nature etc., and in the former they occupy a similar central place.

In the remarkable nivids<sup>54</sup> contained in ŚŚS. 8, 19 it reads: "Heaven-and-Earth must enjoy the soma, the father and the mother, the bull and the milch-cow (the text gives: *dhenus ca ṛṣabhaś ca*), the fortune-procuring one (*dhanyā*) and the *dhiṣaṇā*<sup>55</sup>, the one of good semen and the one of good milk, the beneficent and the delighting or refreshing (*śambhūś ca mayobhūś ca*), the one rich in forcing food and the one rich in 'milk' (*payasvatī*). Heaven-and-Earth must hearken here; the god and the goddess must favour this god-invocation with divine inspiration (*devyā dhiyā*) . . . (May they) favour this *brahma*, this *kṣatram*, this *yajamāna* who presses soma . . .".

After the sacrifice the hotar has to recite a long series of formulas beginning with: "Successful this has turned out, O Heaven-and-Earth" and expressing the wish that this dual deity may be propitious, afford safety, be beneficent, of easy access and good abode (ŚB. 1, 9, 1, 4 ff.). Compare ŚB. 1, 9, 1, 20 where they are requested to protect a man from suffering (*ārteḥ*).

From the formula "To Heaven-and-Earth, liberators from distress (*amhōmugbhyām*), on two pieces of pottery" (TS. 7, 5, 22, 1; KSAśv. 5, 19; cf. MS. 3, 15, 11: 181, 5 it appears that this divine pair was, intelligibly enough, believed to be responsible for man's 'Lebensraum' in the widest sense of the term<sup>56</sup>, that they were, together, in unison and co-operating, expected to make life possible. This thought is expressed in various modifications. According to ŚB. 1, 9, 1, 4 the formula "Heaven-and-Earth must be propitious to thee . . ." is equivalent to "(they) must abound in food for thee . . .". Among the ritual acts to be performed by the hotar celebrating the full- and new moon ceremonies is that described in ŚŚS. 1, 6, 10 f. as follows: "Having squatted with the right (knee) raised high and having stretched out his hands to the east he mutters, while fixing his looks on the āhavanīya and gārhapatya fires: 'Obeisance to Heaven-and-Earth, the primeval hotars. Ye All-makers, ye are the guardians of my life . . .'. Cf. also HGS. 1, 5, 32 (16); LŚS. 5, 7, 4 etc. In KB. 4, 14 (4, 9, 15 f.) Heaven and Earth are said to be the

<sup>53</sup> Cf. H. Oldenberg, The grihya-sūtras, I, in S.B.E. XXIX, Oxford 1886 (Delhi 1964), p. 120 f.; see also P. V. Kane, History of dharmaśāstra, II, Poona 1941, p. 689 ff.

<sup>54</sup> Short formularies inserted in a liturgy and containing epithets or short invocations of the gods.

<sup>55</sup> For *Dhiṣaṇā* see above.

<sup>56</sup> For *amhas* see J. Gonda, The Vedic concept of *amhas*, in Indo-Ir. Journal 1 (1957), p. 33 ff.



preparers of the harvest, the earth being a support and the sky co-operating (or what is meant by the verb) by flooding (*dyāvāprthivī vai sasyasya sādhayitryau. pratiṣṭhā prthivy odmanāsāv anuveda*).

Before ploughing one should offer, at the eastern boundary of one's field, a bali oblation to Heaven-and-Earth—not, as might perhaps be expected, to Earth alone—with a verse sacred to this dual deity and with the words "Adoration to Heaven-and-Earth" (ŚGS. 4, 13, 2 f.). No mention is however made of them in GGS. 4, 4, 27 ff. and PGS. 2, 13. The Earth, Prthivī, is celebrated alone in only one short text of three stanzas in the Ṛgveda (5, 84), and in the long hymn AV. 12, 1. In RV. 5, 84 she abounds in heights, bears the burden of the mountains and supports the trees. She also scatters rain and so quickens the soil. No mention is made of agriculture. This text is at HGS. 2, 17, 9 used in the *āgrahāyaṇī*, an ancient New Year's ceremony; at ĀpŚS. 16, 17, 17 as one of the stanzas accompanying the construction of the great fire place. Three (separate) sacrifices to Prthivī, Antarikṣa and Dyaus should be performed by a person desiring that the cattle of another should become subject to Rudra<sup>57</sup>. In other rites the goddess Earth should be made the object of meditation<sup>58</sup>.

An interesting case of amplification occurs ĀpŚS. 1, 16, 4. In ŚB. 1, 1, 2, 22 it is taught that when descending from the cart the adhvaryu should pronounce VS. 1, 11 c "Those provided with doors (i.e. the houses) should stand firm on the earth: because the house of the sacrificer might indeed be capable of breaking down behind the back of the adhvaryu when he walks forward . . . By this text he causes it to stand firmly on this earth". Now, ĀpŚS. 1, 16, 4 dealing with the same ritual act prescribes the formula TS. 1, 1, 4 q "They that have doors should stand firm on (in) heaven and earth" (*dr̥m̐hantām duryā dyāvāprthivyoh*). The addition "in heaven" is of course far from senseless.

There is further room for the observation that the ideas of heaven and earth could easily evoke the image of celestial bliss and worldly happiness which generally speaking were the double purpose of all ritual activity. In a pair of mantras handed down in TB. 3, 7, 9, 9 and ĀpŚS. 21, 20, 7 Dyāvāprthivī are said to cause *amṛta* to flow, and the worshipper is related to desire heaven, light, glory and a firm basis (on the earth). The correlation between the two second hemistichs of these successive stanzas is clear. The first hemistichs, which are practically identical, emphasize the purificatory power of the sun. Compare also AiB. 2, 41, 8.

In a series of formulas occurring in ĀpŚS. 4, 10, 1 the sacrificer expresses the wish to attain to various forms of welfare and happiness through the worship of a number of gods. Since the results hoped for correspond to the character of the gods—for instance, worship of Pūṣan results in

<sup>57</sup> Śrautakośa, English section, Poona 1962, p. 626.

<sup>58</sup> Śrautakośa, English section, p. 255; 259; 261.

increase in cattle and offspring—it is worth noticing that the worship of Heaven and Earth is expected to result in (undefined) prosperity in both worlds. However, in other works (e.g. KS. 5, 1: 44, 14) the result is offspring and cattle.

It seems worth while to invite special attention to the six, as a rule short, R̥gvedic hymns which are dedicated to this dual deity. In RV. 1, 159, 1–3 and 1, 160, 2 they are parents and also separately addressed as father and mother (1, 159, 2; 1, 160, 2); cf. 7, 53, 2; 10, 65, 8. They are also called the parents of the gods; hence the epithet *devaputre* “whose sons are the gods”, which is exclusively theirs. On the other hand, in 1, 185, 5 they are said to be full ‘Geschwister’, bordering on each other, meeting in the womb of their parents (dual): *saṃgāchamāne yuvatī sāmante svāsārā jāmī pitrór upāsthe*, words which testify to the poet’s belief in their common origin and complementary relation. At 7, 53, 2 they are called “first-born”, *pūrvajā* which may also mean “primeval” (cf. 10, 65, 8). They have not only produced, but also sustain and protect all creatures (1, 160, 2). Interestingly enough they, the parents, are in 1, 159, 2 said to have made the earth wide for their offspring and imperishable with its broad expanses: an interesting case of differentiation between divine power, conceived as a person, and its natural substratum. It is difficult to decide on the interpretation of 1, 160, 4 where one of the gods is said to have procreated or produced (*jajāna*) heaven and earth, here styled *rodasī*, because the verb—which occurs also in 4, 56, 3—can take a personal as well as an impersonal object. But the hymn is dedicated to Dyāvāpṛthivī, eulogized as parents, or as father and mother.

Geldner’s<sup>59</sup> note on 1, 160, 3 “Out of the variegated cow and the prolific bull he (the sun) has every day milked his (sic!) milk, that is seed (sperma)” (*dhenúm ca pṛṣṇim vṛṣabhām surétasam viśvadhā sukrām páyo asya dukṣata*) is worth quoting: “Erde und Himmel sind hier als Kuh und Stier gedacht, aber fast in einer Person”. This passage is indeed a good instance of the extent to which the unification of a dual deity could be realized; “il (ex)trait . . . le lait (qui n’est autre que) le sperme de ce (taureau)”<sup>60</sup>. Geldner was, no doubt, also right in intimating that this passage cannot be disconnected from those places which deal with the androgynous primeval being represented as a bovine animal, the so-called “Paradoxon des gebärenden Stieres”<sup>61</sup>. Thus RV. 3, 38, 7 speaks of that (fact, deed) which is “of him who is bull (and) cow” (*tád in nò asya vṛṣabhásya dhenóh*); and in st. 5 of the same hymn the

<sup>59</sup> Geldner, o.c., I, p. 219, whose translation “dessen Samen und Milch” should not however be approved.

<sup>60</sup> Renou, E.V.P. XV, p. 116.

<sup>61</sup> Geldner, o.c., I, p. 380.

author makes mention of the bull which as the first (being) brought forth: "der mythische Ausdruck für das schöpferische Urwesen, das das männliche und weibliche Schöpfungsprinzip in einer Person ist"<sup>62</sup>. At 3, 56, 3 this bull, called *Viśvarūpa* "Omniform", is said to have offspring manifoldly. The poet of 10, 5, 7 says that in the first age (of the world) Agni was the first-born of *ṛta*, the bull which was also a cow<sup>63</sup>. In a similar way the Atharvaveda speaks, 9, 4, 3, of "a male (bull), which is (yet) pregnant" (*pūmān antārvān*) and 11, 1, 34 of "a male milch-cow" (*pūmāṃsam dhenūm*). See also R.V. 1, 141, 2; 4, 3, 10.

The phenomenon is, also in other countries, well known. "Nach den Schriften von J. Winthuis denkt sich der Primitive Australiens die schöpferische Urkraft oder das göttliche Urwesen als androgynen persönlichen Gott<sup>64</sup> und die Menschen der Urzeit, d.h. die 'vollkommenen', als ... zweigeschlechtig"<sup>65</sup>. Almost all the major gods in Old-Norse mythology preserved traces of androgyny<sup>66</sup> and the antique gnosis assumed the existence of many bisexual 'Urwesen'<sup>67</sup>. Even the most supreme masculine or feminine divinities may be androgynous<sup>68</sup>. "Divine androgyny is simply a primitive formula for the divine bi-unity; mythological and religious thought, before expressing this concept of divine two-in-oneness in metaphysical terms (*esse* and *non esse*), or theological terms (the revealed and the unrevealed), expressed it first in the biological terms of bisexuality"<sup>69</sup>.

I cannot enter into a discussion of the problems as to whether this concept of an androgynous primeval being was, in its relation to *Dyāvāpṛthivī*, prototypal or the latter contributed to the development of the former idea. I am mainly interested in the undeniable fact that in places such as R.V. 1, 160, 3 both ideas were assimilated. Other passages of interest are 1, 159, 2 stating *Dyāvāpṛthivī* to be parents rich in sperm (*suréṭasā pīlārā*), the term *retas* being also used in connection with them at 6, 70, 1 and 2.

What strikes us also is that the poets of the six hymns dedicated to

<sup>62</sup> Geldner, l.c.

<sup>63</sup> See Renou, E.V.P. XIV, p. 66.

<sup>64</sup> For the Australian idea of god see (H. Nevermann), E. A. Worms and H. Petri *Die Religionen der Südsee und Australiens*, Stuttgart 1968, p. 232.

<sup>65</sup> J. J. Meyer, *Trilogie altindischer Mächte und Feste der Vegetation*, Zürich-Leipzig 1937, I, p. 88, n. 1.

<sup>66</sup> J. de Vries, *Handbuch der germanischen Religionsgeschichte*, II, Leipzig 1937, p. 306.

<sup>67</sup> H. Leisegang, *Die Gnosis*, Leipzig 1924, p. 138 f.

<sup>68</sup> See also A. Bertholet, *Das Geschlecht der Gottheit*, Tübingen 1934.

<sup>69</sup> M. Eliade, *Patterns in comparative religion*, London-New York 1958, p. 420 f. For an androgynous character of primeval and Highest Beings in India see J. Gonda, *Die Religionen Indiens*, I, Stuttgart 1960, p. 103 and II, Stuttgart 1963, p. 207; 212; the same, *The Savayajñas*, Amsterdam Acad. 1965, p. 437, s.v.; see also J. W. Hauer, *Glaubensgeschichte der Indogermanen*, Stuttgart 1937, p. 191; V.S. Agrawala, *The thousand-syllabled speech*, Benares 1963, p. 63 f.

Heaven-and-Earth obviously entertained pronounced ideas of the unity of the duality, that is to say that they decidedly preferred the dual to two singulars and ascribed various deeds and qualities to the dual deity as such, without distinguishing between its two components. Thus these divine powers are expected to bring wealth and kine, or glory and dominion, conjointly (1, 159, 5; 1, 160, 5); to protect creatures conjointly (1, 160, 2; 1, 185, 10); to milk ghee for the meritorious worshipper (6, 70, 2); they are implored to prepare honey (6, 70, 5), to produce increasing quantities of food (6, 70, 6). So hard was it for the poet of 1, 185, 2 to dissociate the two and not to emphasize the self-evident idea of co-operation, that he described them, though themselves footless, as receiving the embryo(s) (of all creatures) with feet. We have less difficulty in understanding places such as 1, 159, 1; 1, 160, 2; 6, 70, 1 where they are described as being great, widely extended or as never growing old. The first hemistich of 1, 159, 2 forms an exception, but after distinguishing between the father and the mother the poet returns, in pāda c, to the parents, using the dual of *pitar*.

Let us now turn to the ritual use of the texts dedicated to Heaven-and-Earth. The hymn RV. 1, 159 is at ŚB. 4, 3, 2, 12 designated as a text addressed to Heaven-and-Earth (*dyāvāprthivyaṃ*, sc. *sūktam*). The brāhmaṇa observes: "Now these creatures subsist on those two, heaven and earth—he thereby imbues those two, heaven and earth, with juice (vigour); and upon those two, thus (rendered) juiceful (vigorous) and affording the means of subsistence, these creatures subsist. Let him respond with 'Om' only, for that is truth, that the gods know" <sup>70</sup>. The brāhmaṇa is here discussing the *ājyaśāstra* belonging to the ceremonies of the morning-pressing of the soma. At ĀpŚS. 13, 13, 8 the text is however called the Vaiśvadeva-hymn (to be used at the midday-pressing), and at ĀśvŚS. 5, 18, 5 and ŚŚS. 8, 3, 11 it forms part of the Vaiśvadevaśāstra. MŚS. 2, 5, 1, 47 has it pronounced at the third pressing. According to AiB. 4, 30, 5 the initial word *pra* "forward" is a symbol (*rūpam*) of the first day, the text being used on the first day of the *prsthya śadaha* <sup>71</sup>. KB. 20, 2 (20, 2, 16) is more explicit: "What contains 'forward' is a symbol of the first day" (*pravād vai prathamasyāhno rūpam*). Cf. KB. 22, 1 (22, 2, 1); KŚS. 10, 6, 5.

While dealing with the *āśvina śāstra* and mentioning RV. 1, 22, 13 (which is addressed to Dyāvāprthivī but forms part of a hymn dedicated to a variety of deities) and 1, 160, 1 (to Heaven-and-Earth) AiB. 4, 10, 11 states that heaven and earth are supports or firm foundations (*pratiṣṭhe*), the latter being a support here, the former yonder. According to 4, 32, 4 it is a symbol of the second day (of the *prsthya śadaha*) because it contains

<sup>70</sup> For some particulars which need not detain us see Eggeling, o.c., II, p. 330 f., n. 3.

<sup>71</sup> See Chapter VII.



the word "between" (which presupposes this presence of a duality, viz. heaven and earth). According to KB. 19, 9 (19, 6, 22 ff.) ṚV. 1, 160, a *dyāvāpṛthivīyam*, containing, in pāda 5 d, the word "together" (*sam*) refers to the year (*saṃvat tat saṃvatsaram abhivadati*) and that is why this text is "a symbol of this day". This statement occurs in a section on the *caturviṃśa* day, and as 24 is the number of the half months of the year the pertinent rites serve to obtain the year (19, 8 = 19, 5, 8 f.). In a similar way it is said to express the idea of "apart" because of the syllable *vi* (20, 3 = 20, 4, 2; 22, 2 = 22, 4, 5); to express the idea of "born" (*jātavat*) because of *sujanmanī* in 1 c (21, 2 = 21, 2, 5); to contain the word "sun" because pāda 1 d runs as follows: *devó devī dhármanā sūryaḥ śúcīḥ* "the god, the bright sun, between the divine pair, in accordance with the dharma" (25, 9 = 25, 8, 3). Cf. also ŚŚS. 10, 3, 14; 11, 14, 31; 18, 22, 5; ĀśvŚS. 6, 5, 18. At ĀśvŚS. 7, 4, 12 ṚV. 6, 71; 1, 160 and 10, 92 are the *vaiśvadevam* (*ārbhavam aikāhikam eva vaiśvadevaṃ śāstram bhavati*).

At AiB. 5, 13, 10 the sūkta 1, 185, likewise addressed to this dual deity, is said to be a symbol of the sixth day of the *prṣṭhya śadaha* because it has the same 'endings' on the sixth day (*samānodarkam śaṣṭhe 'hani*), the commentary referring to the frequency of the pāda *dyāvā rakṣatam* . . . (1, 185, 2 d-8 d). Compare AiĀ. 1, 5, 3<sup>72</sup>. Another view is expressed at KB. 23, 8 (23, 11, 13 ff.): "There is repetition in "first" and "latter" in *katarā pūrvā katarāparāyoh* (1, 185, 1 a); the sixth day is the end; having gone to the end he repeats as it were, for hence in which direction should he go?". Cf. also ĀśvŚS. 7, 7, 8; ŚŚS. 10, 8, 14. St. 1, 185, 2 "The two, without moving themselves, and without feet, receive the moving . . . embryo . . ." is ŚŚS. 6, 11, 7 used to accompany the immolation of a victim to Dyāvāpṛthivī; see also MS. 4, 14, 7: 224, 11 and TB. 2, 8, 4, 8. Dealing with the *agrayaneṣṭi* ŚŚS. 3, 12, 9 prescribes the suitable stanzas 1, 22, 13 and 10, 185, 7 (references to a sacrifice, prayers) for the oblation to the same dual deity; cf. MS. 4, 14, 7: 225, 1; TB. 2, 8, 4, 8. For st. 10 see ĀśvŚS. 3, 8, 1; for st. 11 MS. 4, 14, 7: 224, 13 and TB. 2, 8, 4, 8.

ṚV. 4, 56, 1-4 figures, in an enumeration of the texts to be used on the fifth day of the *prṣṭhya śadaha*, as the hymn to Heaven and Earth, the words *ruvād dhokṣā* "the bull roars" (pāda d) being explained as constituting a symbol of cattle (*paśurūpam*; AiB. 5, 8, 8), with the addition "on the fifth day it is a symbol of the fifth day". The same ritual use is attested to in KB. 23, 3 (23, 6, 7 ff.), where however the whole of pāda d *ruvād dhokṣā paprathānēbhīr évaiḥ* "the bull roars with increasing speed" ("(doué qu'il est) de mouvements qui s'étendent au loin")<sup>73</sup> is quoted on the strength of which the conclusion is drawn that the stanza contains the word, or idea of "cattle" in "bull". ṚV. 4, 56, 1 and 3 occur also at MS. 4, 14, 7: 224, 6 f.; 9 f. (*yājyānuvākyās*). Cf. ŚŚS. 10, 6, 18;

<sup>72</sup> See A. B. Keith, *The Aitareya Āraṇyaka*, Oxford 1909, p. 197, n. 5.

<sup>73</sup> Renou, *E.V.P.* XV, p. 120.

ĀśvŚS. 8, 8, 6, and ibidem, 3, 8, 1; ŚB. 13, 5, 1, 11. In TB. 2, 8, 4, 7 st. 3 accompanies the sacrifice of a cow to Dyāvāpṛthivī. For the triplet 5-7 see AiB. 5, 21, 11: because of the word "pure" (*śuci*) in pāda 5 c on the ninth day it is a symbol of that day, and KB. 26, 17: "there is repetition in 5 a, and the ninth day is the end; having gone to the end, he repeats as it were" <sup>74</sup>. Cf. ĀśvŚS. 8, 11, 3; ŚŚS. 10, 11, 8; LŚS. 8, 9, 4.

RV. 6, 70, 1=VS. 34, 45. At KB. 21, 3 (21, 3, 20) it is said to contain (the word) "cattle" and to be a symbol of this because it contains the word ghee (*ghṛtāvati* . . .). Similarly, 22, 5 (22, 6, 7). See ĀśvŚS. 7, 7, 7; 9, 5, 5; ŚŚS. 10, 4, 14 and 14, 3, 12 (*vaiśvadevaśāstra*); MS. 4, 11, 1: 162, 12 (*yājñānuvākyaś*), etc. Among the *iṣṭis* (oblations consisting of butter etc.) with a special wish MŚS. 5, 1, 5, 68 mentions the case of the warrior who has conquered a foreign people by force of arms and taken (the men) home (as slaves): this person shall offer three oblations, one to Agni, one to Indrāgni and one on two potsherds to Dyāvāpṛthivī and consecrate the last mentioned offering by means of RV. 1, 22, 13 "The great ones, Heaven-and-Earth, must prepare this sacrifice for us" and 6, 70, 1 <sup>75</sup>. The oblation is offered to the same gods who have allowed him to use the vajra (MS. 2, 1, 3: 4, 21). ŚB. 5, 1, 3 f. throws some light on the criteria adopted by the authors of ritual texts in choosing mantras which are to consecrate the acts. Dealing with general precepts for appeasing portents the author advises to sacrifice with eight stanzas which are successively sacred to Indra, Yama, Varuṇa, Kubera, Agni, Vāyu, Soma and Viṣṇu. That SV. 1, 472=RV. 9, 64, 22 is addressed to Soma is beyond controversy, but the divine beverage is implored to purify itself for Indra and so the stanza is regarded as sacred to this god. St. 6 of the Vena hymn 10, 123 is sacred to Yama, whose name is mentioned in pāda d, and 6, 70, 1, though dedicated to Dyāvāpṛthivī, could serve as a Varuṇa text because it contains the words *varuṇasya dhārmanā*. It is clear that the gods for whom the texts originally were intended have completely receded into the background. In the same chapter (5, 5, 3) it reads: Having sacrificed a dish of rice boiled in milk while reciting the stanza RV. 6, 70, 1 he offers an oblation with ghee while pronouncing the five mantras "To Varuṇa hail", "Hail to the Lord of the waters" etc. which are clearly intended to appease this god (cf. 5, 5, 2). SVidhB. 1, 7, 11 has this text (the 'ghee-stanzas') used in case one ejaculates semen in an unnatural way, and 1, 8, 1 in a rite to atone for selling liquids (such as oil, sour milk etc.). The triplet 6, 70, 4-6 "With ghee Heaven-and-Earth enveloped" is at AiB. 5, 2, 9 the hymn to this dual deity on the third day of the *prṣṭhya śaḍaha*. Cf. also KB. 20, 4 (20, 6, 6) and 21, 4 (21, 5, 4 ff.): *abhiplava śaḍaha* ("ghee has all as its deity, the sixth day has all as its deity; therefore it contains (the word) 'ghee'" (21, 4)); ĀśvŚS. 7, 7, 2; ŚŚS. 11, 6, 5.

<sup>74</sup> But see E.R.S. Sarma's edition, Wiesbaden 1968, p. 138 and 139, n.

<sup>75</sup> W. Caland, *Altindische Zauberei*, Amsterdam Acad. 1908, p. 23 f.

For R.V. 7, 53 see AiB. 5, 5, 8: the word *pra* "forward" contained in it is, on the fourth day, a symbol of the fourth day of the *prsthya sadaha*; KB. 22, 9 (23, 3, 4 ff.): hymns containing the word *pra*, among which this one, are used, because "forward" as well as the fourth day is a symbol of introduction. For the ritual use see ŚŚS. 10, 5, 23 "The points of difference are that ... the hymn addressed to Heaven-and-Earth is 7, 53 ..."; ĀśvŚS. 8, 8, 4 and see ĀśvŚS. 3, 8, 1. St. 7, 53, 2 "Prepare (a place) in the seat of Rta (i.e. the sacrificial place) for the two parents born of old with new hymns of praise; come to us, O Heaven-and-Earth, with the host divine; great is your protection" <sup>76</sup> occurs in TS. 4, 1, 11, 4 after 2, 41, 20 "Heaven-and-Earth must offer this ... sacrifice to the gods" in a section giving the yājyās and anuvākyās for the *vaiśvadeva* rite (TS. 1, 8, 2); cf. MS. 4, 10, 3: 150, 16; 4, 14, 7: 224, 8; TB. 2, 8, 4, 7; at ĀśvŚS. 2, 9, 14 among the yājyānuvākyās for Indrāgnī and Soma; see also MŚS. 5, 2, 7, 6.

A rapid view should now be taken of some detached R̥gvedic places. At R.V. 1, 35, 9 Savitar, the sun viewed in its dynamic aspect, is said to move between both heaven and earth (*ubhé dyāvāprthivī antár iyate*). At 1, 115, 1 it is Sūrya, the sun as a heavenly body, who is said to have filled heaven, earth, and the intermediate atmosphere. The phrasing used here and elsewhere is worth noticing, *dyāvāprthivī antarikṣam*, heaven and earth forming, also in this context, a dvandva compound. See also 4, 14, 2; 10, 89, 6; AV. 2, 12, 1; 7, 102, 1; 19, 15, 5; TB. 2, 8, 7, 4; ŚB. 3, 1, 4, 15 *dyāvāprthivī uro 'ntarikṣa*; 4, 3, 4, 10 etc. For this use of the term under examination compare also R.V. 1, 115, 3 and 3, 58, 8; 3, 26, 8; 3, 32, 10; 5, 47, 2; 5, 55, 7; 5, 63, 2; 5, 83, 8; 6, 44, 24; 8, 22, 5; 8, 48, 13; 8, 96, 16; 10, 31, 7; 10, 31, 8; 10, 81, 4; 10, 89, 6; 10, 113, 5; 10, 114, 8; 10, 125, 6; 10, 149, 2; as well as 2, 2, 3; 10, 3, 7 (genitive). At R.V. 2, 1, 15 the compound is immediately followed by the dual *ródasī*: "le Ciel et la Terre, (ces) Deux Mondes" <sup>77</sup>, a translation in which the capital letters are open to dispute.

Turning now to the Atharvaveda—in which this dual deity is no rare occurrence—I select only those places which are of some interest in this connection. Heaven-and-Earth are, again as a dualité-unité, implored to be propitious in the refrain of AVŚ. 2, 10, that is in st. 1–8, and in AVP. 2, 3, 1. The text, which is ritually used for release from various kinds of evil and for welfare, is at KauśS. 27, 7 employed in a healing-ceremony

<sup>76</sup> See H. Lüders, Varuṇa, Göttingen 1951–1959, p. 602, translating *prá ... kr̥ṇudhvam* by "macht euch geneigt"; Geldner, o.c., II, p. 229 "lasset ... den Vortritt"; *navyasī* is not "plus nouveaux" (Renou, E.V.P. XV, p. 123), but "néw; by no means old".

<sup>77</sup> Renou, E.V.P. XII, p. 42.

performed at a cross-road, but according to Keśava's commentary the rite is simply intended against the congenital or hereditary disease, called *kṣetriya* <sup>78</sup>. The text occurs further in TB. 2, 5, 6, 1 ff. where it is to serve at the *jātakarman* (birth ceremonies) of *kṣetriyas* (the commentator explains: *etasya mantrajātasya jātakarmaviṣayatvāt kumāro 'tra sambodhyate: he kumāra, tvām kṣetrināmikāyā rakṣojāteḥ druhaḥ drohād vo muñcāmi . . .*). In HGS. 2, 13, 10 ff. part of the text is indeed quoted for use in the *jātakarman*, to accompany the bathing of the baby with lukewarm water. Here the above st. 1 is followed by "Let Agni together with the waters bring you bliss; Heaven-and-Earth together with the herbs . . .". In AV. 2, 10, 2 b the deity is Soma.

The invocation of this dual deity in 5, 14, 12: "Straighter than an arrow let it (the witchcraft; cf. KauśS. 39, 7) fly to meet him" is quite intelligible: enclosing the medium through which the witchcraft is to reach its aim they could be conceived as causing impediments to occur. Even the prayer contained in 7, 102 is intelligible if we realize the fear of demoniac influences: "Having paid homage to Heaven-and-Earth, to the Atmosphere, to Death, I will urinate standing erect" (and not squatting). See also ĀpMP. 2, 12, 6-10.

The poet of AV. 4, 26, 7 praises the dual deity, calling loudly on them as a suppliant: "do ye free us from distress (*aṃhas*)". The stanza belongs to those parts of the so-called *mṛgāra* hymns <sup>79</sup>—successively addressed to Agni, Indra, Vāyu-and-Savitar, Heaven-and-Earth, the Maruts, Bhava-and-Śarva, Mitra-and-Varuṇa—(AVŚ. 4, 23-29; AVP. 4, 33-39), which are given also by TS. 4, 7, 15; MS. 3, 16, 5, and KS. 22, 15; mantras, aiming to drive away calamity, for the ten oblations of the *mṛgāreṣṭi* of the *aśvamedha* (TS. 7, 5, 22) <sup>80</sup>; see TS. 4, 7, 15, 6 (twice), etc. In the other stanzas of 4, 26—which in its entirety is dedicated to this dual deity—the poet praises it as well-nourishing, unanimous (*sacetas*), foundations of good things, divine, fortunate, widely extended, etc.: whereas these qualities can indeed be ascribed to both components of the pair, the statements in 4 and 5 apply, properly speaking, only and primarily to the earth: "(they) who bear the oblations, the streams, human beings, the ruddy kine, the forest-trees". If, as seems probable, Bloomfield <sup>81</sup> is right in regarding the st. 2-6 as "the muse of a late author who relies in the main upon his own mediocrity", it is interesting to see that this man does what most poets praising this dual deity usually avoid: he ascribes to the pair what belongs to one half of the pair.

<sup>78</sup> I refer to J. Filliozat, *La doctrine classique de la médecine indienne*, Paris 1949, p. 93 ff.

<sup>79</sup> See W. D. Whitney—Ch. R. Lanman, *Atharva-veda Samhitā*, Cambridge Mass. 1905, p. 190.

<sup>80</sup> Cf. M. Bloomfield, *The Atharva-veda and the Gopatha-Brāhmaṇa*, Strassburg 1899, p. 51 f.; P. E. Dumont, *L'Aśvamedha*, Paris-Louvain 1927, p. 285 ff.

<sup>81</sup> Bloomfield, *o.c.*, p. 52.



In a text which is used in rites aiming at the success and prosperity of a king<sup>82</sup> the dual deity, compared to two milch-cows which yield the warm milk (for the gharma offering) are requested to milk (give) much that is pleasant (4, 22, 4). In TB. 2, 4, 7, 8 it is an *upahoma* mantra addressed to Dyāvāpṛthivī. AV. 3, 4, 5 combines this dual deity, whose favour is implored, with Varuṇa, the text referring to a king who has been called or chosen, and has to be inaugurated as such (KauśS. 16, 30), but the prayer cannot be disconnected from the preceding words (addressed to the king): "Come hither from the furthest distance", and Varuṇa is the god who has called him.

A curious parallelism occurs in AV. 6, 62, 1 used in a rite for good fortune<sup>83</sup>: "Let Vaiśvānara (Agni) purify us by his rays, Wind (Vāta) by his breath, Dyāvāpṛthivī, rich in *payas*, i.e. "milk, water, or rain", by *payas*". It seems clear that the *payas* expected from Heaven is rain, that expected from the Earth, milk. Cf. MS. 3, 11, 10: 156, 8 (sautrāmaṇi); TB. 1, 4, 8, 3, where *payobhiḥ* instead of *payasvatī*. As however Fire is the god of the terrestrial sphere and the Wind the deity of the air we expect to find in the third place a god who represents the sky.

In a ceremony against danger arising from the quarters of the universe (AVPar. 4, 4, 10; 19, 1)<sup>84</sup> a number of deities occur in pairs: Vāyu and the atmosphere, Varuṇa and the (other) Ādityas etc.; in AV. 19, 17, 5 the sun (Sūrya) is together with Heaven-and-Earth said to be the protector against danger from the West. Here again this heavenly body is an independent entity beside Heaven-and-Earth. Similarly, 19, 18, 5.

AV. 7, 30 accompanies, in KauśS. 54, 6, the anointing of the eyes of a youth (*godāna* ceremony), in VaitS. 10, 5 the anointing of the sacrificial post: in its only stanza it states that Dyāvāpṛthivī, Mitra, Brahmanaspati and Savitar "have anointed well"<sup>85</sup>. I need not dwell on the significance of the unction: "Die Salbung ist vor allem ein Weiheritus; er teilt dauernde Heiligkeitskraft einem Gegenstand oder Menschen mit"<sup>86</sup>. As such it does not only transfer positive power, it is also a protective and apotropaeic act. The above text no doubt means to say that the deities (as to Brhaspati and Savitar compare 2, 29, 1 f.) impart their particular power and 'holiness' to the youth or the sacrificial post; they will, in unison, protect and fortify him.

In AV. 5, 23 which is used in a ceremony against parasites (KauśS. 29, 20) that requires definite roots, st. 1 states that Heaven-and-Earth, Sarasvatī, and Indrāgni are "woven on" or "worked in" for the man who pronounces

<sup>82</sup> I refer to Whitney-Lanman, o.c., p. 188.

<sup>83</sup> I refer to Whitney-Lanman, o.c., p. 327.

<sup>84</sup> See also Whitney-Lanman, o.c., p. 924.

<sup>85</sup> "Nebeneinander, ohne identifiziert zu werden, erscheinen . . . Brahmanaspati und Savitar noch in AV. 7, 30, 1" (H. P. Schmidt, Brhaspati und Indra, Wiesbaden 1968, p. 89).

<sup>86</sup> F. Heiler, Erscheinungsformen und Wesen der Religion, Stuttgart 1961, p. 234 ff.

the text; that seems to mean that they are caused to help him. In st. 2 Indra is implored to "smite the worms". The same combination of deities occurs 6, 94, 3 (a-c=5, 23 a-c) in a text intended to consecrate a rite for harmony (KauśS. 12, 5).

In an AV. text, of which there are parallels in other works<sup>87</sup>, viz. 5, 24, a number of gods is praised as 'overlords' of some province of nature, (physical) faculty etc.; thus Varuṇa as the overlord of the waters (st. 4). St. 3, which does not recur elsewhere, states that Heaven-and-Earth are 'overladies' (*adhipatnī*) of (the) givers. This must mean that they are givers par excellence and the divine representatives of 'the givers'. In VaitS. 8, 13 the stanza consecrates, in the *cāturmāsyaṇi* ceremonies, an offering to this dual deity.

In 8, 2—a text intended to prolong a person's life<sup>88</sup>—st. 14 this dual deity, the sun, the wind and the heavenly waters are invoked to be propitious etc.: an unmistakable instance of a grouping of provinces of the cosmos and natural phenomena on whose co-operation mankind is dependent without any peculiar attention to overlapping etc., Heaven-and-Earth being again represented as a unity. Cf. 19, 14, 1. In his edition of the Kauśika-Sūtra Bloomfield<sup>89</sup> cites a passage from two commentaries describing four 'committals' (*paridānāni*), viz. to Heaven-and-Earth, with st. 14 f.; to rice and barley, with 18 f.; to day and night, with 20; to the seasons, with 22. According to one commentary the first half of st. 15 "propitious to you be the herbs..." should be recited also, according to the other the whole of it (including the *Ādityas*, sun and moon). At 8, 5, 18—a text against witchcraft—the dual deity under discussion, Day, Sun, *Indrāgni* are said to be "defences"; cf. *ĀsvŚS.* 1, 2, 1 and *ĀpŚS.* 14, 26, 1, and see also AV. 19, 20, 4. In 8, 8, 21 Heaven-and-Earth, the atmosphere and the deities (*devatā*) are put on a par.

In AV. 6, 40, used by a person who desires absence of danger (KauśS. 59, 26), stanza 1 implores safety from this dual deity, Soma and Savitar. The poet adds the wish that the wide atmosphere may "be safety" and that the same effect may be produced by the oblation of the seven *ṛṣis*.

AV. 2, 12, directed against those who would counteract certain incantations, begins as follows: "Heaven-and-Earth, the wide Atmosphere, the Mistress of the Field, the wonderful Wide-going one (according to the commentary, *Viṣṇu*)... let these be inflamed here while I am inflamed". The magician pronouncing these words no doubt wishes to secure the sympathy and assistance of some mighty deities. In st. 5 of the same hymn it is *Dyāvāpṛthivī*, the *Viśve Devāḥ*, the *Āṅgirasas* and the Fathers who

<sup>87</sup> I refer to Whitney-Lanman, o.c., p. 263.

<sup>88</sup> Cf. Whitney-Lanman, o.c., p. 476 for a survey of the ritual uses mentioned in the Kauśika-Sūtra.

<sup>89</sup> M. Bloomfield, The Kauśika-Sūtra ..., Journ. Am. Or. Soc. 14 (New Haven 1890), p. 162, n. 14.

are addressed: one of those places from which it appears that this dual deity may join different groups of divine beings.

In 6, 3, 2 Heaven-and-Earth are together with Soma, Sarasvatī, Agni and the pressing stone invoked for protection. The hymn is used for success in trade (KauśS. 50, 13) and also in the welfare rites described KauśS. 50, 4 ff. For 6, 3 see VaitS. 16, 9. In 6, 58, 1 Indra, this dual deity and Savitar are requested to make the man speaking glorious. The text is naturally used by one desiring glory (KauśS. 59, 9) and in the introduction to the study of the Veda (139, 15). In AV. 2, 29, used in various rites, among which a healing ceremony for a person afflicted with thirst (KauśS. 27, 9 ff.), the dual deity is implored to prevent "this man from hungering and thirsting" in their lap (st. 4) and to grant him forcing food or vigour (*ūrj*), being themselves rich in *ūrj*; the poet adds: "Heaven-and-Earth, the Viśve Devāḥ, the Maruts, the Waters have given *ūrj*".

Regrettably enough, AV. 7, 112, 1, used in a remedial rite (KauśS. 32, 3), and repeated as 14, 2, 45 (KauśS. 78, 10; 13: marriage ceremonies), is not free from obscurity, but so much seems clear that heaven and earth, in their two aspects, the phenomenal and the divine, suggested a happy combination of epithets to the poet: they are beautiful-and-auspicious (*śūmbhanī*), at hand with benevolence, of great functional conduct; "seven (i.e. probably all) divine waters (*āpaḥ*) have flowed<sup>90</sup>; let them (plur.) free us from distress".

Beside the compound *dyāvāpṛthivī* the poets made use of the combination *dyāvā* . . . *pṛthivī*: RV. 1, 63, 1 (heaven and earth as the bipartite universe, with the implication of their inhabitants); 1, 143, 2; 2, 12, 13 *dyāvā cid asmai pṛthivī namete* "even heaven and earth bow before him"; 8, 97, 14; 10, 91, 3. In translations of the following places we should use capital letters: 1, 159, 1 *prā dyāvā yajñaiḥ pṛthivī . . . mahī stuṣe . . . yé deváputre* . . . "I start, with sacrifices, a hymn of praise on Heaven and Earth, the great (deities) . . . whose sons are the gods"; 2, 41, 20; 5, 43, 2 (followed by "father" and "mother"); 6, 11, 1; 7, 53, 1; 10, 46, 9. In 10, 35, 3 the deities Heaven and Earth are called parents ("mothers") and implored to protect those speaking (*dyāvā no adyā pṛthivī . . . trāyetām . . . mātārā*). It may be noticed that part of these cases (in which the two nouns are separated by other words) occur in texts which also exhibit the form *dyāvāpṛthivī*.

Passing mention should also be made of the occurrences of the singular *div-* (*dyaus*) and the singular *pṛthivī* in the same context denoting the two complementary parts of the universe: 1, 164, 47; 3, 59, 7 *abhī yó mahindā divam mitrō babhūva sapráthāḥ | abhī śrávobhiḥ pṛthivīm* "Mitra

<sup>90</sup> For a discussion of the seven 'rivers' (*sindhavaḥ*) see Lüders, Varuṇa, p. 152 ff.

who by his greatness is superior to heaven, wide that he is, by his famous achievements to the earth—"; 6, 21, 2, etc. Instead of *prthivī* other words for "earth" occur in 1, 52, 12 f.; 1, 62, 18; 1, 164, 51; 4, 42, 4 etc.

There exist two comparatively rare synonyms, viz. *Dyāvākṣamā* (RV. 8, 18, 16) and *Dyāvābhūmī*. The occurrence of both *dyāvākṣdmā* and *dyāvāprthivī* in 10, 36, 1 is due to carelessness<sup>91</sup> rather than a desire to differentiate one aspect of the double deity from the other. For the former see RV. 1, 96, 5 (sky and earth). The unity and fixity of the compound show clearly at 1, 102, 2 *dyāvākṣdmā prthivī*: "die Erde wird neben dem Weltenpaar nochmals besonders hervorgehoben"<sup>92</sup>. At 3, 8, 8 *prthivī antārikṣam* is added, at AV. 4, 14, 4 it reads *ā dyām rohanti ródasī*; at RV. 1, 140, 13 the rivers, at 6, 31, 2 mountains and forests. See also 10, 65, 4 *rocand dyāvābhūmī prthivīm*. *Dyāvābhūmī* is together with Aditi implored for protection at 4, 55, 1; 7, 62, 4.

The denotation of the biunite idea heaven-and-earth is remarkable in that it joins, not only the well-known *devatā-dvandvas*, but also the elliptic or sylleptic type *āsvinau*. Heaven-and-earth are also called *ródasī*<sup>93</sup>, a dual, in all probability of the neuter *ródas*<sup>94</sup>, which, if it is etymologically related to *rudra*, the name of the god of the uncultivated and unconquered nature<sup>95</sup>, may have expressed the idea of one 'half' of that bipartite nature<sup>96</sup>. The very existence and the frequency of the expression *rodasī* may be regarded as an unmistakable indication of the undifferentiated unity of the concept, at least of the possibility of viewing it as a bipartite complementary but undifferentiated whole. The occurrence of the singular verb *aṣṭa* "reached, equalled" in 8, 70, 5 affords confirmatory testimony: when Indra was born, thousand suns did not equal him, nor *ródasī*. There is much to be said for the supposition that the goddess Rodasī (*rodasī*)<sup>97</sup>, the associate of the Maruts etc.<sup>98</sup>, owes her existence to a reinterpretation of the dual *ródasī*<sup>99</sup>.

<sup>91</sup> See also Geldner, o.c., III, p. 187; Renou, E.V.P. IV, p. 114.

<sup>92</sup> Geldner, o.c., I, p. 132.

<sup>93</sup> One should not translate AV. 1, 32, 3 *ródasī . . . bhūmīś ca* with Whitney-Lanman "the (two) firmaments and the earth".

<sup>94</sup> Cf. RV. 9, 22, 5. I refer to J. Wackernagel-A. Debrunner, *Altindische Grammatik*, II, 2, Göttingen 1954, p. 222 and 409; M. Mayrhofer, in *Z.D.M.G.* 103, p. 145 f.; R. Hauschild, in *Asiatica*, Festschrift-F. Weller, Leipzig 1954, p. 268, n. 61.

<sup>95</sup> I refer to J. Gonda, *Die Religionen Indiens*, I, Stuttgart 1960, p. 89.

<sup>96</sup> For another formulation see M. Mayrhofer, *Kurzgefasstes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen*, Heidelberg 1964, III, p. 77, who, in assuming for *rodas* the sense of "earth", seems to overlook that Rudra was also believed to make his influence felt in the higher regions of the universe (RV. 1, 114, 5; 2, 1, 6; 5, 41, 3; 8, 20, 17).

<sup>97</sup> As is well known the text of the Rgveda sometimes has *rodast* where one (e.g. Geldner) might expect *ródasī* (see Geldner, o.c., I, p. 67, on RV. 1, 52, 10; p. 267, on 1, 186, 8; p. 315, on 2, 31, 4; II, p. 52, on 5, 46, 8; p. 169, on 6, 66, 6). The problem ("Ist für die Gefährtin der Marut auch *ródasī* zulässig? Oder ist sie es nicht, die gemeint ist?", H. Oldenberg, *Rgveda. Textkritische und exegetische*



No useful purpose would be served by discussing and translating all texts exhibiting this dual. It may suffice to recall that "both parts of the bipartite universe" (*ródasī* (*ubhé*)) is often found without any adjective or other characterization (e.g. RV. 1, 10, 8; 1, 31, 3; 1, 33, 9; 1, 51, 10; 1, 54, 2); that *antarikṣam* "the intermediate region" (1, 73, 8; 2, 15, 2; 5, 85, 3) or *apāḥ* "water" (1, 36, 8 *ataran ródasī apāḥ*) may be added. The poet of 3, 56, 1 couples *ródasī* with the mountains.

There are on the other hand places showing a combination of *ródasī* and an adjectival qualification. However, these adjectives are in their strict sense never applicable to only one half of the bipartite universe. The idea expressed by *ródasī viśvaminvé* in 1, 76, 2 ("les Deux mondes qui mettent toute chose en marche"<sup>100</sup>), "all-invigorating" (rather than "all-containing") is intelligible with "heaven", as well as "earth" and most suitable in connection with "heaven-and-earth", and so are *viśvāsambhuvā* "beneficial to all" in 1, 160, 4; *urvī* "wide, broad, spacious" in 3, 6, 10; 6, 67, 5 etc.; *urūcī* "capacious" in 6, 11, 4; *mahī* "great" in 7, 87, 2; *devī* "divine" in 6, 44, 5; *sumeke* "well established" in 3, 15, 5; *ātapyamāne dvasdvantī* "qui libèrent de la souffrance, qui assistent de leur assistance"<sup>101</sup> in 1, 185, 4. If we reject the more or less traditional translation "high" for *brhat* to replace it by "firm, massive" or "puissant"<sup>102</sup> places such as RV. 1, 72, 4 *ródasī brhatī* do not constitute exceptions. Like *dyāvapṛthivī* the dual *ródasī* assumes the qualification *devaputre* "parents of the gods" (e.g. 6, 17, 7). The adj. *réjamāne* in AV. 1, 32, 3 qualifies *ródasī* as "trembling, quaking". That the earth trembles for fear of the Maruts can be read in RV. 1, 37, 8; in 5, 60, 3 it is the back of the sky that experiences the same difficulties; cf. also RV. 1, 80, 14; at RV. 8, 97, 14 "all the worlds (with their inhabitants) as well as heaven-and-earth" (*viśvāni bhūvanāni . . . dyāvā rejete pṛthivī ca*) are said to tremble for fear of Indra. See also AV. 4, 2, 3 (*bhiyasāne*).

The perfect unity of the concept and fixity of the expression are in places such as 2, 2, 5 beyond doubt: "Agni observes (while shining) the *ródasī* just like the sky (*dyauh*, sc. shines) with the stars".

A reference to RV. 3, 6, 2 ff. may suffice to show the extent to which the choice of the gods' names was within the poets' discretion: 2 *ródasī*; *divás . . . pṛthivyāḥ*; 3 *dyaús . . . pṛthivī*; 4 *dyāvā*; 5 *ródasī*.

Noten, I, Berlin 1909, p. 183) needs no discussing here; see Renou, E.V.P. X, p. 66: "Il apparaît ceci de singulier que Rodasī divinité féminine prend naissance pour ainsi dire dans le contexte même du *ródasī* duel 'ciel et terre', comme si ce duel (à quelle étape sémantique?) avait donné le branle au nom divin singulier".

<sup>98</sup> Macdonell, o.c., p. 78.

<sup>99</sup> Cf. Wackernagel-Debrunner, o.c., II, 2, p. 409; L. Renou, in Journ. As. 231, p. 325 f.

<sup>100</sup> Renou, E.V.P. XII, p. 21.

<sup>101</sup> Renou, E.V.P. XV, p. 118.

<sup>102</sup> See J. Gonda, Notes on brahman, Utrecht 1950, p. 31 ff.; Renou, E.V.P. XII, p. 18.

## CHAPTER III

### SUN-AND-MOON

The occurrence of Sun and Moon among the dual deities is far from surprising. In the Ṛgveda they are mentioned five times as *sūryāmdsā* and three times as *sūryācandramāsā*. As observed by my predecessors<sup>1</sup> these are the only dual compounds formed with the name of Sūrya. No Ṛgvedic hymn is devoted to this pair. In most of the Ṛgvedic cases the concrete luminaries are meant. ṚV. 10, 190, 3 is a characteristic stanza: "Dhātār (the 'Sondergott' who places and arranges things) arranged, one after the other (but obviously, in pairs) sun and moon . . . heaven and earth, the atmosphere and the light of heaven". They move alternately so that we may see (1, 102, 2); cf. 10, 68, 10. As 'travellers' they apparently are a model of perseverance (5, 51, 15). Yet the poet of 10, 92, 12 speaks of "the two denizens of the heavens which move separately" (*sūryāmdsā vicārantā divikṣitā*) whilst expressing the wish that they may hear him. Whatever the right interpretation of the difficult stanza ṚV. 10, 93, 5<sup>2</sup>, so much is clear that the pair is addressed or invoked with other deities. This is also the case in 10, 64, 3—a hymn likewise addressed to the Viśve Devās where *candramāsā* added to *sūryāmdsā* can best be explained as "pleonastische Ergänzung"<sup>3</sup>. ṚV. 8, 94, 2 exhibits an asyndetic juxtaposition of *devā* . . . *viśve* and *sūryāmdsā*.

The stanzas or pādas containing these two dvandva compounds are not repeated in other parts of the Ṛgveda. Only two of them are quoted in a later text.

ṚV. 1, 102, 2 is used in a sacrifice to the two luminaries of animals born twins but one black and the other white: TB. 2, 8, 9, 2. For these victims only one sacrificial post is required (ĀpŚŚ. 19, 16, 21). I shall quote and translate this stanza and the five stanzas which belong to it in full, after stating that they are identical with Ṛgveda Khila, 3, 22, 5–10<sup>4</sup>. Of this hymn, which is ascribed to Vāmadevya Nakula (Khila-anukramaṇī; BrhDev. 8, 14), the first four stanzas are closely connected with the *gharma* (caldrone) (BrhDev. 8, 15) and indeed used in the pravargya

<sup>1</sup> H. Oldenberg, in *Zs. deutsch. morg. Ges.* 50, p. 63 (= *Kleine Schriften*, Wiesbaden 1967, I, p. 708); A. A. Macdonell, *Vedic mythology*, Strassburg 1897, p. 129.

<sup>2</sup> See K. F. Geldner, *Der Rig-Veda*, Cambridge Mass. 1951, III, p. 293 f. Renou, *E.V.P.* IV, p. 127; V, p. 62.

<sup>3</sup> Geldner, *o.c.*, p. 235. I would not prefer "du Soleil et de la Lune, des deux (formes de) Lune" (Renou, *E.V.P.* V, p. 55).

<sup>4</sup> J. Scheftelowitz, *Die Apokryphen des Ṛgveda*, Breslau 1906, p. 106 ff. and see H. Oldenberg, *Die Hymnen des Rigveda*, I, Berlin 1888, p. 365.

ceremonies; stanza 5–10 adore Sun-and-Moon together (8, 16 *sūktaśeṣasya śaḍ ṛcaḥ sūryācandramasau saha*). There are some different readings which will be indicated further on. The puronuvākya for the omenta is (TB. 2, 8, 9, 1) “Sun-and-Moon which (who) are, to a high degree, supporters of all (things) (cf. AV. 5, 28, 5, where *viśvabhṛt* qualifies the earth; MaitrU. 6, 6 and 6, 13, where it qualifies Prajāpati’s and Viṣṇu’s bodies; “. . . opening a way”, RVKh.), govern (direct) (“shine”, RVKh.) a great and abundant brilliant energy in the heavens. They circulate, conciliatory in nature and conciliatory in circulating, the gods, whose rule of functional conduct nobody has ever been able to measure” (*tā sūryācandramāsā viśvabhṛttamā (gātuvittamā) mahāt | téjo vāsumad rājato* (RVKh. *bhrājato*) *divī | sāmātmānā carataḥ sāmācarīṇā | yāyor vratāṇ nā mamé* (RVKh. *vasé*) *jātu devāyoḥ: prajāpālāne sāmopāyapradhānāv ity arthaḥ; sarvajagadanu-grāhakaprakāśarūpeṇa caranaśīlau*, comm.). The yājyā for the omenta is “They go in their course (*armyā?*: *gatyā*, comm.) round both ends (in the east and in the west, of the earth, comm.); they stretch as it were their rays in the ocean of the sky, the two *bhuvanti* (explained as “stretching (?)<sup>5</sup> both worlds”), having the resourcefulness of inspired sages (poets), bereft of thoughtlessness (indigence<sup>6</sup>; that is, the commentator explains, they destroy the ignorance of men which is caused by darkness) go, the sun and the moon” (*ubhāv āntau pāri yāta armyā | divo nā raśmīṃs tanuto vj arṇavé | ubhā bhuvanti bhūvanā kavīkratū | sūryā nā candrā carato hatāmatī*). The anuvākya stanza for the sacrificial cake is: “The two all-knowing lords of the heavens, the sun and the moon, the bright (clear-sighted, wise) ones, bestowing all desirable things<sup>7</sup>, shining in the wide space<sup>8</sup>, excellent (desirable), these two must, intelligent, mighty in their functional conduct, splendidly<sup>9</sup> favour us” (*pāti dyumat viśvavidā ubhā divāḥ | sūryā ubhā candramāsā vicakṣaṇā | viśvāvārā varivobhā vāreṇyā | tā no vataṃ matimāntā māvivrātā*), and the yājyā belonging to it: “Diffusing (your light) in all (parts of the universe? <sup>10</sup>), promoting (helping to overcome difficulties), passing across (sc. “the ocean of space”, comm.), winning the light of heaven (for all creatures) to see, with many rays, for the

<sup>5</sup> *bhuvanā bhuvanti: lokān* (sic) *bhāvayantāv utpādayantau*, comm., but Mahidhara on VS. 16, 19 *namo bhuvantaye: bhuvanā tanotīti bhuvantiḥ maṇḍalavistārakah*; and Uvaṭa: *bhuvanā prthivīm tanoti vistārayatīti bhuvantiḥ*; “Gottesname” (J. Wackernagel–A. Debrunner, *Altindische Grammatik*, II, 2, Göttingen 1954, p. 211).

<sup>6</sup> For *āmatī* see Wackernagel–Debrunner, o.c., II, 2, p. 642; W. Neisser, *Zum Wörterbuch des Rgveda*, I, Abh. Kunde Morgenl. 16, 4, Leipzig 1924, p. 77; S. Rodhe, *Deliver us from evil*, Lund–Copenhagen 1946, p. 76, n. 21.

<sup>7</sup> The commentator prefers *viśveṣām śatrūṇām nivārayitārau*.

<sup>8</sup> The commentator explains: *varivasyamānau, sarvairiḥ paricaryamāṇau ubhau devau*.

<sup>9</sup> The commentator takes *dyumat* as replacing an adjective: *dyumantau, dīptimantau*.

<sup>10</sup> The compound *viśvavāparī* not found elsewhere (see Wackernagel–Debrunner, o.c., II, 2, p. 217) is explained *viśvasmin jagati raśmīn āvaptārau vistārayitārau*.

sun and the moon (again the double dual!), brilliantly visible, wise (read with comm. *manasvīnā*) go round over the sky as two excellent lights (sources of light; read *vāsū* and *bhānū*?)” (*viśvavāparī pratāraṇā tarantā / suvarvidā dṛśāye bhūriraśmī / sūryā hī candrā vāsu tveṣādarśatā / manasvīno bhānu carato nu sām divam*). The following stanza, the anuvākya for the havis, is identical with RV. 1, 102, 2 (see above): “The seven rivers<sup>11</sup> bear his (Indra’s) renown, Heaven-and-Earth, the broad (earth) his beautiful figure; Sun and Moon go round alternately, that we may see<sup>12</sup> and believe (in thee,) O Indra”. The yājyā of the havis is identical with RV. 10, 85, 18 (also quoted in MS. 4, 12, 2: 181, 3 ff.; TB. 8, 9, 3 and, with some variation, in AV. 7, 81, 1 etc.<sup>13</sup>) “These two wander one after the other by their incomprehensible power (*māyayā*); two playing children, they go round the sacrifice. One (of them) looks upon all worlds (and their inhabitants); the other, disposing the seasons, is born again”. This stanza, though not mentioning the two luminaries expressly, is mostly regarded as alluding to them. Compare Sāyaṇa on RV. 10, 85, 18: *kaścit pūrvam gacchati sūryaḥ; anyas tam anucarati candramāḥ*<sup>14</sup>. The representation of the two luminaries in these stanzas, four of which do not occur elsewhere, needs no comment.

The stanza RV. 10, 190, 3 (see above) occurs again in TĀ. 10, 1, 14 = MNU. 5, 7(=147 f.), the whole hymn being used in a purification rite (MNU. 143–148). “Le court poème (RV. 10, 190) célèbre le *tapas*, comme principe cosmogonique: ... l’Ardeur (*tapas*) ... donna naissance ... au temps, aux êtres vivants, aux deux grands luminaires ... L’hymne a sans doute été tenu pour lustratoire en raison du rôle qu’il accorde au *tapas*, car, ci-dessous en 196, l’upaniṣad célébrera à nouveau cette même Ardeur dans un cadre similaire (oblations à fins purificatrices, *pāpakṣaya-homa*)”<sup>15</sup>.

There can be hardly any doubt that these two luminaries are also meant by the two white ones which (who) rise every day (8, 40, 8), by the two bright and radiant or clear-sighted entities (8, 41, 9)<sup>16</sup>, and by the two eyes of heaven (1, 72, 10).

In the Atharvaveda (Śaun.) the compound *sūryācandramāsa* occurs 5 times, the shorter form of the name *sūryāmāsa* once<sup>17</sup>. At 6, 128, 3 both luminaries occur again together with day and night; the hymn, which is (KauśS. 50, 13) used in a general rite for good fortune, expresses

<sup>11</sup> Cf. H. Lüders, Varuṇa, Göttingen 1951–59, p. 683 ff.; *gaṅgāyamunādyāḥ saptaśaṁkhyākāḥ saritaḥ* (commentary).

<sup>12</sup> “pour que (nous puissions) regarder (le ciel)”, Renou, E.V.P. XVII, p. 37.

<sup>13</sup> See further on.

<sup>14</sup> See also A. Bergaigne, La religion védique, I, Paris 1878 (21963), p. 158; II, Paris 1881 (21963), p. 486; Geldner, o.c., III, p. 269; Macdonell, o.c., p. 129 f.

<sup>15</sup> J. Varenne, La Mahā Nārāyaṇa Upaniṣad, I, Paris 1960, p. 150 f.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. also Renou, E.V.P. VII, p. 31.

<sup>17</sup> AV. 13, 2, 12 is in all probability corrupt.



the wish to have an auspicious time, which is to be obtained "from day-and-night, from the asterisms, from sun-and-moon". At KauśS. 138, 8 the stanza is quoted in the aṣṭakā ceremony (celebrations on days of the moon's last quarter)<sup>18</sup> as accompanying the nineteenth (oblation?). AV. 11, 3, 34 forms part of an energetic warning against deviating, in eating a sacred rice-dish, from the time-honoured traditions established by the seers of yore. "With sun-and-moon as eyes I have eaten it; with them I have made it go (to heaven)"<sup>19</sup>. (See also AVP. 16, 57, 3). In the preceding stanza the dish is said to have been eaten with heaven-and-earth as ears. One should read this passage in the light of the identification of parts of the cosmic person with the rice-dish which is an all-important universal power. See 11, 3, 2 (AVP. 16, 53, 2; see also AVP. 16, 96, 8; 17, 29, 9) "(Of this rice-dish) sun-and-moon are the eyes"<sup>20</sup>.

Dealing with a ritual means of purifying and stimulating it into a display of its efficacy the person pronouncing AVP. 9, 23 makes mention of a number of important cosmic and ritual entities, gods, animals etc. which were successfully purified by that same means. Among these are, in this order, heaven-and-earth, day-and-night, sun-and-moon (st. 5). When the ṛta came into existence, heaven-and-earth were its two flanks; the two oceans, its belly; sun-and-moon, its eyes . . ." (AVP. 13, 14, 17).

AVŚ. 3, 29, 5 deals with a white-footed sheep, a victim to be offered together with five cakes that are laid on it. In the otherwise identical stanza 4 the animal is said to become "undecaying in the 'world' (*loka*) of the Fathers"; in 5 "undecaying in the world of Sun-and-Moon". The thoughts expressed in these stanzas may be regarded as identical, that is to say, the sun is here an entrance to 'immortality' and the moon a 'Totenseelengottheit'. Compare the commentary: "undecaying result in the world of the Fathers who have obtained the nature of (the classes of gods called) Vasu and so on (and) which is called world of the moon (*somaloka*)"<sup>21</sup>.

As already observed, the two luminaries are also meant in AVŚ. 7, 81, 1 which, being identical with RV. 10, 85, 18, is followed by RV. 10, 85, 19 in which the moon is mentioned by name. The stanzas 3-6 of this text, which is wanting in the Paippalāda recension, are directed to the *darśa* or slender crescent of the new moon when first visible, and the commentator Keśava<sup>22</sup> relates that "some mutter the whole hymn at new moon on

<sup>18</sup> See A. B. Keith, *The religion and philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads*, Cambridge Mass. 1925, p. 428 f.

<sup>19</sup> See J. Gonda, *The Savayajñas*, Amsterdam Academy 1965, p. 36 f.

<sup>20</sup> For the wide-spread notion of sun-and-moon being eyes compare e.g. R. Pettazzoni, *The all-knowing god*, London 1956, p. 6 f. At Mbh. 6, 61, 54 sun and moon are the eyes of Viṣṇu, the Great God.

<sup>21</sup> See Gonda, *The Savayajñas*, p. 238 f.

<sup>22</sup> See the Kauśika-Sūtra edited by M. Bloomfield, *J. Am. Or. Soc.* 14 (1890), p. 322, on KauśikaS. 24, 18.

first sight of that luminary, for the sake of prosperity". This is no doubt the true value of the stanzas 3-6, 1-2 impressing me as an addition<sup>23</sup>.

As divine beings, put on a par and identified with the Ādityas and implored for assistance, Sun-and-Moon appear in AV. 8, 2, 15. In this hymn used to prolong some one's life it reads "let both the Ādityas (the Sun and his complement), Sun-and-Moon, defend you". Kauśika prescribes this text several times, for instance in the name-giving ceremony (58, 14); according to the commentary stanza 14 and 15 are used in the tonsure ceremony and on the occasion of a child's first going out of the house. The commentator regards st. 15 also as intended, with AV. 5, 1, 7 etc., at KauśS. 46, 1-3, in a rite against false accusation<sup>24</sup>.

AVŚ. 11, 6, addressed to many gods, is a long prayer for relief, included by Kauśika 9, 2; 4 in the *śānti gaṇas*. In st. 5 (AVPaipp. 15, 13, 5) Day-and-Night, Sun-and-Moon and the Ādityas are implored to free those speaking from distress; the words *tē no muñcantv āmhasaḥ* are a refrain.

In AVŚ. 10, 13 a number of single and dual deities are requested to gird themselves, in the interest of the man who uses the text, for a victorious battle and to shoot their missile weapons at the enemies. In st. 9 *suryācandramasau* are addressed. This means that these divinities are called upon to lend assistance against enemies. Similarly, 10, 14, 7.

In AVPaipp. 5, 26, 6 the divine luminaries are, together with king Soma and the herbs, the gandharvas and the apsarasas, requested to slay the evil spirit called Malignity (Arāti). The gandharvas which is, in the R̥gveda (chiefly in the ninth maṇḍala), often associated with Soma, is in several passages of the same corpus also closely connected with some form of celestial light. The task allotted to Sun-and-Moon is in perfect harmony with their nature.

As the phenomenal luminaries sun and moon occur ŚB. 4, 2, 1, 18; BĀU. 3, 8, 9; ChU. 7, 12, 1; 8, 1, 3. At ŚB. 7, 1, 2, 7 they are identified with the eyes (cf. GB. 1, 3, 16), at 12 with the fire on the āhavanīya.

Mention of sun-and-moon as divine entities, or rather spheres, which may be obtained by a definite oblation is made in ŚB. 1, 6, 3, 25. In JB. 2, 98 they are full-fledged divine personalities who are related to have desired, by means of the same sacrificial rite, the same prosperity, and that in such a way that one of them was to win the day, the other the night. They saw the rite under discussion and succeeded. "This is the same (common) prosperity of these two divinities, that they are worshipped in the same sacred place (*samāne loka*) in the morning (which is identical to the day) and in the afternoon (which is night)". Cf. 2, 99 in fine. The passage needs no comment. After describing a complicated ritual the

<sup>23</sup> For further information see W. D. Whitney-Ch. R. Lanman, *Atharva-Veda Samhitā*, Cambridge 1905, p. 446 f., whose superscription (To the sun and moon) is somewhat misleading. Some English people turn a few coins at first sight of the new moon to increase prosperity.

<sup>24</sup> For other particulars see Whitney-Lanman, o.c., p. 476.

author of BŚS. 18, 37: 387, 21 f. concludes: "He who with these two iṣṭis worships every day obtains intimate union with and residence in the same world as Sun-and-Moon". See also BŚS. 18, 53: 413, 16 (some speak of the *sūryacandramasor ayanam* instead of the *darśapūrṇamāsayor ayanam*); 414, 17; 26, 11: 288, 4. In the elaborate account of the offering of the diverse members of the horse to various deities (aśvamedha) the two divine luminaries are said to be presented with the two kidney parts of the victim (TS. 5, 7, 19; KSAśv. 13, 9).

So the part played by this divine pair in the ritual was of little significance.

## CHAPTER IV

### DAWN-AND-NIGHT (DUSK)

As already observed by Macdonell <sup>1</sup> Dawn-and-Night are, in the *Ṛgveda*, invoked several times, but always in detached stanzas and almost exclusively in *Viśvadeva* or *āpri* hymns, that is to say in hymns dealing with a considerable number of deities or deified powers. The poets, calling them sisters, wives, daughters etc., do not conceal the fact that they are female divinities <sup>2</sup>. In most cases their common name is *uṣṣānāktā*; in a minority of cases we find *nāktosṣā*. Sometimes both names are separated from one another. Moreover, the dual of *uṣas* can also denote the pair.

Now the fact that this dual deity does not only occur in the *āpri* hymns, but is also a regular member of the group of divine powers or entities invited or propitiated in these shows that almost all <sup>3</sup> Vedic families who wished to possess their own *āpri* hymn recognized *uṣṣānāktā* as a deity worthy of worship <sup>4</sup>. As is well known the *āpri* litanies <sup>5</sup> provided,

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<sup>1</sup> A. A. Macdonell, *Vedic mythology*, Strassburg 1897, p. 129.

<sup>2</sup> For the gender of *nakt-* see Renou, *E.V.P.* IV, p. 26 and especially J. Wackernagel-A. Debrunner, *Altindische Grammatik*, III, Göttingen 1930, p. 234.

<sup>3</sup> It is difficult to say why there are no *āpri* hymns in the fourth and sixth *maṇḍalas* of the *Ṛgvedic corpus*.

<sup>4</sup> It might be that this was not always the case: some families took a stanza addressed to (Agni) *Narāsaṃsa*, others took in place (Agni) *Tanūnapāt*, while a few families included invocations of both (*ṚV.* 1, 13; 1, 142).

<sup>5</sup> I cannot enter here into a critical discussion of J. Hertel's publication *Das indogermanische Neujahrsopfer im Veda*, *Ber. Verh. Sächs. Akad. d. Wiss., ph.-hist. Kl.* 90, 1 (Leipzig 1938) in which the author, while defending the thesis that the *āpri* hymns belonged to an original New Year's ritual, subjects them to a thorough investigation which unfortunately is based on his untenable doctrine of light and 'Himmelsfeuer', that is, his so-called *Arische Feuerlehre* (see his *Indo-Iranische Quellen und Forschungen*, IX; *Die Sonne und Mithra im Avesta*, Leipzig 1927, p. 1 ff.). Some short notes may suffice. The attempts made by Hertel to reinterpret the Vedic and the ancient Indian religion in the light of the hypothesis of a fire doctrine was, for all its ingenuity, inadequately founded on fact. In spite of many valuable remarks on details he strained the sense of many passages beyond discussability. In contradistinction to the highly biased author I have grave doubts about the rightness of the contention (p. 5; 53) that "die Neujahrsfeier, zu der die vedischen *Āpri*-Lieder gedichtet wurden, in ihren Hauptzügen noch der von O. Huth (Janus, Bonn 1932) aus italischen und germanischen Quellen erschlossenen indogermanischen entsprach"; of the assertion (p. 44) that "Indra und sein wildes Heer ... das Ziel des *Āpri*-Opfers (bilden)"; of the thesis (p. 9) that "mindestens die älteren *Āpri*-Lieder in einem Klima verfasst sind, für das die Wintersonnenwende von grosser Bedeutung war, und zwar an der *Sarasvatī* ..., einem ostiranischen Flusse";



in the brāhmaṇas and sūtras, the yājyā stanzas to the fore-offerings in the ritual of the animal sacrifice which are eleven in number<sup>6</sup>. On the other hand, these hymns are, with the exception of ṚV. 9, 5, treated as Agni hymns and occur mostly in the midst of a group of hymns devoted to this god, or at least immediately after (1, 13; 10, 70), or immediately before (1, 188) an Agni hymn; the only exception is 10, 110. All *āpri* hymns can hardly date back to the same short space of time because they are composed in accordance with a fixed pattern<sup>7</sup>. We shall instantly have to enter into a discussion of the disputed problem as to whether these Ṛgvedic hymns<sup>8</sup> were from the beginning intended for the animal sacrifices<sup>9</sup> or were composed for the purpose of glorifying or accompanying another fixed ritual<sup>10</sup> performance which centred round Agni<sup>11</sup>. What

of the contention (p. 50) that the *dasyus* mentioned in the Ṛgveda are the inhabitants of the Achaemenian empire. The author adds that because of the totally different climate in which they lived the authors of the brāhmaṇas, describing a ritual that had completely deviated from the Vedic rites, did no longer understand these texts. The translations of the texts proposed by Hertel are interlarded with expressions such as "Himmelslichtstrahler" (*devān*, e.g. ṚV. 1, 13, 1); "Strahler des Herrschaftsfeuers" (*kavi*, 1, 13, 8); "durch gute Zustrahlung" (*svāhā*, 1, 13, 12), etc.; *dhī* is regarded as a word for "flame" (ṚV. 10, 53, 6, p. 37, n. 4 "dhiyā, Flamme, nl. des Neujahrsfeuers"); in Hertel's opinion, *bhandamāne* (3, 4, 6) means "die beiden Strahlenden"; *bṛhatī* (10, 110, 6; cf. p. 136, n. 2) "die Himmelslichtstrahlenden"; *hōtaḥ pāvaka* (1, 13, 1) is "mit Glut (des Siegesfeuers) erfüllender Rufer" (see also Hertel, p. 42, and p. 55, where this functionary is stated to be "der Herzog und Priester seines Stammes"; p. 145, where the hotar is "noch zu Zarathustras Zeit (6<sup>th</sup> cent. B.C.) mit dem Stammesherzog personengleich"; the thesis that Indian priesthood did not exist before Herodotus (p. 43) and was modelled upon Achaemenian priesthood is completely untenable); *ṛtavādhō* ... *devīḥ* (1, 13, 6) is "die gestrahlte Himmelslichtstrahlung zum Wachsen Bringenden ... die Himmelslichtstrahlerinnen"; Dawn and Dusk are (p. 136) ("jetzt, am Neujahrstag") "die beiden jungen Mütter des auf die Erde gestrahlten Himmelslichtes" (1, 142, 7; 5, 5, 6 *yahvī ṛtāsya mātārā*); the god Indra is (p. 177) "das schöpferische Weltfeuer" etc. etc.; the translation of 9, 5, 7 *pāvamāna indro vṛṣā* "der sich im Feuer Wandelnde ist Indra, der Stier" (p. 32) is to be rejected.

<sup>6</sup> J. Schwab, *Das altindische Thieropfer*, Erlangen 1886, p. 90 ff.; W. Caland, *Pañcaviṃśa-Brāhmaṇa*, Calcutta 1931, p. 413 f.; the same, *Śāṅkhāyana-Śrautasūtra*, Nagpur 1953, p. 129 f.

<sup>7</sup> K. R. Potdar, in *Proc. and Trans. All India Orient. Conf.* 12 (1943-44, Benares 1947), III, p. 212.

<sup>8</sup> The so-called Yajurvedic *āpri* hymns constitute a secondary class destined for the animal sacrifice.

<sup>9</sup> See H. Oldenberg, in *Sacred books of the East*, 46 (Oxford 1897), p. 9: "The *āpri* hymns ... were destined for the *prayāja* offerings of the animal sacrifice", and the same in *Zs. d. deutschen morgenl. Ges.* 42, p. 243 f. Cf. K. F. Geldner, *Der Rig-Veda übersetzt*, I, Cambridge Mass. 1951, p. 13. See also Macdonell, o.c., p. 99 and p. 101, n. 51, and others.

<sup>10</sup> H. Grassmann, *Rig-Veda. Übersetzung*, I, Leipzig 1876, p. 6 clearly stated that the animal sacrifice was foreign to the nature of these texts.

<sup>11</sup> J. Hertel, *Die Himmelstore im Veda und im Avesta*, Leipzig 1924, *passim*. Potdar, o.c., p. 217.

is beyond controversy is the relation of most stanzas of these "propitiatory hymns" to sacrificial concepts or objects, viz. the fuel, the sacred grass etc., regarded as different forms of Agni and all in need of propitiation<sup>12</sup>. There can be no doubt that these hymns were composed for ritual purposes in connection with Agni<sup>13</sup>.

However, there is, in my opinion, cumulative evidence that the view of these hymns established by Potdar<sup>14</sup> is in the main correct. The almost commonly or tacitly accepted theory that these texts were from the beginning intended for employment in the *prayājas* (fore-offerings) of an animal sacrifice cannot be substantiated by internal evidence<sup>15</sup>. A closer examination of this evidence rather reveals that Agni is their deity<sup>16</sup>,

<sup>12</sup> It would carry me too far if I would indicate all points on which I agree with Potdar (Journal Univ. of Bombay 1945 and 1946) — they are many — and on which I must disagree with him. Among the latter is his view of the 'divine character' of the powers and entities mentioned in the *āpri* hymns. In J.U.B. 15, 2 (1946), p. 40 the Indian scholar argues that "it is only Uṣāsā-Naktā and Tisro Devāh, who are asked to come and sit on the sacred grass like all other regular divinities, while in the case of so many of the others, some distinctive functions are associated with them. . . . No attempt has been made to deify the *barhis* . . .". It must however be noticed that in RV. 2, 3, 4 the *barhis* is explicitly addressed as *deva*, whereas in 5, 5, 4 it is addressed and implored for assistance. As to the divine doors, these are (10, 70, 5) likewise addressed. The concept of 'deity' is in the Veda very wide, any powerful being or entity able to help by its own power could be addressed and conceived of as a *deva* (see C. W. J. van der Linden, The concept of *deva* in the Vedic age, Thesis Utrecht 1954). In my opinion no useful purpose would be served by distinctions such as that made on p. 29: "... as contrasted with Uṣāsānaktā, the *hotārā* (likewise mentioned in these hymns) even though called divine, are not meant to be absolute divinities like Uṣāsānaktā and hence unlike them, they are associated with distinctive functions of their own". What does the author mean by "absolute divinities"? Is any Vedic god 'absolute'? Have the so-called 'absolute divinities' — among whom evidently Dawn and Dusk — no functions of their own?

<sup>13</sup> J. Gonda, Die Religionen Indiens, I, Stuttgart 1960, p. 72; 144.

<sup>14</sup> K. R. Potdar, o.c., and *Āpri* hymns in the Rgveda, Journ. Univ. of Bombay, 14, 2 (Sept. 1945), p. 29 ff.; 15, 2 (Sept. 1946), p. 29 ff. I could consult these articles only after writing this chapter.

<sup>15</sup> Potdar's view of the animal sacrifice as an admittedly later development (J.U.B. 15, 2, p. 42; Sacrifice in the Rgveda, Bombay 1953, p. 135 ff.) is incapable of proof and in view of what was traditional with other ancient Indo-European peoples, highly improbable. See e.g. O. Schrader-A. Nehring, Reallexikon der indogermanischen Altertumskunde, II, Berlin-Leipzig 1929, p. 137 ff.; H. Lommel, Die Religion Zarathustras, Tübingen 1930, p. 247 f.; 261; R. C. Zaehner, The dawn and twilight of Zoroastrianism, London 1961 etc. The arguments adduced by Potdar, Sacrifice in the Rgveda, p. 136, in substantiation of his view are valid so far as the Rgveda is concerned, but I for one would not take for granted that this corpus is representative of all religious beliefs and practices current in the period of its composition. We know that, in earlier and later times, the brahmins have adopted, legalized and brahmanized ritual practices which had existed outside their circles.

<sup>16</sup> Hertel, Neujahrsopfer, p. 5 is right in observing: "Wenn nun die *Āpri*-Lieder in den Büchern II-VII stets an der durch ihre Strophenzahl bestimmten Stelle unter den Agni-Liedern stehen, so bekunden die Redaktoren des Rg-Vedas damit ihre Ansicht, dass sich sämtliche Strophen dieser Lieder an Agni wenden".

who is predominantly praised in at least four places out of eleven<sup>17</sup>. Moreover, in addition to Uṣāsā-Naktā there are some other "spirits or deified objects"<sup>18</sup> addressed or propitiated in them<sup>19</sup>. The combination with the animal sacrifice—found in the brāhmaṇas—is obviously secondary<sup>20</sup>; no *āprī* stanza makes mention of a victim. There is in view of the interesting Avestan parallel, the *afringans*<sup>21</sup>, and the simplicity of the sacrificial performance which they reflect, also much to be said for the supposition that they belong to a comparatively early stage of Vedic rituals<sup>22</sup>.

In connection with our present concern which is with Uṣāsā-Naktā it seems worth while to add some additional observations. The very fact that the authorities disagree in the explanations of the ritual significance of these stanzas may show that the traditions on which they could draw were on this point not homogeneous and that their comments cannot be regarded as reliable information on the original purport and ritual

<sup>17</sup> That is not to say that we should follow Hertel, *o.c.*, p. 5 in contending that the redactors of the Ṛgveda knew very well "dass alle diese Wesen — die nach einander in den einzelnen Strophen angerufen werden — Teilpersonen der Kollektivperson Agni sind". It is not surprising that Sāyaṇa, finding these texts among the Agni hymns and the god's name mentioned in them, should identify all divine beings and entities occurring in them with Agni.

<sup>18</sup> Oldenberg, in S.B.E. 46, l.c.

<sup>19</sup> Potdar, All India Orient. Conf. 12, III, p. 211: "The *āprī* deities do not stand for so many individually independent and clear-cut deities".

<sup>20</sup> According to Potdar, *l.c.*, this combination was mainly based on the identification of the *vanaspati* (e.g. ṚV. 1, 13, 11) with the *yūpa*. See however also ṚV. 10, 51, 8 and 9, which are adduced by Yāska, 8, 21, in order to show that Agni is the god to whom the introductory and concluding oblations are offered. Interestingly enough, Yāska makes mention of several other authorities who were of different opinion: according to them these oblations belonged either to the metres, or to the seasons, or to the sacrificial animals, etc. etc. The onus of the assertion that the *āprī* hymns were given this function because they were "ganz besonders feuerhaltig" (Hertel, *o.c.*, p. 10) must be left on the author. See also p. 128, n. 25. What however should be noticed above all other things is that the fore-offerings of the animal sacrifice are eleven in number and that therefore the *āprī* hymns, which in most cases have exactly the same number of stanzas, could have been more or less mechanically adapted to their new ritual purpose mainly on the strength of numerical considerations.

<sup>21</sup> "Les *Āfringān* sont des prières accompagnées de bénédictions, qui se récitent en quatre circonstances et sous quatre formes différentes: en l'honneur des morts; aux cinq jours épagomènes qui terminent l'année, ou jours *gāthās*; aux six fêtes de saison, commémoratives des divers actes de la création; au commencement ou à la fin du grand été" (J. Darmesteter, Le Zend-Avesta, Paris 1892 ff., p. 722; see also M. Haug, in Sitz. Ber. Bayr. Akad. d. Wiss. 1868, 2, p. 27).

<sup>22</sup> "Les *sūktas* qui en sont formés sont certainement antérieurs à la compilation de la *saṃhitā*; car ils y sont rangés, parmi les hymnes à Agni auxquels ils se trouvent assimilés, à la place qui leur appartient, tant d'après le principe métrique que d'après le principe numérique" (A. Bergaigne, Histoire de la liturgie védique, Journ. As. 1889, I, p. 19).

use of these texts. It may be true that in the Vedic ritual as known from the brāhmaṇas and śrautasūtras the *āpri* stanzas "eine ganz bestimmte Verwendung beim Tieropfer haben"<sup>23</sup>, from AiB. 2, 4 it appears that they were assumed to benefit the sacrificer directly: the *āpri* stanzas are brilliant energy and spiritual lustre (*tejo vai brahmavaracasam āpriyas*), and these are conferred upon the sacrificer so that he will prosper. Thus the stanza for the Kindling Sticks, which are the breaths, are a means of "placing the breaths in the sacrificer"<sup>24</sup>. The stanza for Narāśamsa is to give him offspring and speech. "By the stanza for *uṣāsānaktā* he (the officiant) places him in day and night", and so on.

Another explanation is furnished in KB. 10, 3 (10, 5, 16 ff.): "He propitiates with the *āpri* stanzas. The one who sacrifices prepares the sacrifice with his whole self, with his whole mind. His self becomes empty as it were. He (the officiant) satisfies, satiates it (fills it up)<sup>25</sup> for him with these (stanzas). In that he satiates (fills up), therefore are they called *āpris*". See also ŚB. 3, 8, 1, 2 (dealing with the animal sacrifice). In PB. 15, 8, 2 it is Prajāpati who after creating the creatures thought himself "milked out" and emptied. He saw these *āpri* stanzas as *ājya*-lauds<sup>26</sup> and by means of these he gratified (*āpriṇāt*) himself. Similarly, in a discussion of the Viśvajit sacrifice, PB. 16, 5, 22 f. where they are to "fill up" the one who has given away all his possessions. These authorities again ascribe to the *āpri* sūktas an 'autonomous' capacity to effect a specific result.

It may also be of interest to quote some lines from a section in the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa which—in connection with the animal sacrifices—deals with the *āpri* stanzas (6, 2, 1, 28 ff.): "When Agni restored the relaxed Prajāpati he said to him: 'Propitiate (*prīṇi*) me with those *āpri* stanzas which correspond to me (*matsammitāḥ*)'" (31). On closer inspection it indeed becomes clear that in this passage also the *āpri* stanzas are not directly associated with the animal sacrifice which is to prepare a home or substratum (*āyatana*) for Agni (6, 2, 1, 14), the deity to whom belongs the animal cake (35) as well as the invitatory and offering formulas (36), but with this god: they are twelve in number,

<sup>23</sup> M. Winternitz, Geschichte der indischen Literatur, I, Leipzig 1907, p. 83.

<sup>24</sup> In KB. 18, 12 (18, 8, 32) the *āpris* are generally said to be breath.

<sup>25</sup> Here the verb *āpriṇāti* is obviously to be taken as deriving from *ā-pṛ-* "to fill (up), satiate". Another etymology occurs in TB. 2, 2, 8, 6 *āpriḥir āpnuvan. tad āpriṇām āpritvam* (see also Yāska, Nir. 8, 4 and compare J. Eggeling, The Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa, II, Oxford 1885, p. 185, n. 1 and P.V. Kane, History of Dharmaśāstra, II, Poona 1941, p. 1118 f., n. 2499. That the name of the *āpri* hymns may have contributed to giving them a function in the animal sacrifice is in itself not improbable, but Hertel, o.c., p. 11 f. goes no doubt too far in contending that the identification of *āpri-* and *ā-pṛ-* was the only motive.

<sup>26</sup> The text deals with the tenth day of the *dvādaśāha* rite; see e.g. A. Hillebrandt, Ritualliteratur, Strassburg 1897, p. 155.



twelve months are a year, and the year is Agni (28). "(That is why) these stanzas have one and the same explanation, viz. how one would make him complete, how one would restore and produce him" (33): him, that is, in this connection, Agni who is identical with Prajāpati (6, 2, 1, 30; 6, 2, 2, 3 ff.)<sup>27</sup>. No less than nine stanzas of the *āpri* hymn which were used by the followers of the Yajurveda to accompany the animal offering to Prajāpati which has to take place on the occasion of the construction of the great fire place (VS. 27, 11–12; TS. 4, 1, 8 a–m; KS. 18, 17: 277, 7 ff.; MS. 2, 12, 6: 149, 14 ff. etc.; see e.g. also MŚS. 6, 2, 2, 16; ĀpŚS. 16, 7, 9; 20, 20, 8 where they are used when the royal person who has a horse sacrifice performed is anointed; and compare AV. 5, 27) eulogize or mention Agni: "Uplifted are his kindling sticks, uplifted and pure are the rays of Agni . . . To Agni the ladles (move) when the rites proceed. Worship let him pay to the greatness of Agni . . ., etc."<sup>28</sup>. It is only in the three stanzas dedicated to Uṣāsā-Naktā, to the three goddesses and to Tvaṣṭar that Agni's name does not occur.

This is not to say that the *āpri* hymns are never regarded as efficacious for the benefit of the victims. Says the author of ŚB. 11, 8, 3, 5: "He (Prajāpati) laid hands upon him, and this is that animal of his seized (for sacrifice). When slaughtered, it swelled, and by means of those *āpri* hymns he propitiated (appeased, satisfied) it. And inasmuch as, by means of these *āpri* stanzas, he appeased it, they are called *āpris*"<sup>29</sup>. It might however be recalled that those passages in which these stanzas are associated with the figure of Prajāpati cannot go back to an early period<sup>30</sup>.

Now, while the presence of Narāśaṃsa, the *barhis* and the *svāhā* exclamation and other deities is clear—the *barhis* must be spread, the 'doors' must be opened etc. in order to ensure the progress of the ceremony—the question may arise as to why Dawn-and-Night belong to entities or the divinities to be propitiated. The only answer is that they were another 'requisite' for a successful performance of the fire ritual. The dual deity is in most cases besought to sit down or to take its seat (on the *barhis*). What other significance can be attached to these figurative expressions than the wish or the hope that the right and traditional, the regular and auspicious moments would come so that the sacrifice could take place in due course? And, since the Rgveda itself in two *āprisūktas* (1, 142, 3; 3, 4, 2) is quite explicit in stating that the rites

<sup>27</sup> This does not prevent the ritualists from relating the *āpri* hymns (VS. 20, 55 ff.) which belong to the Sautrāmaṇi (J. Gonda, *Die Religionen Indiens*, I, Stuttgart 1960, p. 173) to the Aśvins, Sarasvatī and Indra (ŚB. 12, 8, 2, 19). See e.g. also MŚS. 5, 2, 11, 7 ff.

<sup>28</sup> For Vāyu see MŚS. 6, 1, 3, 13.

<sup>29</sup> For the use of the 'secondary' *āpri* stanzas VS. 29, 1 ff. in connection with the *aśvamedha* (ŚB. 13, 2, 2, 14; TB. 3, 9, 4, 8; ĀpŚS. 20, 17, 3 etc.) see P. E. Dumont, *L'Aśvamedha*, Louvain 1927, p. 165 ff.

<sup>30</sup> I refer to Gonda, *Die Religionen Indiens*, I, p. 180 ff.; 185 ff.

had to take place three times a day<sup>31</sup> and, moreover, makes mention of morning (RV. 5, 77, 2; cf. 5, 37, 1) as well as evening (1, 186, 1; 2, 4, 8; cf. 3, 28, 5 mentioning the third pressing and libation<sup>32</sup>) and midday (3, 28, 4; 3, 32, 1; 3) services, it seems warranted to suppose that two or three definite moments are meant and that these moments are identical with those which we know very well from the statements in the post-Rgvedic texts in connection with the agnihotra and the soma sacrifices<sup>33</sup>. That the early morning was the time of sacrificing—and in all probability also one of the moments at which these stanzas were ritually used—appears from the *āprī* stanza 10, 110, 4 stating that the *barhis* is spread in the morning, in the beginning of the days. Since *sudina* is a qualification of *uṣas* “dawn” the phrase *sudinatve ahnām*, translated at 10, 70, 1 by “an dem glücklichen der Tage” (Geldner) or “pour que les journées (soient faites) de beaux jours” (Renou), may perhaps point in the same direction. So do, in 7, 2, 1, the words: “(O Agni,) unite yourself with the rays of the sun”. So, should the translation of the expression *uṣāsānaktā* be Day and Night; Tag und Nacht<sup>34</sup>, as at the time was suggested by Hillebrandt<sup>35</sup>, or have we to prefer Dawn and Night<sup>36</sup>; Nacht und Morgenröte<sup>37</sup>?

In his survey of the Rgvedic stanzas referring to the divisions of the twenty-four hours’ day<sup>38</sup> added to the section “Uṣas und die Nacht” Hillebrandt<sup>39</sup> inadvertently made no distinction between the different words used in the texts. However, the words *nakt* and *rātrī* do not seem to be completely synonymous. The conception of night denoted by the

<sup>31</sup> We should not with Potdar, J.U.B. 15, 2, p. 41 conclude that “the sacrifice was to be performed thrice a day at times at least”.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. Bergaigne, Histoire de la liturgie, p. 21.

<sup>33</sup> As to the agnihotra as described in the Śrautasūtras the moments of the performances were not absolutely fixed, because a certain freedom from the rules was permitted, for instance in the interest of those sacrificers who had special intentions. The rule was, according to MŚS. 1, 6, 18: the agnihotra shall be offered at dusk, and in the morning at dawn (*pradoṣam agnihotraṃ hotavyaṃ, vyustāyāṃ prātaḥ*, notice the choice of words which are etymologically related to *doṣā* and *uṣas*). See also HŚS. 3, 7, 9 *prathamāstamite sāyamagnihotraṃ juhōti nakṣatraṃ dṛṣtvā pradoṣe voṣasi prātaraṇihotraṃ purodayam udīte vā*. However, other authorities prefer other expressions, for instance KŚS. 4, 14, 6; 4, 15, 1 *astamite juhōti; prātar juhōty anudīte*; ŚŚS. 2, 6, 1 *agnihotraṃ juhōti sāyam ca prātaś ca*, but the views presented by the authorities of the most preferable moments (see AiB. 5, 30; KB. 2, 9 = 27, 16 ff.; ĀpŚS. 6, 4, 7 ff.) need not detain us. (I refer to P. V. Kane, History of Dharmaśāstra, II, Poona 1941, p. 1000).

<sup>34</sup> See e.g. Schwab, o.c., p. 94; Geldner, o.c., III, p. 357 (on RV. 10, 127, 3).

<sup>35</sup> A. Hillebrandt, Vedische Mythologie, I, Breslau 1927, p. 45 ff.

<sup>36</sup> E.g. M. Monier-Williams, Dictionary, s.v.; A. B. Keith, Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads, Cambridge Mass. 1925, p. 221.

<sup>37</sup> E.g. H. Grassmann, Wörterbuch zum Rig-Veda, Leipzig 1873 (1936), 268, A. Bergaigne, La religion védique, I, Paris 1878 (1963), p. 250.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. e.g. RV. 5, 76, 3; AV. 6, 128, 2; 11, 2, 16.

<sup>39</sup> Hillebrandt, o.c., I, p. 46 f., n. 1.

term *rātrī*<sup>40</sup> easily fades into a personification, a deification<sup>41</sup> which does not fail to rouse the poet's emotions. Being invoked in one Ṛgvedic hymn (10, 127) she is described as the bright starlit night which shines manifoldly with her eyes, fills hills and valleys and drives away the darkness with her light. She is implored to keep away the wolf and the thief, guiding her worshippers to safety. Whether<sup>42</sup> or not she had become a goddess by way of antithesis to Uṣas, or whether or not "her importance such as it is seems derived from her connection with that goddess"<sup>43</sup>, she is coupled with Dawn because she immediately precedes her. Some places in the Atharvaveda, which devotes more stanzas to her than the other corpus, (19, 47–50) likewise invoking her for protection against robbers, demons, wild animals—"uninjured may we, O wide dark night, attain thy further limit" (19, 47, 2)—are on this point not equivocal: "O Night, Mother, commit thou us to Dawn; let Dawn commit us to the day, the day to thee" (19, 48, 2; cf. 19, 49, 5; 19, 52, 7). Speaking on the appearance of Dawn, her beauty and her relations with the preceding period of the daily cycle the poets of the Ṛgveda have, it is true, an unmistakable preference for indirect or metaphorical denotations: the preceding period of the natural day is called Uṣas' sister (1, 92, 11; 1, 124, 8; 3, 55, 11) or the black one (3, 55, 11; 10, 61, 4; cf. 1, 113, 14; 1, 123, 1; 6; 9), one poet using the term *rātrī* (1, 113, 1 *rātry uṣāse yónim araik*), but it is quite clear that it is *rātrī* which (or Rātrī who) makes room for, or yields her place to Dawn (1, 113, 1). From several passages it indeed appears that *rātrī* was a, and probably the, usual word to denote that space of time that precedes daybreak immediately: ṚV. 5, 30, 14 *ā́chat sá rātrī*; AV. 2, 8, 2 *apeyám rātry ucchatu*; 10, 1, 32 "as the sun quits the night and the ensigns of Dawn" (*rātrim jáhāty uṣāsaś ca ketūn*). The only place where the other word, *nakṭ*, is used in this connection is ṚV. 7, 71, 1 "Night runs away from her sister Dawn" (*āpa svāsur uṣāso nág jihīte*)<sup>44</sup>. On the other hand, evening (*doṣā*) is in AV. 16, 7, 9, where a distinction is made between *doṣā* and *pūrvā rātrī*, "early night", not a part of the period called *rātrī*. It is further worth noticing that the term *rātrī* often combines with *ahan* to denote the pair of opposites day and night: ṚV. 10, 129, 2 "there was no distinctive mark of night, nor of day" (*ná rātryā áhna āsīt prakatáh*); 10, 10, 9; 10, 68, 11 *rātryām támo*

<sup>40</sup> See now also J. R. Joshi, Some divine concepts in the Veda, Journal Or. Inst. Baroda, 20 (1971), p. 201 f.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. AVPar. 4, 3 ff.

<sup>42</sup> Macdonell, o.c., p. 124.

<sup>43</sup> A. B. Keith, The religion and philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads, Cambridge Mass. 1925, p. 198, writing "their importance (which is taken by Joshi, i.e., to refer to the preceding "joint goddesses" in general, but who are these?) such as it is seems derived from her connection with that goddess".

<sup>44</sup> For this place and ṚV. 6, 38, 4 ("the idea of Dawn and Night separating, as sisters, at sunrise") see H. D. Velankar, in Journal Univ. Bombay, 11, 2 (1942), p. 61 f.

*ádadhur jyótir áhan*; AV. 2, 15, 2 *áhaś ca rātrī ca*); 4, 18, 1; 7, 80, 4; 8, 2, 20; 11, 4, 21; 15, 18, 5; 17, 1, 25; 26; 19, 56, 2. The elliptic dual *ahanī* was in use to express the idea of (German) "die beiden Tageshälften" (RV. 1, 123, 7; 1, 185, 1 *vī vartete áhanī cakríyeva*; 6, 58, 1). The compound *ahorātra* occurs, moreover, in the Rg- (10, 190, 2) as well as the Atharvasamhitā, in the latter even many times, always to denote the two halves of the natural day: 4, 35, 4 "that which the circling days and nights did not attain" (*ahorātrā yám pariyānto ndpús*); 6, 128, 3; 10, 7, 6; 10, 8, 23; 11, 5, 20; 12, 2, 49; 13, 2, 32; 13, 3, 8; 15, 6, 6 "the months and the half-months and day-and-night" etc. The combination of *ahar* and *rātri* appears to have been as common as that of *divā* "by day" and *naktam* "by night" indicating those periods of the daily cycle during which it is light or dark (cf. e.g. RV. 1, 24, 10; 5, 76, 3; 6, 3, 6; 7, 104, 11; 8, 61, 17 *vísūā . . . áhā divā naktam*; 9, 97, 9; AV. 5, 30, 10; 16, 7, 10 *yáj jāgrad yāt suptó yād divā yán naktam*). It should be noticed that *naktam* must refer to the beginning of the dark period in contexts such as RV. 8, 64, 6 "We invoke thee (Indra) by day, by night on (the occasion of the) pressed soma": the sacrifice meant took place in the evening, not late into the night. The occurrence of AV. 11, 6, 7 *ahorātré átho uśdh* on the one hand and of AV. 6, 128, 4 *sāyám naktam átho divā*<sup>45</sup> on the other shows that the moments of dawn and nightfall were sometimes, quite naturally, distinguished or for some reason or other added to the usual phrases<sup>46</sup>.

As to *uśas* "dawn" this word can, as might be expected, be co-ordinated with *rātri*: AV. 7, 69, 1 *áhāni sám bhavantu nah sám rātrī prāti dhīyatām sám uśā no vyuchatu*, where the prayer for an auspicious night is followed by the wish that the day may likewise break propitiously<sup>47</sup>. However, at AV. 10, 2, 16 there is an opposition between dawn and the beginning of the evening: *uśasam kēndānvaindha kēna sāyamābhavām dade* and the

<sup>45</sup> The remarks made on *divā naktam* by A. Meillet in Mém. Soc. Ling. 28, p. 238 need some rectification.

<sup>46</sup> In connection with the matutinal Ásvins it reads *dyúbhir aktúbhiḥ pári pātām asmān* (RV. 1, 112, 25; similarly, 10, 40, 5), *aktu* denoting the darkness just before dawn (S. D. Atkins, Journ. Am. Or. Soc. 70, p. 38 ff.).

<sup>47</sup> The combination could, because of its stereotyped character or of the semantic extensibility of its components also serve other purposes. A clear instance of this seems to occur at RV. 10, 127, 3 where Rātri is said to approach and to take her turn, relieving or removing her sister Uśas (*nir u svāsāram askrtośasam devī āyati*). This hemistich does not give sense if we take "dawn" to denote only that brief duration of time which is followed by morning, noon etc., and since the poet cannot be expected to apply the term *uśas* to the moment immediately preceding *rātri*, the only explanation may lie in the assumption that the choice of this expression was determined by the polarity of dawn and night(fall) based on the two most striking moments in the periodic succession of days and nights; that means that the frequent use of the 'polare Ausdrucksweise' (cf. W. Havers, Handbuch der erklärenden Syntax, Heidelberg 1931, p. 149 f.; 161 ff. (with p. 253; 257)) tempted the poet to express himself somewhat 'illogically'.



poet of 16, 4, 6 expresses the wish "to attain with well-being" dawns and evenings (*uṣaso doṣasaś ca*). These occurrences are in harmony with the phrases *doṣōśāsi* and *doṣā vāstoḥ* "quand la nuit (tombe et que le jour) s'éclaire"<sup>48</sup> (*vastu* "dawning", from the same root as *uṣas*) which were well known to the poets of the Ṛgveda. Special attention may be invited to ṚV. 2, 8, 3 *yá u śriyā dāmeṣv ā doṣōśāsi praśasyāte* "... lui (Agni) qui, par l'effet de sa beauté, est acclamé dans les maisons au soir (et) à l'aube"<sup>49</sup>, which is a clearly recognizable allusion to the ritual care of the fire and the attendance of its god as well as the worship or ceremonies connected with these; 4, 2, 8 *yás tvā doṣā yá uṣāsi praśāmsāt* "whoever praises thee in the evening, whoever at dawn"<sup>50</sup>; 7, 3, 5 *tām id doṣā tām uṣāsi yāviṣṭham agnīm ... marjayanta nárah | niśīśānā ātithim asya yónau ...* "him, the youngest Agni, the men clean up in the evening (and) at dawn, fanning (him) the guest in his birth-place"; 4, 12, 2: the man who kindles the fire every evening and morning (*idhānāḥ prāti doṣām uṣāsam*) will be fortunate; 6, 5, 2 in the fire (Agni) the gods bring *doṣā vāstoḥ* treasures. In 7, 1, 6 the poet refers to the ghee which is by means of the sacrificial ladle poured into the fire *doṣā vāstoḥ*. The Ásvins are worshipped *doṣā ... uṣāsi* (8, 22, 14), but—it is true, in a hymn which emphasizes the significance of the number three to an excessive degree—elsewhere (1, 34, 3) the same gods are implored to show their profuse generosity three times on the same day, three times "all evenings and dawns" (*trír ... iṣo ... doṣā asmābhyam uṣāśas ca pinvalam*). On this point one might remember that the Ásvins are sometimes invited to come twice a day, in the morning and in the evening (see also 10, 39, 1 *doṣām uṣāśaḥ*; 10, 40, 2; 4 *doṣā ... vāstoḥ*), but elsewhere three times a day (see also 1, 116, 19; at 8, 57, 1 = Vāl. 9, 1 they are invited to drink the third oblation of soma), the texts referring to "la répartition des cérémonies entre le matin et le soir comme d'autres font allusion à celles de matin, du soir et du milieu du jour"<sup>51</sup>. The poet of 5, 32, 11 makes mention of "his wishes which call upon" Indra *doṣā vāstoḥ*. According to 8, 25, 21 *Sūrya*, the Sun, is addressed in the evening and at dawn (*tāt sūryam ... doṣā vāstor ūpa bruve*). At 6, 39, 3—in a hymn addressed to Indra—the soma is said to have made bright all later parts of the night (*aktūn*) in all years, and that *doṣā vāstoḥ*: the seeming contradiction may point to a stereotyped character of the phrase. That phrases such as *doṣā vāstor uṣāśaḥ* were, as might be expected, usual in common parlance may be inferred from Lopāmudrā's words in 1, 179, 1; compare also *doṣā vāstoḥ* in 1, 104, 1. See also the ritual direction "If the time for

<sup>48</sup> Renou, E.V.P. XII, p. 72.

<sup>49</sup> Renou, E.V.P. XII, p. 46.

<sup>50</sup> The "disparité foncière dans ce type de formules temporelles" signalized by Renou, E.V.P. XIII, p. 89 finds its explanation in the different functions of the nominal cases.

<sup>51</sup> Bergaigne, *Religion védique*, II, p. 500.

the evening agnihotra has passed, he shall add . . . (the formula) *doṣā vastor namaḥ svāhā* (KS. 6, 8: 57, 15; ĀpŚS. 9, 7, 3; MŚS. 3, 3, 5); this is "to correct the point of time" (ĀpŚS.).

This is not all. The dual *naktā* occurs also in the same pāda as the likewise elliptic dual *uṣāsā* without forming a compound with it. At RV. 1, 73, 7 it reads: *nāktā ca cakrūr uṣāsā virūpe kṛṣṇām ca vārṇam aruṇām ca sām dhuḥ* "they (the gods) have created Night and Dawn as two dissimilar (phenomena) (cf. 3, 4, 6; 5, 1, 4); they have combined the dark and ruddy colour". The colour of dawn is explicitly opposed to the darkness of night and the idea of unity in diversity again brought to the fore. See also 7, 42, 5 *ā nāktā barhīḥ sadatām uṣāsā* <sup>52</sup>.

Moreover the dual *uṣāsā* alone may elliptically express the same idea: in an invitation to sit down 1, 188, 6 (*āpri* hymn) *uṣāśāv éhā sīdatām*; cf. 3, 4, 6. At RV. 8, 27, 2 and in the formula VS. 20, 61 etc. we find *uṣāsā nāktam* <sup>53</sup>. Here Geldner <sup>54</sup> is no doubt right in following Sāyaṇa: the animal, the earth, dawn and night which are celebrated in the poet's song are "die Elemente und Zeiten des Opfers"; *uṣāsā*: *hotavyatvena usaḥkālām tathā naktam yaṣṭavyatayā rātrim*.

Now those whose mother tongue is not English should bear in mind that *night* is in these stanzas the right translation, because like the Sanskrit word—and Latin *nox* etc. <sup>55</sup>—it denotes that period of the natural day when the sun has ceased to give light, that is, the whole period between sunset and sunrise. Unlike the Dutch *avond* <sup>56</sup> the English *evening* is the early part of the night, not a shorter or longer period between day and night. So the poet of RV. 3, 14, 3, in requesting Uṣāsā to rush to Agni and then to remain in the house of the sacrificer, means to express the wish that every morning and every evening (*sāyamprātaḥkālayoḥ*, Sāyaṇa) the right moment will come to perform the agnihotra rites. See also 2, 2, 2 ("Nacht und Morgen als die Zeit, wo das Feuer entzündet wird" <sup>57</sup>). Explaining the significance of the *praiṣa* formulas MS. 1, 10, 9: 149, 5 and KS. 36, 3: 71, 5 say that this dual deity represents daybreak and sunset (*vyuṣṭim caiva nimruktim ca*).

So there can be no doubt whatever that these expressions were often used in connection with the moments at which the customary observances, the attendance of Agni and the worship of other gods, had to take place. It is moreover sufficiently clear that in addition to dawn and nightfall

<sup>52</sup> Notice also *nāktam utōśasaḥ* at RV. 1, 90, 7 and *nāktīr uṣasaḥ* at 2, 2, 2.

<sup>53</sup> See Wackernagel-Debrunner, l.c., and Renou, E.V.P. IV, p. 106.

<sup>54</sup> Geldner, o.c., III, p. 338.

<sup>55</sup> Hence also in Greek ἐξ ἡοῦς εἰς νύκτα καὶ ἐκ νυκτῶν εἰς ἡοῦν (Hedylus apud Athenaeum, II, 473 a).

<sup>56</sup> "Süddeutsch ist die Verwendung von *Nacht* in manchen Fällen, wo man im Norddeutschen *Abend* vorzieht" (H. Paul, Deutsches Wörterbuch, Halle S. <sup>2</sup>1908. p. 374).

<sup>57</sup> Geldner, o.c., I, p. 278.

a third sacrificial ceremony could be performed between these moments <sup>58</sup>. That it was essential to sacrifice not too early in the morning or too late in the evening appears for instance from ŚB. 2, 3, 1, 9, quoting Āsuri: "The agnihotra of those who offer after sunrise we regard as interrupted or incoherent (*vicchinnam*): it is as if one were to take food to an empty house" <sup>59</sup>.

After the critical remarks made, in the preceding part of this chapter, in connection with Hertel's views of the original function of the *āpri* hymns ("Der Zweck des Āpri-Opfers war die Neuanbahnung der Verbindung mit den himmlischen Lichtmächten, um mit deren Hilfe Herrschaft und Fruchtbarkeit zu sichern"; "Das Opfer wurde als hohes Fest am Morgen des ersten Tages des Jahres gefeiert" <sup>60</sup>) it will not be a great surprise that I cannot endorse his interpretation of the divine pair under discussion: "Lediglich als Spender der Fruchtbarkeit (Licht und Tau, also flüssiges Himmelsfeuer spendend, das dem aus den Gestirnen strömenden Regen entspricht) werden Nacht und Morgenröte angerufen, welche den Pflanzenwuchs bedingen . . ." <sup>61</sup>. What strikes the unbiassed reader of the stanzas devoted to Dawn and Night (Dusk) is, first the invitation to sit down <sup>62</sup>, in the second place their outward appearance (ornaments etc.), and further, their activity, the 'milk' they give (cf. 2, 3, 6; 7, 2, 6). I fail to see that the poets of these stanzas have viewed *Nakt* as "die Nacht, die noch am Himmel steht, (und die) zu weichen beginnt" <sup>63</sup>.

With regard to the *āpri* hymns we may conclude that they originally were destined for a comparatively simple ritual, which probably was complete in itself and was performed in the household of the sacrificer (10, 110, 1); that the oblations were also simple; that this ritual probably was rather popular because most of the leading families possessed an *āpri* hymn of their own; that, though centring round Agni as its predominant deity, the generality of the gods (cf. 1, 13, 12; 1, 188, 4; 2, 3, 4; 10, 70, 4; 10, 110, 4) were to receive offerings; that the *hotar* priest was the main,

<sup>58</sup> Combinations of the names of dawn, (noon) and evening must already in early times have been common. Cf. e.g. Homer, *Iliad* 21, 111 "there will come a dawn or evening, or midday, when some man will take my life too in battle".

<sup>59</sup> In VS. 20, 41 Dawn and Night are described as worshipping Indra. It is to be remembered that this secondary text was used in the Sautrāmaṇī ritual (cf. also 20, 36; 39 etc.). I cannot follow Hertel, *Neujahrsopfer*, p. 177: "Die beiden opfern dem schöpferischen Weltfeuer, Indra, d.h. sie nähren und mehren es, wenn es am Neujahrmorgen noch klein und jung ist . . ., sind daher 'gut-milchend', 'Indras Milchkühe' und . . . die 'grossen Mütter' überhaupt . . .".

<sup>60</sup> Hertel, *Neujahrsopfer*, p. 45 f.; cf. p. 49.

<sup>61</sup> Hertel, o.c., p. 44.

<sup>62</sup> "Beide werden in ihrer unsichtbaren Gestalt zum Mahle auf das Barhis geladen, weil die eine das den Tag und damit das Jahr einleitende Himmels- und also auch Siegesfeuer, die andere das Siegesfeuer ausstrahlt, welches nach Sonnenuntergang die Mächte der Finsternis, *rakṣās*, verscheucht" (Hertel, o.c., p. 136).

<sup>63</sup> Hertel, o.c., p. 56.

if not the only officiant<sup>64</sup>. From the fact that the term *havis* (10, 70, 10; 10, 110, 10) does not occur before the 10<sup>th</sup> stanza it may probably be inferred that the main oblation had to be offered just then, not earlier. The *āpri* hymns decidedly impress me as belonging to a, comparatively speaking, early stage of development of the Vedic ritual<sup>65</sup>.

There can, moreover, be hardly any doubt that the *āpri* hymn in the soma book of the Rgveda (9, 5) is an imitation of the other *āpri* texts<sup>66</sup> and that these in the eyes of its poet were Agni texts<sup>67</sup>. That "das Schema der *Āprilieder* hier zum Pavamānalied umgemodelt ist"<sup>68</sup> is of course less conclusive than the adaptation of Agni terminology to the new surroundings and the introduction of imagery applicable to Soma as well as Agni<sup>69</sup>. "In 9, 5 the *āpri* deities (*āpryah*) are praised like (Soma) Pavamāna" (BrhDev. 6, 130), "that is", Macdonell<sup>70</sup> explains, "as if they were forms, not of Agni, but of Soma Pavamāna".

The assumption seems therefore legitimate that the intimate association of Uṣas and Nakt, like the polarity expressed by the phrases with *uṣasi*: *doṣā* etc., had, in Rgvedic times, something to do with the regular or traditional moments for sacrificing. Geldner's thesis that Uṣas "in der Verbindung *uṣḍāsānāktā* den ganzen Tag repräsentiert"<sup>71</sup> is, in my opinion, untenable. In the *āpri* hymns these moments probably were the hours at which the fire service had to take place. This conclusion is corroborated by the *āpri* stanza RV. 5, 5, 6 where instead of the usual compound we find . . . (*yahvī rtāsya mātārā*) *doṣdm uṣāsam (īmahe)*, that is to say "evening", not "night".

The formula VS. 20, 61; MS. 3, 11, 3: 144, 3; KS. 38, 8: 109, 18; TB. 2, 6, 12, 3 *uṣḍā nāktam aśvinā divēndram sāyām indriyaḥ | saṃjānāne supēśasā sām añjāte sārasyāyā* is interesting because it intimates that the poet understood *uṣas* as "day" and *nakt* as "evening"! "Ye Aśvins,

<sup>64</sup> On these points I can, in the main, join Potdar, J.U.B. 15, 2, p. 38 ff., and esp. p. 49.

<sup>65</sup> In this connection Oldenberg's view (Religion des Veda, 2p. 437 f.) is worth recalling: "... betrifft des morgendlichen und abendlichen 'Feueropfers' kann man zweifelhaft sein, ob sie der ursprünglichen Intention nach vollwertige Opfer sind; es scheint zutreffender, sie in erster Linie als die regelmässige, freilich, wie sich von selbst versteht, kultisch ausgestattete Bedienung des Opferfeuers zu verstehen, die zu dessen Erhaltung notwendig ist". The probability of the existence of matutinal and vespertine rites can, with Oldenberg, be argued on the strength of RV. 4, 2, 8; 7, 1, 6.

<sup>66</sup> Oldenberg was in error when he wrote that "die Übertragung der *Āprilieder*form auf Soma offenbar eine reine Spielerei ist" (H. Oldenberg, Die Hymnen des Rigveda, I. Metrische und textgeschichtliche Prolegomena, Berlin 1888, p. 194).

<sup>67</sup> See H. Grassmann, Rig-Veda, II, Leipzig 1877, p. 189; Oldenberg, Die Hymnen des Rigveda. I, p. 28, n. 1; 194 f.; Keith, Religion and philosophy, p. 623.

<sup>68</sup> Geldner, o.c., III, p. 13.

<sup>69</sup> See Renou, E.V.P. VIII, p. 52 f.

<sup>70</sup> A. A. Macdonell, The Brhad-devatā, Cambridge Mass. 1904, p. 243.

<sup>71</sup> Geldner, o.c., III, p. 357.



'Dawn-and-Night' by day and in the evening . . . , in agreement with Sarasvatī, adorn Indra with indriya powers". The formula relates to the sautrāmaṇī rites. Sarasvatī, being healing medicine (ŚB. 12, 7, 1, 12), assisted the Aśvins in curing Indra when his soma drink and vital energy was taken from him by Namuci.

That they are closely associated with the two halves of the natural day, or can even be considered identical with these appears from 4, 55, 3 where they, being above deceit or impossible to deceive (*adabdhē*), are besought to act in such a way that both halves of the (natural) day guard those speaking. Renou<sup>72</sup> aptly observes: "Le couple divin dissocié du substrat concret: d'une part *āhanī* (n.) "les deux parties du jour", de l'autre le nom (fém.) *uṣāsānāktā* où le premier membre remplace *dīv/dyū*, accaparé par le dvandva *dyāvāprthivī*". However, this is not the only place where *uṣas* is used in a more extended sense, and so the fixed expression *uṣāsānāktā* quite naturally came into the poet's mind. Words for "dawn", though denoting strictly the period just before sunrise, sometimes may be extended to cover "sunrise" or even "morning". Similarly, words for "morning", though many of them originally denoted the time of dawn or sunrise, are used more comprehensively to include all the early part of the day up to noon<sup>73</sup>. Compare in Homer, Iliad 8, 66 "As long as it was morning (*ἦώς*) and the day was waxing . . .". The custom of using "dawn" (Iliad 21, 80; cf. RV. 1, 113, 8; 11; 15) in counting the days has probably contributed to this extension of meaning.

From TS. 5, 1, 10, 4; MS. 3, 1, 2; 14, 11; KS. 19, 11: 12, 17 it moreover appears that at least in the post-Rgvedic period the dvandva *naktoṣāsā* could also be considered to mean *ahorātrau* "day and night": (MS.) *naktoṣāsā samanāsā virūpā ity ahorātrābhyām evāgnim ādhatte*. Similarly, ŚB. 6, 7, 2, 3 explaining VS. 12, 2: *ahorātre vai naktoṣāsā*<sup>74</sup>. Mahidhara, on VS. 28, 14 explains: *ahorātrādhiṣṭhātryau devī*, i.e. "the goddesses presiding over day and night". It must be conceded that passages such as RV. 1, 90, 7 *mādhu nāktam utōṣāsaḥ* facilitated the semantical shift: Sāyaṇa's explanation *uṣasaḥ: uṣaḥkālopalakṣitāny ahāni* is not rejectable. Here also the two deities under discussion were most probably conceived as representing the moments of offering, hence the first hemistich: "...they have called on Indra as the rite advanced" (*indram yajñē prayaty āhvetām*).

It is in this connection interesting to observe that from RV. 10, 190, 2

<sup>72</sup> Renou, E.V.P. IV, p. 57.

<sup>73</sup> For particulars see C. D. Buck, A dictionary of selected synonyms in the principal Indo-European languages, Chicago 1949, p. 993 f. Notice, moreover, the occurrence of *āhā nāktam* at RV. 4, 30, 3.

<sup>74</sup> This form of the name is the only one occurring in this brāhmaṇa. Compare also Yāska, Nir. 8, 10 whose reference to night's "anointing beings with dew" (*anakti bhūtāny avasīyayena*), added for etymological purposes, is irrelevant (see also Bṛhaddevatā, 3, 9).

onwards, where the only R̥gvedic occurrence of *ahorātra* (in the plural *ahorātrāṇi*) denotes the component parts of the year, this compound becomes increasingly frequent. In the Atharvaveda it appears 21 times<sup>75</sup>, assuming adjectives and characterizations which are usual in connection with *uśāsānaktā*: AV. 10, 7, 6 *kva prepsānti yuvatī virūpe ahorātrē dravataḥ saṃvidāné* "Where to do the two maidens of diverse form run in concord, (what do they) desire to attain?". At 12, 1, 52 they are characterized as black and ruddy. As divinities worthy of worship they are invoked together with sun-and-moon and the Ādityas to free those speaking from distress (11, 6, 5). At 6, 128, 3 the dung-smoke is implored to make the day auspicious "from day-and-night, the asterisms and sun-and-moon". In 11, 6, 7 they are addressed together with Uṣas. At 19, 8, 2 and 7 homage is paid to this pair. They quite naturally belong to those power concepts or divine entities which can enter into the composition of classificatory systems: 15, 18, 4. At 10, 8, 23 day and night are said to be generated in each other's forms, that is: they generate or produce each other. At 13, 2, 5 the sun is said to measure out (*vimimānaḥ*) day-and-night. In combination with the sun they occur also at 11, 7, 14; 13, 2, 32; 43. In 15, 6, 6 they combine with seasons, months and half-months; compare also 12, 1, 36; 16, 8, 21. In 11, 5, 20 *ahorātre* occurs after *bhūtabhavyam* "past and future". They are also used as a 'polar' expression for "always, continuously": 12, 1, 9. Compare also 12, 2, 49. The difference in use between this compound and *uśāsānaktā* is obvious; there is nowhere question of moments suitable for the performance of rites.

In the *āpri* hymn RV. 7, 2 the two divine women, the much invoked and bountiful ones, are requested to sit down, worthy of worship, on the *barhis* (cf. 1, 13, 7; 1, 142, 7; 1, 188, 6; 10, 70, 8; 10, 110, 6) for the welfare of those present (st. 6). It would appear to me that this oft-repeated invitation is most appropriate to the poet's purpose if it figuratively conveys the meaning: "be present at this sacrificial rite which is now being performed and which requires your presence". We can hardly imagine the words *uśāsāv éhá sīdatām* "take place here" in 1, 188, 6 referring to something other than the bed of sacred grass on a sacrificial place which is actually used at the beginning or end of the day. The poet intends to say that they are invited to be, with others, the object of worship. What this means is more clearly and explicitly stated in another *āpri* hymn, viz. 10, 70 (st. 6): "Both goddesses, the daughters of Heaven, the beautifully decorated or well variegated ones"<sup>76</sup> (cf. 9, 5, 6), Dawn-and-Night, must sit down in their proper place (*yonau*, in the singular). In your broad lap . . . the gods must eagerly take a

<sup>75</sup> In AV. 14, 2, 40 the pāda (b) *ahorātrābhyāṃ sām anaktv aryamā* replaces *ājarasāya sām anaktv aryamā* of RV. 10, 85, 43 to which the stanza corresponds.

<sup>76</sup> They are of diversified appearance, marked with different colours. Hertel, o.c., p. 27 translates "die schöne Künste besitzenden" (improbable).

seat". Dawn-and-Night must be the basis, or form the substructure, on which the gods are received for worship: RV. 10, 110, 6 (another *āpri* hymn; VS. 29, 31; KS. 4, 13, 3: 202, 5 ff.), similar to 7, 2, 6 and less explicit, exhibits epithets such as *br̥hatī* "firm" (also 9, 5, 6), and *surukme* "(adorned) with gold", while referring to their ornaments. See also 1, 13, 7.

The poet of the *āpri* hymn RV. 2, 3, 6 emphasizes what Night and Dawn have in common and do together<sup>77</sup>: they are "seit alters erwachsen" (Geldner: *sanātā* . . . *ukṣitē*) and "perform their excellent works (*sādhv̥ āpāmsi*) like two gay (female) weavers, who are, united, weaving (until completion) the stretched warp, (that is) the embroidery (ornament) of the sacrifice" (cf. VS. 20, 41): "Das Bild der Buntweberin. Der Aufzug ist die Zeit, das hineingewebte Buntmuster das Opfer"<sup>78</sup>. So they weave the webs of the sacrifices which are performed continually. As to the "ornament", we are reminded of 1, 13, 7; 1, 142, 7; 1, 188, 6 where this divine pair is called *supēsāsā* "well-coloured, well-adorned", an epithet which seems to suit dawn and dusk better than dawn and the dead of night<sup>79</sup>. They are moreover *sudūghe pāyasvatī* "die gut milchenden, mit Trank (d.i. Milch = Tau versehenen)"<sup>80</sup>. In 9, 5, 6 the soma when clarifying itself is very desirous of Night-and-Dawn, just like a (male who is desirous of) two handsome (women). "Als Inbegriff der Zeit"<sup>81</sup> they are also mothers of Order (*ṛtasya mātārā*; *ibid.*)<sup>82</sup>.

The epithets *br̥hatī* and *supēsāsā* occur also in the praise formula: RVKh. 5, 7, 1 g (MS. 4, 13, 2: 200, 12 ff.; KS. 15, 30: 220, 4 ff.) *hótā yakṣad uṣṣānāktā br̥hatī supēsāsā n̥m̥h̥ pātibhyo yónim kṛṇvāné/saṃsmāyamāne indreṇa devair̥ édām̥ barhīs sidatām̥ vītām̥ ājyasya hotar̥ yāja* which, while corresponding to the relative stanza in the *āpri* hymns, refers, in a small

<sup>77</sup> In translating the adverbial locative *upāka* in 1, 142, 7 and 3, 4, 6 by "die nachbarlichen" Geldner (o.c., I, p. 200; 339) may create the impression that Dawn and Night are near to each other. We should however with Renou (E.V.P. XIV, p. 41; 44 and 112) supply "(near) to us". See also Potdar, in *Journal Univ. Bombay*, 15, 2, p. 50: "They are not believed to reside above like other deities but are near to the sacrificer".

<sup>78</sup> Geldner, o.c., I, p. 280.

<sup>79</sup> On *suśilpa* in 9, 5, 6 see Renou, E.V.P. XIV, p. 118.

<sup>80</sup> Hertel, o.c., p. 21.

<sup>81</sup> Geldner, o.c., I, p. 200.

<sup>82</sup> The phrase "mothers of Rta" led H. Lüders, Varuṇa, Göttingen 1951-1959, p. 632 f. to write: "Schwerer ist zu sagen, in wiefern . . . Nacht und Morgen . . . "Mütter des Rta" sein sollen . . . Man wird daran denken, dass in ihrer unverbrüchlichen Abwechslung ja ebenso wie etwa im Erscheinen der Uṣas . . . das Walten der kosmischen Wahrheit (Lüders' view of *ṛta*) sich manifestiert — wobei aber die Frage unbeantwortet bleibt, warum dann nicht z.B. auch Uṣas allein einmal als Mutter des Rta bezeichnet wird". If we take the expression as primarily referring to dawn and dusk as the right moments for sacrificing and remember that the sacrificial rites are a manifestation of Rta (cf. e.g. RV. 1, 71, 3; 105, 4; 2, 30, 1 where Savitar 'makes' the Rta for Indra; 7, 21, 5) we find less difficulty in understanding what is meant.

compass, to some of the main aspects of the character and activity of this divine pair. Cf. also VS. 28, 29. Another formula in the same collection, 5, 7, 3 c, recurs in MS. 4, 13, 8: 209, 14 ff., KS. 19, 13: 15, 19 ff. and TB. 3, 6, 13, 1: *devī uṣāsānaktā vy (adya MS., KS., TB.) asmin yajñe prayaty ahvetām. api nūnam daivīr viśaḥ prāyāsiṣṭām. supṛite sudhite vasuvane vasudheyasya vītām. yaja* "(Today) the goddesses Dawn-and-Night have called (from different places) as this rite advanced. They must now also approach the divine tribes (i.e. the groups of gods, Vasus etc.). Well pleased, well disposed, let them enjoy, for gaining (bestowing of) wealth, (this bestowal of) wealth (i.e. our gift). Worship!" In the corresponding, but somewhat different stanza VS. 28, 14 they have called on Indra. For a shorter formula see MS. 4, 10, 3: 151, 3 (cf. 149, 3); ŚŚS. 3, 13, 27; ĀśvŚS. 2, 16, 12 etc. In RV. 5, 41, 7 the poet addresses the two youngest (daughters) of Heaven (cf. 1, 142, 7): Dawn and Night, who are so to say two women who know everything, bring the sacrifice to the mortal man. The poet represents "Nacht und Morgen als die die Opfer regelnde Zeit" <sup>83</sup>. The adjective "youngest" <sup>84</sup> finds its explanation in the fact that the stanza is addressed to the night and morning of a definite day; every present morning is the youngest <sup>85</sup>. That they are said to know everything does not necessarily mean that they are omniscient <sup>86</sup>. In RV. 10, 36, 1 they head an enumeration of gods, among whom "des Entités naturelles" <sup>87</sup> (heaven and earth, mountains, waters, sun) occupy a predominant place. Since the poet refers several times to the actual performance of rites (st. 4; 5; 6 etc.) and ends up with a "clausule atharvāṇique, caractérisée par les quatre orientes" <sup>88</sup> and a sixfold invocation of Savitar, the most natural function of Uṣāsā-naktā in st. 1 seems to be presiding over those two moments which for the priests and eulogists were most important.

Their appearances alternate <sup>89</sup> but they have in common that they arouse or impel creatures, that is to say that they, each in her own way, perform the same task (2, 31, 5), viz. create or constitute the continuous course of time within which all people have to live and work, or, according to Geldner <sup>90</sup>: "Die Nacht treibt die Wesen heim, der Morgen hinaus". Here also "night" means "dusk" <sup>91</sup>.

<sup>83</sup> Geldner, o.c., II, p. 40. One should not, with Macdonell, o.c., p. 129 say that "they conduct with bright rays every offering". The noun *arkaiḥ* in b means "hymns of praise".

<sup>84</sup> See also Lüders, o.c., p. 632 f., n. 5.

<sup>85</sup> Agni, being produced every morning, is likewise called the "youngest".

<sup>86</sup> See also R. Pettazzoni, The all-knowing god, London 1956, p. 21.

<sup>87</sup> Renou, E.V.P. IV, p. 114.

<sup>88</sup> Renou, E.V.P. IV, p. 115.

<sup>89</sup> Renou's interpretation of *mithūdyā* ("qui se montrent en alternance", E.V.P. IV, p. 42) is preferable to Geldner's ("die verschieden aussehenden", o.c., I, p. 315).

<sup>90</sup> Geldner, o.c., I, p. 315, n. 2.

<sup>91</sup> This is not to say that 'Abendrot' is a quasi-goddess, the result of a poet's meditative imagination. Thus E. W. Hopkins, Religions of India, Boston 1895, p. 79.



Occasionally both goddesses are distinguished from one another with all clearness desirable. The poet of RV. 1, 122, 2 (Viśve devāḥ), though describing them as two wives and intending to magnify both of them on the occasion of the morning invocation, contrasts the sterility of one of them (Night), clad in an uncommon (black) dress interwoven (with stars)<sup>92</sup> with the other (Dawn), well-looking with ornaments made of gold, (namely) with the beauty of the sun.

In another hymn dedicated to the Viśve devāḥ Dawn and Night are identified with two cows<sup>93</sup> which yield much milk; this milk, though flowing from the same udder, is different in colour, Geldner<sup>94</sup> explaining RV. 1, 186, 4<sup>95</sup> *uṣṣānāktā sudūgheva dhenūḥ* and *viṣurūpe pāyasi sāsminn ūdhan* as follows: "Nacht und Morgen sind die Milchkuh, der Dichter der Melker, das gemeinsame Euter von Nacht und Morgen ist die beiden gemeinsame Tageszeit (Morgen oder Abend, denn der Morgen schliesst in dieser Verbindung den ganzen Tag ein). Dieses melkt der Sänger, der in Versmassen, d.h. rhythmisch dichtet wie der Melker im Takt melkt". It may be remarked that there is an oft mentioned relation between poetical inspiration and matutinal light, not between the poet's activity and the evening<sup>96</sup>. "Die ungleichfarbige Milch der einen Milchkuh Morgenröte-Nacht" induced Janert<sup>97</sup> to write: "Dieses Paar wird . . . im Zusammenhang mit einem Euter erwähnt, in dessen 'Milch' der Sterbliche seine Andacht vollzieht"; the last words of this paraphrase are less felicitous.

The divine pair occurs also in a hymn dedicated to Agni Draviṇodas ("the one who gives possessions"), RV. 1, 96, 5 *náktoṣṣā vārṇam āmémyāne dhāpāyete śiṣum ékam samīcī* "Nuit et Aurore, échangeant-mutuellement leur marque (why not "colour, outward appearance"?), donnent à téter à (Agni, leur) unique rejeton, conjuguant (leurs efforts)"<sup>98</sup>. Again the striking difference between the two, accompanied by co-operation and the performance of one and the same task. The inner harmony of "both sisters", and their difference in colour as well as their identical destiny are clearly described in st. 3 of the Uṣas hymn 1, 113: "The journey of both sisters is the same, an endless one; they travel one after the other, at the god's (Savitar's) advice. They do not infringe upon each other; they do not stop, (they are) well fixed ("den richtigen Abstand einhaltend",

<sup>92</sup> See Renou, E.V.P. IV, p. 26.

<sup>93</sup> The identification with one cow does not only occur in RV. 1, 186, 4, but also in 7, 2, 6.

<sup>94</sup> Geldner, o.c., I, p. 267. For the syntax of this stanza see Geldner, o.c., IV, p. 252 and Renou, E.V.P. IV, p. 37.

<sup>95</sup> For RV. 7, 2, 6 and 1, 186, 4 see M. Bloomfield, *Rig-Veda repetitions*, I, Cambridge Mass. 1916, p. 159 f.

<sup>96</sup> See J. Gonda, *The vision of the Vedic poets*, The Hague 1963, p. 77 ff. etc.

<sup>97</sup> K. L. Janert, *Sinn und Bedeutung des Wortes 'dhāsi'*, Wiesbaden 1956, p. 29, n. 55. One should remember that Vedic man was surprised at seeing that all cows, whatever their colour, yield white milk (e.g. RV. 6, 72, 4).

<sup>98</sup> Renou, E.V.P. XII, p. 27.

Geldner). Night and Dawn are unanimous, though of different colour". In connection with *samanasā* Renou<sup>99</sup> observed: "En fait, la Nuit s'imprègne des bonnes qualités d'Uṣas", but should we insist on this point which is not touched upon in these stanzas?

As already intimated there are in the above texts, especially in those belonging to *āprī* hymns, many repetitions. In addition to what has already been observed, attention may be drawn to the occurrence of *idāṃ no barhīr āsūde* (1, 13, 7; cf. 1, 142, 7) in 8, 65, 6 (Indra) and 10, 188, 1 (Agni Jātavedas); to that of *yahvī ṛtasya mātārā* (1, 142, 7; 5, 5, 6) in 9, 33, 5 and 9, 102, 7 (Soma pavamāna) and 10, 59, 8 (Heaven-and-Earth); to that of *ubhé yāthā no āhanī* . . . (4, 55, 3) in 10, 76, 1 (to the Pressing-stones).

In contradistinction to some of these texts which do not recur in the ritual works (e.g. 1, 13, 7 a=1, 142, 7 b; 1, 96, 5 a) others are quoted several times. The relations of part of them to Agni, the ritual fire, are obvious. The pāda 1, 113, 3 d *náktośāsā sámanasā virūpe* "Night and Dawn, different in hue, (but) accordant" replaces, in VS. 12, 2, the beginning of RV. 1, 96, 5 (VS. 17, 70) to be recited when the sacrificer, performing the rites connected with Ukhya Agni, takes hold of the fire-pan and sets it down on a stool of udumbara wood (KŚS. 16, 5, 3 *parimaṇḍalābhyām iṇḍvābhyām ukhām pariḡṛhṇāti*). The child which is, in pada b, said to be suckled by Night and Dawn, is, as already observed, Agni as the sun. The stanza recurs as VS. 17, 70 among the formulas accompanying the propitiatory and preparatory ceremonies in connection with Agni and the great fire-place. The former VS. place is explained at ŚB. 6, 7, 2, 3, the latter at 9, 2, 3, 31. At TS. 4, 1, 10, 4 n (VārŚS. 2, 1, 3, 2; 7) it is to accompany the putting of the black antelope skin (the placing of the fire in the fire-pan, rites connected with the piling of the fire-place) above the *śikya* (a kind of sling made of rope to receive a load)<sup>100</sup> (then one raises fire, Agni, with Day and Night: *ahorātrābhyām evainam udyacchate*, TS. 5, 1, 10, 4), and at 4, 6, 5 f. and 4, 7, 12 h again in connection with fire and the fire-place. Similarly, at MS. 2, 7, 8: 84, 12; KS. 16, 8: 229, 1 f.; 18, 4: 268, 14 f.; and *pratikena*, at TS. 5, 4, 7, 2 (cf. ĀpŚS. 17, 15, 1); 5, 4, 9, 3; MS. 3, 3, 9: 42, 7; 2, 7, 9: 86, 18 (*agniciti*); 2, 7, 16: 100, 13; 2, 10, 6: 138, 10, etc.; MŚS. 6, 1, 7, 25 etc. As to the symbolical value, absent in the above cases, of the reference to Dawn and Night, KS. 21, 9: 48, 20 makes mention of the offering of milk of a black cow with a white calf (a similar act, alternatively, in ĀpŚS. 17, 15, 2: the sprinkling of the great fire-place with milk of such a cow; also ĀpŚS. 17, 19, 12)<sup>101</sup>. TS. 5, 4, 9, 3 has this mantra recited by a piler

<sup>99</sup> Renou, E.V.P. III, p. 46.

<sup>100</sup> Cf. ĀpŚS. 16, 10, 11 and Caland's note "Das der Vers zu dieser Handlung gehört, geht nicht aus dem Brāhmaṇa hervor"; MŚS. 6, 1, 4, 7.

<sup>101</sup> See also W. Caland, *Das Śrautasūtra des Āpastamba*, III, Amsterdam Acad. 1928, p. 88.

of the ritual fire while sacrificing with the milk of a black cow with a white calf; "verily by the day he bestows night upon him, by night day; verily day and night being bestowed upon him milk his desire (and) the eating of food". It is however clear that this stanza owed its popularity mainly to its general content and especially to Agni's being suckled and his shining between heaven and earth <sup>102</sup>.

The pāda RV. 9, 5, 6 c *náktośāsā ná darsāté* recurs as VS. 28, 29 c (sautrāmaṇī), which together with a and b runs as follows: "Let the hotar worship firm Night-and-Dawn, the well-adorned and the beautifully decorated ones like two handsome (women) . . .". See also TB. 2, 6, 17, 4 (*praiśas* for the prayāja in animal sacrifices to Indra). The ritual use of 10, 36, 1 (*vaiśvadeva* litany) invoking a considerable number of deities is discussed at KB. 24, 9; cf. also ŚŚS. 11, 9, 10; 11, 12, 17; ĀśvŚS. 7, 7, 8. According to RgVidh. 3, 10, 4 RV. 10, 35 (Viśve devāḥ) and 36 are to be muttered at a ceremony for blessing (*svastyayana*).

RV. 10, 110, 6 recurs as AV. 5, 12, 6; VS. 29, 31 (book 29 is supplementary to the collections of stanzas belonging to the aśvamedha); MS. 4, 13, 3: 202, 5; KS. 16, 20: 243, 11; TB. 3, 6, 3, 3.

The formula "Dawn-and-Night must enjoy (accept) the clarified butter" occurs KS. 20, 15: 35, 15; ĀśvŚS. 2, 16, 9; ŚŚS. 3, 13, 20 etc. (Cāturmāsyas; Vaiśvadeva). Among the formulas to be used in performing the sautrāmaṇī is VS. 20, 41 where the double deity, being *bṛhatī*, *sudughe*, and also rich in nutritive liquid (*payasvatī*) is said to worship Indra (cf. also MS. 3, 11, 1: 140, 6; KS. 38,6: 107, 21; TB. 2, 6, 8, 3). In VS. 28, 37, where they appear among a number of deities contributing to Indra's greatness, they are said to have strengthened this god by means of the anuṣṭubh metre.

In the original <sup>103</sup> *āpri* hymn contained in the Atharva-Veda, viz. the peculiar text AV. 5, 27 <sup>104</sup>, Uṣāsānaktā are in st. 8 besought "to favour the sacrifice of those speaking which sets out (on its journey to heaven)" <sup>105</sup>. Since a sacrifice is performed during a certain space of time, these divisions of time, Dawn and Night, should not withhold their favour. Other texts (VS. 27, 17 <sup>106</sup>; TS. 4, 1, 8, 2 g etc.) have instead "Let Day-and-Night like heavenly maidens in his birthplace protect this sacrifice of ours . . ." (one of the *āpri* stanzas for the fore-sacrifices of animals). This prayer, which does not occur in the Rgvedic *āpri* hymns, has been supposed to point to a considerable difference in time between these texts and

<sup>102</sup> The remarks made by H. Oldenberg, in *Zs. deutsch. morgenl. Ges.* 39, p. 89 are irrelevant.

<sup>103</sup> AV. 5, 12 is a reproduction, with almost no variants, of RV. 10, 110.

<sup>104</sup> AV. 5, 27 has been studied by K. R. Potdar, in 13<sup>th</sup> All India Or. Conf., Nagpur 1946 (1950), II, p. 47 ff. For stanza 7 and 8 (cf. VS. 27, 16) see Potdar, o.c., p. 54.

<sup>105</sup> The translation of *adhvarām* is tentative; see J. Gonda, *Adhvarā and adhvaryū*, Vishvesh. Indol. Journal 3 (Hoshiarpur 1965), p. 176.

<sup>106</sup> Cf. Hertel, *Neujahrsopfer*, p. 152 f.

AV. 5, 27<sup>107</sup>; in any case it points to an origin in different circles. The hymn is not used as an *āpri* text in the liturgical works, but is quoted by Kauśika on various occasions<sup>108</sup>, viz. 23, 7 in the ceremony of consecration of a new house to accompany the pouring out of sacrificial butter onto udumbara wood<sup>109</sup> and the offering of seven pieces of a definite cake. In Kauś. 45, 8 this text and AV. 5, 12 are prescribed in connection with the offering of the omentum of a cow. Both uses are probably special applications of these *āpri* texts which in the atharvavedic milieu were credited with a force for good known as *puṣṭi* "welfare, prosperity" (the paddhati on Kauś. 19, 1 reckons this text among the *puṣṭika* mantras). The absence of any reference in st. 8 to the barhis and to an invitation to sit down on it may<sup>110</sup>, but need not, be regarded as a question of chronology. Whatever the history of the *āpri* formulas in the atharvavedic circles may have been, the god of fire occupies, also in AV. 5, 27, a prominent place in them; his name Agni occurs eight times<sup>111</sup>.

In AV. 6, 3, 3 (cf. AVPaipp. 19, 1, 16) various divinities, among whom Indra-and-Pūṣan in st. 1 and the Aśvins and Uṣāsānaktā in st. 3, are invoked for protection, the special favour solicited from the last mentioned pair being broadness. Pāda 3 b does not occur elsewhere. In KauśS. 50, 4 and 50, 13 this text is among a number of formulas to be used for welfare and success in traffic. In VaitS. 16, 9 it is muttered in the agniṣṭoma by the brahman priest after the prātaranuvāka.

<sup>107</sup> Potdar, o.c., 13, II, p. 50.

<sup>108</sup> For particulars see also W. D. Whitney-Ch. R. Lanman, *Atharva-veda saṃhitā*, Cambridge Mass. 1905, p. 269.

<sup>109</sup> The context is not completely clear; see W. Caland, *Altindisches Zauberritual*, Amsterdam Acad. 1900, p. 60, n. 4.

<sup>110</sup> With Potdar, o.c., p. 50.

<sup>111</sup> "Es ist . . . klar, dass dieses in ṛgvedischen Strophen abgefasste Lied, in dem das Sakralfeuer Agni heisst und das darum in den kultischen Kreis gehört, aus welchem die ṛgvedischen Lieder stammen, ebensowenig zum Zwecke eines Tieropfers gedichtet worden ist, wie die *Āpri*-Lieder dieses Vedas" (Hertel, o.c., p. 153).



## CHAPTER V

### MITRA-AND-VARUṆA

Unlike the other dual deities this most famous and, next to Heaven-and-Earth, most frequently mentioned pair can be treated in a somewhat less detailed way and within the compass of a not too lengthy chapter. The first reason for this is extrinsic to the character of these gods: much has in the course of the last century been written on them—among which a recent book by myself<sup>1</sup>—and this can be briefly summarized but need not be repeated<sup>2</sup>. There is another and more important reason. Varuṇa and Mitra<sup>3</sup>, though invoked conjointly in many more—over thirty<sup>4</sup>—R̥gvedic hymns than are dedicated to their separate praise, are as a pair hardly distinguishable in their natures and activities from either god alone. Both divinities are usually praised together and in a discussion of the pair the functions and attributes belonging to Varuṇa will always recur<sup>5</sup>. Thus they are Ādityas, brothers, sons of Aditi (R̥V. 8, 25, 2; 3). Theirs is the joint fatherhood of Vasiṣṭha<sup>6</sup> (7, 33, 10). They are kings who touch the heavens (1, 137, 1). R̥V. 1, 152, 4 speaks of the *priyām mitráśya varuṇasya dhāma*<sup>7</sup> “the (obviously common) presence of their divine power, the location of their divinity and a particular way of its

<sup>1</sup> J. Gonda, *The Vedic god Mitra*, Leiden 1972. The following pages may however be regarded as a supplement to this publication.

<sup>2</sup> See e.g. A. Hillebrandt, *Varuṇa und Mitra. Ein Beitrag zur Exegese des Veda*, Breslau 1877; K. Bohnenberger, *Der altindische Gott Varuṇa*, Tübingen 1893; A. Eggers, *Der arische (indo-iranische) Gott Mitra. Eine sprach- und religionsgeschichtliche Studie*, Dorpat 1894; G. Dumézil, *Ouranos-Varuṇa. Étude de mythologie comparée indo-européenne*, Paris 1934; the same, *Mitra-Varuṇa. Essai sur deux représentations indo-européennes de la souveraineté*, Paris 1948; R. N. Dandekar, *Annals Bhandarkar Orient. Res. Inst.* 21 (Poona 1941), p. 157 ff.; H. Lüders, *Varuṇa*, Göttingen 1951–1959; P. Thieme, *Mitra and Aryaman*, New Haven Conn. 1957. See also the pertinent chapters in the handbooks, many stray remarks in commentaries, and the bibliographies by Renou and Dandekar. See also T. Elizarenkova, in *Mélanges d'Indianisme*—L. Renou, Paris 1968, p. 261.

<sup>3</sup> For the priority of the name of the lesser god, Mitra, in the compound there is but one explanation, viz. the tendency to make the shorter word the first member of a compound (Pāṇini 2, 2, 34). There is no reason to follow this usage in translating; on the contrary, a literal translation might lead to misunderstanding.

<sup>4</sup> In this number parts of hymns are however included.

<sup>5</sup> See also A. A. Macdonell, *Vedic mythology*, Strassburg 1897, p. 127; L. Renou, *E.V.P.* VII, p. 3.

<sup>6</sup> *The Vedic god Mitra*, p. 4; 121 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Not “Gebilde” (Geldner), “abode”, still less “abodes” (Ghosh, o.c., p. 32). See J. Gonda, *The meaning of the Sanskrit term dhāman*, Amsterdam Acad. 1967, p. 34.

presenting itself". Yet, Mitra is as a god distinct from his greater brother and colleague; like the latter he has a number of individual traits of character. It must moreover be noticed that—as observed by Mrs. Elizarenkova—in requests addressed to Mitra-and-Varuṇa the specific features of the latter are 'neutralized' and those of the former are relevant. Varuṇa's punitive function does not come to the fore, and the double deity is asked to come, to drink, to give, requests which are not addressed to Varuṇa alone. So cases are not completely absent in which an attempt at understanding a reference to the pair requires a closer investigation into the differences in the gods' characters. That is why this investigation will necessitate some repetition of observations made in former publications.

I shall first briefly survey those traits of character, functions, attributes etc. of this divine pair—as far as represented in the Ṛgveda—which, in the framework of this book, cannot be left unmentioned. In so doing I shall seize the opportunity to insert short remarks on those detached stanzas which—often belonging to hymns to the Viśve Devāḥ—are quoted in other Vedic texts to be ritually used as well as, in a few cases, some remarks on the Mitraic or Varuṇic components of the dual deity<sup>8</sup>, to show that this is constituted by two gods who, even when they do not occur as a complete unité-dualité and are not named by a dvandva compound, are in a large majority of cases closely associated. Afterwards I shall focus attention on the Ṛgvedic hymns and parts of hymns in which they are invoked as a dual deity and examine the quotations of these stanzas in later Vedic texts<sup>9</sup>. Meanwhile the character of this dual deity and the mutual relations of its components will be discussed and, as far as this seems possible, some remarks and hypotheses inserted regarding the prehistory of this important and remarkable divine pair. At the end of the chapter attention will mainly be invited to the post-Ṛgvedic sources.

There are to begin with some physical features attributed to this divine pair, although more stress is laid on their activity than on their persons and equipment. They see by means of the sun, which is their eye (RV. 5, 63, 2 *svardṛśā*; 7, 61, 1 *úd vām cákṣur ... eti*; but 7, 63, 1 *cákṣur mitráśya váruṇasya*; 10, 37, 1; 1, 115, 1 *cákṣur mitráśya váruṇasyāgnēḥ*; also 6, 51, 1, the poet referring to their obviously common great eye, while putting both proper names in the (elliptic) dual: ... *cákṣur máhi mitráyor ... priyám*

<sup>8</sup> For similar surveys compiled from other points of view see Macdonell, o.c., p. 22 ff.; the same, A Vedic reader for students, Oxford 1917 (etc.), p. 118 f.; 134 f. (conveniently arrayed surveys of the main facts); Gonda, The Vedic god Mitra, ch. I and II (where I have not limited myself to the Ṛgveda); and Ekendranath Ghosh, Studies on Rigvedic deities, astronomical and meteorological, Journal and Proc. Asiatic Soc. of Bengal, N.S. 28, 1932 (Calcutta 1933), p. 31 ff. (not completely reliable).

<sup>9</sup> In the following survey I shall in principle abstain from polemical argumentation which could not be avoided in my book The Vedic god Mitra.

*vārunayor* . . .). Varuṇa alone is at 1, 50, 6 said to observe mankind, but in the only hymn dedicated to Mitra (3, 59) alone this god is—strikingly enough, likewise in the first stanza—described as regarding the settlements of men without blinking<sup>10</sup>, and a formula containing a reference to Mitra's eye was to become ritually important<sup>11</sup>. And in connection with both gods it reads (7, 61, 5) "there are no secrets that ye cannot fathom". The adjective *urucakṣas* "far-sighted" belongs at 1, 25, 5; 16 to Varuṇa alone, at 8, 101, 2 to the pair. At 8, 41, 8 Varuṇa's foot is the rays of the sun; 5, 64, 7 speaks of the feet of both gods. At 1, 25, 13 it is Varuṇa alone who wears a golden garb, but at 5, 62, 4; 7, 64, 1 both gods are clothed with a shining robe of ghee; cf. 1, 152, 1. There are several references to Varuṇa's car, "the only part of his equipment which is at all prominent"<sup>12</sup> (1, 25, 18; 5, 62, 4), but at 1, 122, 15 (*rātho vām mitravaruṇā*) and 5, 63, 1 (*ādhi tiṣṭhatho rātham*) both gods have a chariot in common. They drive with the rays of the sun as with arms (8, 101, 2); cf. 5, 64, 2; 7, 62, 5. The poet of 1, 25, 10 f. speaks of Varuṇa's abode (in the waters), the authors of 2, 41, 5; 5, 67, 2; 5, 68, 5 of a seat of both gods.

Mention is made of Varuṇa's 'spies' at 1, 25, 13; 7, 87, 3, of Varuṇa-and-Mitra's at 6, 67, 5<sup>13</sup> and 7, 61, 3 where they are said to have been placed even in the plants and human settlements. Observing that 'spies' are in the R̥gveda not peculiar to Varuṇa and Mitra (see e.g. 4, 4, 3) Macdonell<sup>14</sup> was of the opinion that they were nevertheless primarily connected with the divine pair under discussion, because the Iranian Mithra has also secret agents, who are, moreover, called by the same name. It is true that in the Avestan hymn to Mithra, 45; 46; 61 mention is made of servants of the god sitting as watchers etc. and it is also true that they do not occur outside this yašt. But how are we to know for certain that this word was, in ancient Iran, never used in connection with other deities? Is such a conclusion, in view of the highly defective state of our sources, probable or even warranted? It would, in my opinion, be a fortiori impossible to say that the *spāśah* originally belonged to Mitra alone because it is he who is accompanied by them in the Mithra hymn of the Avesta.

According to 1, 24, 6 Varuṇa's power is unlimited, but in 1, 151, 9 a similar statement is made with regard to the divine pair. Like the other leading deities Varuṇa is often called a king (*rājā*); see e.g. 1, 24, 7; he is the king of all (2, 27, 10; 10, 132, 4), of the whole world (5, 85, 3). More frequently however he is, alone or mostly in association with Mitra, said to be a universal monarch (*samrāj*), a term which, though also applied

<sup>10</sup> See Gonda, o.c., p. 76 and elsewhere.

<sup>11</sup> Gonda, o.c., p. 76 ff.; the same, *Eye and Gaze in the Veda*, Amsterdam Acad. 1969, p. 42 ff.; R. Pettazzoni, *The all-knowing god*, London 1956, p. 119.

<sup>12</sup> Macdonell, *Vedic mythology*, p. 23.

<sup>13</sup> Gonda, *The Vedic god Mitra*, p. 76.

<sup>14</sup> Macdonell, o.c., p. 23 f.

to Indra and sometimes to Agni, is strikingly frequent in connection with the god or gods under discussion or with the Ādityas generally (e.g. 3, 54, 10). Mitra-and-Varuṇa are indeed universal rulers, holding sway over this world (5, 63, 2; 3; 6). See also 1, 136, 4; 3, 56, 7; 5, 67, 1; 7, 65, 2; 10, 64, 5. At 8, 25, 4 they are said to be the great universal rulers (*samrājā*, gods and asuras). They, that is, their nature and activity, are greater than heaven and earth (7, 61, 3). Other gods, at RV. 10, 51, 2 Agni, regard them as representatives of the divine community. In 1, 75, 5 Agni is besought to worship them and the (other) gods, the stanza occurring also VS. 33, 3 (Sarvamedha) and TB. 2, 7, 12, 1 (one of the addresses (*purorucs*) in connection with the *agniṣṭut* sacrifice). "The epithet asura is connected with Varuṇa, alone or accompanied by Mitra, oftener than with Indra and Agni, and taking account of the proportion of hymns, it may be said to be specially applicable to Varuṇa"<sup>15</sup>. Varuṇa's might is often referred to with the term *māyā* "incomprehensible wisdom and power enabling its mighty possessor to create something or to do something which is beyond the powers and intelligence of men"<sup>16</sup>. See e.g. 5, 85, 5; 6, 48, 14 and 7, 28, 4 (where Geldner's translation of *māyīnam* "listenreich" is incorrect); 7. However, the poet of 3, 61, 7 speaks of the great *māyā* of both gods (*māhī mitrāsya varuṇasya māyā*), viz. the recurrent phenomenon of daybreak, and so does the author of 5, 63, 4; 7.

As is well known Varuṇa is often described as an upholder of physical and moral order, as a great lord of the laws of nature, and as the god who established the provinces of the universe: 1, 24, 8; 6, 70, 1; 7, 86, 1; 7, 87, 5; 8, 41, 3; 10; 8, 42, 1. However, Mitra accompanies him in confining or encompassing the two worlds: 7, 61, 4 and in supporting them: 5, 62, 3; cf. 5, 69, 1. They assign the sun its place in the sky (5, 63, 7) and have established heaven and earth (5, 62, 3). They bear and sustain both divisions of the universe (5, 69, 4). They maintain and further the *ṛta*, the universal Order<sup>17</sup>. See RV. 1, 2, 8: being increasers of fosterers of Order and closely connected with it they have, by means of *ṛta*, obtained steady resourcefulness (*krātum brhāntam*). In 1, 23, 5 they are not only lords of *ṛta* and of light, but also increasers of *ṛta* through *ṛta*; this seems to mean that by maintaining *ṛta* they promote it. In 1, 152, 1 they are said to associate themselves with or be devoted to the *ṛta* (*ṛtēna . . . sacethe*). See also 5, 62, 1; 5, 63, 7; 7, 65, 3; 8, 25, 4 (the gods who keep within the universal order which they proclaim).

<sup>15</sup> Macdonell, o.c., p. 24. See also P. v. Bradke, *Dyaus asura, Ahura Mazdā und die Auras*, Giessen 1884, p. 120 f.

<sup>16</sup> J. Gonda, *Sense and etymology of Skt. māyā*, in *Four studies in the language of the Veda*, The Hague 1959, p. 126.

<sup>17</sup> For the meaning of *ṛta* see *The Vedic god Mitra*, p. 8, n. 1 and W. Norman Brown, in *India Maior* (Congr. Vol.-Gonda, Leiden 1972, p. 57 ff.). For the frequency of references to the *ṛta* in connection with this dual deity: H. Lüders, *Varuṇa*, Göttingen 1951-1959, p. 402 etc.



From RV. 1, 122, 9 it appears that the dual deity punishes the man of injurious intentions—that is, the one who infringes the universal Law and Order and who presses the soma for them like water. With their arms they restrain or control men like bridles, being most skilful in restraining or guiding (6, 67, 1). See also 1, 152, 1; 7, 60, 5 (with Aryaman). In 7, 65, 3 they are barriers, furnished with many fetters, against falsehood. The term *pāśa* (as a simplex) “fetter”—used to bind sinners—is however so characteristic of Varuṇa (24, 15; 25, 21; 7, 88, 7 etc.), that it is only once used in connection with another deity, namely Agni (5, 2, 7), not Mitra (at 2, 27, 16 it belongs to the Ādityas; at 2, 29, 5 to the gods in general; cf. also 7, 59, 8). Compare also 8, 101, 3 (and 4), a prayer for protection against the irresistible missile of the two gods which is quoted at ŚSS. 12, 2, 14 (one of the twelve stanzas which are apparently intended for the ‘over-reciting’ by the maitrāvaruṇa during the twelve-day-period, all stanzas being addressed to this divine pair) and ĀsvGS. 3, 12, 12 (where these two stanzas alluding to the gods’ missile are to be recited by a king, while he is driving to the battlefield). The two gods do not infringe their vratas (5, 69, 4), which they maintain themselves (1, 15, 6 and see also 5, 63, 7). But at 8, 41, 7 all gods follow Varuṇa’s ‘ordinances’. The epithet *dhṛtavrata* “maintaining the fixed rules of conduct”<sup>18</sup> is, in the R̥gveda, seven times applied to Varuṇa alone (1, 25, 10 etc.) and three times to Mitrā-Varuṇa (1, 15, 6; 8, 25, 2; 8).

An interesting point is this. On the one hand, there is in fact no hymn to Varuṇa in which the prayer for remission of sin or forgiveness of guilt does not occur<sup>19</sup> (cf. e.g. 1, 24, 9; 2, 28, 5; 5, 85, 7; 8, 7, 86, 5), but on the other it is Mitra who—if I am right in taking this specified view of his character<sup>20</sup>—is the god who, while maintaining and especially restoring Order, puts things right, regulates the contacts between men and between men and the divine powers, and exhibits benevolence and active interest. Varuṇa is the guardian of the ṛta, and as such the punisher of those who infringe it, his companion and complement rather its maintainer who keeps its manifestations in the right condition by redressing what has gone wrong, by adjusting, appeasing, restoring, stabilizing, uniting, marshalling men and things in their proper place. Interestingly enough, Mitra is the one whose very name expresses the most important trait of his character, but Varuṇa is at 7, 88, 5 and 6 said to be his worshipper’s *sakhā*, that is to say his “comrade” or “companion”<sup>21</sup>.

They are implored for protection and assistance (RV. 5, 62, 9; 5, 64, 1; 6, 67, 2; 11; 7, 50, 1; 7, 52, 2; 7, 60, 12; 7, 61, 6; 10, 132, 2); for happiness

<sup>18</sup> “Orderly” (Gosh, o.c., p. 31) is a misleading translation.

<sup>19</sup> Macdonell, o.c., p. 27.

<sup>20</sup> The Vedic god Mitra, passim and especially p. 109.

<sup>21</sup> For the difference between *mitra* and *sakhi* see J. Gonda, *Mitra and mitra*, in *Indologica Taurinensia*, 1 (Turin 1973), p. 71.

and well-being (7, 35, 4=AV. 19, 10, 4); for abundance (of food etc.) (7, 65, 2), and for 'immortality' (5, 63, 2). At 1, 167, 8—one of the places which also mention Aryaman—they protect (the worshipper) from blame; at 7, 61, 3 they are said to guard those who go singly or separately. The poets invite them and make an appeal to them, eulogizing them in order to win their sympathy, expressing the wish to live, through the gods' favour, a full life-time (7, 61, 2). See also 5, 64, 4; 6, 67, 3; 9 f.; 7, 52, 1 (quoted KS. 11, 12: 160, 3); 7, 63, 5; 7, 65, 4; 7, 66, 19; 8, 101, 1 (=VS. 33, 87, *sarvamedha*, for universal prosperity). These prayers are sometimes beautifully worded: 3, 62, 16 "O Mitra-and-Varuṇa, resourceful ones, sprinkle our pasturage with fatness, with mead the regions of the air", used at VS. 21, 8 as one of the *sautrāmaṇī* formulas; at TS. 1, 8, 22, 3 to accompany a special sacrifice (*kāmyeṣṭi*) etc.; at GB. 2, 3, 13 it is among the stanzas quoted in the mythical narrative of the gods' fulfilling, at the sacrificer's request, the function of the *maitrāvaruṇa* at the morning-pressing of the Soma sacrifice; on this occasion they became united, strong and enduring so as to overcome death<sup>22</sup> (cf. ŚŚS. 7, 11, 2, and see 12, 1, 3; ĀśvŚS. 7, 2, 2; 7, 5, 9); it is, at the *prṣātaka* ceremony, to accompany an oblation of boiled rice, sacred to Rudra (GGS. 3, 8, 2; KhGS. 3, 3, 4; MGS. 2, 3, 6); the stanzas ṚV. 3, 62, 16–18 are prescribed for one suffering from a lingering disease (PB. 6, 10, 4); cf. also SVBr. 2, 2, 3 (for a diseased person who must be cured with sacrificial butter); they are used as *ājya*-lauds (PB. 11, 2, 3). The *pāda* ṚV. 1, 122, 6 a; 7, 62, 5 d *śrutām me mītrāvaruṇā hāvemā*, a simple invocation and appeal to the gods' friendly feelings, is in Yajurvedic texts prescribed in connection with the *sautrāmaṇī* ritual (VS. 21, 9 d); with special sacrifices (TS. 1, 8, 22, 3 d; MS. 4, 11, 2 d: 166, 14); cf. also KS. 4, 16: 42, 14; TB. 2, 7, 15, 6 (the consecration of a king); 2, 8, 6, 8 (sacrifices of animals meet for Savitar). These gods are often invoked together with other deities: ṚV. 2, 29, 3 *yūyām no mītrāvaruṇādīte ca svastīm indrāmaruto dadhāta*; 1, 35, 1; 1, 111, 4; 3, 20, 5; 3, 56, 7; 5, 46, 3 (=VS. 33, 49 *sarvamedha*); 5, 47, 7 (with Agni, =AV. 19, 11, 6, for well-being; ŚŚS. 8, 8, 10 atonement); 5, 51, 9; 14; 5, 69, 3; 6, 11, 1; 6, 49, 1; 7, 41, 1 (a morning invocation to various gods, especially Bhaga, =AV. 3, 16, 1; VS. 34, 34; TB. 2, 8, 9, 7 (sacrifice to Bhaga)); ĀpMB. 1, 14, 1; 7, 42, 5; 9, 7, 8 (with Bhaga); 9, 97, 42; 49; 9, 108, 14; 10, 61, 17. At 10, 93, 6 they are invoked or mentioned together with the *Āśvins*; cf. 7, 41, 1; 10, 125, 1 (=AV. 4, 30, 1). In 2, 31, 1 they are, together with the *Ādityas*, *Rudras* and *Vasus*, requested to favour those praying.

The worshipper expects them to remunerate the man who abides by the *ṛta* and discharges his ritual obligations: ṚV. 5, 41, 1, quoted in a series of *yājñānuvākyās* at MS. 4, 14, 10: 231, 9 f.; KB. 23, 3 (23, 6, 16 *prṣṭhya śadaha*); ŚŚS. 10, 6, 18; ŚB. 13, 5, 1, 11 (the *śāstras* and *stotras*

<sup>22</sup> Gonda, *The Vedic god Mitra*, p. 3.

of the central or *ekaviṃśa* day). Addressing this dual deity the poet of RV. 1, 122, 9 states that the sacrifice of the man who is not avaricious and abides by the Universal Order will be successful. They give valuable objects to their worshippers, for instance the horse Dadhikrā to the Purus (4, 39, 2, quoted KS. 7, 16: 80, 1; RV. 4, 39, 5). These two gods with good or beautiful hands are also guardians of the milk in the cows (1, 71, 9). They are excellent guides: at RV. 2, 27, 5 the wish is expressed to avoid "bad courses" (i.e. danger and evil) under their guidance.

Their names—in the dvandva compound—occur in connection with an oblation of soma offered to them (RV. 1, 137, 1; 3). In 1, 152, 7 they are devoutly invited to a sacrificial feast. See also 1, 153, 1; 3; 2, 41, 4, the stanza mentioned last being one of the formulas for the libation to this dual deity (soma sacrifice: *maitrāvaruṇa graha*); VS. 7, 9; TS. 1, 4, 5, 1; MS. 1, 3, 7: 32, 16; KS. 4, 2: 30, 6; ŚB. 4, 1, 4, 7; ĀpŚS. 12, 14, 12; MŚS. 2, 3, 5, 6; ŚŚS. 7, 2, 5; 10, 3, 5; the three stanzas 2, 41, 4–6 being the ājya-*laud* for these two deities (PB. 12, 8, 3); cf. ŚŚS. 12, 1, 3. At 8, 23, 30 Agni is asked to bring them near. They are eulogized, songs of praise are offered to them: 1, 153, 2.

Whereas Varuṇa is sometimes referred to as regulating the seasons, that is as knowing "the twelve months" (1, 25, 8)<sup>23</sup>, the three brothers Varuṇa, Mitra and Aryaman are described as having disposed autumn, month, day and night (7, 66, 11). A similar wavering between Varuṇa and Varuṇa-and-Mitra is noticeable in connection with their relation to the waters<sup>24</sup>: see 1, 161, 14; 2, 28, 4; 5, 85, 6; 7, 87, 6; 8, 69, 12; as against 7, 64, 2. As to rain, the former god makes "the inverted bag (or cask)" to pour its waters on heaven and earth (5, 85, 3; 4), but at 5, 68, 5 both gods have rainy skies and streaming waters and the rain-showers are said to come from them (8, 25, 6). It is indeed this divine pair which is among the Vedic gods most frequently thought of as bestowers of rain, and upon this function the entire hymn 5, 63 concentrates. When Parjanya raises his voice and the Maruts dress themselves with clouds Mitrāvaruṇau cause the heavens to discharge rain (5, 63, 6)<sup>25</sup>. They are besought to soak the pasture grounds (7, 62, 5), but elsewhere (5, 85, 3) this is Varuṇa's exclusive concern. See also 3, 62, 16; 5, 62, 2; 5, 63, 1; 2; 3; 5; 6; 7, 64, 2; 4; 7, 65, 4 where they are implored for, or mentioned in connection with, rain.

As to the much disputed question of the existence of closer relations between Varuṇa and night on one hand and between Mitra and light and the sun on the other<sup>26</sup>, it may, to avoid needless repetition, suffice here to recall that in RV. 1, 115, 5 the bright colour is associated with

<sup>23</sup> See also A. Weber, *Vedische Beiträage*, Sitzungsber. Preussische Akad. d. Wiss. 1894, p. 38.

<sup>24</sup> I also refer to The Vedic god Mitra, p. 34 f.

<sup>25</sup> See The Vedic god Mitra, p. 34; 43 etc.

<sup>26</sup> For a succinct bibliography now see The Vedic god Mitra, notes to ch. III and V.

the latter god, the black with the former: one of the "cas rarissimes, où le R̥gveda distingue entre Mitra et Varuṇa"<sup>27</sup>. At 3, 5, 4 Agni, when kindled (in the morning), is said to be Mitra<sup>28</sup>, but at 7, 12, 3 the god of fire is explicitly identified with Varuṇa and Mitra (*tvám varuṇa utá mitró agne*). There is perhaps no serious reason for doubt with regard to 6, 62, 9: the two kings detect the evil-doers, each at the proper time; this may mean, by day or at night. However, Varuṇa also entertains relations with the day and the sun: 8, 41, 10 speaks of the white and dark colours as his covering<sup>29</sup>; 6, 68, 9; 7, 87, 1; 7, 88, 2. On the other hand, it is at 5, 62, 8 the dual deity (*varuṇa mitra*) which is clearly associated with the sun, and especially with its rising: at the time of sunrise they both mount the pillar which is the axis mundi (cf. also 7, 66, 7 and 4). At 1, 23, 5 they receive the epithet "lords of heavenly light" (... *jyótiṣas pātī tā mitrávaruṇā huve*), and they are, because of their *māyā* or as guardians of the ṛta, conjointly concerned with daybreak and the light of heaven (5, 63, 4; 7; 7, 60, 1; 2).

Varuṇa's functions and activities in this respect do not however coincide with the activities which are exclusively Mitra's. Rather than subscribing to the view—which is so often expressed in brāhmaṇas and exegetical literature<sup>30</sup>—that there was a more or less exclusive, original or fundamental association of Varuṇa with night or the nocturnal heaven<sup>31</sup> it would appear to me that this relation, like that of Mitra with light, is one of the expressions of the complementary character of the duality. Both gods are, on the one hand, conjointly concerned also with the phenomenon called the light of heaven<sup>32</sup>, which is a manifestation of universal Order, but, on the other hand, their functions may be distinguished and then these do not coincide. The sun's greatness or majesty is indeed said to be like Mitra's<sup>33</sup> (1, 50, 11; 10, 37, 11; also RVKh. 1, 1): that means that the qualities of helpful and protective benevolence ascribed to that luminary were interpreted as mitraic. At 5, 81, 4 "Thou goest, O Savitar, to the three realms of light ... and thou art Mitra in view of thine exhibition of faithfulness to thy nature, to the stabilizing power of the norms which are inherent in the universal Order", there can be hardly any doubt that Savitar holds Mitra's functions. See also 9, 2, 6<sup>34</sup>. This

<sup>27</sup> Renou, E.V.P. XV, p. 6.

<sup>28</sup> See also Renou, in *Festgabe für H. Lommel*, Wiesbaden 1960, p. 125.

<sup>29</sup> See also A. Bergaigne, *La religion védique*, III, Paris 1883 (<sup>2</sup>1963), p. 117; Lüders, *Varuṇa*, p. 570 f.

<sup>30</sup> Compare the remarks made by A. Hillebrandt, *Vedische Mythologie*, II, Berlin <sup>2</sup>1929, p. 2.

<sup>31</sup> Thus e.g. Hillebrandt, *Varuṇa and Mitra*, p. 54 ff.; Dumézil, *Mitra-Varuṇa*, p. 91; F. B. J. Kuiper, in *Indo-Ir. Journal*, 8, p. 107; 115.

<sup>32</sup> See also Macdonell, o.c., p. 25.

<sup>33</sup> See *The Vedic god Mitra*, p. 46; 54.

<sup>34</sup> I refer to *The Vedic god Mitra*, p. 55 f.



is however not to subscribe to the opinion of those who, with Oldenberg<sup>35</sup>, are inclined to take these passages as proving a prehistoric 'identity' of this god and the sun, nor to endorse the no doubt unjustified contention<sup>36</sup> that "Mitrāvaruṇā is the sky in its two complementary aspects, diurnal (Mitra) and nocturnal (Varuṇa)".

So, notwithstanding the fact that in the entire Ṛgveda only one hymn is dedicated to Mitra (3, 59), both gods are very often praised together. Even in the Varuṇa hymns—hardly a dozen in number—his companion, though remaining in the background, is far from absent. Thus in RV. 1, 25, which is addressed to Varuṇa, stanza 6 states that the dominion mentioned in stanza 5 with reference to Varuṇa alone, belongs to both gods in common, Mitra however remaining anonymous<sup>37</sup>. As emerges from the above survey many characterizations of Varuṇa alone are also applicable to the pair. Even in hymns dedicated to other gods references of some importance to Mitra or Varuṇa individually hardly occur; almost everywhere the poets have in mind both gods, or the Ādityas generally, often adding the names of this well-known pair (e.g. 1, 106, 1; 1, 122, 6; 7; 9; 15). Though addressed to two names and not completely indiscernible, these praises are undivided, and the predilection for the dual compound Mitrāvaruṇā shows the closeness of the gods' association. From the preceding pages it has appeared with all clearness desirable that it even is very often impossible to distinguish between features and functions belonging to Varuṇa alone and those which he has in common with Mitra. It is therefore not surprising that in a considerable number of places the authors of the brāhmaṇas give evidence of the conviction that these gods constitute a unity. See e.g. PB. 7, 2, 2 "Agni was the first to win, then Mitra-Varuṇa, then Indra"<sup>38</sup>. This 'duel unitaire' was in their circles—and compare also RV. 1, 137—also a ritual reality—it was even possible to become, by a ritual technique, Mitra-Varuṇa (GB. 1, 4, 8; 10<sup>39</sup>)—, the Maitrāvaruṇa, whose very title derives from the dual compound *mitrāvaruṇā*, being the officiant charged with recitations in honour of both Varuṇa and Mitra<sup>40</sup>. The institution of his function is ascribed to the joint activity of these gods (GB. 2, 3, 13), which is also illustrated by many other mythological, aetiological and ritualistic passages. From this it may be concluded that the idea that Varuṇa and Mitra constitute a sort of 'dualité unité' was in the brāhmaṇas generally

<sup>35</sup> H. Oldenberg, *Die Religion des Veda*, Stuttgart-Berlin 1923, p. 46.

<sup>36</sup> Pettazzoni, *o.c.*, p. 137.

<sup>37</sup> For other instances see *The Vedic god Mitra*, Chapter I.

<sup>38</sup> For other places see *The Vedic god Mitra*, p. 3.

<sup>39</sup> See *The Vedic god Mitra*, p. 8.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. e.g. A. Hillebrandt, *Ritualliteratur*, Strassburg 1897, p. 97.

accepted. Even in the Ṛgveda (7, 33, 13) there was no hesitation in affirming that they dropped their common or identical (*samānam*) semen into a jar, from which their son was to be born (cf. also JB. 1, 140). That means that when or in so far as these gods fulfil the same functions, they are an indistinguishable unity. They are, in the main, a double representation of the same range of ideas. They presuppose each other's existence and co-operate with one another. "This dual deity, if appearing as such, implies a biunity of conjoint principles which in their functions and activities often complement each other"<sup>41</sup>. Mitrāvaruṇau were even not incorrectly considered to be the one mixta persona of both gods rather than "an aggregate or mere composition of an essence and a nature"<sup>42</sup>.

This does not however alter the fact that they could also be conceived of as distinct divine individuals: ŚB. 3, 2, 4, 18 "that which is of Mitra is not of Varuṇa"<sup>43</sup>. In that case they enter into a relation of complementary opposition<sup>44</sup>. Mention has already been made of ṚV. 1, 115, 5 associating the bright colour with Mitra, the dark with his brother<sup>45</sup>. One of the rare other cases in which a poet, addressing the dual deity, distinguishes between the functions of Mitra and Varuṇa is ṚV. 7, 36, 2. Dedicating a new hymn to Mitrāvaruṇā he continues: "One of you both is an energetic pathfinder, above deceit (Varuṇa with his 'spies'); he who names himself Mitra marshalls men in their normal (i.e. good and correct) position"<sup>46</sup>. The author of ṚV. 7, 66, 2 distinguishes between the favours expected from either god: Varuṇa is implored to protect the persons and the dependents of those speaking, whereas Mitra is asked to make the poet's inspiration successful<sup>47</sup>.

It is moreover worth noticing that some typically Varuṇic features—his wrath roused by the infringement of his ordinances (e.g. ṚV. 1, 24, 11 ff.; 2, 28, 9; 7, 88, 7); his severe punishment (e.g. ŚB. 2, 3, 2, 10);

<sup>41</sup> The Vedic god Mitra, p. 14.

<sup>42</sup> A. K. Coomaraswamy, Spiritual authority and Temporal power in the Indian theory of government, Amer. Or. Ser. 22, New Haven Conn. 1942 (New York 1967), p. 6, n. 6.

<sup>43</sup> See The Vedic god Mitra, p. 15.

<sup>44</sup> See The Vedic god Mitra, p. 19.

<sup>45</sup> See above, p. 151 f.

<sup>46</sup> I refer to The Vedic god Mitra, p. 97.

<sup>47</sup> In considering the mutual relations of these closely associated gods and their often explicitly stated community of interests on one hand and their liability to being conceived of as complements and opposites on the other, we are in a way reminded of an important feature in the Indian theology of the later period. Gods are believed to have a benevolent, pacified, kind and auspicious (*śānta*) and an impetuous, fierce, angry and terrible (*ugra*) aspect and in both aspects they may appear in their cult images. In reality the divine nature is beyond these opposites, but as soon as it manifests itself in our phenomenal world it conforms to the categories by which this as well as our limited human intellectual capacity and imaginative faculty are characterized. This is however not to endorse Dumézil's view of the relation Varuṇa: Mitra (*ugra* : *śānta*).

his snares or fetters—are generally speaking absent as soon as the poets address themselves to the dual divine personality. These are the sinister and pernicious sides of his character which continue to arrest the attention of the poets of the Atharvaveda<sup>48</sup>. It is Varuṇa who “seizes” the evil-doer (ŚB. 12, 7, 2, 17), but it is Mitrāvaruṇau who appear on the scene when his asuric power has been pacified<sup>49</sup>.

The conception of Mitra-and-Varuṇa as a unity and their close association did not however prevent the Vedic poets and thinkers from dissociating them and from combining each of them with other gods. Varuṇa could even become so independent of his companion as to constitute another divine duality with Indra. Referring for the problems connected with this pair to another chapter of this book I draw attention to the less well-known fact that Mitra also maintains relations with other gods, without however constituting with them, in the R̥gveda, other dual deities. The sacrificial substance to be offered on the occasion of a rājasūya ceremony as a caru for Mitra and Br̥haspati—unhusked and husked grains of rice—gave rise to an incidental union of the two gods as Mitrābr̥haspatī<sup>50</sup>. As the god who redresses he is (SV. 1, 527; SāmavB. 3, 4, 5) invoked together with Aryaman in a rite to make a girl see. Significantly enough Śraddhā “Trustful Faith or Confident Belief” is, as his wife—that is as a ‘personification’ of his ‘instrumentality’, so to say as his *śakti*<sup>51</sup>—, coupled with Mitra (TĀ. 3, 9, 2). This means that from the point of view of the worshipper a positive and affirmative attitude towards religious acts, moral precepts, the authority of Scripture—and this is what the *śraddhā* concept implies—are a safe method of securing Mitra’s sympathy, that is to say, of experiencing redress of evil, sound and normal conditions, etc. On the other hand he enters into a complementary relation to the Rudras (ŚB. 6, 5, 1, 9). The difference in attitude towards Rudra on the one hand and Mitra on the other is clearly perceptible in the atonement formulas referred to in VS. 39, 9: the Fierce One (Rudra in his terrible form) is to be propitiated with blood, Mitra with correct and virtuous behaviour.

Rejecting definitions such as that given by Dumézil—“Mitra est le souverain sous son aspect raisonnable, clair, réglé, calme . . . , Varuṇa est le souverain sous son aspect assaillant, sombre, inspiré, violent . . . ”<sup>52</sup>—which cannot be substantiated by the texts, the gods being never confronted with one another so explicitly and at such a length, I must, on the other hand, draw attention once again to the unmistakable

<sup>48</sup> See also Renou, in Festgabe-Lommel, p. 125. For a few exceptions in post-R̥gvedic texts see The Vedic god Mitra, p. 16.

<sup>49</sup> See The Vedic god Mitra, p. 17.

<sup>50</sup> For this pair Mitra-and-Br̥haspati see chapter I, p. 78 f.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. e.g. J. Gonda, Die Religionen Indiens, II, Stuttgart 1963, p. 12 f.; 28 f.; 36 ff. etc.

<sup>52</sup> Dumézil, o.c., p. 85.

existence of a belief in a complementary relation between both components of this divine duality<sup>53</sup>: ŚB. 3, 2, 4, 18 "That which is of Mitra is not of Varuṇa". I would even say that this is an early and very clear instance of a curious trend in the history of Indian religions, viz. the tendency to view and represent ideas, figures, or divine powers as complementary and co-operative. Most of the statements of complementary relations, of which the brāhmaṇa texts—at which we shall now cast a glance—mention a considerable number, shed some light on these divine figures. Being in the main a double representation of the same idea they could, due to an unmistakable tendency to polarity, easily be conceived of as a complementary pair. This is especially clear when they are represented as constituting a natural pair—e.g. ŚB. 5, 4, 3, 5 where they are identified with the two arms of the same person, or when the right side is said to belong to Mitra, the left to Varuṇa (TB. 1, 7, 10, 1): they presuppose each other's existence. This does not imply that they are in principle or essentially each other's "marked contrast"<sup>54</sup>. Nor is it warranted to distinguish<sup>55</sup> Varuṇa as the magical sovereign from Mitra, the priest and the jurist. What strikes us is that those processes which are represented as Mitra's concern are often characterized by a greater degree of spontaneity or by a certain form of benevolence, for instance, rice ripening in unploughed land is his, but plants growing on tilled ground are Varuṇa's. A similar difference between both deities is evident in cases such as that described in ŚB. 4, 5, 1, 6 implying that, whereas Varuṇa is to be propitiated, Mitra, having received a victim, is spontaneously ready for reciprocation and willing to secure the equipoise. See also AiB. 3, 4, 6 and the commentary<sup>56</sup>: in his Varuṇa form Agni is dread of contact, but those who are suffering from cold and stand near him experience his kindness, "that is his form as Mitra". There can be no doubt whatever that the identification of the latter god with the brahmanical order, and of the former with the nobility is not only to be viewed in the light of Varuṇa's kingship and Mitra-and-Varuṇa's universal sovereignty<sup>57</sup>, but also in that of the doctrine of the complementary relation between, and co-operation of, these two classes of society. Like these heavenly rulers who are mostly invoked together the king and his domestic priest are, for the sake of the well-being of the realm, for which both of them are responsible, an inseparable pair and each other's complement. But Mitra seems to owe his identity with the brahmanical order to the force of this system of complementary classification: Varuṇa is a divine king, but he is only

<sup>53</sup> For a detailed discussion of this point and a great diversity of instances see *The Vedic god Mitra*, chapter II.

<sup>54</sup> As is maintained by Dumézil, *o.c.*, p. 83 ff.

<sup>55</sup> With G. Widengren, in *Numen*, 1 (Leiden 1954), p. 23; cf. also *Numen*, 2, p. 49, following Dumézil.

<sup>56</sup> Gonda, *The Vedic god Mitra*, p. 45.

<sup>57</sup> See above, p. 147 f.



successful if he is urged by Mitra (ŚB. 4, 1, 4, 3). This does not however exclude that there exists also a sort of affinity between Mitra and the nobility (ŚB. 11, 4, 3, 3; 11; TB. 2, 5, 7, 4 etc. <sup>58</sup>). If I am not mistaken, this seeming contradiction may be understood as follows. The dual deity Mitra-Varuṇa is traditionally vested with authority (*kṣatram*). That means that either of them, if appearing individually, can represent *kṣatram*. If however they are regarded as each other's complement, one of them can, or even must, be associated with the complement of *kṣatram*, i.e. *brahman*. It is interesting to see that then it is Mitra who enters into this engagement. It would appear to me that the same explication is applicable to parallel cases. Mitra's complementary relation to Varuṇa may even induce man to resort to him if in certain circumstances there is no choice between two possibilities. If the soma-purchasing cow were tied with a rope she would belong to Varuṇa; if she were not tied at all, she would be uncontrolled. The alternative being unattractive one invites Mitra to bind her; then she is neither Varuṇa's nor uncontrolled (ŚB. 3, 2, 4, 18). This is not the only case in which such an adjusting function is attributed to Mitra (cf. e.g. TS. 6, 1, 11, 1).

It has recently been argued that Mitra's "wasserspendende Funktion ... vor allem aus seiner Gemeinschaft mit Varuṇa herzuleiten ist" <sup>59</sup>. In my opinion we had better say that since both gods are concerned with the waters <sup>60</sup> and with rain, and since Varuṇa is sometimes explicitly associated with water which does not flow (TS. 6, 4, 2, 3; ŚB. 4, 4, 5, 10 etc.), it would not be surprising if Mitra was believed to concern himself especially with flowing waters. It is perhaps worth recalling that the Avesta indeed describes him as a dispenser of water who pours rain (Yt. 10, 61). An explanation of Agni's nature furnished by the commentator on TB. 3, 6, 1, 3 is in harmony with the above facts and interpretation: the god of fire is identified with Varuṇa because he wards off what is undesirable or disadvantageous, and with Mitra because he procures what is desirable or advantageous. Both activities, which are decidedly complementary, are beneficial, but the difference needs no further explication.

Since it belongs to a *mitra*, that is a 'friend', to be kindly disposed, to extend his benevolent influence, to confer benefits upon other people, to do something for their advantage <sup>61</sup>, the identification of Agni in his beneficent aspect with Mitra <sup>62</sup> is not only quite intelligible, but also helpful in penetrating the nature of the latter. While promoting the sacrifice well he is expected to assume his benevolent Mitra aspect

<sup>58</sup> See The Vedic god Mitra, p. 30.

<sup>59</sup> H. von Stietencron, *Indische Sonnenpriester*, Wiesbaden 1966, p. 231, n. 34.

<sup>60</sup> See above, p. 151.

<sup>61</sup> See Gonda, *Mitra and mitra*.

<sup>62</sup> The Vedic god Mitra, chapter IV.

(RV. 2, 2, 8) and so is his care of the effectiveness of the sacrificial rites a typically Mitraic feature. It is also in his function as Mitra that he supports both parts of the universe (6, 8, 3). Whereas Varuṇa's relation to the brightly flaming fire (SB. 2, 3, 2, 10) is associated with the violent and destructive sides of his nature, Mitra is (ibid. 12) said to manifest himself in waning fire.

As a beneficent redresser and a restorer of order and normal conditions Mitra takes care of his worshippers, supports men and the universe, furthers the poet's inspiration, and awakens the divine power called Bounty (Puraṁdhi). His path is easy to walk upon and leads straight to the goal (RV. 2, 27, 6). He shows a way out of narrowness and distress (5, 65, 4) and is a benevolent helper and a saviour in the event of danger and hostility (10, 126, 1 ff.). He is the god "who causes (people) to occupy their proper or right and natural position, who marshals them in that position which is their support and substratum" (*yātayajjana*)<sup>63</sup>. It is however very significant that this epithet is at 5, 72, 2 given to both Mitra and Varuṇa: "Through your function-and-observance (*vrātēna*) you (both) grant a lasting position of peace-and-comfort; through the principle of norm-and-stability (*dharmaṇā*) you assign people their right and proper place (*yātayajjanā*)"<sup>64</sup>.

At this point I must speak briefly of the Atharvaveda. As already noticed by Renou<sup>65</sup>, the duality Mitrāvaruṇā is in this corpus much less important than in the R̥gveda. The occurrences of the compound are, it is true, not infrequent, but they are, on the whole, not very significant. Thus they are in AV. 1, 20, 2 after Soma and the Maruts and before Varuṇa alone invoked for protection against enemies and their weapons. Similarly, 6, 32, 3. At 13, 1, 31 Agni, Bṛhaspati, Indrāgni and this pair are implored to overthrow the rivals. Cf. also 18, 3, 12. In 3, 4, 4 the Aśvins, this pair, the Viśve Devāḥ and the Maruts are asked to call the

<sup>63</sup> Cf. The Vedic god Mitra, p. 93 ff.

<sup>64</sup> For my opinion of the theories proposed by my predecessors the reader may be referred to my former publications, especially to The Vedic god Mitra. With regard to the hypothesis advanced by E. Ghosh (see above) some short remarks may suffice. It is highly hazardous to try "to obtain some evidence regarding the physical nature of Mitra from our knowledge of the Persian sun-god Mithras" (Ghosh, p. 34) and to infer from "Mithras' representation as killing the Bull with the help of Scorpion, interpreted as the sun-god coming in conjunction with the sign Taurus in the day time and at night by Scorpio, the constellation in opposition", that "the Indian Mitra was the presiding deity of the winter solstice or vernal equinox" and Varuṇa, who in his many functions is directly opposite to Mitra, "appears to be the presiding deity of the autumnal equinox", an argument in favour of the latter hypothesis being that Varuṇa has special connections with water and the growth of herbs, and an explanation of this god's irritability being furnished by the occurrence of floods or of trying moist heat in the autumn. Astronomical and naturalistic explanations of the above type are nowadays generally mistrusted. The chronological fantasies concluding these unfounded views can be left undiscussed.

<sup>65</sup> Renou, in Festgabe-Lommel, p. 123.

man who is established as a king: has this invitation anything to do with the conviction (ŚB. 5, 4, 1, 16) that a prince belongs to this dual deity? The double name is found in enumerations of deities or in series of parallel prayers, attributions or identifications: 4, 30, 1; 10, 5, 11; 11, 3, 44; 13, 1, 20; 14, 1, 54; 16, 8, 25. It is Dhātār's function to place (*dhā-*) the embryo, but at 5, 25, 4 he has to share this task with some deities of repute, viz. this pair, Brhaspati and Indrāgnī. The reader is sometimes under the impression that the authors, without formulating wishes which are incompatible with the gods' functions in the hieratic sphere, are mainly interested in the impressiveness of the names. It should not however be forgotten that through these names they exert influence on aspects and provinces of the Unseen. However, they are the only deity invoked in 3, 25 (st. 6) which is (KauśS. 35, 22) used in a charm for bringing a woman under one's control: why should it be this almost inseparable pair which is expected to "cast out the intentions from her heart" and, making her powerless, to bring her under the speaker's control? Is it a reminiscence, or a popular application, of their omniscience? But at 6, 89, 3 the name occurs, together with Sarasvatī, in a text of the same category; see also 6, 132, 5. At 5, 24, 5 they are the lords of rain which reminds us of ṚV. 1, 152, 1 etc. In a prayer for victory (6, 97) these "wise ones" (*vipaścitā*) are (st. 2) not only implored "to fatten our dominion, rich in subjects, with 'honey'", but also "to release any committed sin": cf. ṚV. 5, 54, 6; 7, 60, 1; 10, 36, 12. AV. 16, 4, 7 "Let Mitrāvaruṇā assign me out- and inbreathing": cf. ŚB. 8, 4, 2, 6 etc. "Demeure un hymne bref, du groupe *mṛgāra*<sup>66</sup>—donc relativement automatique—adressé à Varuṇa et Mitra conjointement, à savoir 4, 29 où il n'y a de remarquable que la liste des êtres en faveur desquels on demande l'appui des deux divinités..."<sup>67</sup>. It is here that we find most reminiscences of the hieratic sphere (*ṛtāvṛdhau*, st. 1; *druhvanaḥ*, st. 1 etc.). I fail to see why this text should show that "Varuṇa fonctionnait comme le vrai maître... des portions magiques de l'Atharvaveda".

It is clear that we largely grope in the dark about the origin and raison d'être of this dual deity, about the motives which have induced the prehistoric Indo-Aryans to express the idea or ideas represented by Mitrāvaruṇau by two closely associated and to a certain degree even indistinguishable<sup>68</sup> divine persons. Among those points which are difficult to decide is the question as to whether and to what extent 'Mitraic' features were transferred to Varuṇa, or 'Varunic' features to Mitra; I for

<sup>66</sup> They are to drive out calamity. See M. Bloomfield, *The Atharva-veda and the Gopatha-brāhmaṇa*, Strassburg 1899, p. 51 f.

<sup>67</sup> Renou, l.c.

<sup>68</sup> As illustrated by the above quotations, texts and explanations.

one am however under the impression that both gods existed so long and so intimately united as a 'dualité unité' that their characters, representing different and largely complementary aspects of the same ideas, must also have developed, not only along parallel lines, but even in close contact and in an almost continuous interdependence. Much light could be thrown upon these important problems, if we possessed reliable data, or could at least make probable hypotheses with regard to the centuries immediately preceding the earliest Vedic literature. The only way to arrive at such a hypothesis leads through a comparison with ancient Iranian data as far as these admit of a comparison. In this case again the situation is not very promising. No documents directly concerned with the pre-Avestan Iranian religion have survived, and although it is to a certain extent possible to reconstruct it partially and of course hypothetically by considering certain elements which seem to have crept again into the religion of Zarathustra's followers and by comparing these with the apparently closely related Vedic religion, the attempts made to lift the veil of mystery and the controversial results hitherto reached may attract those scholars who, more than the present author, like to verge on mere speculation, they cannot solve the riddle with which we are confronted. There is first our highly defective knowledge of the ancient Iranian religion(s) in general<sup>69</sup> and in the second place no possibility of estimating those developments which took place between the common—and hypothetical—Indo-Iranian period and the compilation of the remains of the Avesta attesting to the activity of Zarathustra. Since hypotheses concerning the pre-Zarathustrian period are, moreover, partly based on comparison of the Iranian data with Indian material<sup>70</sup>, there is in cases such as that under discussion always the risk of shedding too much Indian light upon Iranian figures and so to lapsing into circular argumentation.

Reliable facts are few in number. There is first and foremost the occurrence of the names Mitra and Aruna (Ū-ru-ua-na, generally regarded as representing Varuṇa) in this order and side by side with one another in the pantheon of the Mitanni Aryans of 1380 A.D.<sup>71</sup>, but the problems to which these Aryan elements in the ancient Near East have given rise, though much debated<sup>72</sup>, are not yet solved: what was the exact

<sup>69</sup> Compare also G. Widengren, *Stand und Aufgaben der iranischen Religionsgeschichte*, *Numen*, 2 (1955), p. 47 ff.

<sup>70</sup> See e.g. F. B. J. Kuiper, in *Indo-Ir. Journal*, 5 (1961), p. 44: "... such a statement ... presupposes a reasonable certainty that Mithra at a pre-Avestan stage was *not* a god of light and life. Such a knowledge, however, could only have been derived from a correct interpretation of the Vedic data to their full extent".

<sup>71</sup> *Boghazköi-Studien*, ed. O. Weber, VIII, Leipzig 1917-1924, p. 32 f.; *Rs.* 55 f.

<sup>72</sup> See for instance W. P. Schmid, in *Indogerm. Forsch.* 64, p. 291 ff., and 70, p. 213 ff.; M. Mayrhofer, *Die Indo-Arier im alten Vorderasien*, Wiesbaden 1966; the same, in *Indogerm. Forsch.* 70, p. 146 ff.; H. Kronasser, in *Wiener Zs. Kunde d. Morgenl.* 53 (1957), p. 181 ff.; A. Kammenhuber, *Die Arier im Vorderen Orient*,



relation of these elements to the ancient Indo-Iranian branch of Indo-European? (did they perhaps represent an Indian dialect of the undivided Indo-Iranian?), which historical events determined their occurrence in the Near East <sup>73</sup>? There are in the second place the remarkable points of agreement in the characters of the Indian Varuṇa and the Iranian Ahura Mazdā <sup>74</sup>, which did not fail to attract the attention of all those interested in the ancient Indo-Iranian religions <sup>75</sup>. A large majority of scholars is—in my opinion, rightly—convinced of the original identity of these two figures. Like Varuṇa, the Iranian god is closely connected with the fundamental Order-and-truth, here called *aša* (= *ṛta*). Like the Indian god in AV. 4, 16, 2 Ahura Mazdā knows even the innermost thoughts of men (Y. 31, 13); his 'omniscience' <sup>76</sup> which he has in common with Varuṇa is particularly applied to human actions. This agreement extends even to the terms used to express it: the former is *vispo.viḍvāh* "all-knowing" and *dūraē.darštar* "far-sighted" (Yt. 1, 12) as the latter is *viśvavedas* (RV. 8, 42, 1) and *urucakṣas* "of wide vision" (RV. 1, 25, 5; 16). Like Varuṇa (RV. 1, 24, 13) Ahura Mazdā is above deceit (Yt. 12, 1). The former has made a wide path for the sun (RV. 1, 24, 8; 7, 87, 1), and so has the latter <sup>77</sup>. Lommel's <sup>78</sup> arguments against this identification which can be reduced to two—the difference in name and "the streak of craftiness and deceit in the Vedic Varuṇa which is totally absent in Ahura Mazdā" <sup>79</sup>—were justly rejected by Widengren <sup>80</sup>. In addition to

Heidelberg 1968, p. 234 etc.; P. Thieme, in Journ. Am. Or. Soc. 80 (1960), p. 301 ff. (= Kleine Schriften, Wiesbaden 1971, p. 396 ff.).

<sup>73</sup> I would go too far afield if I were to expatiate upon every point in the articles of my predecessors about which I am in doubt or on which finality has not yet been reached. One should for instance not overlook the fact that the remarkable enumeration of gods in RV. 10, 125, 1, which G. Dumézil, *Les dieux des Indo-Européens*, Paris 1952, p. 9 ff. (see Thieme, o.c., p. 303 (398)), rightly compared to the Mitanni document, Indrāgni and not Indra occupies the third place. Thieme, o.c., p. 308 f. (403 f.) thinks it self-evident to regard *asura* in RV. 5, 63, 3; 7; 5, 83 d as a proper noun connecting it with the Avestan places Y. 38, 3 and Ny. 2, 12, but without discussing the other possibility defended by Geldner, o.c., II, p. 72 and Renou, E.V.P. V, p. 79 etc. Why could not an ancient \**asura* "god, lord", sometimes denote a definite god, or an 'unknown god'?

<sup>74</sup> For Mazdā see F. B. J. Kuiper, in Indo-Ir. Journal 1, p. 86 ff.

<sup>75</sup> "The figure of Ahura Mazdāh cannot possibly be dissociated from Varuṇa", A. B. Keith, *Religion and philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads*, Cambridge 1925, p. 33; Macdonell, *Vedic mythology*, p. 8 and others.

<sup>76</sup> For which see Pettazzoni, o.c., p. 132 ff.

<sup>77</sup> The reader may for the sake of brevity be referred to H. Oldenberg, in *Zs. deutsch. morgenl. Ges.* 50, p. 47 ff., and the same, *Die Religion des Veda*, Stuttgart-Berlin 1923, p. 184 ff.

<sup>78</sup> H. Lommel, *Die Religion Zarathustras*, Tübingen 1930, p. 272 ff. See also A. Hillebrandt, *Vedische Mythologie*, III, Breslau 1902, p. 11 f.

<sup>79</sup> I. Gershevitch, *The Avestan hymn to Mithra*, Cambridge 1959, p. 45; 321, exuberantly endorsing Lommel's views. I can refrain from entering into a discussion of Gershevitch's views which were criticized by F. B. J. Kuiper, in *Indo-Ir. Journal*, 3, p. 207 ff. and 5, p. 36 ff.

the latter's remarks I would like to make some critical observations. Lommel's argument based on the order of the proper names in the compound is invalid<sup>81</sup>: the form *mitrāvaruṇau* cannot make the original lower position of Varuṇa acceptable. This disposes of Lommel's thesis that it would be surprising if "der ursprünglich erste dieser Göttergruppe, Mitra, von Zarathustra verworfen worden sei und der zweite an die höchste und erste Stelle gerückt". The difference in name between Varuṇa and Ahura Mazdā is no "unsurmountable obstacle"<sup>82</sup> because the former is in the Ṛgveda more than once called an *asura* (1, 24, 14; 1, 151, 4; 2, 27, 10 etc.) and even (1, 25, 20) said to be *medhira* "wise" which etymologically corresponds to the Iranian *mazdā*<sup>83</sup>. Whether or not the latter fact is no more than a coincidence, the Vedic combinations *ásuro viśvāvedāḥ* "the all-knowing asura" and *ásuraḥ prācetāḥ* "the wise, attentive asura" applied to Varuṇa at 8, 42, 1 and 1, 24, 14<sup>84</sup> are worth recalling also. As to Lommel's and Gershevitch's onesided opinion of Varuṇa's character<sup>85</sup>, the "streak of craftiness and deceit"—"seine dunkle Seite, sein finsternes und düsteres Wesen"<sup>86</sup>—, the facts collected in the above pages will, I suppose, suffice to reduce these aspects to the right proportions and to view them in the light of the god's entire personality. It is of course possible that functions of other gods were (in the prehistoric period) transferred to Varuṇa, but what is the use of mere possibilities, especially after the non-composite character of Varuṇa has through Lüders'<sup>87</sup> investigations and other publications become more evident than half a century ago<sup>88</sup>?

Yet, in spite of all arguments which can be adduced against Lommel's scepticism and in spite of the many connecting links between the Vedic Varuṇa and the great Avestan deity, Thieme<sup>89</sup> was perfectly right in

<sup>80</sup> G. Widengren, *Die Religionen Irans*, Stuttgart 1965, p. 82 with n. 115. Nevertheless, it should not be "selbstverständlich" that "die Entdeckung der Spiritualisierung der alten arischen Götter durch Dumézil . . . von der Voraussetzung ausgeht, dass Ahura Mazdā = Varuṇa ist".

<sup>81</sup> See above, p. 145, n. 3.

<sup>82</sup> Gershevitch, o.c., p. 45.

<sup>83</sup> For particulars and literature see M. Mayrhofer, *Kurzgefasstes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen*, II, Heidelberg 1963, p. 685 f. Compare e.g. also Duchesne-Guillemin, *Zoroastre*, Paris 1948, p. 104 f. and Widengren, o.c., p. 81.

<sup>84</sup> Cf. B. Geiger, in *Sitz. Ber. Vienna Acad.* 176/7 (1916), p. 213.

<sup>85</sup> Which the latter, o.c., p. 321 is inclined to mitigate.

<sup>86</sup> "Man lese in Hillebrandts reicher Darstellung (*Vedische Mythologie*) die grauenvollen Züge des Gottes . . . und man wird nicht glauben können, dass Zarathustra den heldenmässigen Lichtgott Mitra (Mithra) verworfen, und den schrecklichen Herrscher der Finsternis, dem auch Züge bösertiger Tücke nicht fehlen, zu seinem reinen, elden und geistigen Gotte erhoben habe" (Lommel, o.c., p. 273).

<sup>87</sup> Lüders, o.c.

<sup>88</sup> Lommel has in this connection a bias in favour of naturalistic interpretation of these divine personalities.

<sup>89</sup> Thieme, o.c., p. 308 (403).

submitting some counter-arguments for consideration. We simply do not know why Varuṇa's name is conspicuously lacking in the Avesta. Kuiper's<sup>90</sup> explanation: "the use of a (taboo) substitute for the name of such an inauspicious god as Varuṇa was (is) quite conceivable" fails to convince me: it is no more than a possibility and the original inauspiciousness of Varuṇa is unproved and, as far as I am able to see, unprovable. Says Thieme: "The general affinity of the Ṛgvedic Āditya terminology and that of Zarathustra and the younger Avesta is so close that deviations must be taken seriously". This is true, and it is also true that we should not take for granted that the Avesta originally or consistently uses the term *ahura* to designate Ahura Mazdā<sup>91</sup>. It must be conceded that it is questionable whether the god with whom Mitra in common Indo-Iranian antiquity was closely associated bore the name of Varuṇa, but I am on the other hand not inclined to follow Thieme in positing a "proto-Aryan dvandva" \*Mitrā-Asurā, which is absent in the Veda where "it was replaced by Mitrā-Varuṇā"<sup>92</sup>. The references to ṚV. 5, 63, 3; 7 and 5, 83, 6<sup>93</sup> do not settle the matter.

While the correspondences between Varuṇa and Ahura Mazdā are obvious, there is no denying that the figure of Mithra, as he is depicted in the 10<sup>th</sup> Yašt, has a number of traits of character in common with the Vedic Mitra. Like the latter he is a protector (Yt. 10, 75), even "the beneficent protector of all creatures" (54): cf. ṚV. 3, 59, 8; 4, 55, 1; 5, 65, 5 etc. "It is he who bestows peaceful and comfortable dwellings on the Iranian countries" (Yt. 10, 4): cf. e.g. ṚV. 3, 59, 2 "distress does not reach the man who is aided by thee; he is not slain, nor overpowered"; cf. also ṚV. 7, 82, 5. "May he join us for assistance, may he join us for (the granting) of spaciousness, may he join us for support, for mercy, for therapy, for ability to defeat our opponent, for a comfortable existence" (Yt. 10, 5): cf. e.g. ṚV. 3, 59, 2 ff.; AV. 2, 28, 1 imploring Mitra to protect from distress, *amhas*, which is the opposite of "spaciousness"<sup>94</sup>; "Mitra procures the much desired and highly appreciated spaciousness, even a way out of narrowness (congestion, anxiety, distress), free approach to an easy living"<sup>95</sup>; as already recalled, he is, with Varuṇa and Aryaman, a helper and saviour in the event of danger and difficulties (ṚV. 10, 126, 1 ff.); cf. also ṚV. 7, 60, 6; 8, 67, 2; AV. 4, 29, 1 ff. The Avestan Mithra is "strong, sleepless and (ever-)waking; he has a wide outlook" (Yt. 10, 7): cf. ṚV. 3, 59, 1 "Mitra regards the settlements of men without blinking"; Mitra-and-Varuṇa have 'spies' who see everything, etc. Mithra bestows

<sup>90</sup> Kuiper, in Indo-Ir. Journal 5 (1961), p. 55.

<sup>91</sup> See E. Benveniste (et L. Renou), *Vṛtra et Vṛθragna*, Paris 1934, p. 44 ff.

<sup>92</sup> Thieme, o.c., p. 309 (404).

<sup>93</sup> See above, p. 161, n. 73.

<sup>94</sup> I refer to J. Gonda, *Loka*, Amsterdam Academy 1966, p. 18 ff. and the same, *The Vedic concept of amhas*, Indo-Ir. Journal 1, p. 33 ff.

<sup>95</sup> Gonda, *The Vedic god Mitra*, p. 91; 111.

power and good fortune, and increases victoriousness (Yt. 10, 16): the Vedic god adjusts, redresses, arranges and supervises the maintenance of peace and order. Mithra is called "the exalted gratifier of prayers" (Yt. 10, 25): his Indian counterpart is implored for a variety of favours. Like the Vedic Mitra Mithra maintains relations with the sun (Yt. 10, 12 f.). Is the former (with Varuṇa and Aryaman, it is true) a supporter of the threefold universe (RV. 2, 27, 8), the latter "goes along the whole width of the earth" (Yt. 10, 95).

After the critical remarks made, in my former publication, on the attempts at explaining the figure Mit(h)ra as essentially or originally the representative of the contract I need not reopen the discussion of Gershevitch's<sup>96</sup> view of the relation of this god and Varuṇa: "As soon as the Avestan identification of Mithra with the contract is taken into consideration, it becomes clear that the contract is also the Rigvedic Mitra's domain". I have grave doubts about contentions such as "One understands at once not only why he 'calls people to account' (this is a mistranslation<sup>97</sup>), but also why his personality is all but merged in Varuṇa". This formulation unwarrantably presupposes an originally independent or isolated Mitra, the more so as the author, continuing his evolutionist line of reasoning, proceeds to say that "once Mitra was associated with Varuṇa in the perpetual watch over Truth . . . , he naturally began to share some of Varuṇa's other attributes". How are we to know that Mitra once did not share some of these attributes?

However, for those who are interested in the prehistory of the Vedic dual deity Mitṛavaruṇau the main difficulties reside not only in the absence, in Iran, of the name Varuṇa, but also in the fact that in ancient Iran both gods, Ahura (Mazdā) and Mithra, are far from regularly constituting an inseparable and hardly distinguishable pair<sup>98</sup>, and as such the theme of many and varied laudatory poems, and that notwithstanding the occurrence of the combination Mithra-Ahura (grammatically a double dual) in Yašt 10, 113; 145<sup>99</sup> and Mithra's reappearance in the later Avesta as perhaps the most important god next to Ahura Mazdā. It is true that in the Younger Avesta the combination Ahura Mithra (likewise a double dual)<sup>100</sup> is a frequent

<sup>96</sup> Gershevitch, p. 29 f.

<sup>97</sup> The Vedic god Mitra, p. 94 ff.

<sup>98</sup> In connection with their relation Lüders, Varuṇa, p. 37 expressed himself as follows: "... Mitra ist so eng mit Varuṇa verbunden, dass er eines Wesens mit ihm sein muss, wenn die Erklärung Varuṇas (proposed by Lüders) richtig sein soll". The author no doubt means by these words that an explanation of Mitra's character must be in complete agreement with a theory of the character of his partner, if the latter is to prove to be tenable.

<sup>99</sup> "Zweifelloos eine aus arischer Zeit stammende Verbindung", Chr. Bartholomae, Altiranisches Wörterbuch, Strassburg 1904, 1185.

<sup>100</sup> See also Thieme, o.c., p. 308 (403). On Mithra's part in Zoroastrianism see the important article by M. Boyce, at B.S.O.A.S. 32 (1969), p. 10 ff.



occurrence (Y. 1, 11; 2, 11; 3, 13 etc.); it is true that this double name is clearly distinguished from Ahura Mazdā, true also that they (Ahura Mithra) are characterized as *ašavan* "possessed of Aša" and have, moreover, two other qualifications in common, viz. *bərəzant* "firm, sublime, exalted"<sup>101</sup> and *aiθyejah* "not endangered". But the order of the names is different, the formulas in which they occur are stereotyped<sup>102</sup>, the epithets limited in number and meaning, the history of the combination unknown, its relation to the separate figures of Mithra and Ahura Mazdā, who occupy much more prominent places, uncertain<sup>103</sup>. Those who desire to say that both Iranian figures are "closely united"<sup>104</sup> should therefore not omit any explanation. And the rhetorical question "Während Mithra in Iran solche Lebenskraft bewiesen hat, soll sein alter Gefährte Varuṇa dort spurlos verschwunden sein?"<sup>105</sup> suggests a fact where in reality there is only a supposition.

The first problem with which we are confronted is indeed this: were these deities dissociated and differentiated—and if so, to what extent—in ancient pre-Zarathustrian Iran, to be 'reunited' in a later period<sup>106</sup>, or is their very close association and extreme resemblance in Vedic India the result of a special development in the religion of the ancestors of the Vedic poets and thinkers? That the figure of Ahura (Mazdā)<sup>107</sup> was largely transformed by Zarathustra is generally admitted, and that there is no evidence as to what the Iranian prophet thought about Mithra can only be deplored and should not tempt us either to contend that this god "had every claim to Zarathustra's affection"<sup>108</sup>, and that because he was "(a) close companion of \* Vouruna, i.e. the prehistoric Iranian counterpart of Varuṇa"—the closeness of this companionship being however the demonstrandum—or to attribute the prophet's silence concerning him to a "deliberate hostile, passionate aversion"<sup>109</sup>. We are hardly justified in saying more than that he was ignored. But even if our sources

<sup>101</sup> See J. Gonda, Notes on brahman, Utrecht 1950, p. 71 f.

<sup>102</sup> G. Dumézil, Naissance d'archanges, Paris 1945, p. 82: "un fossile, antérieur et extérieur à la promotion d'Ahura Mazdāh".

<sup>103</sup> This is not to subscribe to J. C. Tavadia's opinion (Journal Bombay Br. R. As. Soc. 28 (1953), p. 175) of the non-identity of this Ahura with Ahura Mazdā.

<sup>104</sup> Keith, o.c., p. 33.

<sup>105</sup> Oldenberg, o.c., p. 185.

<sup>106</sup> Compare e.g. Yt. 10, 1, where Ahura Mazdā is made to say: "When I created . . . Mithra . . ., I made him such in worthiness to be worshipped and prayed to as myself". The almost general supposition that the followers of Zoroaster fairly rapidly evolved a syncretic religion was justly challenged by M. Molé, Culte, mythe et cosmologie dans l'Iran ancien, Paris 1963, p. 17 and Boyce, o.c.

<sup>107</sup> See also Widengren, in Numen, 2, p. 60 f.

<sup>108</sup> Gershevitch, o.c., p. 49.

<sup>109</sup> J. Duchesne-Guillemin, Ormazd et Ahriman, Paris 1953, p. 15; K. Barr, Avesta, Copenhagen 1954, p. 208 held that Zoroaster's Ahura Mazda united Varuṇa and Mitra. In this I agree with R. C. Zaehner, The dawn and twilight of Zoroastrianism, London 1961, p. 69. See also Boyce, o.c., p. 17 ff.

admit of the conclusion that once Mitra was, in Iran, Ahura's (\* Vouruna's) equal<sup>110</sup>, equality is not identical with a close association, not to mention *dualité unité*. And how are we to judge the striking differences between the Iranian gods and their Vedic counterparts, for instance Mithra's military functions<sup>111</sup>, which can hardly be regarded as the result of a mere transference of a function of Vāyu<sup>112</sup>? A brief reference to the tendency of great deities to extend their power and influence<sup>113</sup> cannot satisfy the philologist who would like to know all relevant particulars of the historical process which have led to that result.

Only if the hypothesis defended by some scholars, that Zarathustra's so-called Holy Spirit (Spēta Mainyu), through whom Ahura Mazdā creates and with whom he is so inseparably one that in the course of time it was identified with him, was Mithra in disguise, were correct and so to say beyond doubt<sup>114</sup>, that is to say, if we could feel sure that Zarathustra had substituted Ahura Mazdā and his Holy Spirit for the older conception of an equally closely connected or almost inseparable pair, viz. Miθra-Ahura, we could, in view of the Vedic facts, be inclined to take the uninterrupted existence of a closely connected pair Miθra-\* Vouruna in ancient Iran for granted. Although it is not my contention that the more or less indirect arguments adduced in favour of this supposition by Zaehner have no demonstrative force at all, it would appear to me that as long as we do not succeed in detecting unmistakably Mitraic features in the 'Holy Spirit' the possibility, or even probability of the original identity of Miθra and Spēta does not carry us much farther. None of the pertinent places seems to lead to some positive satisfactory conclusion, though part of them are worth considering. At Yt. 13, 28 f. Ahura Mazdā's aid is called in, "in order to support the heavens, and the water, the earth, the plant", the author immediately continuing "that the Holy Spirit should support the heavens, that he (should support) the water, the earth, the cow, the plant, that he should save the sons who are conceived in the wombs, lest they die . . .". These desires are followed by a typically Zoroastrian wish which can be left unmentioned. There is no denying that the qualities and beneficent abilities with which the Spēta Mainyu is credited could also be Mitra's and the co-operation of Ahura Mazdā and his 'right hand'—or perhaps we should say, the fulfilment of the task expected from the former by the latter—is in any case remarkable. It must even be conceded that the Vedic Mitra and Varuṇa are interested in, or believed to preside over, the vegetable

<sup>110</sup> Thus e.g. Duchesne-Guillemin, l.c.

<sup>111</sup> Cf. H. S. Nyberg, *Die Religionen des alten Iran*, Leipzig 1938, p. 61 f.; G. Widengren, *Hochgottglaube im alten Iran*, Uppsala-Leipzig 1938, p. 104 f. etc.

<sup>112</sup> Thus S. Wikander, *Vayu*, Uppsala 1941, p. 33 f.; 72.

<sup>113</sup> Widengren, in *Numen*, 2, p. 49, n. 11.

<sup>114</sup> Zaehner, o.c., p. 71 ff.; 111; 118 ff.; 137, to which the reader may be referred.

kingdom<sup>115</sup> and that the willingness of the former to extend his kindness and sympathy to mankind is beyond doubt. The similarity is however too vague and of too general a character to admit of any reliable conclusion. The Vedic Mitra maintains various relations with fire and Agni<sup>116</sup>: Fire is in Yt. 10, 3 beside Mithra, who in 10, 1 is created by Ahura Mazdā, a son of the latter, but the reference to fire in connection with Ahura Mazdā and Spēta Mainyu in Y. 47, 6—"O Seigneur Sage, en tant que cet Esprit Saint, Tu accompliras par le feu, avec l'aide de la Dévotion et de la Justice la répartition du bien entre les deux parties"<sup>117</sup>—must of course be interpreted in the light of the specifically Zarathustrian conceptions of the last judgement. Nor is it possible to derive any valid argument from text-places such as Y. 43, 2; Yt. 10, 143; Yt. 19, 44.

The conclusion must therefore be that even those who, like the present author, are inclined, intuitively and subjectively, to think that, in pre-Avestan Iran, the figure of a deity corresponding to the Vedic Varuṇa and the Avestan Ahura (Mazdā) on the one hand and Mithra on the other maintained (or, continued to maintain) close connections and that the figure of the latter is not foreign to the conception of the Holy Spirit, are hardly in a position to make any definite statement about the exact character of the relations of these two ancient Iranian deities. And it is these relations which should be known in their minutest details before we can come to any reliable conclusion with regard to the character of the Indo-Iranian pair Mitra-\*Varuṇa (?) and form an idea of its peculiarities. The agreement in thought and expression between the Iranian figures and their occasional occurrences as a double name and the corresponding Vedic single gods and double deity point to a single Indo-Iranian origin; but the historical (and largely prehistoric) development to which the differences are due, is almost completely unknown.

That is why I would limit myself to the following observations. I would, as far as possible, abstain from one-sided generalizations and extravagant conclusions on the strength of isolated or otherwise insufficient data. If for instance it is contended that the figures of Mitra and Uruṇa in the famous Mitanni document were 'Eidgötter'<sup>118</sup> one should guard against suggesting that the supervision of oaths and contracts was their only or main, essential or original function<sup>119</sup>. With all the more force I would

<sup>115</sup> Gonda, *The Vedic god Mitra*, p. 5; 24.

<sup>116</sup> See *The Vedic god Mitra*, esp. chapter IV.

<sup>117</sup> Duchesne-Guillemin, *Zoroastre*, p. 233. See e.g. Widengren, *o.c.*, p. 87.

<sup>118</sup> Thus Thieme, *o.c.*, p. 307. See *The Vedic god Mitra*, p. 104, n. 1 and the critical remarks made by F. B. J. Kuiper, in *Indo-Ir. Journal*, 3 (1959), p. 210 f.

<sup>119</sup> Thieme, *o.c.*, p. 307 (402), whilst unreservedly subscribing to Lüders' view of the famous text AV. 4, 16 (Varuṇa, p. 29 ff.)—this glorification of the god is "the versified speech of a judge addressing a witness about to take an oath"—mentions neither the ritual application in KauśS. 48, 7 "When one is desirous of cursing an enemy one should pronounce AV. 4, 16 over him" nor H. Lommel's article on this hymn, *Das Varuṇa- und Fluch-Gedicht im Atharvaveda*, *Zs. der*

warn against the conclusion that the above occurrence suffices to contend that Mitra's main or central task was to be "the guarantor of orderly international relations". We should on the other hand object to that preposterous procedure which exists in basing one's argument upon, or letting oneself be guided by, an etymology, which should not come up for discussion before the end of the argument<sup>120</sup>. This is especially essential in a sound method if we are dealing with proper names and if there is more than one etymological possibility. In discussing the figures of Mitra and Varuṇa we should never forget that, although the etymologies of both names have long since been much disputed, unanimity is not yet in sight<sup>121</sup>. That is to say, we should be highly sceptical about the hypothesis that Varuṇa originally was or essentially is a sky-god because his name seems to derive from *var-*, *vr-* "to cover, to encompass"<sup>122</sup>, or that the god's very essence and truest nature was his watchful eyesight because his name is—in my opinion unconvincingly—regarded as related to Lat. *vultus*, *vultus* "visage, expression of countenance"<sup>123</sup>—, notwith-

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deutschen morgenl. Ges. 92 (1938), p. 452 ff. whose conclusions were rightly approved of by Renou, *Festgabe-Lommel*, p. 124: "loin d'être secondaire, ... la portion imprécatoire (vers 6-9) est la plus importante: c'est elle qui détermine l'exaltation du Varuṇa cosmique (1-5)". It would appear to me that the text could in a variety of circumstances serve imprecatory purposes in case an 'enemy' was supposed to be guilty of falsehood, breach of faith (st. 6; 7; 9), or machinations (st. 1; 2). According to Lüders, o.c., p. 31, the words in st. 3 d "also in this small quantity of water is he (Varuṇa) hidden" "weisen deutlich darauf hin, dass auch hier ein Topf mit Wasser gefüllt vor dem Schwörenden stand". There are other possibilities: in AV. 10, 5, dealing with the preparation and use of a 'water-thunderbolt' (see V. Henry, *La magie dans l'Inde antique*, Paris 1904, p. 232), this 'missile' is at st. 44 explicitly said to be "Varuṇa's bond", and called upon "to bind so-and-so". Lüders, o.c., p. 29 translates AV. 19, 44, 9 *yád āpo ... vāruṇēti yád ūcimá* "wenn wir schwören, indem wir sagen: 'o ihr Wasser ... o Varuṇa'" without attempting to refute Whitney's interpretation (W. D. Whitney-Ch. R. Lanman, *Atharva-Veda Samhitā*, Cambridge Mass. 1905, p. 968) and his neutral (or non-tendentious) rendering "we have said".

<sup>120</sup> Kuiper, in *Indo-Ir. Journal*, 5, p. 45 rightly observes that Gershevitch, o.c., in starting "from the linguistic statement that *miṭra* means 'contract', which leads him to conclude that the god, accordingly, 'is primarily the god of contract' has from the outset blocked up the way towards a deeper understanding of the god's character". I am however afraid that I belong to the few who will contest that Gershevitch's method, which Thieme has characterized as "a non-selective procedure that refrains from 'explaining away' anything the text explicitly says and is wary of adding anything it does not" is quite sound.

<sup>121</sup> As to Mitra see *The Vedic god Mitra*, p. 112 ff., and Mitra and mitra, *in fine*; as to Varuṇa, J. Gonda, *Die Religionen Indiens*, I, Stuttgart 1960, p. 81 and the same, in *Linguistics* 90, The Hague 1972, p. 93 ff.

<sup>122</sup> Thus L. von Schroeder, *Arische Religion*, I, Leipzig 1914, p. 321 and others. See also Dandekar, o.c., p. 5. This etymology was already proposed by Yāska, *Nir.* 10, 3.

<sup>123</sup> R. Jakobson, *The Slavic god Veles* and his Indo-European cognates, in *Studi linguistici in onore di Vittore Pisani*, Brescia 1969, p. 579 ff.



standing the fact that this eyesight is only one of the many faculties of the god's complicated character. In short, the 'origins' of both gods are lost in the obscurity of prehistoric age, and the incomplete remains of the ancient Iranian civilizations hardly admit of tracing 'developments' and so-called incontestable pedigrees of functions on the understanding that one of these was the sole original<sup>124</sup>.

It would on the other hand seem that we are justified in assuming that the main features in (the ancient Iranian) Mithra's character are not incompatible with those of the Vedic Mitra, the god who maintains the *rta*, the supreme and fundamental order-and-reality conditioning the normal and right, natural and true structure of cosmos, ritual and human conduct and who consequently puts things right, redresses, stabilizes, exhibits benevolence and active interest in mankind<sup>124a</sup>. There is, in a similar way, reason for speaking of a considerable degree of congruence in the case of Ahura Mazdā and Varuṇa, the representative of the static aspects of kingship, the far-sighted guardian and maintainer of *rta* and the punisher of those who infringe this order and his ordinances.

The conclusion seems in any case justified that both gods, viz. Mitra and his associate, were already in the Indo-Iranian period and consequently also in prehistoric India more closely allied to one another than to many other members of the pantheon and than many other deities which had associated themselves with one another<sup>124a</sup>. There is finally one point which should not be suppressed because it may perhaps shed some faint light on the nature of their alliance. The Iranian Mithra can, like Varuṇa in the Veda (RV. 1, 24, 14 etc.), be angry: Yt. 10, 18 "Mithra enraged and provoked comes forth to smash the house . . ." (see also 26 f. where he is a punisher, and 37, where he is said to bring fear and terror). At Yt. 10, 61 it reads: "thanks to whom (Mithra) rain falls and plants grow": in TS. 2, 1, 9, 3 the plants are associated with Mitra, the water with Varuṇa; in ŚB. 5, 3, 3, 8 plants growing in tilled ground are said to belong

<sup>124</sup> As is for instance proposed by J. Varenne, in H. Ch. Puech, *Histoire des religions*, I, Paris 1970, p. 594 (largely based on the theories of Dumézil, Lüders and Thieme). Although I cannot agree with Kuiper's (*Indo-Ir. Journal*, 5, p. 46) views of the "true character of Mitra", he is in my opinion no doubt right in searching for a key to that mystery which makes "any evolutionary theory which explains one function as developed from the other" superfluous, adding "The inadequacy of the notion 'contract' to account for Mit(h)ra's functions is most clearly demonstrated by the necessity it entails of explaining those other functions by a concatenation of hypothetical evolutions . . . These 'evolutions' are not self-evident but require further explanations, assumptions, and theories . . ." (which, it may be observed, often are far from convincing).

<sup>124a</sup> H. Oldenberg (*J.R.A.S.* 1910, p. 847), after stating that Vedic texts, which on the whole do not teach us much about the proper character of Mitra, give this, and this alone, as the predominant trait in his character, that he is the constant companion of Varuṇa, expresses the opinion that "considering the standpoint of the Veda this very close association would seem groundless and unintelligible (? J.G.); it is evident that Vedic India had inherited it from long bygone days".

to the latter, other plants to the former. The ten thousand eyes of Mithra (Yt. 10, 82) correspond to the thousand eyes of Varuṇa (RV. 7, 34, 10). It is moreover interesting to see that the pair of opposite features, wickedness and goodness, which in the Veda are divided between Varuṇa and Mitra, are at Yt. 10, 29 attributed to Mithra alone: "You, Mithra, are both wicked and very good to the countries, to men"<sup>125</sup>. Or that Ahura and Mithra are, in the Avesta *berazant*<sup>126</sup>, Varuṇa is RV. 6, 68, 9; 8, 42, 2 styled *brhant*. Mithra is at Yt. 10, 24; 60 and Ahura Mazda at Yt. 12, 1 said to be omniscient and above deceit (*vispo.viθvā ādaoyamnō*); the corresponding Vedic epithets *vidvāṃ ādabdhah* are in RV. 1, 24, 13 used of Varuṇa. If these places may point to a certain community of interests or a transference or interchangeability of qualities or traits of character, they confirm the theory that both gods were in the common Indo-Iranian period closely allied and bring to the front some points which may have interested both of them in that early period.

All things considered it would appear to me that there are good grounds for assuming that Mitra and another god already in prehistoric times formed an alliance of long standing. In view of the Mitanni data the probabilities are in favour of the supposition that in the prehistoric period of the Indo-Aryans the other god bore the name of Varuṇa at least since, say, 1400 B.C. It is further a plausible hypothesis that more than most other dual deities of the Vedic pantheon this pair has a claim to a certain originality. That is to say, if we try to trace the origins of this peculiarity of that pantheon Mitrāvaruṇau can by no means be left out of consideration<sup>127</sup>.

<sup>125</sup> This is not to endorse Pettazzoni's (o.c., p. 138) opinion: "Passing through the filter of Zarathuštra's thought, the old Iranian sky-god lost his original naturalistic character, and Mithra collected and concentrated in himself the celestial features which had in the beginning been divided between the two complementary deities of the heavens". Passing mention may be made here of the much discussed passage (see e.g. C. Clemen, *Die griechischen und lateinischen Nachrichten über die Persische Religion*, Giessen 1920, p. 157 f.; H. Humbach, in *Festgabe-H. Lommel*, Wiesbaden 1960, p. 77 f.) in Plutarchus (*De Iside et Osiride* 46, 369 D f.), according to which Mitra occupies a position in the middle between both powers, the good (Oromazes: Ahura Mazda) and the evil (Areimanios: Angra Manyu). "That is why the Persians call him the Mediator" (. . . . . μέσον δ' ἀποτὶν τὸν Μίθραν εἶναι διὰ καὶ Μίθραν Πέρας τὸν Μεσῆτα ὀνομάζουσιν). In the Middle Persian text *Menok i Khrat* 2, 118 he occupies a similar position (*miyāncikih*) as the mediator judging and deciding between the good and wicked deeds of the deceased. This function is not incompatible with the role attributed to Mitra by the Vedic authors.

<sup>126</sup> See above, p. 165.

<sup>127</sup> Far be it from me to follow H. Oldenberg, in *Zs. d. deutschen morgenl. Ges.* 50 (1896), p. 62 (= *Kleine Schriften*, Wiesbaden 1967, I, p. 707) in arguing: "Mitra . . . hat einen von altersher auf das Engste mit ihm verbundenen göttlichen Gefährten. Die Sonne, welche Mitra repräsentiert, hat einen auf das Engste mit ihr verbundenen himmlischen Gefährten, dem Mond. Muss dann Varuṇa nicht der Mond sein?"

I now proceed to survey the Rgvedic texts dedicated to this dual deity. The triplet RV. 1, 2, 7-9<sup>128</sup> is used in the *prāṅgaśastra* (ŚŚS. 7, 10, 11; cf. AiĀ. 1, 1, 4, 5) and on the third day at the morning service as the śastra of the maitrāvaruṇa (ĀśvŚS. 7, 5, 9; ŚŚS. 12, 1, 3)<sup>129</sup>. See further ĀśvŚS. 7, 2, 2; PB. 12, 2, 3; 15, 2, 5. St. 7 differentiates both gods (*mitrām . . . varuṇam ca*) in their epithets, Mitra being "of purified inventiveness" (at 7, 65, 1 the epithet is Varuṇa's) and Varuṇa *riśādas* rather "who takes care of his worshippers"<sup>130</sup> than "qui veille sur l'Étranger"<sup>131</sup> (?), but st. 8 and 9, using the compound *mitrāvāruṇā(u)*, describe them as gods who maintain and promote the universal Order; they have acquired firm resourcefulness and give active ability to their worshippers. Since the three stanzas contain no less than ten dual forms the hearer is not left in the dark about the unity of the pair and the community of their interests and activities. St. 7 = VS. 33, 57, as one of a series of unconnected stanzas in praise of various deities. As to the text of 1, 2, 7-9, 7 ab may be a reminiscence of 7, 65, 1 b<sup>132</sup>; cf. also 5, 64, 1 ab (both to the same dual deity); 1, 2, 8 a: cf. 1, 152, 1 d, the relation between both stanzas being far from clear.

The invitation to the enjoyment of soma in 1, 23, 4-6—the deities of the hymn being likewise those of the *prāṅgaśastra*—is in the same tenor (*pūtādakṣasā; ṛtēna . . . ṛtāvīdhau*). For the ritual use of the triplet (or first stanza) see ŚŚS. 7, 14, 1; 11, 7, 4; 12, 1, 3 (second day; see above); ĀśvŚS. 5, 5, 18; 7, 2, 2; 7, 5, 9; AiB. 6, 10, 2; KB. 28, 3 (28, 3, 25): "The maitrāvaruṇa uses a stanza to Mitrāvaruṇau to secure that the beginning of the sacrifice shall be provided with its own deity"; GB. 2, 2, 20; PB. 11, 7, 3; 14, 8, 3.

In the hymn 1, 136 the dual deity is again invited to a Soma offering (st. 4). The praise addressed in st. 1-5 is common to both of them, but in st. 6 a tendency to differentiation is slightly perceptible (*mitrāya . . . vāruṇāya mīlhūṣe sumṛīkāya . . .*); in 6 and 7 other gods are eulogized also. Varuṇa-and-Mitra are described as vigilant (*nicīra*, 1), compassionate (*mṛṣayant*); they protect their worshipper against distress (st. 5); their dominion and divinity are unassailable (1 ef); theirs is lordship rich in light (*jyōtiṣmat kṣatrām*, 3 c); they marshal people in their proper place (*yātayajjana*)<sup>133</sup>. The hymn in its entirety did not find ritual application, nor did its individual stanzas, except the triplet 4-6 which is at ŚŚS. 10, 8, 3

<sup>128</sup> See The Vedic god Mitra, p. 7 f. ("herrenstolz", Geldner, "foe-destroying", Griffith).

<sup>129</sup> For particulars see W. Caland, *Śāṅkhāyana-Śrautasūtra*, Nagpur 1953, p. 312.

<sup>130</sup> For a discussion of the meaning of this word see J. Gonda, *Epithets in the Rgveda*, The Hague 1959, p. 118 f. (with references).

<sup>131</sup> Renou, E.V.P. XV, p. 98.

<sup>132</sup> Cf. M. Bloomfield, *Rig-Veda repetitions*, I, Cambridge 1916, p. 30.

<sup>133</sup> The Vedic god Mitra, p. 92 ff.

*pratikena* quoted among the *tr̥cas* of the *praūgaśastra* <sup>134</sup>. Pāda 1, 136, 1 d recurs as 2, 41, 6 a (addressed to the same dual deity); 2 d as 8, 47, 9 d (addressed to the *Ādityas*); 3 e as 2, 41, 6 b.

In the next *sūkta* (1, 137), likewise an invitation, the poet dwells upon the preparation of the draught which is ready for use. The gods are twice addressed as *Mitrāvaruṇā* (1; 3), once specified as *mitr̥dya várūṇāya* (2). They are also addressed as “kings who touch the heavens” (*rājānā divispṛśā*). In 2 d *ṛt̥dya*, though nearer to *Varuṇa*, belongs also to *mitr̥dya*: “(le soma a été) pressé pour Mitra, pour Varuṇa, qu’(ils) en boivent . . . en vue de l’Ordre . . .” <sup>135</sup>. For the ritual use see *ĀśvŚS.* 8, 1, 12; *ŚŚS.* 10, 7, 5; *AiB.* 5, 12, 5: the stanzas 1 and 2 are invitatory and oblatory formulas for the draught for *Mitrāvaruṇau* on the sixth day of the ten-day-period. Stanza 3 is at *ŚŚS.* 10, 7, 7 applied as an additional *yājyā* for the libations of the cups which are ‘advanced’ at the morning-service. Stanza 2 has pāda g in common with 9, 17, 8 (pāda c, to *Soma Pavamāna*).

*RV.* 1, 151 — “hymne obscur et contourné, à partir d’une base élémentaire, qui est celle de l’invite” <sup>136</sup> — deals in st. 3 with the birth of the dual deity, and states that that settlement of men takes priority (of others) which is dear to them (st. 4). They proclaim the stable Order (*ṛtām . . . bṛhāt*) and employ the helpful resourcefulness of the heavens (4); on the earth they fulfil the desires of men by their greatness (5); being implored to promote the (poets’) inspiration they are said to guide his poetical activity well (6). They readily accept the oblations of the worshipper who sacrifices and has the products of inspiration recited (7). Through the manifestations of their *māyā* they possess “la force faite de richesse” <sup>137</sup> (*revād váyaḥ*, 9). According to the *Bṛhaddevatā* (4, 17) stanza 1 beginning *mitrām ná . . .* is addressed to *Mitra* only, but the view that *Agni*, who is often “assimilated with *Mitra*”, is referred to seems more probable <sup>138</sup>. That means that here also one of the gods who constitute the almost inseparable pair is alluded to separately. Neither the hymn as such, nor its separate stanzas are quoted in ritual texts. The second pāda of stanza 4 recurs in another hymn to this divine pair, 8, 25, where it is pāda 4 c <sup>139</sup>.

*RV.* 1, 152 “schildert das Wirken der beiden Götter z.T. in Rätseln und Paradoxen” <sup>140</sup>. The last stanza is an invitation and a prayer for

<sup>134</sup> See chapter VI, p. 209.

<sup>135</sup> Renou, *E.V.P.* V, p. 75. Otherwise Lüders, *Varuṇa*, p. 623 “für das *Rta* zum Trinken” : ?

<sup>136</sup> Renou, *E.V.P.* VII, p. 34.

<sup>137</sup> Renou, *E.V.P.* V, p. 76.

<sup>138</sup> The Vedic god *Mitra*, p. 49.

<sup>139</sup> See Bloomfield, *o.c.*, I, p. 146.

<sup>140</sup> K. F. Geldner, *Der Rig-Veda*, I, Cambridge Mass. 1951, p. 210; see also Renou, *E.V.P.* VII, p. 37.



victory and rain which are expected from this dual deity (cf. st. 1) which nullifies all infringements of the Order (1 cd; cf. also 3 d), and whose influence is incomprehensible (2; 3 b), though so much is clear that those phenomena in which they make their influence felt contribute to the maintenance of ṛta. In st. 4 the daily appearance of the sun with all its attendant circumstances is regarded as a perceptible appearance of the *dhāman*, i.e. the presence, of the divine power known as Mitrāvaruṇā. In 5 this *dhāman* is an incomprehensible manifestation of that fundamental power which is known as *brahman*<sup>141</sup>. The name of the dual deity does not occur in the stanzas 2 and 6. The latter is according to Śaunaka (BrhDev. 4, 17) dedicated to Aditi or Agni. The stanza as such is not used in the ritual texts.

Stanza 1 recurs at MS. 4, 14, 10: 231, 7 in an enumeration of yajyānuvākyaś and at KB. 18, 13 (18, 9, 10 ff.) which, dealing with the *anūbandhyā* cow—the fettering and immolation of a barren cow to this dual deity (ŚSS. 8, 12, 5 ff.)<sup>142</sup>—informs us that “if the victim is a cow, (it is because) Mitrāvaruṇau are praised with the cow; therefore the victim is a cow. The offering stanza for the omentum is RV. 1, 152, 1; fatness (*pivasā*, in 1 a) is a manifestation (*rūpam*) of the fat of the omentum”. Cf. ŚSS. 8, 12, 8. At TB. 2, 8, 6, 6 (sacrifices with a special wish) it is the yājyā for the omentum of a cow of two colours (*dvirūpa*) immolated for this dual deity<sup>143</sup>. ĀśvŚS. 3, 8, 1 has it used as one of the eighteen formulas accompanying the animal sacrifice. The gṛhyasūtras of the Rgveda have the stanza accompany the dressing of the Veda student who is to return home with two (new) garments: ĀśvGS. 3, 8, 9; ŚGS. 3, 1, 6; notice the reference to putting on garments in the stanza (“Ye both put on garments with fat”).

Stanza 3—a ‘riddle’ that does not mention the dual deity—is, with some modifications, AVŚ. 9, 10, 23, where it forms part of a ‘mystic’ hymn which is almost entirely identical with a considerable part of RV. 1, 164. Stanza 7 recurs at TB. 2, 8, 6, 5 as the anuvākya of the above mentioned sacrifice of a cow; cf. MS. 4, 14, 12: 234, 3 (*havyadātīm* instead of *havyajajūṣṭīm*). See also ĀśvŚS. 3, 8, 1; ŚSS. 8, 12, 7. As to the text of the hymn, st. 5 a is for the greater part identical with 4, 36, 1 a (to the Rbhus). Bloomfield<sup>144</sup> made an attempt to show that in the latter passage the words *anaśvó jātó anabhiśúr* ... are more original, because “in 1, 152, 5 the mystery is heightened to the second power as it were”.

RV. 1, 153 is an invitation and a eulogy, mainly worded in terms

<sup>141</sup> I refer to J. Gonda, The meaning of the Sanskrit term *dhāman*, Amsterdam Acad. 1967, p. 34; compare also L. Renou (and L. Silburn) in *Bhāratīyā Vidyā*, 10 (Bombay 1949), p. 133 ff.

<sup>142</sup> See W. Caland and V. Henry, *L'Agniṣṭoma*, p. 406 ff.

<sup>143</sup> Cf. TS. 2, 1, 7, 1; 4, 2, 1, 9, 2; MS. 2, 5, 7: 56, 9.

<sup>144</sup> Bloomfield, o.c., I, p. 146.

referring to, or reminiscent of, the ritual. It does not add to our insight into the character of the dual deity, a qualification such as "great" (1 a) being an almost idle compliment. The *sūkta* is not used ritually. Of its stanzas, 4 is at ŚŚS. 3, 8, 19 prescribed as the *yājyā* for the offering of a mixture of boiled and coagulated milk (curd: *āmikṣā*) for this dual deity, the *anuvākyā* being 1, 23, 5, a stanza in which *Mitrāvaruṇā* are eulogized as furtherers of *ṛta*. Pāda 1 b *havyēbhir mitrāvaruṇā nāmobhiḥ* corresponds to 4, 42, 9 and 7, 84, 1 addressed to Indra-and-Varuṇa, whose name has of course replaced that of Mitra-and-Varuṇa. Since occurrences of the nouns *nāmobhiḥ* and *havyebhiḥ* are not rare, and their combination is far from surprising (cf. 7, 8, 1), there is no sufficient evidence to assert that 1, 23, 5 b has been the model of the two other places.

The second triplet of 2, 41, which is addressed to the gods of the *prāgusastra*, invites *Mitrāvaruṇā* to drink the Soma. They are addressed and described as furtherers of *ṛta* (*ṛtāvṛdhā*), kings, universal sovereigns (*samrājā*), being above malice (*anabhidruhā*), seated on the highest seat, sons of *Āditi*, lords of the gift (rain etc.) and as being associated with the man who is straightforward. The triplet is accordingly used in the morning rites on the second day of the ten day period (*ĀśvŚS.* 7, 6, 2; *ŚŚS.* 10, 3, 5)<sup>145</sup>; it is also one of the *stotra* triplets of the *maitrāvaruṇa* mentioned under the heading *śāstras* of the *hotrakas* (at the morning services, *ŚŚS.* 12, 1, 3). See also *ĀśvŚS.* 7, 2, 2 (*maitrāvaruṇa*, six day rites); 7, 5, 9. At PB. 12, 8, 3 they are the 'brhat-like' *ājya* laud addressed to this deity. Stanza 4 has enjoyed a certain popularity. At *ŚŚS.* 7, 2, 5 it is the *anuvākyā* for the soma draught for this divine pair (the section deals with the *dvidevatya grahas* in general; cf. *ĀśvŚS.* 5, 5, 12); cf. KB. 28, 2 (28, 3, 6; *ĀśvŚS.* 7, 6, 2). It occurs also at VS. 7, 9 among the formulas for drawing libations of soma juice and at TS. 1, 4, 5, 1 among the mantras accompanying the drawing of the cup for Varuṇa-and-Mitra, where it is followed by the prayer for wealth addressed to the same deity which is found in ŚB. 4, 1, 4, 10; VS. 7, 10; RV. 4, 42, 10, where it is addressed to Indra-and-Varuṇa; see also MS. 1, 3, 7: 32, 16; KS. 4, 2: 30, 6; KKS. 3, 2: 27, 4; *ĀpŚS.* 12, 14, 12; *MŚS.* 2, 3, 5, 6; ŚB. 4, 1, 4, 7. It is not devoid of interest that in this *brāhmaṇa* passage as well as in TS. 6, 4, 8 commenting on the ritual use of this stanza the mixing of the soma for *Mitrāvaruṇau* is explained by a reference to Mitra's refusal to join the gods in killing Soma who was *Vṛtra*, an episode in which Varuṇa plays no part. Mitra chose a boon: " 'Let them mix the soma for me (sic) with milk'. Therefore they mix (the soma) for *Mitrāvaruṇau* (sic) with milk" (TS.)<sup>146</sup>. For RV. 2, 41, 6 a see above (1, 136, 1 d).

In RV. 3, 62, 16-18 the dual deity is implored to bedew the pasturage of those speaking and the regions of the atmosphere with ghee. They

<sup>145</sup> For particulars see Caland, *Śāṅkhāyana-Śrautasūtra*, p. 257.

<sup>146</sup> We shall have to revert to this episode. See p. 215 f.

are addressed as *uruṣaṃsā* "widely praised" and *namovṛdhā* "increased by homage"<sup>147</sup>, and in st. 18 the poet invites them to sit down "in the womb (*yonau*) of *ṛta*". Lüders<sup>148</sup>, rejecting Geldner's<sup>149</sup> explanation of this expression—"eine Einladung an Mitra und Varuṇa, zur irdischen Opferstätte zum Somatrinken zu kommen"—proposed to take these words as "(eine) Aufforderung, sich an dem himmlischen Somabecken, eben dem Sitz des *Ṛta*, zu stärken, an dem Becken, das ja durch das Opfer auf Erden immer neu gefüllt wird". However, viewed in the context as well as in the light of similar passages the words impress me as a prayer for fertility and an invitation to drink the soma offered by the sacrificer. Pāda 18 d *pātām sōmam ṛtāvṛdhā* recurs 1, 47, 3 b and 5 d (Āśvins); 7, 66, 19 c, preceded by "come! (*Mitrāvaruṇā*)"; 8, 57, 5 d ("come, O Āśvins"). In the ritual texts the triplet is prescribed as an invitation: ŚŚS. 12, 1, 3 (among the triplets for the *maitrāvaruṇa*, see above); 11, 8, 3; 7, 11, 2 (laud triplet for the *śastra* of the same priest). At PB. 11, 2, 3 the *ṛca* belongs to the stanzas for the *ājya* lauds. "Les trois chantes, assis . . ., murmurent les trois stances sur lesquelles est composé leur 2<sup>e</sup> *ājyastotra*"<sup>150</sup>. At PB. 6, 10, 4 the *ṛca* serves in a ritual act for the benefit of a man who is suffering from a lingering disease.

St. 3, 62, 16 is, together with 5, 71, 1 etc. used as a *yājyā* (ĀśvŚS. 5, 10, 28). See also ĀśvŚS. 7, 2, 2 (*ṣaḍaha*, *maitrāvaruṇa*); 7, 5, 9 (the insertion called *maitrāvaruṇasyāvāpa*). ŚŚS. 3, 9, dealing with the *idādadha*, prescribes a milk mess for this dual deity on the day of new moon. Cf. also BŚS. 17, 52. "There is a sacrificial rite (*darśapūrṇamāsavikṛtirūpaḥ*) called the *idādadha*, which they perform with curds" (AiB. 3, 40, 9); its deity is *Prajāpati* and it must be performed at every day of the changes of the moon (comm. on ĀśvŚS. 2, 14, 11); ṚV. 3, 62, 16 is one of the mantras required (ĀśvŚS., l.c.). According to KB. 4, 5 (4, 5, 1 ff.) it is a sacrifice for one desiring cattle or proper food. MŚS. 8, 11, 5 has the stanza used on the second day of new moon in the *dākṣāyaṇa* sacrifice for the benefit of a person who is desirous of heaven; there it is to consecrate an oblation of curds and whey to the *Viśve Devāḥ*, and it is followed by ṚV. 7, 62, 5 "(O *Mitrāvaruṇau*,) spread your arms for us to live; sprinkle our pasturage with ghee; make us famous among the people . . .". See VS. 21, 8; 9 (*sautrāmaṇī*); TS. 1, 8, 22, 3 (*yājyānuvākyās* for *kāmyeṣṭis*); 2, 5, 12, 3; MS. 4, 11, 2: 166, 11 ff.; KS. 4, 16: 42, 11 ff. At KS. 12, 4: 176, 13; 26, 11: 136, 10; GB. 2, 3, 13 the stanza occurs in a series of formulas. ṚV. 3, 62, 16 and 7, 62, 5 combine also at MGS. 2, 3, 6 to accompany the offering of *prṣātaka* (a mixture of sour milk and ghee)<sup>151</sup>

<sup>147</sup> Lüders, *Varuṇa*, p. 560.

<sup>148</sup> Lüders, o.c., p. 599.

<sup>149</sup> Geldner, o.c., I, p. 411, n. 1.

<sup>150</sup> W. Caland and V. Henry, *L'Agniṣṭoma*, Paris 1906, p. 243.

<sup>151</sup> For this *prṣātaka* rite see also P. V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, II, Poona 1941, p. 827.

to Agni, Rudra, Paśupati, Īśāna, Tryambaka and other gods, before feeding a cow (*āśvayujikarman*, i.e. the rite on the day of full moon in the month Āśvina). Describing the same ceremony GGS. 3, 8, 2 has RV. 3, 62, 16 and 1, 114, 8 (a propitiatory stanza addressed, to avert disaster, to Rudra, to whom the offering is sacred). KhGS. prescribes 3, 62, 16 only. In these sūtra texts (outside the mantras) Mitra-and-Varuṇa are left unmentioned. PGS. 2, 16, 1 ff., describing the ritual as belonging to Indra, omits this mantra, replacing it by VS. 20, 47 ff. which are addressed to that god. The historical development seems clear: a sort of milk offering originally destined for Mitrāvaruṇau combined with similar rites for various other gods who in the course of time became predominant and finally ousted the dual deity.

The first of the group of eleven hymns dedicated to Mitrāvaruṇau (5, 62–72) eulogizes the ṛta (st. 1), the gods' power and the influence for good they have upon the production of milk (2), their cosmogonic (3) and protective (6) activity, their high position (7; 8) and surveillance (8). They are implored to further the vegetation, to send rain (3), to approach (4), to protect those who worship them (5; 6; 9), to make them victorious (9). Renou<sup>152</sup> wondered how to explain st. 6 a *ākṛavihastā sukr̥te paraspā* "Libres de sang versé sur les mains, protégeant de loin l'(homme) qui bien agit": trait mitrien?". But Varuṇa is not described as \**kravihastā*. It would rather appear to me that this quality also was attributed to the undifferentiated dual deity as such. About a 'trait varuṇien'<sup>153</sup> in stanza 8 d *ātaś cakṣāthe āditim ditiṃ ca* "... d'où vous regardez le non-lien et le lien (par le péché)" I am still more in doubt, first because Mitra also sees with never-closing eyes (RV. 3, 59, 1) and in the second place because of the remarkable affinity of this statement with the Avestan Yt. 10, 13 "(Mithra who) from there the most mighty surveys the whole land inhabited by Iranians"<sup>154</sup>.

This hymn (5, 62) is as such not used in the ritual texts. St. 2 is at ŚSS. 8, 12, 7 (*udayanīyeṣṭi*) used as an anuvākya and quoted in MS. 4, 14, 10: 231, 12 and TB. 2, 8, 6, 6 (see above)<sup>155</sup>. St. 9 occurs at ŚSS. 8, 12, 8 as a yājyā (on the same occasion); at ĀśvŚS. 2, 14, 11 (*prājāpatya idādadhaḥ*, see above); 3, 8, 1 (animal sacrifice to be performed with 18 ṛcas which have Prajāpati as their deity); MS. 4, 14, 10: 231, 14; TB. 2, 8, 6, 7 (see above); KB. 18, 13 (18, 9, 18) in connection with the *anūbandhyā* cow<sup>156</sup>: "If the victim is a cow, (it is because) Mitrāvaruṇau are praised with the cow" (18, 9, 11). The offering stanza of the cake is RV. 5, 62, 9 *yād bāmhīṣṭham* ...; "most abundant ... (he says),

<sup>152</sup> Renou, E.V.P. VII, p. 41; cf. V, p. 78.

<sup>153</sup> Renou, E.V.P. VII, p. 42.

<sup>154</sup> P. Thieme, Mitra and Aryaman, Transactions Connecticut Ac. of Arts and Sciences, 41, New Haven 1957, p. 69; Gershevitch, o.c., p. 320.

<sup>155</sup> See p. 173.

<sup>156</sup> See above, p. 173.



because the cake is abundant as it were". The stanza however deals with the deity's protection.

As to RV. 5, 63, "la fonction de Varuṇa-Mitra comme donneurs de pluie n'est nulle part aussi apparente que dans cet hymne . . . , appelé Gewitterpsalm par Otto"<sup>157</sup>. Stanza 7 (the gods concerning themselves about the vratas, their *māyā*, their rulership in accordance with the *rta*) is the sole exception. I have my doubts about the demonstrability of the remark 2 b "*svardṛśā*: épithète . . . peut-être varuṇienne en son essence primitive": the epithet also belongs to Agni, Indra and others. Nor am I convinced that the Sun is, in principle, exclusively Varuṇa's *māyā* (st. 4 a)<sup>158</sup>. The stanzas 1, 6 and 2 occur also at MS. 4, 14, 12: 234, 5, 7 (*yājyānuvākyaś*) and 10. Stanza 4 occurs in TB. 2, 4, 5, 4 and 5 ibidem, 3 (in succession: *upahoma* mantras).

The substance of the next hymn, RV. 5, 64 ("relativement original"<sup>159</sup>) is a prayer for inspiration and spiritual illumination, although the poet, imploring the gods' benevolence (st. 2) and praying for worldly success (6), does not confine himself to that. Stanza 3 attracted the attention of Renou<sup>160</sup>: "Rare passage du groupe à Varuṇa-Mitra où Mitra soit invoqué séparément (3), phénomène probablement de pure forme et n'engageant pas l'unité du groupe dual", words which do not seem to be completely consonant with the following note: "La strophe est mitrienne, étant donné les mots *priyā*<sup>161</sup> et *āhimsāna*, étant donné aussi que l'expression "le chemin de Mitra" n'a pas de parallèle avec Varuṇa". It would appear to me that a good number of other passages distinguishing between the individual characters of the two components of a dual deity would lose their demonstrative force if we supposed the poet to have omitted Varuṇa for purely formal reasons such as the requirements of versification. This is not to argue that the poet in this stanza banishes every thought of Varuṇa or invites his audience to impute the opposite characteristics to that god. He wishes to give special prominence to the Mitraic aspect of the divine duality and realizes this wish by detaching and isolating, for a moment, the 'figure' of Mitra. Neither the hymn as such nor its separate stanzas are used in the ritual. As to parallel *pādas*, st. 1 a reminds us of 1, 2, 7 b; 2 d=1, 127, 10 e (Agni).

In connection with RV. 5, 65, which is "fortement précatif", Renou<sup>162</sup> observed: "Mitra est invoqué seul (st. 4), mais avec des caractéristiques banales (*urú*, *gātú*) ou plutôt varuṇiennes (*pratūrvant*: ? J. G.: *pratūrti* "victorious progress, proceeding victoriously" is in the R̥gveda always

<sup>157</sup> Renou, E.V.P. VII, p. 42. See also Lüders, Varuṇa, p. 715 ff.

<sup>158</sup> I refer to The Vedic god Mitra, ch. V.

<sup>159</sup> Renou, E.V.P. VII, p. 43.

<sup>160</sup> Renou, o.c., p. 43 f.

<sup>161</sup> For the difference in meaning between *mitra* and *priya* see my paper Mitra and mitra (see above, p. 149, n. 21), and Dhāman, p. 63 ff.

<sup>162</sup> Renou, E.V.P. VII, p. 45.

applied to Indra, *pratūrvant*, which is a hapax in that corpus, is at VS. 11, 15; TS. 4, 1, 2, 1 etc. not connected with Varuṇa). Au 5, le nom de Varuṇa ne figure qu'à titre 'complémentaire'. De ce primat relatif de Mitra vient l'emploi de la racine *yat*-<sup>163</sup> (6)". Moreover, the gods are in st. 1 indicated separately: *vāruṇo . . . mitró vā*, and in st. 6 a by the dual *mitrā*. For Mitra as the god who frees from distress (*amhas*; 4 a) compare, in the Mitra hymn 3, 59, st. 2 d "distress reaches him neither from near nor from afar" (*náinam amho asnoty ántito ná dūrdt*) and AV. 2, 28, 1 "let Mitra protect him from distress that comes from a 'friend'" (*mitrá enam mitriyāt pātv amhasaḥ*). The statement in 4 b: Mitra helps the worshipper to a dwelling, is perhaps of some interest in connection with ĀsvGS. 2, 9, 5 (rites to be performed by someone who wishes to build a house) ". . . dropping ghee they (the inmates) must lie down together with Mitra"<sup>164</sup>. The expression *satrd vāruṇaseṣasaḥ* in st. 5 d presents difficulties. Geldner<sup>165</sup>, following Sāyaṇa, improbably translated "allesamt (im Schutze) der Mutter des Varuṇa", after Grassmann<sup>166</sup>, no doubt finding his inspiration in the same source, had proposed "als des Varuṇa Nachkommer (*śeṣas*: *apatyanāma*, Sāyaṇa) sich zeigend, d.h. heilig, sündlos (N. pl.)". Oldenberg<sup>167</sup>, likewise of the opinion that the compound is ("der Wortstellung nach") a nominative, surmised: "Varuṇa als Anhang, Gefolge habend", but is this a probable qualification of a god's worshippers? Renou<sup>168</sup> was inclined to the same syntactic interpretation, adding: "On a l'impression que Varuṇa est traité ici en entité secondaire par rapport à Mitra; mais c'est peut-être pure apparence, et la formule peut ne signifier rien d'autre que ceci: 'à condition que cette aide provienne aussi de Varuṇa'", and translating: "ayant Varuṇa pour (aide) complément(aire)". Thieme<sup>169</sup>, suppressing the syntactic improbability, was however "very much inclined to interpret the *bahuvrihi* . . . as "(Contract,) whose supplement is True-Speech". Renou's interpretation seems more acceptable than the other explanations. There is however room for the remark that the much more usual noun *śeṣa*- means "rest" rather than "complement". Compare e.g. expressions such as *hataśeṣāḥ* "those left out of the slain, i.e. the survivors". We are almost tempted to recall the importance of the 'rest' idea in ancient Indian metaphysical thought. In the upaniṣads the ātman or ātman-brahman are repeatedly stated to be the rest or remainder when all things phenomenal have disappeared<sup>170</sup>. In TejobU. 3, 35 the Lord Śiva

<sup>163</sup> For *yat*- see above, p. 158.

<sup>164</sup> See also Gershevitch, o.c., p. 319.

<sup>165</sup> Geldner, o.c., II, p. 73.

<sup>166</sup> H. Grassmann, Wörterbuch zum Rig-Veda, Leipzig 1873 (<sup>2</sup>1936), 1221.

<sup>167</sup> H. Oldenberg, Rgveda, Noten, I, Berlin 1909, p. 358.

<sup>168</sup> Renou, E.V.P. VII, p. 46; cf. V, p. 80.

<sup>169</sup> Thieme, Mitra and Aryaman, p. 67.

<sup>170</sup> For textual evidence see J. Gonda, Atharvaveda, 11, 7, in Mélanges-L. Renou, Paris 1968, p. 323 ff.

characterizes himself as the eternal *ātman*, *ādīśeṣa* and *śeṣa*. This 'rest' is, like the remains of an oblation and the last sheaf, concentrated Power, the germ of a new productive cycle which ensures continuation. Could the adjective perhaps have anything to do with the relations between Varuṇa and corn or vegetation in general and with a belief in his special connection with its 'rest'?? <sup>171</sup>.

The triplet 5, 65, 1-3 is at ŚŚS. 10, 5, 4 mentioned as one of the *tr̥cas* used on the fourth day of the ten day period. Stanza 2 b recurs as 8, 101, 2 b (to the same dual deity), and 2 d (cf. c) as 5, 67, 4 b (to the dual deity (and Aryaman)).

According to Renou <sup>172</sup> "la discrimination en faveur de Varuṇa seul (RV. 5, 66, st. 1), de Mitra seul (6) est de pure apparence". I would prefer: the poet, whilst imploring the gods' protection and expressing the wish that he, his colleagues and his patrons "might arrange themselves—or, "have a position"—under (their) rulership" <sup>173</sup> (*ā yād vām . . . vayāṃ ca sūrāyāḥ*/. . . *yātemahi svarājye*, 6) invites special attention to their Mitraic aspect. The first triplet is at ĀśvŚS. 7, 11, 22 (cf. AiB. 5, 4, 10) stated to belong to the *praūga* in *anuṣṭubhs*. Pāda 3 a recurs as 5, 86, 4 a which is addressed to *Indrāgnī*, where it seemed to Bloomfield <sup>174</sup> to be more original.

RV. 5, 67 is characterized by the "adjonction d'Aryaman, d'abord timidement, le verbe restant au duel (st. 1), plus résolument 3" <sup>175</sup>. In st. 2 the poet however returns to the duality *vāruṇa mītra* which in st. 5 is analyzed: *kó nū vām mītrāstuto vāruṇo vā . . .* "Lequel de vous deux, ô Mitra, ou (est-ce) Varuṇa, n'a donc pas (encore été) loué . . ." <sup>176</sup>. The hymn and its separate stanzas are not quoted in the ritual works. Stanza 1 c recurs as 8, 67, 4 b (to the Ādityas); cf. also 1, 26, 4 b; 7, 59, 1 c; 8, 19, 35 c. For stanza 2 ab compare 9, 64, 20 ab (to Soma Pavamāna); in both places, which can hardly be disconnected, *yónim hiranyáyam* may mean "siège divin" <sup>177</sup>. St. 4 d recurs at 8, 18, 5 c (to the Ādityas).

<sup>171</sup> For Varuṇa as a 'Vegetationsgenius' see J. J. Meyer, *Trilogie altindischer Mächte und Feste der Vegetation*, Zürich-Leipzig 1937, III, p. 225 and Register, p. 325.

<sup>172</sup> Renou, E.V.P. VII, p. 46.

<sup>173</sup> The Vedic god Mitra, p. 98.

<sup>174</sup> Bloomfield, o.c., I, p. 264, where a long note on the interpretation of this stanza; see also Renou, E.V.P. VII, p. 47, whose view seems less probable than Geldner's, o.c., II, p. 74 (I would prefer "beim Rennen . . .").

<sup>175</sup> Renou, E.V.P. VII, p. 48. See also his note on st. 1 cd. I have my doubts about Thieme's (*Der Fremdling im Rigveda*, Leipzig 1938, p. 143 and Mitra and Aryaman, p. 12) interpretations: "Varuṇa and Mitra Aryaman, i.e. 'friend host'", or (*mītrāryaman*) "The contract (God Contract) which is hospitality (God Hospitality)". What about stanza 3 where the verb is in the plural?

<sup>176</sup> The last word *tanúnām* probably means "persons, embodiments" (cf. Oldenberg, *Rgveda*, Noten, I, p. 360), i.e. their powers and characteristic qualities which constitute their "'mystic' corporeal selves".

<sup>177</sup> Renou, E.V.P. VIII, p. 96. See also Lüders, Varuṇa, p. 711.

In RV. 5, 68 the proper names occur in st. 1 as *mitrdya . . . vāruṇāya*; in 2 as *mitrás cobhā vāruṇas ca*. The hymn found, in its entirety, ritual application: at ŚSS. 7, 11, 3 it is "the entrance and principal part of the śastra" (*ukthamukha*) in the second *ājyaśastra*, which is due to the *maitrāvaruṇa* <sup>178</sup>. Cf. also ĀsvŚS. 5, 10, 28; GB. 2, 3, 13. Dealing with the ājya-lauds of the seventh day PB. 14, 2, 4 states that this triplet, being addressed (by the words *pārthivasya mahó rāyó divyāsya* in 3 ab) to Heaven-and-Earth, serves for the ājya (-laud) addressed to *Mitrāvaruṇau*. "Heaven-and-Earth are the dear or favourite presence or location (*priyaṃ dhāma*) <sup>179</sup> of *Mitrāvaruṇau*; by means of their *priyaṃ dhāma* he thus appropriates them cryptically". The stanzas 1-3 are mentioned among the triplets for the *maitrāvaruṇa* at the ten day rite (ŚSS. 12, 1, 3). See also ĀsvŚS. 7, 5, 9 (*abhiplava: maitrāvaruṇasyāvāpah*).

In 5, 69, 2 Renou <sup>180</sup> is justly inclined to see a "dissociation, probablement de pure forme, entre Varuṇa et Mitra". The words of the first hemistich *irāvātir varuṇa dhenāvo vām mādhumad vām sīndhavo mitra duhre* indeed assign the cows to Varuṇa and the rivers to Mitra, although elsewhere these animals as well as the waters are in the province of both deities. Opinions are divided on the interpretation of the words *amātim kṣatriyasya* in 1 c <sup>181</sup>. Whatever the meaning of *amatim* ("might; image; form; appearance; splendour"), I cannot help thinking of something like the Iranian *ḫvarənah*. The poem attests to the gods' care of the luminous spheres, tripartite space (st. 1) and the earthly regions (4), as well as to man's hope that they will give (him) wealth and welfare and happiness to his offspring. There are no quotations in the ritual texts. Pāda 3 b, which is not characteristic, is identical to 5, 76, 3 b (to the Aśvins).

The repeated application of the noun *rudrā* to the dual deity (st. 2 and 3) is perhaps the most notable feature of RV. 5, 70. The possibility of *rudrá* being an adjective <sup>182</sup> was rightly rejected <sup>183</sup>. Geldner <sup>184</sup> might be right in observing: "wohl mit Anspielung auf die unbekannte Appellativbedeutung von *rudrá*". According to one of the disputed etymological explanations of the name Rudra it belongs to Latin *rudis* "unwrought, untilled, unformed" and Rudra's nature might be defined as "die als göttlich erfahrene Macht der unkultivierten und daher ungebändigten, eigenwilligen, unberechenbaren, gefährlichen und gefürchteten Natur" <sup>185</sup>. Since, moreover, *rodasi* as a dual "heaven and earth", and as a feminine

<sup>178</sup> See Caland and Henry, o.c., p. 244.

<sup>179</sup> See Gonda, *Dhāman*, p. 70.

<sup>180</sup> Renou, E.V.P. VII, p. 49.

<sup>181</sup> I refer to Renou, E.V.P. VII, p. 49 f.

<sup>182</sup> M. Mayrhofer, *Der Gottesname Rudra*, in *Zs. der deutschen morgenl. Ges.* 103 (1953), p. 140 ff.

<sup>183</sup> W. Wüst, *Rudra*, München 1955, p. 21; Renou, E.V.P. VII, p. 50.

<sup>184</sup> Geldner, o.c., II, p. 76.

<sup>185</sup> J. Gonda, *Die Religionen Indiens*, I, Stuttgart 1960, p. 89.



Rudra's consort, can be regarded as etymologically related to the name Rudra, those readers, who would like to let their thoughts range at will could arrive at the highly disputable conclusion that in these two stanzas *rudrā* is a masculine counterpart of *rodasī* and characterizes the dual deity as the representative of the twofold nature or universe (cf. e.g. RV. 6, 67, 5; 7, 61, 3; 87, 5; 8, 41, 7; PB. 14, 2, 4). It seems, however, safer to remember that the god Rudra is not purely maleficent like a demon. Just as the dual deity in st. 3 he is supplicated to avert evil or to preserve from calamity (RV. 1, 114, 4; 2, 33, 7; 5, 51, 13), his healing powers being mentioned with special frequency. On the other hand, Varuṇa, the punisher of sin (see e.g. 7, 86, 3 f.), has some awe-inspiring aspects in common with Rudra and both Mitra and Varuṇa are said to afflict with disease those who neglect their worship (1, 122, 9)<sup>186</sup>. So the poet might suggest these ideas of the gods' character while appealing to their favour and benevolence. This interpretation is not contradicted by the curious variants in SV. 2, 3, 2, 8, 2 (335) and 3 *tā vāṃ . . . śam aśyāma dhāma ca / vayāṃ vāṃ mitrā syāma* "We would like to attain to your refreshment (comfort) and your presence; may we, O Mitra-(and-Varuṇa), be yours", and *pātāṃ no mitrā pāyūbhīr . . .* "Protect us, O Mitra-(and-Varuṇa), with your protectors . . .".

Interestingly enough the poet, while disconnecting the two names of the dual deity, combines the vocative *mitra* with the noun *sumatim* "good disposition, kindness, benevolence" in pāda 1 c; on the other hand, while invoking Varuṇa in the first hemistich "il canalise à son profit la faveur du dieu laquelle s'étend 'en long et en large'"<sup>187</sup>. Generally speaking, the short hymn is a prayer for favour and protection. The stanzas 1-3 are one of the stotra triplets of the maitrāvaruṇa (ŚŚS. 12, 1, 3); cf. ĀsvŚS. 7, 2, 2 (*śaḍahastotriyāḥ*); PB. 13, 2, 4 (ājya-laud addressed to Mitrāvaruṇau on the fifth day). In the same chapter 12, which deals with the śāstras of the hotrakas, the ŚŚS. (12, 2, 14) enumerates 12 isolated stanzas addressed to this dual deity among which 5, 70, 4 which seems to be intended for the maitrāvaruṇa for the 'over-reciting' during the twelve day period.

The invitation conveyed in the stanzas 1 and 3 of RV. 5, 71 contains no less than three times the vocatives *vāruṇa mitra* at the beginning of the b pādas and some characterizations of the gods: they are *riśādasā*

<sup>186</sup> As early as 1883 Bergaigne, *La religion védique*, III, p. 156 drew attention to the fact that in his terrifying aspects Varuṇa shows some resemblances to Rudra, adding however: "mais dans la notion de ce dieu (Varuṇa) . . . l'idée de la colère est étroitement unie à celle de la justice divine". See e.g. also ŚB. 2, 3, 2, 9 f. and S. Rodhe, *Deliver us from evil*, Lund-Copenhagen 1946, p. 68; 70; 74. I do not subscribe to the hypothesis of T. Segerstedt, *Les asuras dans la religion védique*, *Revue d'hist. des religions* 57 (Paris 1908), p. 167; 187 ff. according to which Varuṇa belongs to the same group of gods as Rudra and the Maruts.

<sup>187</sup> Renou, *E.V.P.* VII, p. 50.

"taking care of their worshipper(s) or petitioner(s)"<sup>188</sup> (st. 1 a) and *pracetasā* "attentive, wise", an adjective which seems to qualify that special variety of 'knowledge' which combines prevision and attentiveness. The hymn (3 stanzas) is at ŚŚS. 7, 11, 2 used as the antistrophe triplet for (the śastra of) the maitrāvaruṇa; cf. KB. 28, 10 (28, 8, 1). At 12, 2, 15 it is stated that it serves the same end as the stanzas quoted in 14 (see above). See also Āśv. 5, 10, 28 and GB. 2, 3, 13, mention of which has already been made<sup>189</sup>. Stanza 3 is quoted at ŚŚS. 7, 11, 4 where it serves as the yājyā for the ukthya graha for the dual deity in the maitrāvaruṇa ājyaśāstra. The first pāda of st. 1 is identical to 8, 8, 17 a (to the Aśvins), the third pāda of 2, a prayer for the furtherance and effectiveness of the poet's inspiration<sup>190</sup>, to 7, 94, 2 c (to Indrāgnī) and to 9, 19, 2 c (to Indrāsoma); for the second pāda of 3 compare 8, 47, 1 b (to the Adityas).

In RV. 5, 72 the pair of gods is addressed as *mitré vārune* (1 a) and *mitrás ca . . . vārunaś ca* in 3 a. The refrain: "sit ye down on the barhis in order to drink the soma" is an invitation. Mention should be made of the occurrence, in 2 b, of the epithet *yātayajjānā*<sup>191</sup> which elsewhere (3, 59, 5) is typical of Mitra and here is accompanied by *dhārmanā*: the dual deity is said to assign, through the principle of norm-and-stability, people their right and proper place. The hymn was ritually utilized in other works belonging to the Rgveda: in ĀśvŚ. 7, 10, 5; ŚŚS. 10, 4, 5 and AiB. 5, 1, 12 it is one of the triplets of the praūgaśāstra on the third day of the ten day period (*auṣṇiham praūgam*). Pāda 5, 72, 3 b recurs as 5, 78, 3 b in a hymn addressed to the Aśvins, and as 8, 38, 4 a in a hymn addressed to Indrāgnī.

In the longer hymn RV. 6, 67 the dual deity is five times addressed as *mitrāvaruṇā(u)*. In st. 1 the gods are characterized as *viśveṣām . . . jyēṣṭhatamā* "the most powerful or excellent, best, chief of all (beings)"; and as the *yamiṣṭhā* "most skilful in guiding (managing, restraining, controlling)", the second hemistich running as follows: "two (gods) without equals who, most skilful in guiding, keep in check (control) with their own arms as with a bridle". In stanza 3 the deity is compared to a foreman or employer who assigns their proper places to the workmen; thus he marshals all men. Stanza 5 cd states that Mitrāvaruṇā enclose or contain even the wide heaven and earth; 6 b that they fasten or prop the heavens. The stanzas 3, 7, 8 are mainly invitatory, stanza 2 and 8 are prayers for help and protection; there is a captatio benevolentiae of the poet

<sup>188</sup> See above, p. 171, n. 130.

<sup>189</sup> Cf. p. 180. See also Caland and Henry, o.c., p. 245 f. (§ 162).

<sup>190</sup> See J. Gonda, The vision of the Vedic poets, The Hague 1963, p. 124.

<sup>191</sup> The Vedic god Mitra, p. 93 ff. From those pages it will become clear that I reject the translation proposed by H. P. Schmidt, Vedisch *vrātá* und awestisch *urvdta*, Hamburg 1958, p. 90 "... durch die Bestimmung die Leute zum Vergleich bringend".

who in the stanzas 9–11 solicits a favour from the deity. No ritual use is, as far as I am able to see, made of the hymn as such. Stanza 3 is quoted in *ĀśvŚS.* 3, 8, 1<sup>192</sup> and *MS.* 4, 14, 10: 231, 5<sup>193</sup>; st. 9 in *Āśv.* 8, 9, 2 and *AiB.* 5, 16, 11 (*praūga, chandomas*).

The detached stanza 7, 50, 1 is a prayer for protection, especially against detriment to the speaker's health.

The poet of *RV.* 7, 60, after paying homage to the Sun (*Sūrya*), who reports the sinless ones to the dual deity, the poet proceeds to eulogize the latter. *Aryaman* is in the stanzas 1, 4, 5, 9 explicitly, in 6 implicitly present; the name of *Aditi* occurs in 8, *Dakṣa* in 10. The relation between the three chief *Ādityas* and the *ṛta* is indicated in st. 5. *Mitra-Varuṇa*'s guidance is illustrated in 6 and 7: they give judgment and insight to the ill-judged ones. Prayers for help and protection are of course not absent. There is no need for us to consider this hymn more closely. Stanza 1 is at *MŚS.* 5, 2, 1, 28 quoted to accompany an oblation to *Sūrya*. It occurs at *MS.* 4, 12, 4: 187, 13 (*yājyānuvākyās*), where stanza 4 appears at 1. 15. This hymn and the next one have their final stanzas in common<sup>194</sup>.

*RV.* 7, 61, 1 describes the beauty and function of the Sun, the eye of the divine pair. In stanza 2 the inspired poet who abides by the Universal Order (*ṛtā dvā viprah*), eulogizing this dual deity prays them to give him a long life. In st. 3 he states that this deity is greater than the tripartite universe, in st. 4 that their impetuous energy keeps heaven and earth within proper limits. After these references to their cosmic functions the poet invokes them in order to punish those who do not sacrifice and those following a line of conduct which is contrary to the *ṛta*. Dealing with various *ekāhas* and in particular with a rite recommended to a person who is desirous of rain *ŚŚS.* 14, 35, 2 states that *RV.* 7, 61 and 7, 82 are the hymns into which the *nivid*<sup>195</sup> is inserted, the latter being addressed to *Indra-and-Varuṇa*<sup>196</sup>. By way of introduction and motivation the author observes: "*Varuṇa* wishing for rain performed asceticism and (mentally) beheld (i.e. had a vision of) the one day rite called "raining" (*vr̥ṣṭi*)". Curiously enough, *RV.* 7, 61 makes no mention of rain. The triplet 1–3 is prescribed for the *praūgaśastra* for this dual deity (seventh day of the ten day period: *ŚŚS.* 10, 9, 4); cf. *KB.* 25, 2<sup>197</sup> (25, 2, 6: *viṣuvant*) and 26, 8 (26, 4, 9: *chandomas*). The other stanzas are nowhere quoted.

According to the *Bṛhaddevatā* 6, 4 f. the stanzas 7, 62, 1–3 are addressed

<sup>192</sup> See above, p. 173.

<sup>193</sup> See above, p. 176.

<sup>194</sup> For reminiscences see Bloomfield, o.c., I, p. 323 f.

<sup>195</sup> A set of short prose mantras addressed to different deities or different aspects of the same deity. See chapter II, p. 95 f.

<sup>196</sup> See chapter VII, p. 262 ff.

<sup>197</sup> A. B. Keith, *Rigveda Brāhmaṇas*, Cambridge Mass. 1920, p. 486 inadvertently: "*Indra and Varuṇa*".

to Sūrya, the other stanzas of that hymn to Mitra-and-Varuṇa. Yet, the transition is not abrupt: the Sun is in 2 cd invited to inform Mitra, Varuṇa, Aryaman and Agni of the speakers' innocence. In stanza 3 the gods who abide by, or maintain, the ṛta, viz. Varuṇa, Mitra, Agni, are besought to reward those speaking and to comply with their wishes. After having invoked, in st. 4, the protection of Heaven-and-Earth (*dyāvābhūmī*) and Aditi, the poet deprecates the anger of Varuṇa, Vāyu and Mitra, "who is most dear to men". The distribution of the words makes the second hemistich worth quoting: *mā hēle bhūma varuṇasya vāyór mā mitrásya priyātamasya nr̥dm*; here Renou's<sup>198</sup> comment is inexact: "notez que Varuṇa est caractérisé par sa colère, Mitra par sa faculté d'aimer", because the genitive *mitrásya* is also dependent on *hēle*<sup>199</sup>. Stanza 5 has already been discussed<sup>200</sup>. Stanza 6 is a prayer for 'width', i.e. "free scope, space, ease, comfort" (*varivas*) etc., addressed to Mitra, Varuṇa and Aryaman. Stanza 1 is at ŚSS. 11, 13, 26 used as the third stanza of a triplet used on the viṣuvat day; the other stanzas found no ritual application with the exception of 5 which enjoyed a certain popularity: see also KB. 18, 13 (18, 9, 20 f.)<sup>201</sup>: "Do thou stretch forth your arms for us to live' is the stanza of the oblation; 'arms' is the 'symbol' (*rūpam*) of the members of the oblation" (cf. ŚSS. 8, 12, 8); ĀsvŚS. 3, 8, 1 (see above); ŚSS. 9, 27, 2 (offering stanza for this dual deity); TS. 2, 5, 12, 3 (*yājyā* in a special sacrifice to the dual deity described at TS. 5, 7, 6, 5: "He who piles the fire is made into an offering; just as an offering spills, so he spills who having piled the fire approaches a woman; he should sacrifice with clotted curds for Mitrāvaruṇau; verily he enters upon the state of Mitrāvaruṇau (attains to unity with them), to avoid his own spilling"). The stanza is further used in TB. 2, 7, 15, 6 to bless a king who is being consecrated and who has to raise his arms with this formula "Stretch out (your) arms . . .". Cf. also ĀpŚS. 22, 28, 14; BŚS. 18, 17: 362, 18. The formula is, at TB. 2, 8, 6, 7 used as a *yājyā* consecrating a *dvirūpā* cow which is offered to Mitrāvaruṇau<sup>202</sup>; cf. also MS. 4, 14, 10: 232, 1 and see KS. 12, 14: 176, 13. The Mānavas have the stanza at MŚS. 8, 11, 5 used in the *dākṣāyaṇa* rite for the benefit of a man who is desirous of heaven, where it is to consecrate the curds and the whey for the Viśve Devāḥ, and at MGS. 2, 3, 6 in the *prṣātāka* rite (*āśvayujikarma*)<sup>203</sup>. The last stanza recurs as 7, 63, 6 (see further on).

<sup>198</sup> Renou, E.V.P. VII, p. 60, rectifying the latter statement by the note "*priyā* avec gén. est aimé par"; cf. E.V.P. V, p. 87.

<sup>199</sup> This is not to subscribe to Thieme's (Mitra and Aryaman, p. 52) explanation: "... Contract (M.), who is most dear to men (scil. who keep their contractual vows)". Why should Mitra, or rather the mitraic aspect of the dual deity, not be dear to anyone, because of his (its) functions, interests and benevolence?

<sup>200</sup> See above, p. 175.

<sup>201</sup> See above, p. 176.

<sup>202</sup> See above, p. 173.

<sup>203</sup> See above, p. 175.



Bṛhaddevatā 6, 4 f. informs us that the stanzas 1–5 ab of RV. 7, 63 are addressed to Sūrya, 5 cd and 6 = 7, 62, 6 to Mitrāvaruṇau. Hence Renou's <sup>204</sup> introductory remark: "Exorde au Soleil, avec cette particularité que l'éloge solaire persiste jusqu'au bout, Varuṇa-Mitra n'étant nommés que secondairement sous 1 (where the Sun is said to be their eye), impliqués sous 3 (which is very doubtful; the words *samānām* . . . *dhāma* hardly mean "l'institution commune (de Varuṇa et Mitra)" <sup>205</sup>, but rather "the common location (of the gods)" <sup>206</sup>, invoqués 5 cd". The hymn and the stanzas 5 and 6 are not used for ritual purposes. For stanza 5 c compare 7, 65, 1 a (Mitrāvaruṇau) and 7, 66, 7 a <sup>207</sup> (the same and Aryaman).

Aryaman joins the two other gods in stanza 1 and perhaps in 3 of RV. 7, 64. The dual deity appears in 2 and 4 as *mitrāvaruṇā*, in 1 the names are mentioned separately: *mitró aryamā* . . . *vāruṇo* . . .; in 3: *mitrás* . . . *vāruṇo devó aryāḥ* <sup>208</sup>; in 5 *varuṇa mitra*, followed by the singular *tubhyam*! (which in translations needs no repeating) <sup>209</sup>. The triplet 1–3 is used in the praūgaśastra on the ninth day of the ten day period (KB. 26, 15 = 26, 12, 12; AB. 5, 20, 8; ŚŚS. 10, 11, 5; cf. ĀśvŚS. 8, 11, 1). Stanza 5 recurs at the end of the next sūkta.

The hymn RV. 7, 65 consists of an invocation at daybreak (st. 1 ab; cf. 4 ac), a eulogy (1 cd; 2 a), a statement of the gods' power (1 cd; 3 ab) and prayers. Theirs is the highest undecaying asura power (1 c); they pay attention to anyone (1 d); they are the asuras of (or, among) the gods (*devānām āsurā*), the 'lords' (*āryā*). They—here also the dual is used—are explicitly described as holders of many fetters, dams arresting that which is contrary to the ṛta (*ānṛtasya śētū*), difficult to avoid for a wicked mortal. This confirmation of the gods' might is immediately followed by the wish that "we may overcome all discomfort by the path of ṛta which belongs to (or rather, is supervised by) Mitrāvaruṇā" <sup>210</sup>. The triplet 1–3 is quoted at AiB. 5, 18, 8; KB. 26, 11 (= 26, 7, 11); ĀśvŚS. 8, 10, 1; ŚŚS. 10, 10, 4 in connection with the eighth day (*praūga*). Stanza 4 is the invitatory stanza for the victim cake on the occasion of the *udayanīyeṣṭi* (ŚŚS. 8, 12, 7); cf. ĀśvŚS. 3, 8, 1 (see above); MS. 4, 14, 12: 234, 12 and with a variant TB. 2, 8, 6, 7 (the sacrifice of a *dvirūpa* animal to the dual deity).

The long sūkta RV. 7, 66 makes also mention of Aryaman (st. 4; 7; 11; 12), Savitar and Bhaga (4), Aditi (6); in 14–16 the Sun (Sūrya) comes to the fore <sup>211</sup>. It would serve no useful purpose to analyse this hymn.

<sup>204</sup> Renou, E.V.P. VII, p. 60.

<sup>205</sup> Renou, E.V.P. V, p. 87.

<sup>206</sup> Gonda, Dhāman, p. 43.

<sup>207</sup> Cf. Bloomfield, o.c., I, p. 325.

<sup>208</sup> Cf. Renou's note, E.V.P. VII, p. 61.

<sup>209</sup> Otherwise Geldner, o.c., II, p. 240.

<sup>210</sup> I refer to The Vedic god Mitra, p. 71, n. 5.

<sup>211</sup> Cf. also Caland-Henry, o.c., p. 244 f.

Let it suffice to draw attention to 5 d where the gods are said to convey across distress (*aṃhas*); to 6 ab, where they are the autonomous kings who, with Aditi, rule "the vrata which is above deceit, the great"<sup>212</sup>; to 11 ab where Varuṇa, Mitra and Aryaman have fixed, disposed or established autumn, month, day etc., to the epithets in 13: *ṛtāvāna ṛtājātā ṛtāvṛdho ghordso anṛtadvīṣaḥ*. For ritual application of st. 1-9 see ŚŚS. 7, 11, 4 (*maitrāvaruṇa ājyasastra*) and ĀśvŚS. 5, 10, 28. For the tṛcas 7-9, 4-6 and 1-3 see ŚŚS. 12, 1, 3 (stotra triplets for the maitrāvaruṇa on the 6<sup>th</sup>, 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> day of the ten day rite). Cf. ĀśvŚS. 7, 5, 9. For 7-9 see also ŚŚS. 11, 9, 3; 12, 2, 4; ĀśvŚS. 7, 2, 2 and 12; PB. 13, 8, 2. The tṛca 17-19 is prescribed at ŚŚS. 12, 2, 5 and 15 for the maitrāvaruṇa (śastras of the hotrakas etc.); ĀśvŚS. 7, 5, 9. For st. 2 see TB. 2, 4, 6, 2 (upahoma mantras). Stanza 4, omitting the name of Varuṇa, occurs at VS. 33, 20 among the formulas to be used for the universal sacrifice, and elsewhere. For st. 9 see AiB. 6, 7, 2 where it is the concluding stanza (*paridhāniya*) of the maitrāvaruṇa (śastras of the hotrakas)—cf. GB. 2, 5, 13—and AiB. 6, 23, 4 where it belongs to the same officiant in the ceremony of "the yoking of the ahina rite"<sup>213</sup>. The last stanza (19), an invitation to partake of the soma, is mentioned in GB. 2, 3, 13 as a yājyā. "Thus indeed he gratifies (propitiates) these two deities according to their portions". Cf. also ĀśvŚS. 5, 10, 28. The sūkta has several pādas in common with other sūktas: 2 c=8, 25, 3 b (Mitrāvaruṇau) etc.<sup>214</sup>.

The stanzas 1-9 and 13-24 are also traditionally regarded as being addressed to this divine pair, the gods of 10-12 being the Viśve Devāḥ (Sarvānukramaṇī); the Bṛhaddevatā, however, is of the opinion that 10-21 are addressed to the Viśve Devāḥ, the last three stanzas being a dānastuti (BṛhDev. 6, 65 f.). Aditi is mentioned in st. 3 and 10, Aryaman in 13, Sūrya in 19 and 21; the names of other gods are not absent. "Les thèmes dominants sont ceux de l'Ordre, de l'asuratva, de la souveraineté"<sup>215</sup>. The dual deity is indeed invoked as "abiding by the ṛta" (*ṛtavānā*, 1; 4; 7; 8), *dṛṣṭavratā* (2; 8), omniscient (3), born for asuraship (3), rulers (8), sovereigns (4; 7; cf. 8) and, moreover, as "herdsmen of the universe" (1 a); they proclaim the firm ṛta (4). The gods are in 2 ab said "to be continuously (associated) like two animals put to the same carriage": *mitrā tātā nā rathīyā vāruṇo yās ca sukrātuḥ* . . ., explained by Renou<sup>216</sup> as "Mitra-et-Varuṇa (pris duellement), ainsi que (toi qui es singulièrement)

<sup>212</sup> For other attempts to construe this sentence see Caland and Henry, o.c., p. 245 "Eux et Aditi qui règnent par essence par la loi infaillible, ils sont puissants, rois du grand ciel" (for "ciel" compare RV. 8, 26, 23); Bloomfield, o.c., I, p. 326; Geldner, o.c. II, p. 241; Renou, E.V.P. VII, p. 66. Schmidt, o.c., p. 46 regards, without comment, the words *ādabdhāsyā vratāsyā* as a genitivus qualitatis. I doubt the correctness of his explanation "denen das Gelübde nicht getäuscht wird".

<sup>213</sup> See the commentary: *yuktir yogāḥ svādhīnatvena kratoh sampādanam*.

<sup>214</sup> See Bloomfield, o.c., I, p. 325 ff.

<sup>215</sup> Renou, E.V.P. VII, p. 67.

<sup>216</sup> Renou, E.V.P. VII, p. 67.

Varuṇa . . .” which in any case is more to the point than Geldner’s<sup>217</sup> “Spiel mit der Appellativbedeutung von *mitrā*”. The dual *mitrā* may be connected with, or find its explanation in, the occurrence of the dual *rathyā*, and *varuṇaḥ* is added for the sake of clearness. In st. 4 b the gods are styled *samrđjā devdv āsurā*; here Renou<sup>218</sup> rightly observes: “Rare juxtaposition deva-asura; il serait imprudent de référer le premier terme à Mitra seul, le second étant attaché à Varuṇa”. The trcas 1–3 and 10–12 are at ŚSS. 11, 6, 2 prescribed for the praūga of the third day (*abhiplava śaḍaha*). There are no other ritual applications worth quoting.

The Sarvānukramaṇī and the Bṛhaddevatā (6, 124) are of the opinion that RV. 8, 101, 1–4 are addressed to Mitrāvaruṇau. According to the former authority 5 a–c belong to the same deities, 5 a and 6 to the Ādityas generally, according to the latter (6, 125) 5 a–c are addressed to Mitra, Aryaman, and Varuṇa who, indeed, are mentioned by name, and that in this order. In st. 2 the dual deity is characterized as possessed of the greatest might, far-sighted, kings (*vārṣiṣṭhakṣatrā urucakṣasā . . . rđjānā*). The stanzas 3 and 4 are a prayer to prevent the gods’ missile from striking those speaking. St. 5 distinguishes between Mitra and Aryaman on one hand, and Varuṇa on the other: (the poet addressing himself) “O R̥tāvasu, start kind words (addressed) to Mitra, to Aryaman, a pleasing one which invokes (his) protection to Varuṇa, a eulogy upon the kings” (*prā mitrāya pr̥dryamné sacathīyam r̥tāvaso / varūthīyam vāruṇe chāndyam vāca stotrām r̥jāsu gāyata*). The stanzas 1, 2 and 5 constitute the triplet of the praūgaśastra for these three gods on the occasion of the fifth day of the ten day period (ŚSS. 10, 6, 6). Stanza 1 occurs in the VS. as 33, 87 (formulas for the universal sacrifice). Stanza 3 is another of the isolated stanzas enumerated at ŚSS. 12, 2, 14<sup>219</sup>. In ĀśvGS. 3, 12, 12—the section deals with the duties of a purohita when his king goes to war—st. 3 and 4 are to be pronounced by a king who is driving his chariot. In SVBr. 3, 4, 5, st. 5 is used in a rite performed when one wants a person to see (invisible things etc.).

One hymn of the 10<sup>th</sup> maṇḍala is dedicated to Mitrāvaruṇau: 132 “formulaire alambiqué, sans grand rapport avec l’état ancien”<sup>220</sup>. “Dem Liede liegt eine politische Begebenheit zugrunde, die der Dichter absichtlich verschleiert und nur in einzelnen Zügen erraten lässt”<sup>221</sup>. According to the Sarvānukramaṇī and BṛhDev. 8, 47 the first stanza is addressed to Dyāvābhūmī—whose names appear separately (*dyauś ca bhūmiś ca*, BṛhDev.)—and the Āśvins so that the eulogy upon Mitrāvaruṇau is introduced by references to two other divine pairs. In st. 2 the poet addresses *mitrāvaruṇā* as *dhārayatṣitī*, i.e. as “mainteneurs des

<sup>217</sup> Geldner, o.c., II, p. 333.

<sup>218</sup> Renou, E.V.P. VIII, p. 68.

<sup>219</sup> See above, p. 180 f.

<sup>220</sup> Renou, E.V.P. VII, p. 63.

<sup>221</sup> Geldner, o.c., III, p. 364.

établissements (humains)" <sup>222</sup> and as *suṣumnā* "very gracious"—epithets which should not be interpreted as an attempt at distinguishing between both gods, because *carṣaṇīdhṛt* "supporter of cultivators" is also given to both of them and either of them <sup>223</sup> and Varuṇa is gracious when he is not angry—, expressing the wish to be able, thanks to the comradeship or alliance (*sakhyaiḥ*) with this dual deity, to overpower the demons and that "en vue d'une action (commune)" (*krāṇāya*). In 4 b mention is made of Varuṇa's universal kingship, but in 7 a they are, as a duality, said to be *apnarājau* "kings of meritorious work", or "kings because of their meritorious deeds such as raining, giving light etc." (*Sāyaṇa*). There are no ritual applications and repetitions.

Proceeding now to study a selection of the occurrences of this dual deity in other Vedic texts and passages, I first draw attention to VS. 28, 19 *mitrāvaruṇed asya hotrām arhataḥ* "Varuṇa and Mitra alone deserve to hold the office of his hotar": as is well known, there is but one such functionary, so that the two gods are really conceived of as one person. The unity of these two gods is, indeed, also in the post-Rgvedic texts an axiom, although there are a few places in which they are represented individually or said to have existed or acted separately.

From VS. 10, 9 enumerating some gods with their characteristic epithets it appears that *dhṛtavratau* "who abide by their rules of functional conduct" <sup>224</sup> is in these works a strongly marked feature in this dual deity. Cf. also MS. 2, 6, 9: 69, 4; 4, 4, 3: 52, 19; KS. 15, 7: 213, 20. They are here also described as promoters of *Ṛta* (*ṛtāvṛdhā*, TS. 1, 4, 5, 1); "observing *Ṛta*": TS. 1, 4, 5 b; ĀpŚS. 12, 14, 12: *mitrāvaruṇābhyām* . . . *ṛtāyubhyām*. They are inquisitive or attentive (TS. 4, 4, 12, 3). Cf. also MS. 4, 9, 12: 133, 7 *utā no mitrāvaruṇā ihāgataṃ manmā dīdhyānā uta naḥ sakhyā*. They are saviours from sin: TS. 7, 5, 22, 1; MS. 3, 15, 11: 181, 2 *mitrāvaruṇābhyām āgomrugbhyām*, and implored to free the worshipper from it: MS. 3, 16, 5: 190, 15; KS. 45, 19. They are of course implored for help and favour: KS. 37, 9: 90, 11; TB. 2, 7, 8, 2; 2, 7, 16, 2 *anu tvā mitrāvaruṇāv ihāvatam*, as well as for protection: TS. 2, 4, 8, 1; 4, 4, 12, 3 (MS. 3, 16, 4: 188, 11 etc.); MS. 3, 16, 5: 191, 1 etc. (cf. 2, 4, 7: 44, 12 etc.).

At VS. 5, 27; TS. 1, 3, 1, 2 the divine pair is associated with *dharman*, the principle or potency of holding and sustaining: in an address to a post which is to "prop heaven, fill the atmosphere and stand firmly on earth" the dual deity is requested to plant it with "unmovable hold or

<sup>222</sup> Renou, E.V.P. V, p. 89.

<sup>223</sup> Gonda, The Vedic god Mitra, p. 2; cf. p. 11 on RV. 5, 67, 2 *dhartāra carṣaṇīnām* "supporters of cultivators".

<sup>224</sup> See above, p. 149.



support" (*dhruveṇa dhārmanā*). Cf. also MS. 1, 2, 11: 20, 18; 4, 9, 1: 121, 10; KS. 2, 12: 17, 6; 25, 10: 118, 10; KS. 1, 11: 6, 4 *mitrāvaruṇau tvā paridhattām dhruveṇa dhārmanā*; KKS. 1, 11: 8, 4; 2, 6: 18, 13. They are among the gods the supporters of dharma (par excellence): cf. MS. 3, 8, 9: 108, 4 *mitrāvaruṇau vai devānām dharmadhārayau*. In details however, their functions are different: (ibid. 108, 2) *mitram evainām dadhāra, varuṇaḥ kalpayati*. In this connection attention may once again<sup>225</sup> be invited to KS. 25, 10: 118, 10 f.; KKS. 40, 3: 224, 21 ff. *mitrāvaruṇayor dhruveṇa dhārmaneti, mitreṇa vā imāḥ prajāḥ śāntā, varuṇena vidhṛtāḥ klṛtyā eva vidhṛtyai*, from which it appears that the two gods are supposed to maintain the dharma in a different way: Mitra by appeasing the creatures and Varuṇa by restraining or suppressing them.

From MS. 2, 3, 1: 27, 15 ff.; MŚS. 5, 2, 1, 3 ff. it appears that this dual deity was believed to have different *tanūs* "bodies, manifestations, natures", one of those being characterized by generative and inaugurative power (*ojasyā*), one characterized by victorious and overwhelming power (*sahasyā*), one that counteracts witchcraft (*yātavyā*), one that is anti-demoniacal (*rakṣasyā*). The gods are worshipped by these manifestations and implored to deliver a diseased person from distress<sup>226</sup>. See also KS. 11, 11: 158, 11 ff.

One of those places which attest to the gods' complementary relation and at the same time to Mitra's being the milder in disposition is AiB. 3, 4, 5. While expounding the theory that the other deities are forms of Agni, the author states that "in that he (fire) leaps up and down, that is his form as Mitrāvaruṇau". The implicit meaning probably is that Mitra is the deity who restores the brightness to the fire<sup>227</sup>. Other identifications of the dual deity with natural pairs or opposites are too well known and too often discussed to need a renewed examination: for "Mitra as the day and Varuṇa as the night" see e.g. AiB. 4, 10, 7<sup>228</sup>; "He who desires food should offer a white (animal) to Mitra and a black to Varuṇa" (TS. 2, 1, 9, 2).

By his two arms the nobleman belongs to this dual deity (ŚB. 5, 3, 5, 28; 5, 4, 1, 16 etc.)<sup>229</sup>. At 5, 4, 3, 27 these gods are explicitly identified with the two arms. A dish of curds (see also 2, 4, 4, 10; 14; 18)<sup>230</sup> drawn to the arms of the royal sacrificer is dedicated to them because they are the two arms (ibidem).

The arms are however not the only part of the human body which are considered identical with Mitrāvaruṇau. In TS. 5, 7, 15, 1; KSAśv. 13, 5

<sup>225</sup> See The Vedic god Mitra, p. 75; 97.

<sup>226</sup> See also Caland, Altindische Zauberei, p. 103.

<sup>227</sup> See The Vedic god Mitra, p. 25 f.

<sup>228</sup> I refer to The Vedic god Mitra, p. 37 ff.

<sup>229</sup> The Vedic god Mitra, p. 19 f.

<sup>230</sup> For ŚB. 2, 4, 4, 18 see The Vedic god Mitra, p. 43 f.

they are co-ordinated with the two buttocks <sup>231</sup>, other dual deities being in the same manner associated with other double parts of the body (thighs, knees etc.). I am unable to decide whether this relation has been a factor in the post-Vedic conviction that Mitra presides over the anus and excretion <sup>232</sup>.

In connection with the observations made <sup>233</sup> on Mitrāvaruṇau as the representative of the twofold nature or universe attention may be invited to PB. 14, 2, 4 where this pair is "appropriated" (or propitiated) by a chant addressed to Heaven-and-Earth, because these (*dyāvāpṛthivī*) are the "favourite resort" or rather "dear or favourite presence or place of manifestation" of this divine pair, just as Vaiśvānara—which clearly is one of Agni's aspects or manifestations—is the "favourite presence" (*priyaṃ dhāma*) of the latter deity (14, 2, 3) <sup>234</sup>.

This place may help us to a better understanding of VS. 29, 6; TS. 5, 1, 11, 2; MS. 3, 16, 2: 184, 8 "Dawn and Night (Dusk) (*uśāsā*) travelling between Varuṇa-and-Mitra...", traditionally explained as: between "heaven (Varuṇa) and earth (Mitra)": see the commentaries quoting the śruti *ayaṃ vai loko mitro 'sau varuṇaḥ* <sup>235</sup>. For the identification with day and night and the use of the above stanza compare also TS. 2, 1, 7, 3; 4; 2, 4, 10, 1; KS. 11, 10: 157, 14; KSAśv. 6, 2: 175, 2. The second pāda of the stanza is however worth quoting also: "I settle here within the womb of Rta" (*ṛtasya yonā iha sādāyāmi*). Although there can be no doubt that the "Stätte des Rta" <sup>236</sup> is the sacrificial place, which represents the 'celestial' womb of Rta, and as such perfectly intelligible in this context, the reference to this important concept or principle which is so closely associated with Mitrāvaruṇau may have induced the author to mention this pair. Omnipresent, dual in character and making its influence felt in the whole universe, this divine pair might in a way be regarded as including or embracing anything representing *ṛta* between the surface of the earth and the vault of heaven.

The gods are also invoked in one of the *atimokṣa* formulas which, being related to "final liberation", are to safeguard the sacrificer against those divine powers who intend to destroy the sacrifice. Agni should protect him against those who are on the earth, Vāyu against those who sit in the atmosphere, Sūrya against those who sit in the sky (see TS. 3, 5, 4, 1 f.; KS. 5, 6: 48, 16 f.; cf. 32, 5: 25, 3 ff.; MS. 1, 4, 3: 49, 5 ff.; ĀpŚS. 4, 14, 10). One of the formulas used (after propitiating Agni) is "We have come, O excellent Mitrāvaruṇau, to the share of the nights

<sup>231</sup> VS. 25, 6 etc. may, like VS. 24, 2, be omitted.

<sup>232</sup> The Vedic god Mitra, p. 124 ff.

<sup>233</sup> See p. 181.

<sup>234</sup> For these text-places see Gonda, *Dhāman*, p. 70.

<sup>235</sup> Cf. e.g. also R. T. H. Griffith, *The texts of the White Yajurveda*, Benares 1927, p. 93.

<sup>236</sup> Lüders, *Varuṇa*, p. 614 f.

that is yours, grasping the firmament in the 'world' of the religious merits . . . , above the light of the sky". This stanza attests to the special and important position assigned to this double deity.

In connection with their (universal) kingship <sup>237</sup> attention may be drawn to VS. 10, 1; TS. 1, 8, 11, 1; MS. 2, 6, 7: 68, 10; KS. 15, 6: 213, 8.

This pair of gods is also after Indra-and-Vāyu and before the Aśvins, who are addressed with parallel stanzas, invoked against an enemy "who seeks to assail us": "May I here hurl him below my feet" (TS. 3, 2, 10, 2; cf. MS. 4, 5, 8, 13 ff.).

The formula TS. 1, 8, 14, 1 f. ". . . , with the brilliant energy of Agni, with the radiance of the sun, with the faculty called *indriya* of Indra . . ." continues "with the heroic strength and virtue (*viryeṇa*) of Mitrāvaruṇau".

Mention may in this connection also be made of the formula MS. 2, 6, 3: 65, 8; KS. 15, 2: 210, 22 (cf. also VS. 9, 36; ŚB. 5, 2, 4, 6) *ye devā uttarātsado mitrāvaruṇanetrā rakṣohanas te no 'vantu te naḥ pāntu* "The gods who are seated in the north, whose eye is Mitrāvaruṇau (or rather, whose eyes are like Mitrāvaruṇā's), the killers of demoniac power, they must help us, they must protect us!".

In ŚŚS. 16, 9, 30 this dual deity is brought into relation with the autumn, because in that season the victims which are offered to them must be immolated. See also ĀśvŚS. 4, 12, 1 *mitrāvaruṇāv ānuṣṭubhāv ekaviṃśau vairājau śāradau* which may be compared to the formula occurring ŚB. 5, 4, 1, 6 "Ascend thou the north. May the anuṣṭubh protect thee, the vairāga-sāman, the twenty-one-fold stoma, the autumn season . . ." (Rājasūya-ceremonies, ascending of the quarters <sup>238</sup>); VS. 10, 13; TS. 1, 8, 13, 1, the text mentioned last adding "the deity Mitrāvaruṇau" and omitting "the autumn season". One might also compare KŚS. 20, 8, 30 *pratyrtu paśūn ālabhate ṣaṣṣad vasantādyāgneyān aindrān pārjanyān mārutān vā maitrāvaruṇān aindrāvaiṣṇavān aindrābārhaspatyān*, and a similar passage in ŚB. 13, 5, 4, 28: "he performs the animal sacrifices of the seasons, six (victims) sacred to Agni in the spring . . . , six to Varuṇa and Mitra in the autumn . . .".

This dual deity is repeatedly associated or co-ordinated with the north. TS. 1, 1, 11, 2; VS. 2, 3 "Let Mitrāvaruṇau lay thee around in the north with the firm principle of stability (*dhruveṇa dharmanā*)" accompanies the placing of the enclosing-sticks. Cf. also TS. 4, 3, 3, 2; 5, 5, 8, 3; VS. 9, 35; 9, 36; MS. 1, 1, 12: 7, 12; 1, 5, 4: 71, 13; 2, 6, 3: 65, 12; 2, 8, 11: 115, 15. Dealing with the distribution of the oblations for different gods ŚB. 5, 5, 1, 1 has the dish of curds for this double deity placed on the north part of the sacrificial bank. Thus we find also co-ordinations such as the north: autumn: Mitrāvaruṇau (*udīci dik śarad ṛtur mitrāvaruṇau*

<sup>237</sup> See p. 156.

<sup>238</sup> Cf. J. C. Heesterman, The ancient Indian royal consecration, Thesis Utrecht 1957, p. 103 ff.

*devatā*): MS. 2, 7, 20: 105, 12; or *mitrāvaruṇau tvottarato marudbhī rocayetām* (MS. 4, 9, 5: 125, 8); KS. 15, 2: 210, 22 *ye devā uttarātsado mitrāvaruṇanetrā rakṣoḥaṇas te naḥ pāntu te no 'vantu*; KS. 22, 5: 60, 21; 34, 15: 46, 18; but at ŚB. 5, 4, 1, 6 the north is associated with the anuṣṭubh, the vairāja sāman, the twenty-onefold stoma, autumn . . . (see above and MS. 2, 6, 10: 69, 17), the deity being omitted (the anuṣṭubh is produced from the autumn: 8, 1, 2, 5, and is the north: 8, 3, 1, 12, or related to that region: 13, 2, 2, 19, and the vairāja sāman is produced from the ekaviṃśa-stoma: 8, 1, 2, 5)<sup>239</sup>. It is further worth noticing that at KS. 39, 7: 124, 17 *ūrdhvā dik pañktiś chandaś śākvaraṃ raivataṃ sāma mitrāvaruṇau devatā hemantaśiśirā ṛtū triṇavaḥ stomas trayastrimśavartaniḥ paṣṭhavād vayo 'bhībhūr ayānāṃ viṣvavāto vātaḥ suparna ṛṣiḥ* this dual deity is assigned to the zenith, the Viśve Devāḥ belonging to the north. The reason for this preference of Mitrāvaruṇau for the latter region—well known as the quarter of men (ŚB. 3, 1, 2, 7)—is not clear to me<sup>240</sup>. It is the more interesting as Varuṇa alone is the 'protector' of the west (8, 6, 1, 7 etc.). Sometimes, however, both Varuṇa and Mitra are brought into relation with the western quarter: ŚSS. 6, 3, 3 "In this western quarter Varuṇa and Mitra (*mitraś ca varuṇaś ca*) are my regents (*adhipatī*). May Varuṇa and Mitra protect me against that quarter. May he go, of the deities, to Mitravāruṇau, who on this side attacks us". This formula is the third of the mantras used, in the framework of the morning litany, to address the quarters of the universe, the east having been addressed with a formula directed to Sun-and-Moon, the south with one directed to Yama and Mr̥tyu. The fourth formula is addressed to Soma-and-Rudra in the north.

As 'rain-gods'<sup>241</sup> they appear in VS. 2, 16; TS. 2, 1, 7, 3 "He who desires rain should offer to Mitrāvaruṇau (a cow) of two forms . . ."; 2, 4, 10, 1. They are lords or leaders of the waters: TS. 6, 4, 3, 3; MS. 4, 5, 2: 64, 16 *mitrāvaruṇau hy āpām isāte*.

In some mythical narratives of how Manu offered, worshipped or performed 'asceticism' this dual deity plays a part. Thus in ŚB. 1, 8, 1, 7 ff. Manu, desirous of offspring, is engaged in worshipping etc.; after he has performed a definite sacrifice, a woman is produced . . ., and then Mitrāvaruṇau—obviously supposed to have witnessed this important event before, or to the exclusion of, the other gods—meet her and claim her. When she refuses their request, they desire to have a share in her. Then she either agrees or does not agree. The question as to why it was this pair of gods which met and claimed Idā, the personification of the holy libation, taken from the sacrificial substance and the goddess of

<sup>239</sup> See also J. Gonda, *The Savayajñas*, Amsterdam Academy 1965, p. 129 f.

<sup>240</sup> As is well known the north is usually believed to be Rudra's region (ŚB. 2, 6, 2, 5 etc.).

<sup>241</sup> See above, p. 177.



the sacrificial food <sup>242</sup> can be answered by a reference to the ritual practice and speculation. Mitrāvaruṇau have no share in the idā portion ("she did not agree" in the myth), but it is sometimes said to "belong to this divine pair" (ŚB. 1, 8, 1, 27; BĀU. 6, 4, 28 *maitrāvaruṇī*; ĀśvŚS. 1, 7, 7 *mānavī* . . . *maitrāvaruṇī*; cf. also TB. 3, 7, 5, 6 and the commentary). What is clear from this story is not only the important part played by the dual deity but also their very appearance on the scene of Manu's, i.e. the first man's, sacrificing.

According to TS. 2, 6, 7, 1—a chapter dealing with the invitation of (sic) the offering—Manu desired that part of the earth which was suitable for sacrificing. He found (somewhere) ghee that had been poured out. "He said: 'Who is able to produce this also at the sacrifice?'. Mitrāvaruṇau said: 'We are able to produce the cow'. Then they produced the cow. Wherever she stepped, there ghee was pressed out . . .". Compare also TS. 3, 7, 5, 6; ĀpŚS. 3, 1, 7. Here again this double deity is not only present at this important event but also willing to establish an important ritual institution. They produce the cow in order to provide the sacrificer with ghee. In so doing they make the performance of sacrifices possible and realize an aspect of Ṛta. Cf. also MS. 1, 6, 13: 106, 15 ff. and the story recounted in MS. 4, 2, 13: 36, 3 ff.: the gods, being pregnant, brought forth offspring which appeared to be 'one' or 'simple', but was made a cow with two and afterwards with four feet by the double deity <sup>243</sup>.

How closely the two gods were associated may also appear from TS. 6, 4, 8 <sup>244</sup>: "The gods said to Mitra, 'Let us slay Soma, the king'. 'Not I', he replied, 'for I am the 'friend' (*mitram*) of all'. They answered: 'Still we will slay him'. He replied: 'Let me choose a boon, let them mix the soma for me with milk'. That is why (the text continues) they mix (the soma) for Mitrāvaruṇau (sic: *maitrāvaruṇam*) with milk . . .". See also ŚB. 4, 1, 4, 7 ff. where Soma is identified with Vṛtra <sup>245</sup> and the narrative is in a way more logical because the milk is explicitly said to belong to Mitra, the soma to Varuṇa (ibidem, 9). It is clear that as soon as there is a duality of ritual importance this is apt to be co-ordinated with this dual deity which, being closely associated with the fundamental order, manifests itself in many other dualities. On the other hand, the 'duality' or double or composite character of elements of the ritual could easily be explained as resulting from, or required by, the dual character

<sup>242</sup> I refer to Keith, Religion and Philosophy, p. 200, and the same in Journal R. As. Soc. 1913, p. 412 ff., esp. p. 417.

<sup>243</sup> *devā vai sarve sahāntarvanto 'bhavaṃs. te sarve saha vyajāyanta. tad ekavṛd aśayat samvṛttam. tad devā ittham cettham ca vyatyacarams. tan mītrāvaruṇā acāyatām : syād vai ya enad vikuryād iti. tad gāṃ dvīpadīm akurutām. sā na pratyatiṣṭhat. tasyā anyata āhṛtyermau pratyadhātām. tasmād etā abaddhā asthant sā catuṣpadī bhūtvā pratyatiṣṭhat . . .*

<sup>244</sup> For this passage see also Gonda, Mitra and mitra, p. 85. Cf. KS. 27, 4: 142, 14 ff.; KKS. 42, 4: 250, 20 ff.; MS. 4, 5, 8: 74, 12 ff.

<sup>245</sup> Cf. The Vedic god Mitra, p. 35; 85 f.

of the deity. Says the author of MS. 4, 5, 8: 75, 16 "That one mixes it with milk is in order to make it fit for two gods": the double deity receives a mixture of two ingredients. In the continuation of the same narrative (TS. 6, 4, 8, 3) it is told that because there was neither day nor night but "this was indiscriminated" Mitra produced the day, Varuṇa the night; "then indeed did this (universe) shine forth. In that (a cup of soma) is drawn for Mitra-and-Varuṇa, (it is) for shining forth (for daybreak, or rather: it is in order to achieve the appearance of light)". In the story as related in MS. 4, 5, 8: 75, 17 what is cold is said to belong to Mitra, what is hot, to Varuṇa. At KS. 27, 4: 143, 6; KKS. 42, 4: 251, 9 it reads *maitraṃ vai śṛtaṃ vāruṇam pratidhuk* "the boiled (milk) belongs to Mitra, the (warm) fresh milk to Varuṇa". Compare also places such as HŚS. 10, 6, 18 *mithunau gāvau maitrāvaruṇyām āmikṣāyām dadāti*; 8, 4, 14 etc.

It seems worth mentioning also the variant version of this story recounted in MS. 4, 5, 8: 76, 3 ff.: "Formerly they used to take up the soma draught for Mitrāvaruṇau separately. The creatures took (it) away, one from the other, while neglecting (disregarding it: *tāḥ prajā anyānyasyāḥ parihāyam ādadata*). Thereupon they took up the soma for Mitrāvaruṇau (so that they had it) in common. Then it was well ordered. In that one mixes the oblation for Varuṇa-and-Mitra with milk, one arranges (brings in the suitable condition) Varuṇa with Mitra, Mitra with Varuṇa. Varuṇa, one should know, grasped Mitra when the latter had killed Vṛtra. He approached the gods for help. They said: 'Approach Varuṇa (for help)'. He did so. He (Varuṇa) said: 'Let me have a share'. 'Choose', they answered. He said: 'Let them mix the soma with milk for us in common'. That he (the officiant) mixes the oblation for Varuṇa-and-Mitra with milk is to prevent the sacrificer from falling into Varuṇa's power".

In a section devoted to the first sacrificial session on the Sarasvatī PB. 25, 10, 9 makes mention of the 'course' (*sattra*) of Mitra-and-Varuṇa, adding (10) "by means of this rite Mitrāvaruṇau obtained these worlds, Mitra is the day, Varuṇa is the night . . .". See also ŚŚS. 13, 29, 22 and ŚB. 2, 4, 4, 18 f.<sup>246</sup>

In a section dealing with the homage to be paid to the ritual fires ĀśvŚS. 2, 5, 2; cf. 12; ĀpŚS. 6, 24, 4 and MŚS. 1, 6, 3, 8 have the stanza MS. 1, 5, 14: 83, 4; 17; 84, 9; KS. 7, 3: 65, 1 "Guard, O Mitrāvaruṇau, this house of mine . . ." pronounced by the householder who is about to undertake a journey; in order to acquit himself of this ritual duty he should place himself between the āhavanīya and gārhapatya fires. According to MŚS. 1, 6, 3, 15 he should, after having come back, recite the formula "O Mitrāvaruṇau you have guarded my house . . .". See also ŚGS. 3, 6, 2. MS. 1, 5, 14: 83, 19 ff. explains: "Mitrāvaruṇau are

<sup>246</sup> For the omitted part of PB. 25, 10, 9 and ŚB. 2, 4, 4, 18 f. see The Vedic god Mitra, p. 43.

day and night . . . , so he entrusts the care of his house to day and night, to Mitra-and-Varuṇa" (cf. also 1, 5, 14: 84, 11). In a similar context KS. 7, 11: 72, 19 however observes: *mitreṇa ca va imāḥ prajāḥ guptāḥ krūreṇa ca mītraṃ mītraḥ krūraṃ varuṇaḥ* "These creatures are guarded by a (benevolent) 'friend' and by a formidable one; Mitra is the (a) 'friend', Varuṇa is the formidable". It may be noticed that *krūraṃ* may denote anything frightful, such as for instance a terrifying apparition. These fires and their hearths are moreover considered identical with the earth or the world of men (the *gārhapatya*) and the sky or the world of the gods (the *āhavanīya*) respectively (cf. ŚB. 7, 1, 1, 37; 7, 3, 1, 10; 12; 9, 2, 3, 4; 14; 12, 4, 1, 3). That means that the worshipper while invoking this dual deity actually addresses representatives of the twofold universe.

The sterile *anūbandhyā* cow (e.g. KS. 10, 1: 126, 1)<sup>247</sup> which at the Soma sacrifice is to be slaughtered for Mitrāvaruṇau (cf. ŚB. 5, 4, 5, 22 where it is given to the *maitrāvaruṇa*; PB. 17, 13, 10) is explicitly identified with the dish of curds (cf. also 2, 4, 4, 14; 4, 2, 5, 22<sup>248</sup>; 4, 5, 1, 5; 13, 5, 4, 25; 13, 6, 2, 16, *payasyā*, made by mixing sour with hot sweet milk) which belongs to them (2, 4, 4, 14; cf. MS. 2, 3, 1: 26, 10; 3, 4, 7: 54, 2; 4, 6, 2: 79, 2; TS. 1, 8, 19, 1; 2, 5, 5, 4; 5, 7, 6, 5)<sup>249</sup>. Hence also ŚSS. 14, 40, 22 ff.: Instead of the *anūbandhyā* cow . . . he should sacrifice an *āmikṣā* (a mixture of boiled and coagulated milk) to Mitrāvaruṇau. "The reason why there is a barren cow (cf. also VS. 24, 8; ŚB. 4, 5, 1, 9) for Mitrāvaruṇau is this: Mitra takes the well-offered and Varuṇa the ill-offered part of one's sacrifice" (ŚB. 4, 5, 1, 6; 8)<sup>250</sup>. According to KB. 18, 11 (18, 8, 13 ff.) the *anūbandhyā* is required "to secure the equipoise of the sacrifice", because the victim for Agni-and-Soma has been offered before. "Moreover, in that he sacrifices to Varuṇa, therein is Mitra neglected. That is why it is for Mitrāvaruṇau, to secure Mitra also". According to some authorities three *anūbandhyā* cows were required (KS. 29, 4: 172, 11 ff.; ĀpŚS. 13, 23, 10 ff.), one for Mitrāvaruṇau which should be 'two-coloured', one for the *Viśve Devāḥ* which should be many-coloured and one for *Brhaspati* which should be red<sup>251</sup>.

Thus Mitra is believed to take the well-offered and Varuṇa the ill-offered part of a sacrifice (cf. e.g. also PB. 13, 2, 4)<sup>252</sup>. At KS. 39, 4: 172, 6 a statement to this effect is followed by the ritual inference: because the cow which is to be fastened for slaughtering belongs to Mitra-and-Varuṇa he releases the sacrifice from both sides, viz. from Mitra and from

<sup>247</sup> Cf. Caland and Henry, o.c., p. 406 ff. Cf. also JB. 3, 264.

<sup>248</sup> For ritual particulars see J. Eggeling, *The Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa*, II, Oxford 1885, p. 315, n. 5.

<sup>249</sup> Cf. also ŚB. 4, 2, 5, 19 ff. and Caland and Henry, o.c., p. 134; 196.

<sup>250</sup> For a discussion of this place see *The Vedic god Mitra*, p. 25.

<sup>251</sup> See W. Caland, *Das Śrautasūtra des Āpastamba*, II, Amsterdam Acad. 1924, p. 359.

<sup>252</sup> See *The Vedic god Mitra*, p. 25.

Varuṇa and gives it to the sacrificer. Compare also KKS. 45, 5: 271, 5 (*yan maitrāvaruṇī vaśānūbandhyā bhavaty ubhayata eva yajñam pramucya yajamānāya samprayacchati mitrāc ca varuṇāc ca*). Compare also KS. 29, 4: 172, 5 ff.: *yajñasya vai śiro 'cchidyata, tato yo raso 'sravat sā vaśābhavad. yad vaśānūbandhyā bhavati yajñasya sarasatvāya. mitro vai yajñasya sviṣṭam grhṇāti, varuṇo durīṣṭam yan maitrāvaruṇī vaśānūbandhyā bhavaty ubhayata eva yajñam pramucya yajamānāya samprayacchati, mitrāc ca varuṇāc ca*, from which it appears that that barren anūbandhyā cow was believed to be a transformation of the juice which came out of the head of the sacrifice when this broke off; that that cow is to provide the sacrifice with juice; that it belongs to the double deity under discussion; and that it enables the officiants to ransom the sacrifice from these gods and to let the sacrificer have its results. See also KKS. 45, 5<sup>253</sup>. The sacrificer should offer a barren cow (*vaśā*, Mitrāvaruṇā's 'ritual animal') to the maitrāvaruṇa: MS. 4, 4, 8: 59, 4; PB. 18, 9, 13, adding that this gift may bring the giver to *vaśa* "subjection" (i.e. the power to subject others)<sup>254</sup>. See also MS. 2, 6, 13: 72, 16 *maitrāvaruṇy āmikṣā vaśā dakṣiṇā*; VS. 2, 4, 8; KS. 15, 9: 216, 10; MS. 3, 13, 9: 170, 7.

Mitrāvaruṇau are expiration and inspiration and by means of the formula "Thou art the breath of Mitrāvaruṇau" one bestows expiration and inspiration (TS. 2, 3, 11, 3; 7, 2, 7, 2; cf. 6, 4, 1, 2 and 6, 4, 9, 4; MS. 3, 10, 6: 138, 2; 4, 8, 9: 117, 8; KS. 29, 1: 167, 10; 30, 3: 184, 3; KKS. 45, 2: 268, 5). Cf. also MS. 2, 3, 4: 31, 6; KS. 11, 7: 153, 19 *tena jīva, mitrāvaruṇayoh prāṇo 'si*. There is a ritual application in TS. 7, 2, 7 (*dvādaśarūtra*); KS. 30, 3; KKS. 46, 6 "They should draw the cup for Mitrāvaruṇau first, if, when they are consecrated, one dies. From expiration and inspiration, one should know, are they separated, of whom when consecrated one dies. Mitrāvaruṇau are expiration and inspiration. (Thus) at the commencement they grasp expiration and inspiration". It seems worth adding that also according to PB. 9, 8, 16; BŚS. 14, 27: 199, 15 of the soma draughts which are taken in a definite order, the one destined for Mitrāvaruṇau comes first, if one of those who have undertaken the consecration comes to die, because this divine pair represents expiration and inspiration and in this way one becomes fully provided with expiration and inspiration. "One should know that those who officiate for a person who has died are deprived of these breaths" (PB., l.c.)<sup>255</sup>. This is a deviation from the usual practice with regard to the *dvidevatyādigrāha-grahanaṃ* (precedence of Indra-and-Vāyu: PB. 9, 8, 11; cf. KŚS. 25, 13, 41; HŚS. 15, 5, 37; ĀpŚS. 14, 22, 4)<sup>256</sup>. According to JB. 1, 109 Mitrāvaruṇau, being *prāṇāpānau*, left the (domestic or) sacrificial animals (*pa-*

<sup>253</sup> Cf. TS. 6, 6, 7, 3 f. and The Vedic god Mitra, p. 24 f.

<sup>254</sup> Cf. W. Caland, *The Pañcaviṃśa-Brāhmaṇa*, Calcutta 1931, p. 496. See also TB. 1, 8, 2, 3 where "he has subdued the realm" (*rāṣṭram eva vaśy akah*).

<sup>255</sup> Cf. also MS. 4, 8, 9: 117, 8.

<sup>256</sup> Cf. Caland and Henry, o.c., p. 162 ff.



*śubho 'pākrāmatām*) because they felt slighted. As the animals gasped for breath, Indra-and-Agni intervened and prepared for them the *maitrāvaruṇa ājyastotra*. Thereupon they made the animals breathe again. For the *maitrāvaruṇa ājya* see also *ibidem* 1, 105 f.; 1, 153; JUB. 3, 2, 1, 4 (3, 6, 4).

Ritual explanations are often in harmony with characteristic features of those gods to whom a definite phase of a ritual or definite implements etc. belong. In TB. 1, 5, 4, 1 f. we are informed that Prajāpati fashioned the sacrificial vessels, implements and other entities out of himself, the *maitrāvaruṇa* cup—the technical term for a portion of soma which at the morning-pressing forms part of the *dvidevatyagrahas*—out of his adroitness and inventiveness (*dakṣakratubhyām*). This place cannot be disconnected from ŚB. 4, 1, 4, 1 where *Mitrāvaruṇau* are said to be inventiveness (*kratu*) and skill or adroitness (*dakṣa*), the complementary character of these two qualities being obvious<sup>257</sup>. See also MS. 4, 5, 9: 77, 11. It is therefore quite intelligible that one of the so-called *avakāśa* mantras—i.e. formulas accompanying “a glance cast at something”<sup>258</sup>—to be pronounced while the sacrificer gazes at the soma and the *maitrāvaruṇa* cup runs as follows: “For my inventiveness and adroitness giver of lustrous vigour (prestige), become thou purified for lustrous vigour (prestige)” (ŚB. 4, 5, 6, 2; VS. 7, 27 *kratūdakṣābhyām me varcodā varcase pavasva*)<sup>259</sup>.

Referring for the speculations in connection with relations between the dual deity and the *maitrāvaruṇagraha* in general to a former publication<sup>260</sup> it may be recalled that this ‘cup’ of Soma is said to owe its origin to the fact that Varuṇa, being nobility, and Mitra, being the brahmanical order, united (ŚB. 4, 1, 4, 4). This explanation was no doubt conceived under the influence of Varuṇa’s kingship (e.g. 2, 5, 2, 34) and of the doctrine of the co-operation of a ruler and his learned domestic priest.

After a section dealing with the morning-pressing of the one day Soma sacrifice 2, 3, 12 (cf. AiB. 3, 14) the comparatively late Gopatha-Brāhmaṇa gives an account of the three assistants of the hotar (2, 3, 13): “He (the sacrificer) said to *Mitrāvaruṇau*: ‘Do you both together perform this part of our sacrifice, viz. the *maitrāvaruṇa*’s function. They agreed. After having become united and strong, enduring they overcame death. Because both of them performed this part of the sacrificial rite, viz. the function of the *maitrāvaruṇa*, that functionary (now) recites the *maitrāvaruṇa* (*śāstra*) at the morning-pressing”. This means that the author believed in a joint action of Varuṇa and Mitra in the (mythical) foundation of

<sup>257</sup> For a discussion see The Vedic god Mitra, p. 27 f.

<sup>258</sup> I refer to Caland and Henry, o.c., p. 183; J. Eggeling, The Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa translated, II, Oxford 1885 (2<sup>nd</sup> Delhi 1963), p. 312, n. 4; 409; J. Gonda, Eye and gaze in the Veda, Amsterdam Acad. 1969, p. 47 f.

<sup>259</sup> The Vedic god Mitra, p. 27 f.

<sup>260</sup> The Vedic god Mitra, p. 27 ff.

a definite sacrificial ceremony and in their endeavour to benefit those who worship them <sup>261</sup>.

These gods are indeed the deities of the maitrāvaruṇa, the first assistant of the hotar, "the leader (*praṇetā*) of the hotrakas" (AiB. 6, 6, 2; GB. 2, 5, 12; cf. also MS. 4, 6, 1: 78, 8) whose co-operation is not required in the case of simpler rites (*iṣṭi*). See e.g. VādhS., A.O. 6, p. 199: "At the beginning of a sacrificial rite the officiants become, each of them, a deity (*devatā*) and lead the sacrificer (to the celestial regions) so that he will enjoy continuance of life (*amṛtam* . . . *kartum*). The hotar conducts the sacrifice as Agni, the 'two adhvaryus' <sup>262</sup> lead it as the Aśvins, the maitrāvaruṇa leads it as Mitrāvaruṇau . . .", and ŚB. 4, 6, 6, 8: "The maitrāvaruṇa then mutters: 'Impelled by god Savitar (*prasūtam devena savitrā*), acceptable (*juṣṭam*) to Mitrāvaruṇau'. Therewith he has recourse to Savitar for his impulsions (*prasavāya*), for he (Savitar) is the impeller (*prasavitā*) of the gods; and 'acceptable to Mitrāvaruṇau' he says, because these are the deities of the maitrāvaruṇa. Thus he announces it to those who are his deities . . .". Hence also the statement contained in ŚB. 4, 2, 3, 12 "With (the formula) 'I take thee for Mitrāvaruṇau' he takes the portion for the Maitrāvaruṇa priest . . .". If something is sung for this officiant it belongs to the dual deity: JB. 1, 138. See also PB. 7, 8, 6. In a description of the so-called Thousand years' rite of the Viśvasrjs a number of ritually and religiously important ideas, principles or entities is identified with the sacrificer and the officiants (PB. 25, 18, 4; BŚS. 17, 19). Interestingly enough, Rta is in this connection said to have been the maitrāvaruṇa: another indication of the very close relation between this pair of gods and the Universal Order, of the belief, on the part of these authors, that this relation is most characteristic of them.

Another title of the maitrāvaruṇa officiant is *praśāstar*, i.e. "the director". See e.g. KŚS. 9, 8, 10 *mitrāvaruṇau praśāstārau prāśāstrāt* (and the commentary: *anena mantreṇa praśāstāram ekaṃ vṛṇite*). This title is also given to the dual deity functioning as the *praśāstar* of the gods (see e.g. RVKh. 5, 7, 5, 6). In this function the gods are mentioned in ŚB. 5, 4, 3, 5, where the chariot of the king who is consecrated is yoked with "I yoke thee by the direction (*praśiṣā*) of Mitrāvaruṇau, the directors", for "these are the two arms, and by his two arms the nobleman belongs to them" <sup>263</sup>.

In dealing with this triumphant career of the king in his chariot TS. 1, 8, 15, 1; MS. 2, 6, 11: 70, 15; 4, 4, 5: 55, 12; KS. 15, 8: 214, 22 likewise prescribe the use of the formula *mitrāvaruṇayos tvā praśāstroḥ praśiṣā yunajmi* . . . "I yoke thee with the direction of Mitrāvaruṇau, the directors" to consecrate the yoking of the horses. For the explanation

<sup>261</sup> See also The Vedic god Mitra, p. 3.

<sup>262</sup> See p. 204.

<sup>263</sup> See above p. 189.

see TB. 1, 7, 9, 1: *brahmaṇaivainaṃ devatābhyāṃ yunakti. praṣṭivāhinaṃ yunakti. praṣṭivāhī vai devarathaḥ. devaratham evāsmāi yunakti. trayo 'śvā bhavanti rathas caturthaḥ* etc.

The adhvaryu chooses the maitrāvaruṇa with the formula "Mitrāvaruṇau, the two *praśāstars*, by their office of *praśāstar*; N.N. (the name of the maitrāvaruṇa) is the brahman *praśāstar*" (ĀpŚS. 11, 19, 8 and 11; 7, 14, 5; MŚS. 2, 3, 6, 17)<sup>264</sup>.

This functionary, the *maitrāvaruṇa*, deserves closer attention. Why does he alone give directions to all his colleagues (see e.g. ŚŚS. 5, 16, 1)? This question is in KB. 28, 1 (28, 2, 4 ff.) answered as follows: "The deities ran a race regarding the *praiṣas* (i.e. the directions or invitations to assistant officiants to begin a ritual act). Mitrāvaruṇā won (that race). Therefore the maitrāvaruṇa alone gives directions to all". From this mythical narrative it may be deduced that the ritualists believed the dual deity to have 'taken the initiative' in instituting the office of this functionary. There is even room for the supposition that in the days of yore the two gods themselves could act as a, or as their maitrāvaruṇa, or at least fulfil the functions which in historical time were his. According to the tradition of the ritualists preserved in AiB. 6, 4, 1 the maitrāvaruṇa recites the litany to Mitrāvaruṇau at the morning pressing, because by means of these two deities the gods chased away the asuras and the rakṣases on the south at the morning pressing. That is why nowadays the sacrificers repeat this deed and, by means of the maitrāvaruṇa's litany, drive away the demons on the south at the morning pressing.

There is every reason for emphasizing that this dual deity is alone in having a priest who bears their name and who is in charge, for instance, of the śāstras to be recited for them, whereas those for Indra are to be recited by the brāhmanācchamsin and those for Indrāgnī by the acchāvāka<sup>265</sup>. It does not, moreover, seem to be devoid of interest that he is the first assistant of the hotar whose office was an ancient institution. The fact that the title maitrāvaruṇa does not occur in the Ṛgveda—although 'directions' addressed to the hotar are unmistakably alluded to in RV. 2, 36, 6—and that the term *upavaktar* "the one who impels or animates" which is known to that corpus (cf. e.g. 9, 95, 5 *īṣyan vdcam upavaktēva hōtuḥ*) is in the post-Ṛgvedic period one of the names of the maitrāvaruṇa, to whom this ancient term may be transferred, seems to point to an increasing ritual importance of this dual deity. It has even been surmised that the two divine hotars, of whom we hear in the Ṛgveda (in the *āpri* hymns, 1, 13, 8 etc.) are the heavenly representatives of the hotar and that functionary which in the ritual texts is known as the maitrāvaruṇa<sup>266</sup>. Perhaps we had better suppose the hotar and his

<sup>264</sup> Cf. J. Schwab, *Das altindische Tieropfer*, Erlangen 1886, p. 88.

<sup>265</sup> For particulars see Keith, *Religion and philosophy*, p. 329.

<sup>266</sup> Cf. e.g. Oldenberg, *Religion des Veda*, 3p. 390; Keith, *Religion and philosophy*, p. 296.

first assistant to have been the prototypes of this 'divine' duality (the hotars) whatever the exact meaning attached to the expression. In any case this functionary has in the animal <sup>267</sup> and Soma sacrifices recitations of his own to perform which are in large measure directed to the double deity under consideration and this function obviously was so important that he derived his most usual title from them. Nor was the other task imposed on him, viz. the giving of directions (*praiṣa*) regarded as insignificant: he is the mind (*manas*) <sup>268</sup> of the sacrifice (AiB. 2, 5, 9; ŚB. 12, 8, 2, 23) and as such the holder of an indispensable office.

The characterization of this priest as "truthful" (*satyavān*, GB. 2, 5, 15) may perhaps be associated with the epithet *satyadharmāṇau* "(gods) whose *dharma*s are truth(ful)" applied to Mitrāvaruṇau at RV. 5, 63, 1 and the term *satya* used in connection with Mitra <sup>269</sup>.

After the buying of the soma the sacrificer hands the staff (of the initiated made of udumbara wood which represents strength (*ūrj*) so that by offering this staff he wins strength) to the maitrāvaruṇa priest, who receives it as the badge of his office. For this officiant first assigns to the priests their utterance when he addresses them (the staff, one should know, contains speech) and the priests establish it in the sacrificer (TS. 6, 1, 4, 1 f.; ĀpŚS. 10, 27, 2; cf. KS. 23, 4: 79, 12; KKS. 36, 1; MS. 3, 6, 8: 70, 17). In handing the staff to the maitrāvaruṇa the sacrificer should pronounce the formula "By the direction (*praiṣā*) of the two directors (*praiṣāstar*), Mitrāvaruṇau, I hand (it) to you; may I not become crooked, not staggering" (ĀpŚS. 10, 27, 2; cf. ĀśvŚS. 3, 1, 16 f.; cf. VS. 10, 21 where the formula is *mitrāvaruṇayos tvā bāhubhyām praiṣāstroḥ praiṣā prayacchāmi*. The staff is accepted with the formula *mitrāvaruṇayos tvā bāhubhyām praiṣāstroḥ praiṣā pratigrhṇāmy avakro 'vithuro bhūyāsam iti* and ŚŚS. 5, 15, 10 "I hand thee by the direction of Mitrāvaruṇau, the *praiṣāstars*, for the security of the sacrifice", the priest accepting it with a similar formula <sup>270</sup>. One curious point in the texts dealing with this staff is the injunction contained in BhārŚS. 10, 8, 18: the *dikṣita* should by no means divest himself of the staff (that is, before handing it over to the maitrāvaruṇa).

This staff is used in one of the following ritual acts, viz. the erection of the post of udumbara wood: "... le pratiprasthātar a fait couper le pilier d'udumbara à la taille du sacrifiant, non compris, bien entendu, la partie à enterrer, et enlever l'excédent à la base. L'adhvaryu ... se fait apporter divers accessoires: un vase contenant l'eau d'aspersion, où nagent des grains d'orge; une poignée d'herbe ..., le baton du maitrā-

<sup>267</sup> See e.g. Schwab, o.c., p. 96; 114; 117; 132 f.; 137; 144 f.; Keith, o.c., p. 324.

<sup>268</sup> See further on, p. 204 f.

<sup>269</sup> The Vedic god Mitra, p. 62 ff.

<sup>270</sup> For the staff see Schwab, Tieropfer, p. 49; Caland and Henry, o.c., p. 8 and J. Gonda, A note on the Vedic student's staff, in Journal Or. Inst. Baroda 14 (1965), p. 262 ff., esp. p. 271 f.



varuṇa . . . Il appelle le sacrifiant . . . Il asperge (le tronc du figuier) trois fois de cette eau d'orge . . . L'adhvaryu annonce aux chantres que le pilier est paré. L'udgātar . . . et l'adhvaryu le relèvent ensemble, l'adhvaryu, s'il est du rite Taittirīya ou Vājasaneyin, en disant (VS. 5, 27 etc.): 'Etaie le ciel, emplis l'espace, affermis la terre . . . ' . . . Les deux prêtres posent le pilier de telle sorte que la fourche du sommet ('les oreilles') soit orientée est-ouest, l'adhvaryu Taittirīya en disant TS. 1, 3, 1 i "Que Dyutāna Māruta (the name of a divine being, regarded as a Vedic ṛṣi <sup>271</sup>) te construise de par le fixe support de Mitra-et-Varuṇa' (*dyutānas tvā māruto minotu mitrāvaruṇayor dhruveṇa dharmanā* <sup>272</sup>), l'adhvaryu Mānava . . . : (MŚS. 2, 2, 3, 16) 'Que Nitāna Māruta t'enfonce, et Mitra-et-Varuṇa, au moyen d'un fixe support' . . . 'Tu es la nourriture invigorante, qui donne la vigueur; donne-moi l'invigorante nourriture, donne-moi l'aliment'. Il maintient le pilier jusqu'à ce que le toit du sadas y repose . . . L'adhvaryu . . . tasse le sol, en le frappant du bâton du maitrāvaruṇa . . . : 'Affermis la sainteté, affermis la postérité, affermis la prospérité . . . ' <sup>273</sup>.

It is the maitrāvaruṇa who receives the portion of the draught destined for Mitrāvaruṇau (VS. 7, 23 with the commentaries) <sup>274</sup>. According to ŚB. 4, 1, 4, 4 the maitrāvaruṇa graha owes its existence to the fact that once Varuṇa, i.e. *kṣatram*, and Mitra, i.e. *brahman*, united <sup>275</sup>. With the formula "For Mitrāvaruṇau I take thee that pleases the gods, for the (continuance of life) of the sacrifice" (VS. 7, 23) the portion for the maitrāvaruṇa priest is taken, "for in stanzas to Mitrāvaruṇau they (the udgātars) chant praises for this (libation), and he (the hotar) afterwards recites stanzas to them for the śastra and offers with a stanza to them" (ŚB. 4, 2, 3, 12 dealing with the ukthyagraha; cf. also KŚS. 9, 14, 9).

The dish of curds for this double deity (ŚB. 2, 4, 4, 18; 5, 5, 1, 1; 5, 4, 4, 1 f.) <sup>276</sup> is placed in front of the hearth of the maitrāvaruṇa (ŚB. 5, 4, 3, 27). A definite formula (VS. 10, 25) "I draw you downward, arms of Indra of mighty deeds" brings the essence of cattle to the king, the dish being the essence of cattle. An interesting explanation of the ritual significance of this oblation is given at ŚB. 9, 5, 1, 54. At a certain moment of the complex agnicayana rites one offers it to the dual deity. "Now he who performs this rite comes to be with the gods. These two,

<sup>271</sup> See A. A. Macdonell and A. B. Keith, *Vedic index*, London 1912 (2<sup>nd</sup> Varanasi 1958), I, p. 382.

<sup>272</sup> See above, p. 188 f.

<sup>273</sup> Caland and Henry, *o.c.*, p. 94 ff. See BŚS. 6, 26 f.; ĀpŚS. 11, 9, 11 ff.; MŚS. 2, 2, 3, 13 ff.; KŚS. 8, 5, 33 ff.; LŚS. 1, 7, 1 ff.

<sup>274</sup> In order to avoid misunderstanding it may be recalled that the maitrāvaruṇa is, in ritual practice, also in charge of recitations in honour of other gods. Thus the stanzas and hymns which constitute his *niṣkevalyaśastra* (Caland and Henry, *o.c.*, p. 315), viz. RV. 8, 93, 19–21; 7, 32, 14–15; 3, 48; 4, 19 are addressed to Indra. See e.g. also KB. 16, 11 (16, 10, 25).

<sup>275</sup> The Vedic god Mitra, p. 4.

<sup>276</sup> See e.g. also RVKh. 5, 7, 4, 1.

Mitrāvaruṇau, are a divine pair (*daivam . . . mithunam*). Now, were he to have intercourse with a human woman without having offered this (oblation), it would be a descent, as if one who is divine would become human. But when he offers this dish to Mitrāvaruṇau, he therefore approaches a divine mate (he enters into a divine union). Having offered it, he may freely have intercourse in a befitting way". The mess of clotted curds to Varuṇa-and-Mitra being the concluding oblation of a soma-sacrifice<sup>277</sup>, the direction "the sacrificer may not indulge in carnal intercourse before this oblation has been offered" is indeed quite intelligible: compare also ŚB. 6, 2, 2, 39; KB. 19, 7 (19, 4, 33) " 'No piler of the fire should indulge in sexual union without having offered this sacrifice' (they say)"; ŚŚS. 9, 28, 18.

A milk mess to this double deity may alternatively be offered at the end of a sautrāmaṇī<sup>278</sup> (KB. 16, 10) or it may conclude this rite<sup>279</sup>. According to TB. 3, 12, 5, 12 both rites may optionally be performed by the sacrificer who has constructed the great fire-place, because that man is deprived from his 'virtue' which needs replenishing by means of a subordinate ritual, viz. the sautrāmaṇī or the dish of curds for Mitrāvaruṇau. When he has recovered his 'virtue' the way to the 'world' of brahman is open to him (*agnim citvā sautrāmaṇyā yajeta maitrāvaruṇyā vā. vīryeṇa vā eṣa vyrdhyate yo 'gnim cinute. yāvad eva vīryam tad asmin dadhāti brahmaṇaḥ sāyujyam salokatām āpnoti*).

At the end of a detailed description of the preparation of the consecration waters (rājasūya ceremonies)<sup>280</sup> it reads (ŚB. 5, 3, 4, 28) "He deposits them in front of the maitrāvaruṇa's hearth to the accompaniment of the formula (VS. 10, 4) 'Unimpaired rest ye, the strengthful (*sahavīśaḥ*) . . .': he thereby says 'unimpaired by the rakṣas rest ye' and by 'strengthful' he means to say 'powerful'; ' . . . bestowing great worldly power on the kṣatriya . . . '. In the corresponding formula in TS. 1, 8, 12, 1; MS. 2, 6, 8; 68, 8 etc. it reads "prestige" (*varcas*) instead of "worldly power" (*kṣatram*). The choice of this safe place to keep these holy waters was of course not without a valid motive. In 5, 3, 4, 3, at the very beginning of this part of the ritual, the author had reminded us of the fact that with this water they had, in the mythical past of course, anointed Mitra-and-Varuṇa (VS. 10, 1), and that with it "they guided Indra past the fiends, the *rakṣas*". For this hearth see also 5, 3, 5, 3 and 10.

In explanation of a ritual custom, viz. the maitrāvaruṇa's "reciting (the litany)" to this dual deity at the morning pressing AiB. 6, 4, 1 relates the following myth: When the gods performed a sacrificial rite and the asuras approached from the south to confuse it, the gods placed this

<sup>277</sup> Cf. Caland and Henry, o.c., p. 406 ff. See e.g. ĀśvŚS. 6, 14, 7.

<sup>278</sup> For the significance of this see J. Gonda, *Die Religionen Indiens*, I, Stuttgart 1960, p. 173.

<sup>279</sup> A. Hillebrandt, *Ritualliteratur*, Strassburg 1897, p. 161.

<sup>280</sup> Cf. Heesterman, o.c., p. 79 ff.

dual deity in the south and succeeded in smiting away their antagonists at the morning pressing. The sacrificer, repeating this action taken by the gods effects the same result by means of the maitrāvaruṇa's litany.

In a section dealing with the recitations of the hotrakas at the morning pressing the author of KB. 28, 3 (28, 3, 25) states: "The maitrāvaruṇa employs (a formula) to Mitrāvaruṇau, viz. RV. 1, 23, 4, to secure that (the beginning of the sacrificial rite) shall be provided with its own deity". (Cf. also ŚSS. 7, 4, 6). AiB. 6, 10, 2 and GB. 2, 2, 20 (which are identical) however explain the use of this stanza in such a way that because of the word "drink" which it contains it is a 'manifestation' (*rūpam*) of Indra (cf. also GB. 2, 2, 21; 22). For this activity of the maitrāvaruṇa see also KB. 28, 9 (=28, 7, 1 and compare 28, 7, 10): "The maitrāvaruṇa and the achāvāka are the two arms. These are twofold. Therefore they recite (stanzas) for two deities at the morning pressing etc.". For the ritual context see also AiB. 6, 9<sup>281</sup>.

In dealing with the particulars concerning the drinking of the soma MŚS. 2, 4, 1, 36 prescribes: "Both enjoy the Mitrāvaruṇau draught (*maitrāvaruṇam*) after bringing it near to their eyes while pronouncing (a definite formula)". The drinking of the Indra-and-Vāyu draught, the preceding act, had to take place after having brought it near to their breaths (ibidem, 35), so that there can be no doubt about the correlation between the former pair of gods and the eyes. The same association is explicitly mentioned in TS. 6, 4, 9, 4 "(The cup) for Indra-and-Vāyu is speech, that for Varuṇa-and-Mitra is the eye, that for the Áśvins is the ear . . . He eats in front that for Varuṇa-and-Mitra, therefore in front he sees with his eye"<sup>282</sup>.

There is also some evidence of a special relation between the maitrāvaruṇa officiant and breath. In KB. 13, 2 (13, 1, 21 ff.) the set of the five oblations (curds, fried grains etc.) is identified with breath (*atha vai haviṣpañktiḥ prāṇa eva*). Therefore, the text continues, the hotar pronounces the same formulae as a yājyā as the maitrāvaruṇa for his directions, "for breath is the same" (*samāno hy ayaṁ prāṇaḥ*). In AiB. 6, 27, 14; GB. 2, 6, 8 it reads: ". . . speech has its place in the middle . . . The hotar having poured it in seed form hands it over to the maitrāvaruṇa (saying:) 'Do thou provide the breaths for it' ". Compare also AiB. 6, 28, 10; 6, 31, 1.

Keith's<sup>283</sup> translation of AiB. 2, 26, 1 *te vā ete prāṇā eva yad dvidevatyāḥ* "The cups for two deities are the breaths" is in view of what follows incomprehensible. The meaning obviously is "The cups for dual deities are the vital powers or, rather, the psychical organs: that for Indra-and-Vāyu speech and breath, that for Varuṇa-and-Mitra eye<sup>284</sup> and 'mind' (*manas*)—cf. KS. 27, 5: 144, 6—, that for the Áśvins ear and

<sup>281</sup> Compare also Caland and Henry, o.c., p. 163 and 244.

<sup>282</sup> However, at MS. 4, 9, 3: 124, 3 this dual deity is correlated with hearing.

<sup>283</sup> A. B. Keith, *Rigveda Brahmanas*, Cambridge Mass. 1920, p. 154.

<sup>284</sup> For the eye see The Vedic god Mitra, especially p. 76 ff.

'self' (*ātmā*)". "In that he recites a triplet to Mitrāvaruṇau he makes his eye perfect" (3, 2, 6). One partakes of the cup for this double deity to the accompaniment of the formula "... guardian of the eye, guard mine eye" (2, 27, 6). If one desires to deprive a person of his eye one should recite for him a triplet to this deity in confusion, that is, he should confuse it by passing over part of it (3, 3, 5). It may be recalled that at KB. 13, 5 (13, 4, 21) Mitrāvaruṇau are correlated with the eye.

According to ŚB. 12, 8, 2, 23 the hotar is the voice of the sacrifice, the brahman priest its heart, the maitrāvaruṇa its 'mind' (*manas*). In AiB. 2, 5, 8 ff. and 2, 28, 6 this identification is elaborated: "the maitrāvaruṇa is the mind, the hotar the voice of the sacrificial rite; instigated by the mind the voice speaks ... The maitrāvaruṇa with mind sets speech in motion; with speech set in motion by mind he provides the oblation for the gods".

It is explicitly taught (VādhŚS., in Acta Or. Lugd. 6, p. 197 f., § 83) that the cups containing the sacrificial draught represent a 'rebirth' of the gods, because according to TB. 1, 4, 1, 1 the gods, having emanated from Prajāpati, became the portions of soma taken with a ladle or spoon out of a larger vessel (*te grahā abhavan*). The sūtra details this process as follows: "in that he takes out Indra-and-Vāyu's portion this dual deity is reborn; in that he takes out Mitrāvaruṇau's portion, this dual deity is reborn (*mitrāvaruṇau haiva tat punar jayete*), etc."

I cannot discuss here all occurrences of the maitrāvaruṇa and his cup in the ritual texts. Mention may however be made of ŚB. 3, 9, 3, 26 ff.: "Thereupon he makes that oblation (ghee, viz. the dross) float away by means of the maitrāvaruṇa's cup ... lest the ghee, which is a thunderbolt, should injure Soma ... The reason why he takes (water) with the maitrāvaruṇa's cup is this. When the sacrifice escaped from the gods, the gods endeavoured to call it up by means of the sacrificial directions (*praiṣa*)". It may be recalled that these directions are given by the maitrāvaruṇa. Here it is not a mythical narrative of the dual deity, but a characteristic function of the priest, which furnishes the clue.

These relations and identifications lead to a systematic co-ordination in ŚB. 5, 5, 1, 11 "The fee for the dish of curds for Mitrāvaruṇau is a sterile cow because that one is sacred to Mitrāvaruṇau ... He gives it to the two adhvaryus (i.e. to the adhvaryu and pratiprasthātar, who are regarded as twins and therefore obtain the same dakṣiṇā; cf. PB. 18, 9, 10), for the adhvaryus are expiration and inspiration and expiration and 'up-breathing' (*prāṇodānau*) are Mitrāvaruṇau; that is why he gives it to the two adhvaryus". See also 9, 5, 1, 56: "The seed which fell from him (Prajāpati) is this dish of clotted curds for Mitrāvaruṇau, for they are expiration and 'up-breathing' and these fashion (transform, *vikurutaḥ*) the infused seed" and 5, 5, 1, 6 "And why he proceeds with the dish of curds for Mitrāvaruṇau—because he makes him ascend the northern region ...". Elsewhere, at 12, 9, 2, 12 it reads: "When he has come out



from the bath (*avabhṛtha*), he offers a dish of curds to Mitrāvaruṇau. Now Mitra is this (terrestrial) world, Varuṇa yonder world, and the dish of curds is what there is here between (these two). Thus, when he offers this dish . . . , he establishes himself in these worlds. And Mitra indeed is expiration and Varuṇa inspiration, and the dish of curds (is) food. Thus . . . he finally establishes himself in vital power (breath), in food". Elsewhere it reads: "At the right side the rathantara (*sāman*) is to be taken; at the side of the maitrāvaruṇa; *gāyatrī*-like is the rathantara; *gāyatrī*-like is the maitrāvaruṇa" (PB. 5, 1, 15; cf. 5, 6, 2). For the relation between the right side and the maitrāvaruṇa, who has his seat to the right side of the hotar, see also AiB. 7, 1, 2.

According to KS. 29, 1: 167, 7 ff. and KKS. 45, 2: 268, 2 ff. an evil spirit called *Dirghajihvin* licked (with his long tongue) the sacrifice of the gods, viz. the morning libation of soma. That became confounded (discomposed). It became coagulated milk (*payasyā*). That is why curds (*āmikṣā*)—which is a mixture of two ingredients, viz. boiled and coagulated milk—are so to say discomposed. That there is coagulated milk at the morning pressing is in order to ensure its perfection. At the morning pressing it belongs to Mitrāvaruṇau. It is not found on the occasion of the two subsequent pressings. "Mitrāvaruṇau are expiration and inspiration. One 'moves round' expiration and inspiration from the mouth. That is why these are at the beginning (*mukhataḥ*)". It may be of interest to compare MS. 4, 5, 2: 64, 17 where this dual deity is said to be the *yajñamukha* "the mouth, face, i.e. commencement of a sacrificial rite".

The ritual direction (TS. 2, 1, 7, 3) "if one desires rain, one should offer to this dual deity (a cow) of two forms"<sup>285</sup> is another instance. It is based on the consideration that the day is connected with Mitra, the night with Varuṇa, and that it rains by day and night, so that one should have recourse to Mitrāvaruṇau with their own share<sup>286</sup>.

I finally proceed to venture some explanatory comment on the nature, *raison d'être* and, as far as possible, central, most characteristic, if not 'original' function of this duality. Some light on the belief in the biunity of both gods and on the deeper sense of their forming a pair is thrown by ŚB. 2, 4, 4, 10: "Those two, Varuṇa and Mitra, are two deities, and two means a pair. Hence a productive pair is thereby (i.e. by the ritual act under discussion) obtained, and thus is (produced) that form (of the sacrifice) by which he (the sacrificer) . . . is reproduced". However, although this passage may be of interest in connection with the ideas of this divine duality maintained by those brahmans to whom we owe this genre of literature, the explication can hardly be complete and adequate, the less so as it is also given in connection with other dual deities<sup>287</sup>. It seems

<sup>285</sup> See also KS. 13, 8: 190, 5 *sā yā dvirūpā sābhavat tasmāt sā maitrāvaruṇā*.

<sup>286</sup> Cf. also TS. 2, 1, 7, 4.

<sup>287</sup> See chapter I. In ŚB. 2, 4, 4, 9 the same statement occurs in connection with Indra-and-Agni; in 7 with Agni-and-Soma.

to me that the evidence is not too slender to support the following hypothesis which I shall formulate as succinctly as possible. Abstaining from polemical argumentation, avoiding unnecessary repetition and referring for my views of the theories of my predecessors to my former publications, I am for the time being inclined to regard the relations which this dual deity maintains with the highly important principle called *Ṛta* as the central and most characteristic feature in the character of the former<sup>288</sup>. *Ṛta*, the fundamental Order, Law, Truth, which is the basis—or at the basis—of all diversity, which manifests itself in all normal and regular phenomena of nature, in our physical and psychical faculties, moral obligations, social and ritual institutions, is conceived of as one, homogeneous, indivisible. The phenomenal world, which is based on it, dependent on it, determined and regulated by it, is, on the other hand, largely viewed as being characterized by duality (day: night; expiration: inspiration; man's two arms, the natural and the artificial, inventiveness and adroitness, the brahmanical order and nobility etc.). The two gods, brothers and sons of the same mother, *Aditi*—"Freedom", The Great Mother and goddess of *Ṛta*, the divine representative of the "Unbeschränktheit in der erzeugenden und Leben im Stand erhaltenden Natur"<sup>289</sup>—, are conjointly concerned with many events in, or aspects or elements of, phenomenal reality. When these are viewed as single, homogeneous, unanalysable or when there is no need for analysis or distinctions, the dual deity acts and functions as a unity, as a pair named by the *dvandva* compound. Being in the main a double representation of the same idea they can, due to an unmistakable tendency to polarity also be conceived of as a complementary pair<sup>290</sup>. That means that in

<sup>288</sup> A good and brief statement of some of the main characteristics of the dual deity is given in the *praiṣa* formula *ĀśvSS.* 5, 5, 12; *ŚSS.* 7, 2, 6; *RVKh.* 5, 7, 4, 7: *hotā yakṣan mītrāvaruṇā sukṣatṛā riśādasā ni cin miṣantā nicirā nicayyāmsākṣṇas cid gātwittarānnullabaṇena cakṣasā ṛtam-ṛtam iti dīdhyānā karata evam mītravaruṇā juṣetām vītām pibetām somaṃ, hotar yaja* "Let the hotar worship *Mitrāvaruṇā*, (who are) well possessed of dominion, taking care of their worshippers (?), who even when shutting their eyes, vigilant, observe, finding a way better than the eye, with unimpaired eye, continually thoughtful of every manifestation of *Ṛta*. Let them do thus. Let *Mitravaruṇā* graciously accept, enjoy and drink the soma. Hotar, recite the offering stanza!" (Compare also *J. Scheftelowitz, Die Apokryphen des Rgveda, Breslau 1906, p. 151*).

<sup>289</sup> Gonda, *Die Religionen Indiens, I, p. 84*.

<sup>290</sup> The possibility of viewing events, phenomena, institutions from different angles, and the necessity to arrange or combine them in various ways, for instance as single and simple or as composed and as part of a whole or structure, the belief in the presence, activity and interdependence of a considerable number of deities and powers may of course lead to more or less incidental deviations from the common identifications or correlations. *Varuṇa* may 'be' nobility and *Mitra* the brahmanical order, this division of the upper classes of society does not prevent the author of *MS.* 2, 3, 1: 26, 15 f. from stating that as to his deity, the brahman belongs to *Mitrāvaruṇau*, and the nobleman to *Indrāvaruṇau*. See also *KS.* 12, 1: 162, 1 *payasyayā yajetāmayaṁ maitrāvaruṇī brāhmaṇasya syād aindrāvaruṇī rājanyasya . . .*

accordance with a widespread trend to view mundane diversity as essentially dual in character, the aspects and elements of reality were largely represented or interpreted as pairs of opposites or, rather, complements. In that case it becomes apparent that the characters of the two gods are not identical, but likewise, so to say, complementary. Although Mitrāvaruṇa, the upholders and furtherers of Order, are symbolical of the belief that one Law, one Norm, one Truth, one Order is underlying all reality, they are, as an intimately associated pair of brothers, just as well continually characterizing this reality as essentially dual, as twofold, polar or complementary in nature and operation. That is why on closer examination it appears that their functions do not completely coincide. They uphold Ṛta, punish its transgressors, reward those who abide by it, restrain and marshal men, but in so doing Varuṇa and Mitra, while complementing each other, take their own lines of action and conduct. Mitra appeases, Varuṇa restrains, Mitra is the 'friend', Varuṇa wields the noose. They are believed to be present in the important phenomenon of fire, but the nature and the function of fire are twofold: it is helpful and procures what is advantageous and it is dreadful and wards off what is disadvantageous. In the former case Agni appears as Mitra, in the latter as Varuṇa <sup>291</sup>.

That this pair of gods was believed to encompass the whole twofold universe, is in view of their character and the importance of the Ṛta principle not surprising. That they were intimately connected with the sun and regarded as omniscient, as greater than heaven and earth, as possessors of the incomprehensible creative power called *māyā*, as kings and rulers, as architects of the worlds (RVKh. 1, 3, 1 *bhūvanasya kārū*), as representatives of the divine community par excellence is, it would appear to me, mainly the result of the well-known tendency to endow a great god with the chief attributes of a still greater or even Supreme Being. That they concern themselves with definite provinces of nature—for instance that they preside over the waters and give rain, that they dispose the seasons, months and days—is no doubt an essential part of their character; prayers and eulogies are addressed to them, protection and beneficence expected from them, because they are revered and worshipped as great gods.

That means that in accordance with tradition there are close ties between nobility and Indra on one hand, between brahmanhood and Mitra on the other, but at the same time between Varuṇa and either social division. Oneness and duality may go together: MS. 3, 2, 8: 27, 11 ff. "He places upon (it) the head of a man, for this one is of all 'animals' most possessed of 'virtue' (*vīryavattamaḥ*). (Thus) he places 'virtue' in it. He places one upon (it). Thus he places 'virtue' 'singly' (together, concentratedly). He makes an oblation upon the man's head with a formula addressed to the Sun in order completely to attain the heavenly world. That (formula), addressed to the Sun, one should know, belongs to Mitrāvaruṇau: Mitra is the day, Varuṇa night. Thus he has a firm foundation in day and night...".

<sup>291</sup> The Vedic god Mitra, p. 45 ff.

Finally, it would be wrong stubbornly to explain every act performed or part played by this dual deity, every occurrence of their names in definite passages in the light of the above view of the most prominent features in their character and of the particular functions and qualities inherent in their persons. Mitra and Varuṇa were, individually, but very often as inseparable companions, as a *dualité unité*, members of the Vedic pantheon and could as such in accordance with their mutual relations be grouped together with other deities. We should not be surprised to encounter passages in which they are indeed regarded as just another deity and believed to join their colleagues in possessing definite attributes or in constituting, with them, correlative systems in which their most characteristic qualities recede into the background. While, for instance, she-goats which are speckled, have small spots or big spots belong to the dual deity under discussion in contradistinction to the white ones which are dedicated to Savitar (VS. 24, 9; MS. 3, 13, 3: 169, 4), at TS. 5, 6, 13, 1 animals with white ear-holes, including those with one white ear-hole are said to be for this dual deity, the red ones for Prajāpati, the brown ones for Rudra etc. etc. (ibid. 11, 1). Not all functions, myths and identifications of this dual deity are directly explicable from their central and (perhaps) original function<sup>292</sup>. When, at JB. 1, 105 f. it reads: "The gods desirous of conquering the 'worlds' (*loka*) 'saw' the ājyastotras, praised with them (i.e. used them ritually) and conquered with them the 'worlds'; this (mundane) world with the *āgneya ājyastotra*, the atmosphere with that of Mitra-and-Varuṇa, the celestial world with that belonging to Indra, the regions with the *aindrāgna ājyastotra* . . .", the author has followed the order in which these hymns of praise connected with the morning sacrifice occur in ritual practice<sup>293</sup>.

<sup>292</sup> Cf. e.g. ŚB. 12, 8, 2, 27.

<sup>293</sup> See Caland and Henry, o.c., p. 236; 243; 248; 261.



## CHAPTER VI

### INDRA-AND-VĀYU

In contradistinction to Vāta, the other name of wind—but chiefly as the element and the natural phenomenon—Vāyu is associated with Indra, the two gods being then often invoked as *indravāyū*. The ancient interpreters regarded this couple as so closely connected, that either of them might represent the deities of the atmosphere; cf. Nirukta 7, 5: *tisra eva devatā iti nairuktāḥ. agniḥ pṛthivīsthānaḥ, vāyur vendro vāntarikṣasthānaḥ, sūryo dyusthānaḥ*.

RV. 1, 2 consists of three triplets, the first of which is addressed to Vāyu, the last to Mitra and Varuṇa, and the middle one to Indra and Vāyu. The contents of the stanzas 4–6 containing invitations to come quickly and joyfully and to drink the soma, do not essentially differ from that of the stanzas 1–3, in which Vāyu alone is invited to drink. The epithets *vājinivasū* “rich in manifestations of vāja” (such as horses etc.)<sup>1</sup> (5) and *narā* “lords” (6) are in the dual. The gods are addressed as *indravāyū* in 4 and as *vāyav indraś ca* in 5 and 6<sup>2</sup>. The sequence in 6 b *ā yātam ūpa niṣkṛtām* reminds us of 7, 66, 19 a *ā yātam mitrāvaruṇā*; 6, 67, 3 a *ā yātam mitravaruṇā suśastī* and 8, 8, 6 c *ā yātam aśvinā galam*. Stanza 4 is used (cf. VS. 7, 8; TS. 1, 4, 4, 1; ŚB. 4, 1, 3, 19 etc.) as a formula for the *aindravāyava graha* offered to the dual deity<sup>3</sup>; stanza 5 and 6 do not occur elsewhere, but 6 b occurs at AiĀ. 1, 1, 4, 3 b after RV. 1, 2, 4 a, the author adding that “Indravāyū approach what has been well prepared (*niṣkṛtām = saṃskṛtam*) by him who knows this and for whom (plur.) a hotar priest who knows this recites”.

It may be recalled here already that according to ĀśvŚS. 5, 10, 1–10; ŚŚS. 7, 10, 1–15 RV. 1, 2 and 3 are ritually used as the so-called *praṭigaśastra*, the second laud recited by the hotar at the morning libation<sup>4</sup> and consisting of seven triplets. Except for departures from the tradition represented by the above texts the gods addressed are, in the following order<sup>5</sup>: Vāyu, Indra-Vāyu, Mitra-Varuṇa, the Aśvins, Indra, Viśve Devāḥ, Sarasvatī.

<sup>1</sup> Gonda, Epithets in the Rgveda, The Hague 1959, p. 118. For the epithets which Indra and Vāyu have in common see also E. D. Perry, in J.A.O.S. 11, p. 163.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Renou, E.V.P. XV, p. 98; R. Zwolanek, *Vāyav indraś ca*, Münchener Stud. Sprachw., Beiheft 5 (1970).

<sup>3</sup> See further on, p. 217.

<sup>4</sup> W. Caland-V. Henry, L'Agniṣṭoma, Paris 1906, p. 239 ff.; H. Oldenberg, Die Religion des Veda, Stuttgart-Berlin 1923, p. 453; K. F. Geldner, Der Rig-Veda übersetzt, Cambridge Mass. 1951, I, p. 2. See e.g. KB. 14, 4 f.

<sup>5</sup> A. Bergaigne, Recherches sur l'histoire de la liturgie védique, Journ. asiatique 1889, I, p. 31 ff.; 170 f. See also p. 127.

Leaving stanza 16–24 out of consideration, RV. 1, 23, addressed to a variety of gods—more precisely, but with two variants<sup>6</sup>, to the gods of the praūgaśastra—is composed of a triplet, directed to Vāyu (st. 1) and Indra-Vāyu (st. 2 and 3), a triplet directed to Mitra and Varuṇa (st. 4–6), one to Indra and the Maruts (st. 7–9), one to the Maruts as Viśve Devāḥ (st. 10–12), and one to Pūṣan (st. 13–15). St. 1 and 2 are invitations, st. 3 is rather an imploration. The pāda *ubhā devā divispṛśā* (1, 23, 2 a, prescribed at ŚŚS. 10, 3, 5 for the praūgaśastra) is identical with 1, 22, 2 b, where these words apply to the Aśvins; the pāda *asṛā śomasya pītāye* (1, 23, 2 c) is also 1, 22, 1 c (Aśvins), 4, 49, 5 c (Indra-Bṛhaspati), 5, 71, 3 c (Mitra-Varuṇa), 6, 59, 10 d (Indra-and-Agni), 8, 76, 6 c (Indra alone), 8, 94, 10 c–12 c (Maruts). The qualification *rājānā divispṛśā* occurs at 1, 137, 1 in connection with Mitra-Varuṇa. The combination *sahasrākṣā dhīyās pātī*<sup>7</sup> (1, 23, 3 c) does not occur elsewhere, but the epithet *dhīyās pātīḥ* is 9, 75, 2 and 9, 99, 6 applied to Soma. The epithet *manoḥū* “swift as thought” (st. 3) belongs to the chariot of the Aśvins in 1, 119, 1 and to their horses in 1, 181, 2.

In RV. 2, 41 the order of the gods is: Vāyu (st. 1 and 2), Indra-Vāyu (3, dvandva), Mitra-Varuṇa (4–6, dvandva), the Aśvins (7–9), Indra (9–12), the Viśve Devāḥ (13–15), the Maruts (15), Sarasvatī (16–18), Heaven and Earth (19 or 20–21). The invitation addressed (in st. 1 and 2) to Vāyu alone is repeated in st. 3. Stanza 3 reminds us of RV. 1, 137, 1 (Mitra-Varuṇa).

Arranging the gods, to a point, in accordance with the order in which they occur in the praūgaśastra the poet of RV. 1, 139 makes mention of Agni, (the Maruts), Indra-Vāyu (dvandva), Mitra-Varuṇa (dvandva), the Aśvins (st. 1–3).

Whereas in the invitation contained in st. 1–3 and 9 of RV. 1, 135<sup>8</sup> the forms of the imperative (*ūpa no yāhi* etc.) and the personal pronoun of the second person refer, in the singular, to Vāyu alone, to whom the poem is, in Renou’s opinion<sup>9</sup>, dedicated, stanza 4—which repeats the invitation addressed to Vāyu alone in st. 1 ff.—abruptly changes over to the dual (*ā vām rātho . . . vakṣat*) to add, in 4 f, the name of Indra and to use, in 5 e, the compound *indravāyū*. In st. 6 dual pronouns (*vām*) combine with the singular vocative *vāyo*; in 7 *vāyo* is followed by the invitations *indraś ca gachatam* and *indraś ca yāthaḥ*. In 8 the dual verb form *vahethe* in a is followed by *vāyo* in c and in 9 the poet returns to the singular of the pronoun (*te*). That means that the attribute *niyūtvat* “drawn by a team”, which in other hymns (2, 41, 1; 2; 8, 101, 10; 9, 88, 3; for *niyūt* “team of horses” in connection with Vāyu see e.g. 7, 90, 3)

<sup>6</sup> The stanza addressed to Sarasvatī may be recited or omitted (ŚŚS. 7, 10, 8).

<sup>7</sup> Gonda, The vision of the Vedic poets, The Hague 1963, p. 82.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. H. Oldenberg, Rgveda. Textkritische und exegetische Noten, I, Berlin 109, p. 139.

<sup>9</sup> Renou, E.V.P. XV, p. 101.

occurs with reference to Vāyu alone—it is otherwise used only once or twice in each case with reference to Agni, Pūṣan, the Maruts or Indra (1, 101, 9; 6, 40, 5; 8, 93, 20)—is here a characterization of the vehicle of both gods, Vāyu and Indra (cf. also 4, 47, 3). Notice however that in 3, 49, 4 the latter is said to be *niyútvān* like Vāyu and that in 4, 46, 2 and 4, 48, 2 Vāyu is implored to come with his team (*niyútvān*) and Indra as his charioteer (*īndrasārathīḥ*). Leaving alone 6 e = 9, 62, 1 b; 9, 67, 7 b<sup>10</sup> (reminiscences of Soma hymns), the elements composing st. 4–6 which invite the gods to the Soma feast do not occur elsewhere; however, *ātyam ná vājīnam* in 5 c occurs also in the Indra hymn 1, 129, as 2 g, while 7 c = 4, 49, 3 b (Indra and Bṛhaspati). It can hardly be said that a striking characteristic of Indra hymns is transferred to the other god because Vāyu is not only fully entitled to drink soma, but even said to obtain the first draught of it as his share (1, 134, 1; 1, 135, 1; 4, 46, 1 etc.; cf. 1, 135, 4 *pūrvapēyaṃ hí vām hitám*, Indra enjoying this privilege also), for he is the swiftest of the gods (ŚB. 13, 1, 2, 7). It is worth noticing that the stanzas RV. 1, 134, 1, addressed to Vāyu alone, and 1, 135, 5, addressed to the dual deity, are at ŚSS. 10, 7, 3, in this order, used as the two invitatory verses—two, because the graha is destined for a pair of deities—for the libation to be presented to Indra and Vāyu on the occasion of the sixth day of the dvādaśāha.

The structure of the hymns 7, 90 and 7, 91 is comparable but not identical. Addressing Vāyu the poet of 7, 90 uses already in st. 1 the dual form of the pronoun (*vām*) to invoke, in 5, 6 and 7, by means of the compound *īndravāyū*, the dual deity. It is worth noticing that the expression (5 d) (*rātham*) *abhī pṛkṣaḥ sacante* occurs also in the Aśvin hymn 4, 44 (st. 2), and in the Agni hymn 1, 71 (st. 7). The words (7 a) *ārvanto ná śrávaso bhikṣamāṇāḥ* remind us of 4, 41, 9 d addressed to Indra and Varuṇa. According to AiB. 5, 20, 8, dealing with the śastras of the morning and midday pressings of the ninth day of the dvādaśāha<sup>11</sup>, st. 1; 5; 7, 64, 1 (addressed to Mitra-Varuṇa); 7, 70, 1–3 (addressed to the Aśvins) and other stanzas constitute the praūga. In the parallel passage KB. 26, 8<sup>12</sup> mention is made of the triplet 7, 90, 1–3, the triplet 7, 90, 4–6 etc. Similarly, ŚSS. 10, 9, 4. As to 7, 91, Vāyu alone is mentioned in st. 1 and 3; Indra and Vāyu in 2; 4; 5; 6 and 7 (= 7, 90, 7). The stanzas 2–6 do not elsewhere, but 6 d *pātām narā prátibhṛtasya mādhvah* may be compared to 4, 20, 4 c *pā indra prátibhṛtasya mādhvah*. The stanzas 4 and 6 belong to the texts to be used during the morning pressings

<sup>10</sup> "It seems natural to suppose that (this pāda), in 1, 135, 6, is borrowed from the sphere of Soma Pavamāna in the ninth book" (M. Bloomfield, *Rig-Veda repetitions*, I, Cambridge Mass. 1916, p. 139).

<sup>11</sup> For this twelve-days' Soma rite see e.g. ĀpŚS. 21.

<sup>12</sup> = 26, 4, 6 in E. R. Sreekrishna Sarma, *Kauṣītaki-Brāhmaṇa*, Wiesbaden 1968, p. 132. A. B. Keith, *Rigveda Brāhmaṇas*, Cambridge Mass. 1920, p. 499, erroneously translated "Mitra and Vāyu".

of the eighth and seventh day respectively (AiB. 5, 18, 8; 5, 16, 11, see above). As to st. 4 compare ĀśvŚS. 8, 10, 1; ŚŚS. 10, 10, 4. The Bṛhaddevatā, 6, 18 B, observes that RV. 7, 90, 5-7; 7, 91, 4-7; 7, 91, 2 and 7, 92, 2 are traditionally held to be nine stanzas belonging to the two (gods, viz. Indra-Vāyu).

It is in this connection interesting to notice that in the Vāyu hymn RV. 7, 92—the god is, in the vocative, invoked in st. 1; 3; 5—both gods are, as *indrāya vāyāve* (2) and as *vāyāva indramdanāsaḥ* (4), mentioned in the two other stanzas. That is to say, in st. 1 Vāyu is invited to partake of the divine beverage; in st. 2 it is stated that this has been prepared for both gods; st. 3 implores Vāyu to give wealth, a son etc.; st. 4 expresses the wish to conquer the enemies with patrons who worship Vāyu and delight Indra; st. 5 repeats the invitation expressed in the beginning of the hymn. I am unable to escape the conviction that when the poet addressed Vāyu the pair Indra and Vāyu came to his mind, that is to say, that the single god Vāyu was very easily and almost imperceptibly replaced by the pair. In the ritual texts the stanza corresponding to RV. 7, 92, 1 (Vāyu) is followed by that corresponding to RV. 1, 2, 4 (Indravāyū): TS. 1, 4, 4, 1 etc.<sup>13</sup> That is to say, the stanza RV. 7, 92, 1 “O Vāyu, drinker of the pure (soma), be present near us in a propitious mood<sup>14</sup>. A thousand are thy teams, O thou that hast all choice boons. To thee this exhilarating juice has been offered, of which, O god, thou hast the first drink” occurs VS. 7, 7; TS. 1, 4, 4, 1; MS. 1, 3, 6: 32, 9; KS. 4, 2: 31, 18 etc.; KapKS. 3, 2 before the stanza RV. 1, 2, 4 which invites the couple Vāyu and Indra<sup>15</sup>. For its ritual use at the morning pressing see AiB. 5, 16, 11; ŚB. 4, 1, 3, 18 f. “He now draws (the graha) from that (stream of soma) with VS. 7, 7 . . . and, having withdrawn the cup, he again fills it with VS. 7, 8”; ĀpŚS. 12, 1, 2 etc.

The hymns 4, 46 and 4, 47 are different in that the poet begins with an invocation addressed to Vāyu alone to proceed, in the other stanzas, with the dual and the compound *indravāyū* (in 46 and 47, 4) or the word group *indraś ca vāyo* (or *vāyav indraś ca*, in 47, 2 and 3). After inviting Vāyu to come and drink (46, 1), he continues (in 2) “with the team and Indra as (your) charioteer” (=4, 48, 2, dedicated to Vāyu alone), adding an invitation to satisfy themselves in the dual. Being Vāyu’s charioteer Indra seems to play, at least in this context, a minor part. In 47, 1 it is stated that the draught is offered, the imperative “come” being in the singular. The stanzas 2-4 address both gods who are said to approach on the same chariot. There are some reminiscences, of passages in Indra hymns (4, 46, 1 b: 8, 76, 9 b; 4, 47, 2 d (cf. 5, 51, 7) =8, 32, 23 c), of a

<sup>13</sup> See also further on, p. 227.

<sup>14</sup> For *ā . . . bhūṣa . . . upa* see J. Gonda, Four studies in the language of the Veda, The Hague 1959, p. 85; Renou, E.V.P. XV, p. 109.

<sup>15</sup> For ritual details see A. B. Keith, The Veda of the Black Yajus school, Cambridge Mass. 1914, p. 53.



Vāyu hymn (4, 46, 3 b: 1, 134, 1 a); the following parallels are of greater interest: 4, 46, 4 is almost identical with 8, 5, 28 (Áśvins)—here Bloomfield's<sup>16</sup> opinion is worth quoting: "I have the impression that the stanzas to Indra and Vāyu have borrowed from the description of the Áśvins, but there is nothing so specific as to amount to proof"—; 4, 46, 5 a=8, 5, 2 b (Áśvins); 4, 46, 5 b=1, 47, 3 d (Áśvins); 4, 46, 6 c=8, 22, 8 d (Áśvins) and 4, 49, 6 b (Indra and Bṛhaspati); 4, 47, 3 d=8, 22, 8 c (Áśvins); 4, 47, 4 ab is identical with 6, 60, 8 ab invoking Indra and Agni.

It is not only the subaltern function fulfilled by Indra as Vāyu's charioteer (4, 46, 2; 4, 48, 2) but also, and mainly, Vāyu's regular precedence of the dual deity which creates the impression that he as a single deity predominates and has, as a component of the duality, ascendancy over his colleague.

In RV. 1, 14, addressed to the Viśve Devāḥ, stanza 3, an enumeration of divine names (used VS. 33, 45), begins *indravāyūṁ bṛhaspátim* . . . (=10, 141, 4 a)<sup>17</sup>. RV. 10, 141, 4 recurs, with a variation and an addition, in VS. 33, 86 "We call to us Indravāyū, fair to see, easily invoked, that in the assembly all, yea all the folk may be free from malady and benevolent to us". The stanza is prescribed at the performance of the so-called sarvamedha, a ten-day ceremony for universal success and prosperity. It is preceded by a stanza which, being identical with RV. 8, 101, 9, has Vāyu alone as its deity. It recurs at MS. 1, 11, 4: 164, 14; KS. 14, 2: 202, 5 (vājapeya), and MS. 2, 2, 6: 20, 6; KS. 10, 12: 140, 22 (optional sacrifices performed from interested motives).

In the mediocre hymn RV. 5, 51, which is addressed to the Viśve Devāḥ (cf. st. 1; 3; 8; 13), Agni has, in a prelude<sup>18</sup>, precedence (st. 1). In st. 4 the soma is said to be prepared and poured as dear for Indra and Vāyu (two names); in st. 5 Vāyu alone is invited to come and drink; st. 6 the invitation is repeated with reference to Indra and Vāyu (*índraś ca vāyo*), 6 ab being identical with 4, 47, 2 ab; st. 7 (as to 7 c, cf. 4, 47, 2 cd) states again that the juice has been pressed out for Indra and Vāyu (two words). In st. 10 Agni is requested to approach united with the Ādityas, the Vasus, Indra and Vāyu (two words). "Le tercet 5-7 concerne, selon la formule connue, Vāyu (et Indra), hommage anticipé au v. 4 c et se répercutant au v. 10"<sup>19</sup>. It is clear also that among the other gods this dual deity is, here also—and similarly 10, 65, 9 *parjanyaṁvātā vṛṣabhā*

<sup>16</sup> Bloomfield, o.c., I, p. 236.

<sup>17</sup> The only place in the Śaunakiya recension of the Atharvaveda, 3, 20, 6 (= Paipp. 3, 34, 7) which makes mention of Indravāyū, is identical with RV. 10, 141, 4. For Vāyu in the Atharvaveda see N. J. Shende, The foundations of the Atharvādic religion, Bull. Deccan Coll. Res. Inst. Poona 1949, p. 93 f.

<sup>18</sup> Renou, E.V.P. IV, p. 79.

<sup>19</sup> Renou, E.V.P. IV, p. 80.

*purīṣīṇendravāyū vāruṇo mitrō aryamā*...—, believed to represent a reality, to have an existence of its own.

In the *praiṣa* formulary occurring RVKh. 5, 7, 4 the formula concerning Vāyu alone is again followed by that concerning Indravāyū, which in its turn precedes those concerning Mitrāvaruṇau and the Aśvins. In 5, 7, 4 f. the dual deity is characterized as “respectable, . . . rich in cattle”; these teams “must by a pure stimulating beverage be borne to take part in a procession headed by cows”.

Other passages in which Indra and Vāyu occur together are RV. 6, 37, 3 d, the poet of an Indra hymn promising Vāyu plenty of soma; VS. 1, 24: the *sphya*, a wooden sacrificial implement, is addressed as being Indra’s right arm and keen-edged Vāyu; 20, 26 “I would know that holy ‘world’ (*loka*) where Indra and Vāyu (*indras ca vāyus ca*) move in complete accord side by side, where exhaustion is unknown”: this means that in the belief of the poet there is a sphere of recognized sanctity, a ‘heaven’ ‘inhabited by’ or presided over by these two gods, to which the blessed may have access; 32, 15 “May Indra and Vāyu grant wisdom” (the two proper names being again connected by . . . *ca* . . . *ca* to characterize their bearers as a complete couple); PB. 1, 5, 11 etc. “Let Vāyu yoke the stoma with the mind in order to convey the sacrifice, let Indra put *indriyam* (a form of vigour) (into it) . . .”<sup>20</sup> points to a certain form of co-operation in ‘yoking’ the midday-pavamāna laud. In the ceremonies concerning, in the framework of the Full and new moon sacrifices, the cauldron of pottery<sup>21</sup> as referred to in TS. 1, 1, 7 (see 2 k); KS. 31, 6: 7, 19; MS. 4, 1, 8: 10, 14 Indravāyū are invoked to set free the pottery used, which is made to form a cauldron or dish by being closely fitted together and which are in Pūṣan’s guardianship<sup>22</sup>, in pronouncing the pertinent formula “he makes Indravāyū those (divine powers) who set them free” (KS. 31, 6: 7, 20). Cf. also KS. 1, 7: 3, 24 etc. The formula recurs further on (in the same ritual) to accompany the depositing of the pieces of pottery: TS. 1, 5, 10, 4 1; cf. KŚS. 2, 8, 16. In reply to the question as to how does the hotar while starting with a recitation to Vāyu, “follow in recitation to Agni” it is observed (AiB. 3, 4, 2 ff.) that all deities are forms of Agni and that “in that this god burns while blowing forth as it were that is his form as Vāyu”. “Again in that making two as it were he burns; Indra and Vāyu are two; that is his form as Indra and Vāyu”.

<sup>20</sup> See W. Caland, *Pañcaviṃśabrahmaṇa*, Calcutta 1931, p. 8.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. A. Hillebrandt, *Das altindische Neu- und Vollmondsopfer*, Jena 1880, p. 33 ff. The formula does not occur in VS. 1, 18; ŚB. 1, 2, 1, 13.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. also Keith, *Black Yajus*, p. 7.

It is easily intelligible that Macdonell arrived at the conclusion that in the Ṛgveda "Indra-Vāyu are constantly invited to come and drink soma (RV. 1, 23, 1 f. etc.), little else being said about them. They come to the offering with their teams or in their golden-seated car..."<sup>23</sup>. This is however in harmony with the fact that the dual deity Indra-Vāyu is a ritual reality. As is well known<sup>24</sup> the pressing of the soma may be preceded by the offering of cups of curds, butter, or soma, in which case a few stalks only are pressed. The great pressing is preceded by the so-called upāṁśusavana which provides soma for the (preliminary) upāṁśu cup. Thereupon the sacrificer pours an unbroken stream on the sieve from which the next cups are drawn for offering, viz. the antaryāma, aindravāyava (for Indra and Vāyu) etc.<sup>25</sup>. As to the upāṁśugraha and the antaryāmagraha, which is the exact counterpart of the former, they occur, it is true, before all other 'cups', but do not count because of their special position as expiration and inspiration (TS. 6, 4, 8, 3, and 6, 4, 5 and 6), so that the maitrāvaruṇa 'cup' is explicitly said to be preceded only by the aindravāyava (TS. 6, 4, 8, 3) which therefore is the first of all. In VS. 7, 7 and 8 RV. 7, 92, 1 and 1, 2, 4 combine to consecrate the aindravāyava graha<sup>26</sup>, one of those libations (*grahagrahaṇa*) which, being accompanied by the formulas contained in that book of the Vājasaneyī-Saṁhitā, form part of the matutinal soma service. These stanzas are followed by the formulas accompanying the libations to Mitra-Varuṇa (7, 9 f.) and the Aśvins (7, 11). It may be recalled that these three grahas are the so-called dvidevatya grahas (libations offered to two gods) at the morning Soma feast. See also TS. 1, 4, 4, 1<sup>27</sup>; KS. 4, 2: 30, 2 ff.; MS. 1, 3, 6: 32, 12 ff. The brāhmaṇa explanation furnished by the first text in 6, 4, 7 is interesting in that it clearly shows, first that both gods are represented as distinct individuals, and in the second place that Vāyu, 'chronologically speaking' took priority of Indra: "In that the cups are drawn beginning with that to Indra and Vāyu, verily they follow Speech. The gods said to Vāyu: 'Let us slay Soma, the king'. He replied: 'Let me choose a boon: let your cups be drawn with mine first'. Therefore the cups are drawn with those for Indra and Vāyu (sic: *aindravāyavāgrāḥ*<sup>28</sup>) first". The gods then slew Soma, who after becoming putrid was made palatable by Vāyu on the promise that the vessels of the gods would have him as their deity: "therefore they hang out what

<sup>23</sup> A. A. Macdonell, Vedic mythology, Strassburg 1897, p. 128.

<sup>24</sup> See also p. 217. For some particulars see e.g. A. B. Keith, Religion and philosophy of the Veda, Cambridge Mass. 1925, p. 326 ff.; Caland-Henry, o.c., p. 149 ff.

<sup>25</sup> For these *agniṣṭomagrahas* (ŚB. 5, 1, 2, 1) see also ŚB. 4, 1, 2, 1 ff.

<sup>26</sup> The *graha* ("cup") for Indra and Vāyu is at AiB. 2, 26, 1 identified with speech and breath (*vāk ca prāṇas ca*), but TB. 1, 8, 8, 1 Vāyu = Vāc.

<sup>27</sup> For a technical note: Keith, Black Yajus, p. 53, n. 4.

<sup>28</sup> The order of the elements of this dvandva compound is not decisive because the shorter member regularly precedes the longer (Pāṇini, 2, 2, 34).

becomes putrid in a windy place, for Vāyu is its purifier, who makes it palatable . . . <sup>29</sup>. Speech formerly spoke without discrimination; the gods said to Indra: 'Do thou discriminate this speech for us'. He replied: 'Let me choose a boon; let this (cup) be drawn for me and for Vāyu together'. Therefore the cup is drawn together for Indra and Vāyu (*aindravāyavaḥ*). Indra approaching it in the midst discriminated it; therefore is speech spoken distinctly. Therefore it is drawn once, in the middle, for Indra, and twice for Vāyu, for he chose two boons". From this story it appears, first that Indra and Vāyu were not conceived as constituting an 'unité-dualité' but rather as a combination of two divine individuals, and in the second place that Vāyu was considered to have first claim on the libation.

Another version of the same story occurs in ŚB. 4, 1, 3. Here the *aindravāyava graha* is stated to be the speech of the sacrificial rite (cf. MS. 4, 5, 8: 74, 15). Fearing that he has not killed Vṛtra Indra hides himself. So do the gods who persuade Vāyu, the swiftest of them—a fact often emphasized in the texts, see TS. 2, 1, 1, 1; 3, 4, 3, 2; TB. 3, 8, 7, 1; AiB. 2, 25, 1; ŚB. 8, 4, 1, 9; cf. also JUB. 4, 10, 3, 7—, to ascertain the state of affairs <sup>30</sup>. His reward is the first *vaṣaṭ* <sup>31</sup> of king Soma. After hearing that Vṛtra (=Soma, cf. 3, 4, 3, 13) is dead, the gods rush towards him; what part of him one god seizes, that becomes a *graha* belonging to one deity, what two of them, that becomes a *dvidevatya graha* etc. He appears to be sour and putrid but is made palatable by Vāyu; as a reward for his services the vessels are named after him. There follows an expatiation on that foul smell which can be omitted here. Indra, considering that Vāyu has the largest share of this sacrifice, expresses his wish also to have a share in it. "He said: 'Vāyu, let me share in this cup'. 'What will then be?' 'Speech will speak distinctly'. 'Then will I let thee share'. Thus that cup henceforward belongs to Indra-and-Vāyu, but before it has belonged to Vāyu alone". As now Indra claims half of the cup and Vāyu is willing to accord him no more than one fourth, Prajāpati, to whom they go for a decision, agrees with the latter. Now with this libation there are two *puroruc* <sup>32</sup> formulas, two invitatory

<sup>29</sup> Here follows a similar episode in which Aditi is the principal figure. It is rightly absent in the parallel texts. For technical details see Caland-Henry, o.c., p. 62 f.

<sup>30</sup> I cannot follow G. Dumézil, *Les dieux des indo-européens*, Paris 1952, p. 85, in concluding from this place that Vāyu "par sa souplesse totale, par sa réversibilité, correspond adéquatement au mystère, à l'ambiguïté totale de l'inconnu". For ŚB. 4, 1, 3, 1 f. and RV. 8, 100, see H. Oldenberg, in *Z.D.M.G.* 39, p. 54 ff. and Geldner, o.c., II, p. 427 f.

<sup>31</sup> An exclamation uttered by the hotar priest at the end of a recited verse, on hearing which the *adhvaryu* priest offers the oblation.

<sup>32</sup> Formularies recited at the morning service to precede or interrupt the main recitation. See e.g. I. Scheftelowitz, in *Zs. deutsch. morgenl. Ges.* 74 (1910), p. 204 ff.; L. Renou, *Vocabulaire du rituel védique*, Paris 1954, p. 103.



prayers, two directions (*praiṣa*), two offering formulas; the first of all these formulas belongs to Vāyu alone; the second to Indra-and-Vāyu. "Thus he assigns to Indra each time a fourth part. Hence only that fourth part of speech is distinct (intelligible) which men speak". It is clear that here again Vāyu predominates.

In the Maitrāyaṇīsamhitā, 4, 5, 8, the story runs as follows. The gods, desiring to kill Soma, did not succeed, because Vāyu was inside him as his life-breath. The gods wanted him to turn towards them. He stipulated for a share. They accorded him a wish. He wished that the vessels of the gods would have him as their deity, . . . Then the gods killed Soma, who, being killed, became putrid . . . Vāyu made him palatable and was rewarded with the first oblation. This story is preceded by the narrative of Indra making speech distinct and obtaining a share in the soma. "The Indra-Vāyu graha is drawn for distinctness of speech". "One 'draws' (takes, serves out) first for Vāyu, at last for Vāyu, and in the middle for Indra, because speech is in the middle separated by indriya (Indra's power or faculty)"<sup>33</sup>. The Kapiṣṭhalakāṭhasamhitā, 42, 3, informs us that when the gods wished, with Vāyu as their chief, to slay Vṛtra, Vāyu stipulated that the first cup 'drawn' would be his. "That is why grahas are drawn (taken up) beginning with that of Vāyu". Then Indra wanted to obtain an oblation, saying: "Then we shall overcome (attain our end)". "That is why they drew it for Indra and Vāyu (*aindravāyavam agrhnan*). Thereupon they slew Vṛtra. This soma relating to the slayer of Vṛtra is drawn for victory. Vṛtra indeed is Soma. He being killed, became putrid etc.". According to KS. 27, 3 Vāyu is identified with breath (*prāṇa*), while the sacrificial rite belongs to Indra (*aindra*). "In that the *aindravāyava* (*graha*) is drawn at the morning pressing, they surround the sacrificial rite with breath . . . Speech, uttered, was not distinct; it reverberated". Indra made it distinct, and henceforth the *graha* belonged also to him. Afterwards Indra also put in order or separated *prāṇa* and *apāna* (exhalation and inhalation) which had mingled, another reason to draw the libation also for him. Nevertheless the libation is, also according to this authority, drawn for Indra in the middle and for Vāyu "on both sides" . . . "in order to separate *prāṇa* and *apāna*" (cf. MS. 4, 5, 8: 74, 17 ff.).

It is worth recalling that in enumerating the ritual acts to be performed and the mantras to be pronounced in connection with the stroking of the several vessels used in the ceremonies of the morning service of the agniṣṭoma the texts make, after the upāmsugraha (the cup offered with muttering only<sup>34</sup>) and the antaryāmagraha, mention of the graha for Indra and Vāyu (*aindravāyavagraha*)—TS. 3, 1, 6, 2 in connection with the stroking: *indro devatā, jagatī chanda indravāyavoḥ pātram aśi*<sup>35</sup>

<sup>33</sup> Cf. E. Abegg, *Indische Psychologie*, Zürich 1945, p. 31.

<sup>34</sup> See p. 215.

<sup>35</sup> Caland-Henry, *o.c.*, p. 137.

—which is followed by that for Varuṇa and Mitra etc.<sup>36</sup>. As already mentioned, the formulas accompanying the scooping of the draught are, first RV. 7, 92, 1 addressed to Vāyu alone and after this RV. 1, 2, 4 addressed to Indra and Vāyu (BŚS. 7, 6: 209, 13 ff.; ĀpŚS. 12, 14, 8 f.; MŚS. 2, 3, 5, 4; cf. KŚS. 9, 6, 6 f.)<sup>37</sup>. That means that the scooping of the oblation for Vāyu and that for Indra-Vāyu constitute one and the same ritual act, on the understanding that first half of the vessel is filled for Vāyu and then the other half for the dual deity. Compare also TS. 4, 7, 7, 1 enumerating the cups: "... the antaryāma, the one for Indravāyū" (*aindravāyava*).

That Vāyu has a claim on the first draught of the soma is, in the Rgveda, to which we must now for a moment return, more than once emphasized: 1, 134, 1; 6, 1, 135, 1; 2, 11, 14; 7, 92, 1 (*yāsya deva dadhiṣé pūrvapēyam*); and compare also 5, 43, 3; 8, 26, 25; he is the god who drinks before others (*pūrvapā*: 4, 46, 1; 8, 1, 26). RV. 2, 11, 14 *prā vāyāvaḥ pānti āgrāṇitīm* may therefore be translated "Vāyu cum suis<sup>38</sup> (begin to) drink the first". On the other hand Indra is often his companion in the entertainment (cf. 1, 135, 4)<sup>39</sup>: 1, 142, 12 "Consecrate the offering with *svāhā* for Vāyu who is accompanied by Pūṣan, the Maruts . . . , for Indra"; 9, 61, 8 "Soma, being pressed out . . . , comes together with Indra, Vāyu and the rays of the sun"; 9, 13, 1 "Se clarifiant, le soma coule . . . pour le rendez-vous de Vāyu (et) d'Indra"<sup>40</sup>.

It strikes us that in RV. 2, 11, 3 the soma juices are said to flow for Indra as the clear, radiant or splendid ones (*śubhrāḥ*: this must mean either the horses<sup>41</sup>, or the streams of the soma<sup>42</sup> run for Vāyu); that in 7, 92, 4 *yé vāyāva indramādanāsa ddevāso* . . . translated: "(Les patrons) qui, (étant) au (service de) Vāyu enivrant Indra, se vouant aux dieux . . ." <sup>43</sup> so much is clear that those who worship Indra are also, and probably even at an earlier moment, or in the first place, worshippers of Vāyu; at 9, 27, 2; 9, 86, 20; 9, 97, 25 (cf. also 5, 51, 7 and 9, 63, 22) soma is poured for Indra and Vāyu; that at 9, 63, 10 the latter occupies the first place; cf. 9, 63, 3 (Indra, Viṣṇu, Vāyu); 9, 65, 20 Indra, Vāyu and other gods; 9, 84, 1 Indra, Varuṇa, Vāyu. At 1, 14, 10; 5, 51, 10 Agni is invited "to drink (come) with . . . Indra and Vāyu". The Aśvins are in 8, 9, 12 companions or allies of "Indra or of Vāyu". In 8, 46, 32—the hymn is dedicated to Indra—Vāyu's people are described as revelling under the protection of Indra and the gods.

<sup>36</sup> Caland-Henry, o.c., p. 155 ff.

<sup>37</sup> Caland-Henry, o.c., p. 162 f.

<sup>38</sup> See also Renou, E.V.P. XV, p. 109. Not, with Geldner, o.c., I, p. 289 "Die Vāyu's...".

<sup>39</sup> See above, p. 215.

<sup>40</sup> Renou, E.V.P. VIII, p. 10.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. Geldner, o.c., I, p. 287.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. Renou, E.V.P. XVII, p. 54. Sāyaṇa: *śubhrāḥ: dīpyamānāḥ stutayaḥ*.

<sup>43</sup> Renou, E.V.P. XV, p. 109 (see the annotation).

When, as in the above RV. 2, 11, 3 Indra is, in a simile, compared to Vāyu, the latter not only takes priority, but may even be said to be a model or example followed by the former. Thus Indra is at 3, 35, 1 invited to mount his conveyance just like Vāyu with his team; at 3, 49, 4 he is said to have a team, like Vāyu, the hero in his chariot, together with the Vasus (*ráttho ná vāyúr vāsubhir niyútvān*); at 7, 23, 4 he is requested to come with his team like Vāyu; at 6, 45, 32 his liberality is, like Vāyu's, swift and gracious (friendly).

For Indra and Vāyu as allies see RV. 4, 21, 4: "Indra who together with Vāyu, gains the victory". According to Geldner<sup>44</sup> the author of 1, 169, 4 expresses the wish that the hymns of praise dedicated to Vāyu may also please Indra. However, both proper names should rather be taken to be put on a par and so Renou's<sup>45</sup> interpretation of *stútaś ca yás te cakánanta vāyóh* seems preferable: "les laudations qui te plaisent (à toi et) à Vāyu . . .".

There are more indications of Vāyu's priority. It may be remembered that when the gods once ran a race, it was Vāyu who first took the lead, and Indra who came after him (AiB. 2, 25, 1). Dealing with different arrangements of the libations some authorities (TS. 7, 2, 7, 1; KS. 30, 3: 183, 21 f.) teach that one should draw the cup for Indra and Vāyu first for a person who is ill, because he who is ill is separated from breath (*prāṇa*) and the cup for Indra and Vāyu is breath (see also TS. 7, 2, 8, 4), so that in doing so one unites that person with breath. The identity of Vāyu and breath (see TS. 5, 1, 5, 1; ŚB. 7, 1, 2, 5; 7; 9, 3, 1, 5 and compare, e.g., VS. 40, 15; AiB. 3, 2, 4; JUB. 1, 9, 2, 1 etc.) needs no comment. Probably the relation between this dual deity and speech (cf. e.g. MS. 4, 8, 7: 115, 9) points in the same direction, because breath is "the male, the mate" (*vr̥ṣā, mīthunam*) of speech (ŚB. 7, 5, 1, 7) and speech and breath are (at KS. 27, 5: 144, 5: "the 'vital organs' (*prāṇāḥ*) are in pairs presided over by two deities, . . . eye and 'mind' by Mitra-and-Varuṇa . . .") co-ordinated with Indra and Vāyu: TS. 6, 4, 9, 4; KS. 27, 3: 141, 3; MS. 4, 5, 8: 74, 5 the cup for Indra and Vāyu is identified with speech.

In a series of purorucas—formulas recited at the morning oblation in the ājya ceremony before the principal verses—Vātu is said to be the one "who goes in front" or the "leader" (*agregāḥ*): RVKh. 5, 6, 1 = VS. 27, 31; KB. 14, 4 (14, 5, 28); ĀśvŚS. (2, 12, 5;) 5, 10, 4 "Going in front, lover of the sacrificial rite, Vāyu must with all his heart come to the sacrifice, propitious with propitious teams!". The same epithet occurs in the praiṣa-formula RVKh. 5, 7, 4 e where it is followed by *agreyāvānam* "going in front" and *agre somasya pātāram* "who drinks first (before others) of the soma".

<sup>44</sup> Geldner, o.c., I, p. 247.

<sup>45</sup> Renou, E.V.P. XVII, p. 49.

The very fact that Vāyu is beside Indra the representative of the atmosphere and, to quote Yāska (Nir. 7, 5), receives, like Agni, Indra and Sūrya many appellations on account of his supreme eminence or the diversity of his functions—*tāsām mātābhāgyād ekaikasyā api bahūni nāmadheyāni bhavanti*—points to a traditionally high position. It seems, moreover, of some importance to notice that in several domestic rites as well as in ritualistic speculations Vāyu alone represents, or is associated with, the atmosphere<sup>46</sup>, not as in Yāska's work, Vāyu or Indra.

The ritual significance of the gods Agni, Vāyu (not Indra), Sūrya appears from their figuring at the head of the list of gods honoured, all in the same manner, on the occasion of the *tarpaṇa* (the satiating of deities, ṛṣis etc. with water-offerings) recorded in the domestic ritual as taking place at the end of the study of the Veda (ŚGS. 4, 9)<sup>47</sup>, and from their being presented with offerings at the opening of that study (PGS. 2, 10, 3 ff.: "To the Earth and Agni, if (he studies) the R̥gveda; to the Atmosphere and Vāyu, if the Yajurveda, to Heaven and the Sun, if the Sāmaveda"). There is much divergence among the authorities. Agni, Vāyu and Sūrya are also among the gods to be appeased in the beginning of the rains when the snakes become very dangerous (PGS. 2, 14, 9). The removal of the period of continence of a newly married couple is marked by an offering in the fire to these three gods and some of their colleagues (ŚGS. 1, 18, 3).

In the speculations of the Śatapathabrāhmaṇa the gods Agni, Vāyu and the Sun (Sūrya or Āditya) constitute a triad of considerable prominence (cf. also AVŚ. 6, 10; 12, 5, 72 f.; 16, 4, 4; 19, 43, 1-3): they are, at 8, 5, 2, 8, said to "move hitherwards and thitherwards"; at 6, 3, 3, 16 they are described as being "all the light"; at 9, 1, 1, 23 they are the hearts of the gods; at 9, 2, 1, 21 they are represented by the vessels of the pravargya sacrifice; 12, 3, 4, 8 it reads: "And light (*bhargah*), indeed, is Agni, greatness (*mahah*) Vāyu, glory (*yaśah*) Āditya . . .". Agni, Vāyu and Sūrya are the heroes (*virāḥ*) among the gods (2, 2, 4, 10). There can be no doubt that in these speculations it is Vāyu who represents the atmosphere: 2, 2, 4, 18: "By sacrificing these gods were produced in the way in which they were produced; by it they gained the victory which they did gain: Agni conquered this world, Vāyu the atmosphere, and Sūrya the sky". The same trio is often mentioned in other texts. According to Kātyāyana these gods are "house-lords" (*gr̥hapati*), Agni being the *gr̥hapati* of this world and Vāyu of the airy region (KŚS. 12, 4, 21). VS. 23, 17 states that Agni, Vāyu and Sūrya were the victims offered by the gods of creation, with which the three provinces of the universe were won; similarly TS. 5, 7, 26, 1 (also VS. 26, 1 where the three gods

<sup>46</sup> In a speculative passage, JUB. 3, 4, 1, 8 the relation between Vāyu and the atmosphere is explained by the statement that the former is the god (*deva*), the latter the goddess (*devī*). Cf. also GB. 1, 1, 33.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. H. Oldenberg, *The Gṛhya-sūtras*, I, Oxford 1886 (Delhi 1964), p. 120 f.



are followed by Varuṇa and the waters, and VS. 39, 1); TS. 7, 1, 20 a "To Agni hail! To Vāyu hail! To Sūrya hail!"; 7, 3, 12; 7, 5, 23, 1 "To Agni he made obeisance; to the earth he made obeisance... To Vāyu he made obeisance; to the atmosphere..."; 7, 5, 24 b "Reverence to Agni, dweller on earth, maker of room (*lokaspr̥te*), grant room, etc."; in TB. 1, 6, 3, 9 these three gods are called *vājinaḥ* "bearers of the generative power-substance *vāja*"; 2, 1, 6, 1; AiB. 5, 32, 1 "Agni was born from the earth, Vāyu from the atmosphere, Āditya from the sky"; 8, 27, 1; JB. 1, 247 states that "fire shines upwards, the wind 'purifies' (blows) horizontally, the sun gives out heat downwards" (*ūrdhvo hy ayam agnir dīpyate, tīryaṇṇ ayam vāyuh pavate 'rvāṇ asāv ādityas tapati*); PB. 1, 3, 2 "Let the sun protect me from calamities from the side of heaven, Vāyu from the side of the intermediate region etc."; 6, 7, 2; JUB. 1, 7, 1, 4; ChU. 2, 21, 1; (cf. *ibid.* 2, 24, 9); 3, 15, 6; AiU. 1, 2, 4; MaiU. 6, 35; but KāṭhaU. 6, 3 fire and sun are followed by Indra, Vāyu and Mr̥tyu (Death).

However, Indra came to oust Vāyu from his office of regent of the atmosphere, a fact which did not elude the attention of the author of TS. 6, 6, 8 who, while discussing the *atigrāhyas*, i.e. three special cups filled for Agni, Indra and Sūrya which as a rule are included in the agniṣṭoma, states that when these draughts, which he calls the support of the sacrificial rite, are drawn the sacrificer bestows upon himself power (a complete command of his faculties) and energy (*indriyaṃ vīryam*), viz. brilliance (*tejas*) by that for Agni, power (*indriyaṃ*) by that for Indra, brahmanical illustriousness (*brahmavarcasam*) by that for Sūrya. Formerly, all the deities were alike, but when these three gods had seen these cups, they were discriminated from their colleagues. "With the cup for Agni one bestows light on this world; with that for Indra on the atmosphere, for Indra and Vāyu are yoke-fellows; with that for Sūrya he bestows light on yonder world".

Dividing the gods into those whose place is the earth, those whose sphere is the atmosphere<sup>48</sup> and those whose place is the firmament, Yāska (Nir. 7, 5)—to whom we must once again return—records that in the opinion of the Nairuktas the whole of the deities could be reduced to three, viz. Agni on earth, Vāyu in the atmosphere, or in his place Indra, and Sūrya in the highest region<sup>49</sup>. That much importance was attached to this doctrine of the three gods appears also from the protracted form in which it is enunciated in the Bṛhaddevatā (1, 61 ff.): "Agni in this world, Indra and Vāyu in the middle, Sūrya in heaven, are here to be recognized as the three deities" (1, 69); "Because, taking up fluids with his rays, accompanied by Vāyu (notice this co-operation!), he rains

<sup>48</sup> See above, p. 209.

<sup>49</sup> For some details see A. B. Keith, *The religion and philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads*, Cambridge Mass. 1925, p. 86, who in explanation of this doctrine refers to RV. 10, 158, 1; MS. 4, 2, 12: 35, 8; W. Ruben, *Die Philosophie der Upanishaden*, Bern 1947, p. 67 f. (with several untenable contentions).

upon the world, he is termed Indra" (1, 68). As to the presence of Indra as a variant for the god of wind this may first and foremost be due "to the fact that, if a god were to be chosen to represent the atmosphere, it was hardly possible without absurdity to omit Indra"<sup>50</sup>, or to a certain affinity of the former to the latter god—it might, for instance, be recalled that both of them were 'gods of the warrior class', Indra in India<sup>51</sup>, Vāyu in Iran<sup>52</sup>—, rather than to the possibility described by Dumézil<sup>53</sup>: Indra and Vāyu might have been a very ancient couple "qui se reflète dans le double Vāyu<sup>54</sup> et dans le couple Mauvais Vāi-Bon Vāi de l'Iran". Indra having become, in Iran, one of the arch-demons, "on concevrait que la moitié mauvaise que traîne avec lui dans l'Avesta le dieu Vāyu et qui se détachera de lui plus tard comme un Mauvais Vāi, fut un souvenir de l'intime liaison indo-iranienne de Vāyu avec Indra". However, this hypothesis, based on the mere supposition that Indra and Vāyu were early in the Indo-Iranian period a closely connected pair, seems less probable than an explanation founded on the inherently double (good and bad) character of wind and its deity. The ancient ritualists did not omit speculating concerning the relations between the gods which tradition represented as partners. Instead of a locum tenens or companion of Vāyu Indra is in ŚB. 6, 1, 1, 2 stated to be "the vital air in the midst" (*sa yo 'yaṃ madhye prāṇaḥ eṣa evendraḥ*)<sup>55</sup>.

Dumézil<sup>56</sup>, moreover, considers taking the regular occurrence of the

<sup>50</sup> Keith, l.c.

<sup>51</sup> See also G. Dumézil, *Mythe et Épopée*, Paris 1968, p. 55. I cannot enter here into a discussion of the thesis defended by S. Wikander (*Pāṇḍavasagan och Mahābhāratas mytiska förutsättningar*, in *Religion och Bibel*, N. Söderblom-sällskapet's Årsbok, 6 (1947), p. 27 ff., translated into French by G. Dumézil, in *Jupiter Mars Quirinus, IV*, Paris 1948, p. 37 ff.; see p. 34 or 46, and also Dumézil, *Mythe et Épopée*, p. 47) that the Avestan Mithra has appropriated epitheta and functions of Vāyu "et en particulier l'a supplanté dans le culte des sociétés de guerriers". I must however object to the opinion being maintained: "Dans le Ṛgveda, de ces deux divinités qui apparaissent souvent en couple, c'est Indra qui a tiré à lui toute la substance mythique: Vāyu n'est plus guère qu'un doublet d'Indra, sans autonomie", although the author does not seem to be wholly mistaken in adding: "et l'on voit bien qu'Indra, en tant que dieu guerrier, a annexé beaucoup de traits qui, primitivement, appartenaient à Vāyu". (See also G. Dumézil, *Naissance d'Archanges*, Paris 1945, p. 47).

<sup>52</sup> I refer to Widengren, *Hochgottglaube*, p. 193 f.; Wikander, o.c., p. 215, s.v.; R. C. Zaehner, *Zurvan*, Oxford 1955, p. 83. It could not be argued that Indra, like Vāyu, essentially was a god of wind, or even of storm or thunder-storm (e.g. M. Bloomfield, in *J.A.O.S.* 15 (1891), p. 143; Macdonell, *Vedic mythology*, p. 54; Oldenberg, *Religion des Veda*, 3p. 138 f.), because this view of the god must now be regarded as antiquated (Gonda, *Die Religionen Indiens*, I, p. 57 ff.).

<sup>53</sup> Dumézil, *Tarpeia*, Paris 1947, p. 74 ff.

<sup>54</sup> Cf. also H. Lommel, *Die Religion Zarathustras*, Tübingen 1930, p. 193.

<sup>55</sup> See also P. Deussen, *Allgemeine Geschichte der Philosophie*, I, 1, Leipzig 1920, p. 297. No special interest attaches to Mbh. 1, 21, 9 cr. ed.

<sup>56</sup> Dumézil, *Tarpeia*, p. 75.

Vedic pair Indra-Vāyu "aussitôt après le seul Vāyu" "comme une continuation de l'introduction"<sup>57</sup>, puisque, dans ces divers hymnes, plus loin, au centre de la composition, Indra reparait seul avec toute sa majesté"; hence, he argues, the Iranian idea of a double Vāyu "proposé à l'initium du voyage de l'âme humaine vers la vie divine, . . . héritier de couple Indra-Vāyu"<sup>58</sup>. It may however be emphasized, first that the relation between the Vedic and the Iranian Indra is still an open question<sup>59</sup>, and in the second place that in the Veda it is Vāyu alone who heads the list of the gods invoked, and not Indra-Vāyu, who as a pair never take priority.

It would rather appear to me that Vāyu's precedence in drinking the Soma<sup>60</sup>—which in the Soma hymns of book IX is repeatedly described as being prepared for and offered to him (9, 25, 2; 27, 2 (Indra and Vāyu); 96, 16; 97, 42; 49)—is an old and inherited privilege of this swift god, who in view of the Iranian traditions must, in prehistoric times, have been a figure of greater importance than in the Vedic period<sup>61</sup>. The supposition seems legitimate that the gradual increase in popularity of Indra in the Rgvedic age, which has often been regarded as a fact<sup>62</sup>, was not only detrimental to the cult and high position of Varuṇa<sup>63</sup>, but also to those of some other gods, among whom Vāyu. The hypothesis suggests itself to me that Indra, whose excessive fondness for soma is too well known to be in need of comment—he was even conceived as having drunk it on the very day of his birth and as having performed his greatest feats under the influence of that beverage (RV. 2, 15, 2)—and whose increasing prestige made him the most prominent personage

<sup>57</sup> I have my doubts about the connection assumed to exist (Dumézil, *Les dieux des indo-européens*, p. 85) between Vāyu's being "un bon 'premier'" and his "réversibilité" (see p. 216 n. 30).

<sup>58</sup> Dumézil does not seem to have noticed the passage JB. 2, 222 (W. Caland, *Das Jaiminiya-Brāhmaṇa* in *Auswahl*, Amsterdam Acad. 1919, p. 183 f.) where the divine *vrātyas* are related to have excited or insulted either Vāyu or Īśāna (Rudra) with the result that the good order of their sacrifice was disturbed and the way to heaven barred. I for one do not draw the conclusion that Vāyu and Rudra were an ancient pair granting or denying access to heaven or the abodes of the deceased. (Cf. also AVŚ. 19, 43, esp. st. 2).

<sup>59</sup> See e.g. H. Güntert, *Der arische Weltkönig und Heiland*, Halle 1924, p. 57 ff.; Lommel, o.c., p. 50; 91 f.; Nyberg, o.c., p. 339; 348; Wikander, o.c., p. 124 ff.; J. Gonda, *Die Religionen Indiens*, I, Stuttgart 1960, p. 60; J. Duchesne-Guillemin, *La religion de l'Iran ancien*, Paris 1962, p. 176 ff.

<sup>60</sup> See e.g. RV. 1, 134, 1; 6 *tvāṇ no vāyav eṣām āpūrvaḥ sōmānām prathamāḥ pītīm arhasi*; 5, 43, 3; 5, 51, 5; 7, 92, 1; 8, 26, 25. For other invitations see e.g. RV. 1, 23, 1; 4, 48, 1; 7, 92, 5; 8, 26, 20; 22; 8, 46, 15; 8, 101, 9; 9, 97, 49. Compare also 3, 58, 7; 7, 64, 5; 7, 91, 3; 9, 5, 11; 9, 7, 7; 9, 8, 2; 9, 25, 1; 2; 9, 46, 2; 9, 67, 18; 9, 96, 16; 9, 97, 42; 10, 100, 2.

<sup>61</sup> MS. 4, 5, 9: 77, 9 *vāyur hi viśve devāḥ*.

<sup>62</sup> I refer to Macdonell, o.c., p. 66 f.

<sup>63</sup> As was supposed by W. D. Whitney, in J.A.O.S. 3, p. 327.

in the pantheon<sup>64</sup>, rivalled Vāyu to such a degree that the latter, without losing, it is true, his privilege of the first draught, had to receive him as his closest companion in his soma revelries. The precedence in drinking (*pūrvapeyam*) which at RV. 1, 134, 1; 1, 135, 1; 7, 92, 1 is Vāyu's privilege and at 1, 135, 4 is accorded to both gods, is at 8, 3, 7 and 8, 34, 5 explicitly said to be the prerogative of Indra alone<sup>65</sup>. The epithet *somapā* "drinker of soma" is indeed, in the R̥gveda, given only to Vāyu apart from Indra and a few times to Agni and Bṛhaspati, when associated with Indra. It is further worth mentioning that it is to Indra and Vāyu that the soma draught is offered in its unmixed purified form<sup>66</sup>, Vāyu being the drinker of the pure soma par excellence: he is three times called *śucipā*, an epithet given to Indra and Vāyu at RV. 7, 91, 4. This fact is confirmed by the ritual: the unmixed juice is reserved for these two gods, while it is mixed with milk for Varuṇa and Mitra and with honey for the Aśvins (ŚB. 4, 1, 4, 8; 4, 1, 5, 17). But, the other gods may race each other for shares in the offerings, Vāyu and Indra bear off the first places.

This view of the relations between these two gods mutually and between either of them and the soma draught<sup>67</sup> differs from that enunciated by Keith<sup>68</sup>, according to whom Vāyu was only through Indra associated with the soma. This would probably mean that the duality Indra-Vāyu—and hence Vāyu alone—was fond of soma because Indra liked it so much. The same author must however admit that "the evidence of the R̥gveda forbids the adoption of the view that the soma offering was originally given to Indra alone"<sup>69</sup>, notwithstanding the undeniable fact that this god plays a great part in these rites: the midday pressing is almost entirely his and in the morning and evening he is not passed over.

The above facts and inferences are in substantial agreement with the statements made and the conclusions drawn by those scholars, who in the last decades studied the figure of the prehistoric Indo-Iranian god Vāyu. After Widengren had, in 1938, invited attention to the ancient Iranian representative of wind<sup>70</sup>, or rather of the "in lebhafteste Bewegung versetzte Atmosphäre" (moving air), considering him a true 'Hochgott', it became clear that this god, "eine viel interessantere und bedeutendere Gestalt

<sup>64</sup> Cf. also ŚB. 13, 1, 2, 6 and 7; 9, 2, 3, 3.

<sup>65</sup> At RV. 1, 19, 1 the privilege is Agni's.

<sup>66</sup> For particulars see A. Hillebrandt, *Vedische Mythologie*, I, Breslau 1927, p. 450.

<sup>67</sup> I offer no opinion on the conclusive force of RV. 10, 85, 5 where Vāyu is said to be the guardian or protector of the soma.

<sup>68</sup> Keith, o.c., p. 168 f.

<sup>69</sup> Keith, o.c., p. 331.

<sup>70</sup> G. Widengren, *Hochgottglaube im alten Iran*, Uppsala-Leipzig 1938, p. 188 ff.



als sein indisches Gegenstück Vāyu”<sup>71</sup>—whose importance should not however be underestimated!—, was not only the ideal type of the Aryan warrior, but also a celestial deity, a royal god, a conductor of the souls of the deceased, a god of death and fertility<sup>72</sup>. In pantheistic speculation he was, moreover, as a central figure, the breath of God and hence the ‘Hauchseele’ of the whole cosmos and its impellent principle<sup>73</sup>. In this connection attention may be drawn also to R̥V. 10, 90, 13 enunciating the doctrine that Vāyu was born from the breath of the Puruṣa (Primeval Being); to 10, 168, 4 where Vāta (wind, air) is said to be the ‘soul’ (*ātman*) of the gods; and compare also ŚB. 14, 3, 2, 7; *ibid.* 11, 5, 3, 11 “All beings indeed enter into ‘wind’ (Vāyu), and from out of ‘wind’ (Vāyu) they are again released”; AVŚ. 9, 4, 10 “From Tvaṣṭar, from Vāyu was brought forth thy soul”. “Breath is Vāyu, and Vāyu is the *ātman* of all the gods” (ŚB. 9, 1, 2, 38; 14, 3, 2, 7). In a discussion on the immortal immanent Soul, the Inner Controller, Yājñavalkya expresses the opinion that Vāyu is the thread or string which holds the world together (BĀU. 3, 7, 2). He who knows that thread and the so-called Inner Controller knows brahman, the ‘worlds’ (*loka*), the gods, the Vedas, created things, the Soul, the All (*sarva*) (BĀU. 3, 7, 1). According to Raikva Vāyu is the “absorbent” (“the one who snatches away”) because fire, sun, water, speech, sight etc., all of them, go into him, whether he is thought to be the moving air of the atmosphere or breath<sup>74</sup>. “And he who knowing this departs from this world, he, having become breath, goes unto Vāyu . . .” (JUB. 4, 8, 4, 4).

What should interest us most is that in Iran the “Wind” was regarded as the beginning of things and therefore was given the first place in an enumeration of the ten incarnations of Vərəθraϋna<sup>75</sup>. “Zu ihm (Zaraθuštra) kam fahrend her der ahurageschaffene Vərəθraϋna zuerst in der Gestalt des kühnen schönen mazdāhgeschaffenen Vāta (Windes) . . .” (Yašt 14, 2)<sup>76</sup>. It is worth repeating that “il se présente avant les sept formes animales et les deux formes humaines, il en introduit l’énumération . . .”<sup>77</sup>. Dumézil is in all probability right in considering, in this connection, also those Vedic texts in which Vāyu’s name heads the lists of the gods invoked. There is indeed much to be said in favour of the thesis that Vāyu was, in prehistoric times, an introductory figure, a god who was at the beginning. This would be in harmony with the fact that in the ritual practice of

<sup>71</sup> Widengren, *Die Religionen Irans*, Stuttgart 1965, p. 16 f.

<sup>72</sup> S. Wikander, *Vāyu*, Uppsala-Leipzig 1941, esp. p. 215; Widengren, *Die Religionen Irans*, p. 17. See, in the Avesta, Yašt 15.

<sup>73</sup> Widengren, *Die Religionen Irans*, p. 8; 17; see also A. Olerud, *L’idée de macrocosmos et de microcosmos*, Uppsala 1951, p. 188 f.

<sup>74</sup> For other upaniṣadic speculations on Wind or Breath, worshippers of Breath or Wind etc. see Ruben, *o.c.*, *passim*.

<sup>75</sup> Cf. G. Dumézil, *Tarpeia*, p. 71 f.

<sup>76</sup> The translation is Wolff’s (F. Wolff, *Avesta*, Strassburg 1910, p. 259).

<sup>77</sup> Dumézil, *o.c.*, p. 72.

East Iran he held pride of place<sup>78</sup>. "Der Windgott Vāyu war zu einer nur einleitenden Gottheit geworden . . ." <sup>79</sup>, probably not only because of his swiftness (cf. ŚB. 13, 1, 2, 7 and especially 8, 4, 1, 9: Vāyu, the swiftest of all beings, existing in the three worlds, is represented by a stoma and a brick which are the first and remain in front) which, as already intimated<sup>80</sup>, entitled him—at least in the eyes of the ancient ritualists—to the first draught of the soma, and made him come first, before Indra as the second, when the gods raced (AiB. 2, 25), but also because of his character as the cosmic 'Hauchseele'<sup>81</sup> and as such as a primordial entity. Speculations such as occur in ŚB. 6, 1, 2, 2; 19 (Vāyu as the embryo arisen when Prajāpati desired to "multiply") or in ŚB. 6, 2, 2, 11 (Vāyu as one half of Prajāpati) as well as the qualification "the first-born one" occurring in RV. 10, 168, 3, may be regarded as pointing in the same direction. The deity Vāta is, it is true, not identical with Vāyu in that he remains associated with the natural phenomenon, maintains no relations with Indra and does not play a part in the figurative thought of myth and rite, he is nevertheless characterized as "first-born" (RV. 10, 168, 3).

More arguments can be adduced in favour of the thesis that Vāyu alone is the 'introductory' god or takes a certain priority of the pair Vāyu and Indra. The hapax *vasarhā* in RV. 1, 122, 3, translated by "in der Frühe kommend"<sup>82</sup> and by "qui frappe de grand matin"<sup>83</sup> has justly been regarded as an "allusion au rôle matinal et 'primordial' du Vent"<sup>84</sup>. It would indeed not be surprising if an important clue to this character and function of the god were his manifestation as the morning-wind<sup>85</sup>. Vāyu is the leader of the sacrificial rites (*prāṇīr yajñānām*, AiB. 2, 34, 6), "for when he breathes out, then there is the sacrifice, then there is the agnihotra" (*yadā hi prāṇīty atha yajño 'thāgnihotram*). The sacrificial ceremony "should begin when night is far advanced, before the emission of speech, before the time when cattle, men, and birds begin to speak" (KB. 11, 8 (11, 9, 3 f.); cf. AiB. 2, 15, 8; ĀpŚS. 12, 1, 1 f.). At that moment

<sup>78</sup> Widengren, *Die Religionen Irans*, p. 129. Cf. also H. S. Nyberg, *Die Religionen des alten Iran*, Leipzig 1938, p. 300 f.

<sup>79</sup> Widengren, *Die Religionen Irans*, p. 83.

<sup>80</sup> See above, p. 219.

<sup>81</sup> See above, p. 219.

<sup>82</sup> Geldner, *o.c.*, I, p. 168.

<sup>83</sup> Renou, *E.V.P.* V, p. 6, rejecting Hillebrandt's (*o.c.*, II, p. 294, n. 4) "der den Frühling zurücklässt".

<sup>84</sup> Renou, *E.V.P.* IV, p. 26.

<sup>85</sup> "Perhaps the most familiar of all local winds are the gentle downslope winds which occur inland on clear nights during quiet weather . . . In valleys flanked by mountains the cold air flood may . . . reach a speed near the ground of five or even ten miles per hour . . . In mountainous country downslope winds occasionally occur in intermittent sudden rushes" (*Encyclopaedia Britannica* 1970, XXIII, p. 562 f.). Cf. also RV. 8, 102, 13 and Geldner's introductory note (*o.c.*, II, p. 363) on RV. 8, 46.

the stanza RV. 7, 92, 1; TS. 1, 4, 4 a should be recited to invite the divine Wind (ĀpŚS. 1.c.), who "at the first appearance of daylight comes driving along . . . (urged on) by these pressers of soma by means of soma juices to display his liberality, he the drinker of the pressed unmixed soma" (RV. 8, 46, 26).

The god Vāyu—who often keeps a few higher deities company: AV. 3, 8, 1; 3, 12, 4; 4, 25, 5; 6, 53, 1; 6, 68, 1; 8, 1, 15; 11, 10, 16; 19, 27, 1—is moreover credited with some qualities which as a rule are characteristic of a high deity. Explaining VS. 15, 16 the author of ŚB. 8, 6, 1, 17 says that "the All-maker" (*viśvakarman*) is "Vāyu, because he makes everything here"; and at RV. 1, 134, 4 he is credited with having generated the Maruts from (in) the wombs of heaven. At ŚB. 8, 4, 1, 6 he is described as becoming the deities and the forms of the year (which is a manifestation of Totality). The sphere of his activity is not limited to a definite place; that means, he is omnipresent: MS. 2, 2, 7: 20, 19 f. "There is nothing (no place) where Vāyu has no access"; ŚB. 8, 2, 3, 2 "Moving air (Vāyu) is everywhere"; 10, 3, 3, 8 "the quarters of the universe are established in the air (Vāyu)", etc. As breath he permeates space (JUB. 4, 12, 1, 6). He never settles down and is always active: AV. 10, 7, 37 "How does the moving air (*vātaḥ*) not cease?"; AiB. 5, 25, 17 "The restless one is Vāyu, for he never keeps still"; BĀU. 1, 5, 22 "The other gods have their decline, but not Vāyu. Vāyu is that divinity which never goes home (to rest)", etc. He is moreover the god of the animals (VS. 14, 30; TS. 4, 3, 10, 2; cf. 3, 1, 4, 2; TB. 3, 2, 1, 3 "Vāyu is the superintendent of the atmosphere; the domestic animals have the atmosphere as their deity"; PB. 23, 13, 2; JUB. 1, 16, 3, 3; PB. 23, 13, 2; TS. 5, 5, 1, 3 the moving air is said to be the *priyam dhāma* (the favourite modality or presence of something divine, cf. also AV. 2, 26, 1; 2, 34, 4) of cattle<sup>86</sup>) and the protector of the trees (MS. 3, 9, 4: 120, 9). It is true that at ŚB. 4, 4, 1, 15 Vāyu's position as the leader of animals is associated with the fact<sup>87</sup> that they move about by means of breath which is identical with Vāyu (*vāyupraṇetrā vai paśavaḥ, prāṇo vai vāyuh, prāṇena hi paśavaś caranti*). Like Prajāpati (ŚB. 1, 1, 1, 13; 1, 6, 1, 20 etc.) Vāyu is "undefined" (*anirukta*: 8, 7, 3, 12), that is to say he belongs to the sphere beyond the well-known and beyond definite forms, to "a hidden zone where the things and forms take on an inorganic aspect which makes them redoubtable"<sup>88</sup>. At AiB. 4, 26, 11 he is even identified with Prajāpati.

In other cases, however, Vāyu is represented as sharing his high

<sup>86</sup> See J. Gonda, The meaning of the Sanskrit term *dhāman*, Amsterdam Acad. 1967, p. 71.

<sup>87</sup> Shende, o.c., p. 94 goes so far as to regard Vāyu as "more or less a pastoral deity". I would rather say that in certain circles this aspect might have come to the fore.

<sup>88</sup> L. Renou, *Nirukta and anirukta in Vedic*, in *Sarūpa-Bhāratī*, Hoshiarpur 1954, p. 76.

competence with those gods whom we know to be his nearest colleagues. While, in AV. 19, 27, 1, Indra is implored to protect with his specific faculty, *indriyas*, Vāyu—for this god as a protector see also VS. 14, 12—is requested to protect with the important power *brahman*. In the *avabhṛtha* formulary of the Sautrāmaṇi, VS. 20, 15, it is Vāyu who is implored to deliver the person who recites the stanza from 'sin' and all distress, if in the day-time or at night he has committed sinful deeds, his companions Agni and Sūrya being, in st. 14 and 16, addressed in a similar way<sup>89</sup>, so that we, once again, meet the well-known triad of important deities presiding over the tripartite universe. But, be this as it may, "Agni, Vāyu, Indra are, in some undetermined way, greatly above the other gods, for they it was that touched *brahman* closest" (JUB. 4, 10, 4, 2; KeU. 4, 2).

It may finally be argued that the very fact that this pair of gods "zu rituellem Spekulation nicht so oft wie andere Duale Veranlassung gegeben hat"<sup>90</sup> does not point to its special antiquity or importance. In this connection some interest attaches to TS. 3, 2, 10. In the collection of mantras contained in this passage, which deals with the *pratīnirgrāhya grahas*, draughts supplemental to those for the pairs of deities, Indra-Vāyu, Mitra-Varuṇa and the two Aśvins, it reads: (2 n) "The enemy who, O Indra and Vāyu, is aiming at us, who seeks to assail us, O lords of what is advantageous (rather than "of splendour")<sup>91</sup>, him I cause here (now) to fall below my feet, so that I, O Indra, shall be conspicuous as the highest". This imprecation, for the ritual application of which see ĀpŚS. 12, 21, 1, is immediately followed by identical stanzas addressed to Mitrāvaruṇa and the Aśvins. Caland<sup>92</sup> was no doubt right in observing: "Aus dem Epitheton *śubhas pati*, das für die Aśvins eigentümlich ist, geht hervor, dass ursprünglich diese Abhicārahandlung nur beim Aśvinagraha stattfand". The Aśvins are indeed typically succouring deities and deliverers from distress whose beneficial activities are often praised. Caland also noticed that the ritual direction given by Āpastamba is based on MS. 4, 5, 8: 76, 11 ff., where the stanza is interestingly enough only mentioned in connection with the *mitrāvaruṇagraha*.

<sup>89</sup> Cf. S. Rodhe, Deliver us from evil, Lund-Copenhagen 1946, p. 156 f.

<sup>90</sup> Hillebrandt, o.c., II, p. 294, n. 5.

<sup>91</sup> Gonda, Epithets, p. 116 f.

<sup>92</sup> W. Caland, Das Śrautasūtra des Āpastamba, II, Amsterdam Acad. 1924, p. 288.



## CHAPTER VII

### INDRA-AND-VARUṆA

The combination of the great gods Indra and Varuṇa is especially interesting because they are—as is explicitly stated in RV. 1, 17, 1—the two universal monarchs (*samrāj*)<sup>1</sup>. Indra indeed personifies the dynamic aspects of sovereignty, Varuṇa its static aspects<sup>2</sup>. Whereas the former is the great fighter and champion of all beings in the universe who, conquering the defiant power of chaos, inaugurates an inhabitable world, the latter, residing in the midst of heaven, is the famous protector of *ṛta* “order-and-truth” and the ruler of the laws of nature and standards of morality. In contradistinction to Indra, always conspicuous by his mythical feats, Varuṇa is characterized by his equable disposition and regulative presence. It is therefore clear that on a synchronic level both gods might be regarded as in a way supplementing each other<sup>3</sup>. This is also apparent from references to them such as RV. 7, 82, 8 and 7, 83, 1 mentioning their alliance or companionship (*sakhyam*; *āpyam*), as well as 7, 34, 24 stating that Indra is the friend of Varuṇa who resides in heaven (*dyukṣó vāruṇa indrasakhā*), a statement which gives occasion to the comment that in other texts Indra is more often characterized as “a denizen of heaven” (*dyukṣa*): is this a case of transference of an Indraic characterization to Varuṇa without the poet’s referring to the dual deity? There can moreover hardly be any doubt that the anonymous god who is at 5, 38, 3 addressed together with Indra—to whom the hymn is dedicated—is Varuṇa<sup>4</sup>: “The two of you ruled heaven and earth” (*divás ca gṃś ca rājathah*). Here there is occasion for observing that Indra takes the lead: it is his courage and energy which conditions their superior position (*śúṣmāso yé te . . . ubhā devāu abhīṣṭaye*).

As the mutual relations of these two gods as they appear to exist in the oldest document are of no little interest in connection with a better understanding of the dual deity Indra-Varuṇa, it would be expedient to dwell upon some other texts which show that some form of ‘co-operation’

<sup>1</sup> See e.g. also VS. 8, 37 *indraś ca samrāj vāruṇaś ca rājā*. For this terminology see below, p. 263.

<sup>2</sup> For Indra see e.g. Gonda, *Die Religionen Indiens*, I, Stuttgart 1960, p. 53 ff.; 77.

<sup>3</sup> For Indra, Varuṇa and other gods representing dominion (*kṣatra*) see also BĀU. 1, 4, 11. For Indra compare e.g. RV. 10, 124, 8. I cannot however follow H. D. Griswold, *The religion of the Rigveda*, Oxford 1923, p. 198: “The uniting bonds are their similar cosmic qualities”, Varuṇa being the ‘encompassing sky’, Indra “lighting up the whole heaven”.

<sup>4</sup> See K. F. Geldner, *Der Rig-Veda übersetzt*, Cambridge Mass. 1951, II, p. 37.

of Indra and Varuṇa was, in the minds of the Vedic poets, a reality<sup>5</sup>. While eulogizing the former god the author of RV. 7, 28, st. 4 implores him to favour or oblige the speaker and those on behalf of whom he is speaking when the disloyal communities of men have to purge their offence, and expresses the wish that Varuṇa will deliver him and his people from any wrong the god may detect. At AV. 3, 5, 4 an amulet made of wood of the parṇa tree and described as Soma's formidable power is said to have been given by Indra and governed by Varuṇa: this means that these gods should exert their influence for good in order to add efficacy to the amulet. At AV. 3, 13, 2, which is part of a magical text prescribed to direct water into a definite course, the water is said to have been sent by Varuṇa and after skipping together to be obtained by Indra, the verb "to obtain" (*āp-*) being used to explain the word "water" (*āpah*); for Indra as the conquerer of the waters see RV. 1, 80, 3; 3, 34, 8; 8, 15, 6<sup>6</sup>. In performing the pertinent ritual acts one should however sacrifice to Varuṇa, not to Indra (KauśS. 40, 7). Indra's aid is invoked (AV. 7, 90, 2) to destroy the virile power of another man (the lover of one's wife, KauśS. 36, 35); the vigour (?) of his member is relaxed by Varuṇa's *vrata*. The formula VS. 8, 37 states that Indra and Varuṇa made, in the beginning, a definite sacrificial draught. At RV. 10, 99, 10 Indra is stated to possess *māyā* like Varuṇa. In AV. 1, 16, 2 Indra is said to have bestowed on the person speaking the lead (to be used in a magical rite) which is blessed by Varuṇa and favoured by Agni. A text to be used in a ceremony for successful conception, AV. 5, 25, 6, speaks of knowledge of Varuṇa, Sarasvatī and Indra. AV. 5, 21, 11 f. king Soma, king Varuṇa, the Great God, Death, Indra are requested to conquer the enemies. "The formidable one" mentioned in AV. 2, 29 which is prescribed in a healing rite is (st. 3) said to be given by Indra, instructed by Varuṇa, and sent forth by the Maruts. Whatever the motives of the authors to combine, in every particular case, the gods Indra and Varuṇa, so much is clear that these gods largely owe their prominent position in these texts to their prestige and great power: the favour and joint efforts of these two mighty deities must ensure the rite's being successful. Compare also VS. 11, 60; ŚB. 12, 9, 1, 15 ff.<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> Other combinations, e.g. Varuṇa and Manyu (RV. 10, 84, 7; cf. 10, 83, 2), Viṣṇu and Varuṇa (AV. 7, 25) are, of course, possible.

<sup>6</sup> According to E. D. Perry, in J.A.O.S. 11 (1885), p. 154 "one of the most important moments in the association of Indra and Varuṇa is their common characteristic as water divinities". See also Griswold, l.c.

<sup>7</sup> Passing mention may be made of the relation between Indra and the East and that between Varuṇa and the West (cf. e.g. JUB. 3, 5, 2, 2 = 3, 21, 2). — Not all Vedic passages mentioning both gods can be considered here. The poet of the Indra hymn 8, 69, after stating, in st. 11, that Indra, Agni etc. have drunk of the soma and expressing the wish that Varuṇa would "stay here" also digresses on that god, calling him a right god because his gullet is so wide. (For the interpretation of this place see H. Lüders, Varuṇa, Göttingen 1951–1959, p. 53 f.). The same

That the position of both gods in the divine society was an exceptional one appears from what the poet of RV. 4, 33 while dealing with the Rbhus says (st. 9): the gods rejoiced so greatly in their work that Vāja became the artificer of the gods (no doubt, in general), Rbhuṣan of Indra, and Vibhvan of Varuṇa. That means that the two gods under discussion had, each of them, a personal artisan.

In addition to the above places in which both gods are invited or invoked together or at the same time attention may also be drawn to other texts where they share this honour with one or two colleagues: RV. 8, 27, 6 mentioning Indra, Varuṇa and the Ādityas; 4, 34, 7 Indra, Varuṇa, Maruts and Rbhus; 8, 69, 11 Indra, Agni, Viśve Devāḥ, Varuṇa<sup>8</sup>. Together with Mitra and Pūṣan Varuṇa appears in the Indra sūkta 6, 24, st. 5 as one of the gods who co-operate in displaying a willingness to help those speaking. In this context his activity is clearly meant to be supplementary to Indra's beneficent activity.

For our purpose those places in which Indra alone joins the three great Ādityas Varuṇa, Mitra (and Aryaman) are not devoid of interest<sup>9</sup>, because they evince the tendency to add powerful Indra to this prominent duo or trio: see RV. 1, 40, 5 "Brahmaṇaspati . . ., with whom Indra, Varuṇa, Mitra, Aryaman (and the other gods) have taken up their residence" (*yásminn índro váruṇo mitró aryamā devā ókāṃsi cakrivé*); 7, 82, 10 (a prayer for protection in a final stanza)<sup>10</sup>; AiB. 5, 27, 4 etc. In a magical rite intended to destroy enemies a piece of *aśvattha* wood is to crush them "allied with Vṛtra-slaying Indra, Mitra and Varuṇa" (AV. 3, 6, 2). AV. 6, 85, 2 it reads: "With the word of Indra, Mitra, Varuṇa, of all the gods, we ward off your consumptive disease". Compare also places such as RV. 7, 40, 2 where other gods are added to those mentioned: *mitrás tán no váruṇo ródasī ca . . . índro aryamā dadātu*; 1, 90, 9; 1, 106, 1; 1, 129, 3; 1, 136, 7; 1, 162, 1; 1, 164, 46; 4, 55, 4; 6, 21, 9; 6, 47, 28; 7, 93, 7; AV. 1, 9, 1; 10, 4, 16; 13, 3, 13.

It is perhaps worth mentioning also that in those rather frequent invocations of a number of gods which occur either at the beginning or end of a sūkta or in other places the names of Indra and Varuṇa are not infrequently found in immediate succession. Like the preceding group

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compliment is paid to Indra at RV. 6, 41, 2 (cf. 1, 8, 7). — In the well-known story of Śunaḥśepa (AiB. 7, 13 ff.) both gods play an important part. It is Varuṇa who gives king Hariścandra a son Rohita on the condition, however, that this son will be sacrificed to him. It is Indra who, dissuading Rohita from returning home, is partly responsible for the delay which results in the substitution of Śunaḥśepa for the young prince.

<sup>8</sup> There are of course exceptions: RV. 1, 44, 14 (Varuṇa, Aśvins and Uṣas).

<sup>9</sup> These three gods may however also find themselves in the company of another god (Agni 6, 49, 1; 6, 51, 10; 7, 59, 1; cf. 7, 39, 7; 7, 62, 3). For Mitra, Varuṇa and Rudra see 1, 43, 3. Or Indra is absent in an enumeration of names among which these three: 1, 94, 16; 6, 50, 1.

<sup>10</sup> See further on, p. 265.

of places these passages may attest to a certain affinity of these gods. Thus RV. 8, 35, 1 it reads: *agnínéndreṇa váruṇena viṣṇunādityai rudraír vásubhiḥ sacābhīvā* . . .; and see also 1, 107, 3; 1, 136, 6; 5, 5, 11; 6, 48, 14; 7, 34, 25; 7, 35, 6; 7, 39, 5; 7, 93, 7; 9, 61, 12; 9, 84, 1; 10, 70, 11. See also AV. 3, 22, 2; 9, 2, 6; 9, 4, 8; 12, 3, 24; VS. 10, 28 (but compare ŚB. 5, 4, 4, 10) "Thou art Brahman, Savitar, Varuṇa, Indra, Rudra"; 11, 60 (ŚB. 6, 5, 3, 10) Indra, Varuṇa, Viṣṇu; 12, 72; 14, 20; (cf. 19, 85); 33, 48; 39, 6; GB. 2, 2, 2. Otherwise however: RV. 9, 33, 3 = 9, 34, 2; 9, 65, 20; 10, 83, 2; 10, 173, 5; AV. 3, 21, 8; 7, 81, 6; cf. 10, 4, 1: Indra, the gods, Varuṇa, the snake-demons; 14, 1, 62; 19, 26, 4; VS. 8, 56; 9, 33; 9, 39; 22, 6; 32, 15; ŚB. 5, 4, 5, 2; AiB. 1, 24, 4.

The very fact that Indra and Varuṇa are regarded as the best or most distinguished among the gods because of (or, in) offensive power, as the bravest among the brave, the most generous among the generous (6, 68, 2), may be regarded as a reference to a form of equivalence, to a special position which they have in common, or even, in a way, to a tie of companionship. This fact makes also the prayer addressed in 7, 82, 9 to the dual deity understandable: "deign to be, *Indrāvaruṇau*, our champions (dual), in every contest". Hence also the statement that this divine duality, *indrāvaruṇau*, surpasses in greatness all other gods (6, 68, 4), who have, indeed, brought their concentrated strength to this pair (7, 82, 2).

The above is not to argue that Indra was never represented as being characterized by qualities which are typical of the other god. The poet of RV. 10, 147, 5 expresses the opinion that he is like Varuṇa possessed of that incomprehensible creative power, the ability or capacity of achieving the marvellous, which is known as *māyā* (*váruṇo ná māyí*). Now *māyín* not infrequently occurs in connection with Varuṇa (e.g. 7, 28, 4), but at 8, 76, 1 it is *māyín* Indra who is invoked and the noun *māyā* itself is more than once used in passages dealing with Indra: the poet of 10, 54, 2 referring to the god's combats speaks of *māyā*, at 1, 80, 7 he conquers his antagonist with *māyā* etc.<sup>11</sup>

In an explanation of the Varuṇapraghāsa, one of the seasonal sacrifices, which essentially is a rite to secure rain, an abundance of flocks etc., the author of KB. 5, 4 (5, 5, 4) goes so far as to identify both gods: "Indra is in the middle. Therefore he sacrifices for him in the middle. In that there is a milk mess for Varuṇa, (it is because) Varuṇa is Indra, and he has milk for his portion . . .". This identification may be due to the intimate connections of both gods with water: it may be remembered that "milk" sometimes means "rain" (RV. 1, 166, 3; "milk is water", KB. l.c. (5, 5, 10)). See also GB. 2, 1, 22 "In that there is clotted curd for Varuṇa, Indra, indeed, is Varuṇa, and he has milk as his portion; therefore there is clotted curd for Varuṇa". It may be recalled that the

<sup>11</sup> For *māyā* in general see J. Gonda, Four studies in the language of the Veda, The Hague 1959, ch. IV, p. 119 ff.



performance of the three seasonal sacrifices leads to a man's attaining to union with Agni, Varuṇa and Indra respectively (ŚB. 2, 6, 4, 8)<sup>12</sup>. However, identifications of divine powers are not rare in the Veda. When a god creates the impression of fulfilling one of the duties of a colleague or performing an analogous task he is liable to be identified with him: "In that Agni is dread of contact, that is his form as Varuṇa..." (AiB. 3, 4, 6). According to the formula TB. 1, 1, 1, 5 Indra to whom the Soma juice should be offered is identical with some other gods, viz. Varuṇa, Mitra, Agni and Bṛhaspati<sup>13</sup>.

On the other hand, traces of a certain rivalry between the gods are, in the eyes of some of my predecessors, not lacking (RV. 4, 42)<sup>14</sup>. Without unreservedly subscribing to Whitney's<sup>15</sup> theory of a transference of Varuṇa's pre-eminence belonging to an older order of gods to Indra one might indeed connect places such as RV. 10, 124, 5<sup>16</sup> in which Indra, stating that the asuras have lost their *māyā*, is made to invite Varuṇa to assume the reins of government of his (Indra's) realm, with the twofold fact that, on the one hand, Varuṇa, who is much less frequently mentioned in R̥gveda X than in the other books, was in the belief of the poets of the Atharvaveda reduced to the more modest state of a god of the waters and a lord of punishments<sup>17</sup> and, on the other hand, Indra is, in the brāhmaṇas and ensuing bodies of literature, the chief of the Indian heaven, a position which points to a gradually increasing popularity<sup>18</sup>.

It is however a question whether, in a eulogy of the latter god, much importance should be attached to an occasional statement of Varuṇa's inferiority, or at least, of his willingness to conform to Indra's rules: 1, 101, 3 Varuṇa, the Sun, and the rivers are said to follow Indra's rules of conduct (to be in his 'vrata'). It is one of the characteristics of these

<sup>12</sup> We need not, in this connection, dwell upon the artifices of the ritualists who for definite purposes tried to show that a stanza addressed to another god, e.g. Varuṇa, was really intended for Indra to whom belongs the sacrifice (see e.g. AiB. 6, 10 = GB. 2, 2, 20), or that Agni is in a definite case not omitted because Varuṇa is Agni (AiB. 6, 27, 12 f.; cf. RV 5, 3, 1).

<sup>13</sup> For some particulars see W. Caland, *Das Śrautasūtra des Āpastamba*, II, Amsterdam 1924, p. 294 (on ĀpŚS. 12, 23, 8).

<sup>14</sup> See e.g. A. A. Macdonell, *Vedic mythology*, Strassburg 1897, p. 65 f.; Geldner, o.c., I, p. 473 f.

<sup>15</sup> W. D. Whitney, in J.A.O.S. 3, p. 327.

<sup>16</sup> See Geldner, o.c., III, p. 352 f.

<sup>17</sup> L. Renou, *Varuṇa dans l'Atharvaveda*, Festgabe-H. Lommel, Wiesbaden 1960, p. 122 ff.

<sup>18</sup> See also C. R. Lanman, *A Sanskrit reader*, Boston 1888, p. 367: "Varuṇa is by far the noblest and loftiest character of the Vedic pantheon, and seems to have held the most prominent position in the earliest period. Later — as appears if we consider the R̥gveda as a whole — the warlike and national god Indra is plainly most prominent. The gradual supersession of Varuṇa by Indra is reflected in a considerable number (?) of passages, among them RV. 4, 42 (?) and 10, 124".

eulogies to focus attention on a special god, to emphasize his special abilities and those traits of his character by which he stands out from others and so to represent him as their superior in some respect or other. Thus Varuṇa and the Aśvins are at 1, 156, 4 said to follow resourceful Viṣṇu, and Viṣṇu, Mitra, Varuṇa and the Maruts at 8, 15, 9 described as cheering Indra.

One of the formulas of the Sautrāmaṇi rite runs as follows: "Indra whom Bhaga, Savitar, and Varuṇa supplied with *indriya* power, lord of the oblation, the good guardian, be associated with the sacrificer" (VS. 20, 70; cf. TB. 2, 6, 13, 2 etc.). This means that some other gods, among whom Varuṇa, contribute to Indra's specific faculty or quality known as *indriya*. Whatever the poet had in mind, his statement does not point to Indra's more or less generally acknowledged superiority. He is however one of the gods to whom this rite is dedicated. Cf. VS. 19, 80. Some importance may on the other hand be attached to the formula VS. 8, 37 "Indra, chief Lord and king Varuṇa, these two have at the beginning made this draught for thee" (*indraś ca samrāḍ vāruṇaś ca rājā taū te bhakṣām cakratur āgra etām*), first because the title *samrāj* was, in social life, given to a reigning king, not, as far as we know, to any member of a noble family, who could be called a *rājan*<sup>19</sup>, and in the second place because at TB. 3, 7, 9, 6 f. and ĀpŚS. 14, 3, 5 this formula occurs immediately after the address "O Indra, ruler, thou art the ruler of the gods..." (*indrādhipatē 'dhipatis tvām devānām asi*), the title *adhipati* being likewise given to a ruler<sup>20</sup>.

In this connection the above-mentioned sūkta RV. 4, 42 is indeed of special interest, because it allows us to deepen our insight into the relations assumed to exist between the two gods. This text has given rise to much divergence of opinion, not only in respect of the interpretation of some of its stanzas (especially 3 and 4), but also of the purport of the poem in its entirety. Already in Indian antiquity it was, at least in its former part, regarded as an *ātmastava* or self-laudation (*Anukramaṇi*). The *Sarvānukramaṇi* and the commentators Ṣaḍguruśiṣya and Sāyaṇa may however have been in error when they spoke of an *ātmastuti* of king

<sup>19</sup> W. Rau, *Staat und Gesellschaft im alten Indien*, Wiesbaden 1957, p. 72. For *samrāj* see also further on, p. 262 f.

<sup>20</sup> According to JB. 3, 152 Varuṇa was (in the beginning no more than) a companion of the other gods, that is to say, his equal. He however wished to be made, by means of a consecratory rite, the lord of the others (*sarveṣām devānām rājyāya sūyeya*). After he had as Prajāpati's pupil obtained this god's lordship his colleagues, paying homage, consecrated him. Another 'tradition' is handed down at PB. 15, 3, 30: the gods did not acknowledge his supremacy before he saw a definite *sāman*. — According to ŚB. 14, 3, 2, 14 Varuṇa is the self (*ātman*) of all the gods.

Trasadasyu<sup>21</sup>. We should rather concur with Bloomfield<sup>22</sup> and Geldner<sup>23</sup> in the view that the figures speaking are the gods Indra and Varuṇa. It remains however to be seen whether they are introduced as individuals or as a duality. Some authors are strongly inclined to consider the poem to be a disputation ("Streitgedicht"). Geldner<sup>24</sup> at the time took it to refer to the "Streit um das Ross, das König Purukutsa (rather, his spouse) opferte, um einen Sohn zu erhalten". About this interpretation Oldenberg's<sup>25</sup> doubts were certainly justified. It would appear to me that the hymn can be explained without this assumption. For most modern interpreters it seems to have been more or less self-evident that the sūkta is a dialogue between Indra and Varuṇa<sup>26</sup>. This is implicitly argued by Oldenberg ("Klar scheint, dass v. 1-2 Varuṇa, 5-6 Indra gehört . . ."), explicitly stated by Geldner who draws attention to what he calls rivalry

<sup>21</sup> H. Lommel's vindication of this traditional interpretation (in *Beiträge zur indischen Philologie und Altertumskunde*, Festschrift-W. Schubring, Hamburg 1951, p. 32 ff.), which was also rejected by A. Ludwig, *Der Rgveda*, V, Prag-Leipzig 1883, p. 463 and E. Sieg, *Die Sagenstoffe des Rgveda*, Stuttgart 1902, p. 98, as well as Norman Brown's view of this hymn will be discussed further on.

<sup>22</sup> M. Bloomfield, *Rig-Veda repetitions*, I, Cambridge Mass. 1916, p. 233. Bloomfield's rejection of the widely accepted theory that the hymn deals with a rivalry between Indra and Varuṇa for leadership of the gods was subscribed to by W. Norman Brown, *King Trasadasyu as a divine incarnation*, C. Kunhan Raja Presentation volume, Madras 1946, p. 38 ff.

<sup>23</sup> Geldner, *Der Rig-Veda übersetzt*, I, p. 473.

<sup>24</sup> K. F. Geldner, *Die Religionen der Inder (Religionsgeschichtliches Lesebuch*, IX), Tübingen 1908, p. 113. According to E. D. Perry, in *J.A.O.S.* 11 (1885), p. 157 this hymn is "an attempt by a thoughtful mind to bring harmony out of the apparent discrepancy by the sharpest possible definition of the contrasting natures of the two divinities". L. von Schroeder, *Indiens Literatur und Cultur in historischer Entwicklung*, Leipzig 1887, p. 63 f. was likewise of the opinion that the two gods "selbst redend in einer Art von Rangstreit auftreten . . . König Varuṇa tritt zuerst mit dem ganzen Vollbewusstsein seiner obersten Würde . . ., aber Indra weiss auch seine Bedeutung als Gott der Schlachten in das gebührende Licht zu setzen, und der Sänger findet es geraten beide, im dualischen Compositum *Indrāvaruṇā* vereinigt, anzurufen. . . . Es scheint mir deutlich, dass hier der Sänger, der zuerst den majestätischen Varuṇa auftreten lässt, sich doch dann mit seiner Sympathie dem schlachtenlustigen Indra zuwendet; aber keiner der Götter soll gekränkt werden — als ein untrennbares Paar ruft sie darum der Schluss des Liedes bittend an".

<sup>25</sup> H. Oldenberg, *Rgveda. Textkritische und exegetische Noten*, I, Berlin 1909, p. 302.

<sup>26</sup> For a dissentient view see A. Bergaigne, *La religion védique*, III, Paris 1877 (1963), p. 142 (stanza 1-6 are a monologue of Indra). Rejecting the idea of rivalry between the gods Bergaigne assumes "une opposition née de la rencontre des deux conceptions unitaire et dualiste" and regards st. 1-6 not as a dialogue, but as a monologue of Indra. L. von Schroeder, *Mysterium und Mimus im Rigveda*, Leipzig 1908, p. 221 ff., while justly rejecting the idea of a verbal combat, unconvincingly defended the thesis that the dignified dialogue in which the gods "ihre Macht und Taten ohne gegenseitige Herabsetzung (rühmen)" served the purpose of a dramatic performance.

between both figures: "Ein gewisser Gegensatz oder eine Rivalität zwischen beiden ist dabei trotz Bloomfield unverkennbar. Jeder hebt nicht nur seine Verdienste, sondern auch—besonders Varuṇa—seine Rechte hervor". Lanman<sup>27</sup> even went so far as to introduce the poem with the remark: "Indra contests the supremacy of Varuṇa", adding that in stanzas 1-4 "Varuṇa claims the godhead, supreme and from the beginning . . ., Indra responds (5-6) by asserting his irresistible might as god of battle. And the hymn ends with an acknowledgement on the part of the poet (st. 7) of the claims of Indra"<sup>28</sup>. Renou<sup>29</sup>, who, curiously enough, makes no mention of his predecessors and does not define his position with regard to dissentient views, is completely convinced of this purport and structure of the poem: "Hymne d'une facture très particulière, étant le seul de notre groupe à présenter une forme dialoguée; en fait, plutôt, une *ātmastuti* en vers alternés, analogue aux *ātmastuti* semi-dialoguées des hymnes à Indra 10, 27 et 28 . . .". Yet Sāyaṇa was already of the opinion that st. 1-6 were "in praise of oneself" (i.e. of the poet himself) and therefore had the poet himself—in his opinion Trasadyu, a *rājarṣi* (*ṛṣi* of royal descent)—as their deity, whereas Indra and Varuṇa are the gods of the other four stanzas. This may mean that in his eyes the deity of the former series of stanzas was distinct from the two individual gods Indra and Varuṇa. It would appear to me that the view of the hymn pronounced by Bloomfield is nearer to the truth than the interpretations proposed, in modern times, before and after him. He regards the poem as a self-laudation of the dual divinity, Indra-Varuṇa, comparing it to 10, 48 and 49 (Indra's self-praise) and 10, 125 (the *ātmastuti* of Vāc). In substantiation of his opinion he points out the fact that this text is immediately preceded by the *Indrāvaruṇā* hymn 4, 41—as is well known two successive hymns are, in the *Ṛgveda*, not infrequently more or less closely connected—and recalls that its own last stanzas (9 and 10) are addressed to the same dual deity *indrāvaruṇā*.

In my opinion there is much to be said for Bloomfield's interpretation. It may be true that, to quote the American scholar literally, "in the present instance the dual character of the divinity introduces complications, for the divinity cannot in the long run sing its own praise as a whole without referring to the most characteristic qualities of its two parts". There seems however to be room for the suggestion that the poet viewed the deity so to say as a "two-sided unity", as a single person who is well aware of his own composite nature. It would, then, be possible to avoid supposing that the poet "is embarrassed by grammatical conditions", because "it is hard to fit *ahám* to a dual". The above hypothesis of a two-sided unit, of a dual deity temporarily represented as a single person,

<sup>27</sup> Lanman, o.c., p. 367.

<sup>28</sup> This is essentially the interpretation of Grassmann, Hillebrandt and others (see Lanman, o.c., p. 367, n. 2).

<sup>29</sup> Renou, E.V.P. VII, p. 77 f.



would, moreover, smooth some difficulties away which have required much racking of the brains on the part of those scholars who believed the hymn to be a dialogue.

There is first stanza 3. Many scholars attributed it to Varuṇa<sup>30</sup> translating the words *ahám indro váruṇaḥ* by "I, Varuṇa, am Indra". Renou<sup>31</sup> however preferred to give the stanza to the other god: "C'est moi Indra (qui suis celui que croit être) Varuṇa", admitting, however, in his commentary that there are "diverses possibilités pour *indro váruṇaḥ*" and that "la strophe en fait pourrait s'appliquer également à l'un et à l'autre dieux". The stanzas RV. 2, 1, 3; 4 and 5, 3, 1 *tvám agna indraḥ* etc. should not tempt us to change, with some scholars<sup>32</sup>, *indro* into the vocative *indra*. Admitting that at first sight and in any given context Renou's translation<sup>33</sup> is the most probable, it may be asked why we should not follow Bloomfield in taking the words to mean "I am Indra (and) Varuṇa"<sup>34</sup>. The pair Indra-Varuṇa, conceiving of itself, for this special occasion, as a unit, says, by itself and for itself, in the singular "I am . . ." <sup>35</sup>. This interpretation would match the content of stanza 3<sup>36</sup> very well, because "die dort erwähnten Taten an sich Beiden zukommen können" (Oldenberg). "The kernel of the hymn is in the middle (stanzas 3, 4), where the description, itself a *tour de force*, tells of both together"<sup>37</sup>.

Now, although stanza 3 (. . . *mahitvórvī gabhīré rájasī suméke / tváṣṭeva viśvā bhūvanāni vidvān sám airayaṃ ródasī dhūrāyaṃ ca*) is syntactically ambiguous—I would prefer ". . . ; these two broad . . . spaces, (parenthesis:) like Tvaṣṭar knowing all the worlds (and their inhabitants), by (my) greatness I joined them together (mythical past), the two worlds (heaven and earth, continuing *rajasī*), and preserved them"—it is perfectly clear that the divinity speaking prides himself on his double achievement: he organized and preserved the universe. And he performed his task expertly, like Tvaṣṭar, the skilful artificer (1, 85, 9; 3, 54, 12), versed in crafty contrivances (10, 53, 9), who, as the one who adorned all beings with form (10, 110, 9), produced a great variety of creatures (3, 55, 19) and could even be called the ancestor of the human race (10, 17, 1 f.). The above statement could be made with reference to any creator god and pāda b is indeed identical with RV. 4, 56, 3 c, where it is more "descriptively

<sup>30</sup> See e.g. Geldner, *Die Religionen der Inder*, l.c.; Lanman, l.c.; E. D. Perry, in *J.A.O.S.* 11, p. 156 and others.

<sup>31</sup> Renou, *E.V.P.* V, p. 97; VII, p. 78.

<sup>32</sup> See Oldenberg, o.c., I, p. 302.

<sup>33</sup> Which was also considered by Oldenberg, l.c.

<sup>34</sup> This is of course quite another interpretation than "der unbeholfene Versuch, beide Götter zugleich reden zu lassen" (Oldenberg, o.c., p. 302, n. 4).

<sup>35</sup> Geldner, o.c., I, p. 474 considered translating "I, Indra; I, Varuṇa", observing: "Möglich wäre immerhin, dass Strophe 3 von beiden Göttern zugleich gesprochen wird" (so not the dual deity, but rather a divine duet).

<sup>36</sup> Not st. 3 and 4.

<sup>37</sup> Bloomfield, l.c.

used”<sup>38</sup> and creates the impression of greater originality, the whole hemistich ed running as follows: *urvī gabhīrē rājasī sumēke avamśe dhīraḥ* (cf. *vidvān* in 4, 42, 3 c, an epithet often given to gods, e.g. RV. 1, 24, 13 to Varuṇa and 1, 103, 3 to Indra) *śācyā* (cf. *mahitvā* in 4, 42, 3 a) *sam airat*. And, to make the resemblance to the other stanza still more striking the figure who in 4, 56, 3 is credited with the organization of the twofold universe is described as *svapas* “skilful, artistic” which at 1, 85, 9 is an epithet of Tvaṣṭar. In this stanza (4, 56, 3) the poet eulogizes the divine figure, who, remaining anonymous<sup>39</sup>, has produced (*ajāna*) heaven and earth to which he dedicates his hymn. Reverting to 4, 42 it may be observed that in Vedic belief Indra is not only the great organizer of the universe who inaugurates the era of the inhabitable world<sup>40</sup>, but also the god who supports the heavens and bears or preserves the earth (see e.g. 2, 17, 5 *ādhārayat pṛthivīm . . . āstabhnān māyāyā dydām*; 6, 17, 7 *ādhārayo rōdasī*)<sup>41</sup>. Varuṇa, on the other hand, is not only the well-known lord of the laws of nature, the upholder of order and punisher of sin, but is not infrequently also credited with similar performances: he established heaven and earth (8, 42, 1; cf. e.g. also 5, 85, 1) and holds them apart (6, 70, 1; 7, 86, 1; 8, 41, 5; 10), or supports and preserves them (cf. 5, 62, 3; 5, 69, 1; 4). It is therefore not surprising that the composite figure Indra-Varuṇa should at 4, 42, 3 claim to have accomplished the same important tasks.

Stanza 4 led Bloomfield<sup>42</sup> to write the following comment: “With skilful chiasmic interbraiding the next stanza blends as well as possible some of the salient qualities of the two gods. The first hemistich alludes to Indra’s functions; the second, to Varuṇa’s . . . The chiasmus is, that Indra in pāda b holds the heavens in the seat of *ṛta*, but Varuṇa in d spreads out the threefold earth . . .”. I have my doubts. As already observed by Renou<sup>43</sup> the *ṛta* as well as the “thème des eaux gonflantes et arrosantes” are characteristic of Varuṇa. It is this god who, also in the R̥gveda, is not only spoken of as a regulator of the waters who goes in the waters (7, 49, 3; 4) and causes the rivers to flow unceasingly according to his ordinance (2, 28, 4; 7, 87, 1)<sup>44</sup>; he also makes the inverted cask of the cloud to pour its waters on heaven, earth, and air, and to moisten the ground (5, 85, 3 f.)<sup>45</sup>. These remarks are of course not to

<sup>38</sup> Cf. Bloomfield, l.c.

<sup>39</sup> “The Sun”: Renou, E.V.P. XV, p. 120.

<sup>40</sup> Gonda, Die Religionen Indiens, I, p. 56 f.

<sup>41</sup> K. F. Geldner-J. Nobel, Der Rig-Veda übersetzt, IV, Register, p. 78 ff.

<sup>42</sup> Bloomfield, l.c.

<sup>43</sup> Renou, E.V.P. VII, p. 78.

<sup>44</sup> For other particulars see H. Lüders, Varuṇa, Göttingen 1951, p. 50 f.; Macdonell, o.c., p. 25.

<sup>45</sup> On p. 586 of his book Varuṇa Lüders ascribes pāda 4, 42, 4 b to Varuṇa himself, on p. 589 to king Trasadasya, “der sich hier mit Varuṇa identifiziert”.

deny that Indra is in a considerable frequency of cases described as the god who released the streams and made the waters flow. The second pāda "I fixed the (visible) heaven in the seat of Rta" <sup>46</sup> (*dhārāyaṃ divaṃ śādana ṛtasya*) <sup>47</sup>, which like the first is only recorded here, impresses me as Varuṇic, the more so as in pāda c Aditi's son (i.e. Varuṇa) is explicitly said to be *ṛtāvan* "possessed of or characterized by *ṛta*" (a well-known epithet of this god) and *ṛtena* "in accordance with *ṛta*", although it must be conceded that the phrase *śādanam ṛtasya* occurs in the Indra hymn 4, 21, 3 and the epithet *ṛtāvan* is given to that god in 3, 53, 8. The second half of stanza 4, which does not occur elsewhere, may, with Bloomfield, be taken to state that the dual deity accomplishes the task described—the extension of the earth—although it is—according to the strict letter of the text—attributed to the son of Aditi, i.e. Varuṇa. Anyhow, there is no reason for assuming, with Oldenberg <sup>48</sup>, Geldner, Renou and others, that in stanza 4 "Varuṇa als Sohn der Aditi von sich selbst spricht". However, Aditi, who in later times is the mother of the gods in general, is not always associated with the Ādityas proper, Varuṇa, Mitra, Aryaman (cf. 8, 47, 9) and their group; she is in the Rgveda once said to be mother of the Rudras (8, 101, 15), and at 7, 85, 4 the poet uses the term *āditya* while addressing the dual deity <sup>49</sup>.

Turning now to stanzas 1 and 2 which have often been attributed to Varuṇa—"Varuṇa figure comme roi et kṣatriya par excellence (1), commandant à la plus haute classe d'hommes (ib.), sans doute par opposition au plébéien I.; en outre, comme possesseur des pouvoirs asuriens (2) . . ." <sup>50</sup>—it may first be observed that they share the same hemistich with one another: "The gods follow (are devoted to, participate in) the resourcefulness of Varuṇa; I rule over the cultivated land (and its inhabitants), over the highest stature (? , rather "complexion") (*krātum śacante vāruṇasya devā rājāmi kṛṣṭér upamāsya vavréh*)" <sup>51</sup>. It cannot be argued that the verb *rāj-* necessarily and unambiguously points to Varuṇa

<sup>46</sup> For the seat of Rta see Lüders, o.c., p. 584 ff. and, in connection with Varuṇa and the other Ādityas, p. 593 ff.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. also Lüders, o.c., p. 25; 569 and 587 "Ich befestigte (stützte) den Himmel am Sitze des Rta (der Wahrheit)", adding (p. 587): "Wird der Himmel am Sitz des Rta befestigt, so muss der letztere jenseits des Himmels liegen". Renou (E.V.P. V, p. 97) however took the words to mean: "j'ai maintenu le ciel au siège de l'Ordre".

<sup>48</sup> Oldenberg, o.c., I, p. 302.

<sup>49</sup> See further on, p. 269.

<sup>50</sup> Renou, E.V.P. VII, p. 77.

<sup>51</sup> The exact meaning of the last three words, for which various translations were proposed, is not clear. In any case "wird mit *upamāsya vavréh* offenbar ein Vorzug zuerkannt" (Lommel, o.c., p. 34). For *rājāmi kṛṣṭéh* and the meaning of *kṛṣṭi* ("Siedlungsraum, in Siedlungen lebendes Volk") now see also P. Thieme, in Kuhn's Zeitschrift 81 (1967), p. 233 ff. (= Kleine Schriften, Wiesbaden 1971, p. 247 ff.).

(cf. 1, 25, 20), because it is (e.g. 1, 144, 6) used in connection with Agni, and at 7, 32, 16; 8, 15, 3; 8, 37, 3 with Indra. Indra is moreover *rājā kṛṣṭindm* (1, 177, 1; 4, 17, 5), a title given to Agni at 1, 59, 5. I for one am under the impression that this repeated hemistich states a division of functions between the two components of the dual divinity: Varuṇa is the guide of gods (cf. 8, 41, 7 *vāruṇasya puró gāye víśve devā ánu vratám*; 10, 66, 2 *vāruṇapraśiṣṭhāḥ*), Indra the ruler of (excellent) men (cf. 8, 68, 7). On the first line of st. 1 (*māma dvitā rāṣṭrām ksatriyasya víśvdyor víśve amṛtā yáthā naḥ*) opinions are divided: "To me, the ruler, forever (belongs) the sovereignty over all creatures, just as all immortals (are) ours, i.e. our vassals" (Lanman); "C'est à moi (qu'appartient) d'origine le royaume-temporel, à moi chef-temporel (qui possède) toute durée-de-vie, comment tous les immortels (le savent) de nous" (Renou). If we take the adverb *dvitā*—which has been translated also by "aufs neue" (Geldner)<sup>52</sup> or regarded as expressing "une simple nuance explétive-assévérate" <sup>53</sup>—in its literal sense of "doubly" (German "zweifach" <sup>54</sup>), the supposition may perhaps be warranted that the poet attributes to the dual divinity, whom he emphatically presents to his audience—notice the pronoun *māma* in the initial position—, a double sovereignty, viz. that of Varuṇa and that of Indra. As already noticed by Renou <sup>55</sup> Varuṇa is (or rather Varuṇa and Mitra are) called a *ksatriya* at 7, 64, 2; 8, 25, 8 and indirectly also 5, 69, 1; but the title never applies to Indra. "En revanche, c'est Indra qui est ailleurs *visvāyu*"; compare e.g. 6, 34, 5. If this supposition be correct this hemistich is another instance of the poet's extraordinary skill in blending the chief functions and characteristics belonging to both gods. It is difficult to say with certainty how the ellipsis *visve amṛtā yáthā naḥ* is to be supplied: *viduḥ* (Geldner: "... uns (bezeugen)"); Renou)? If, what seems probable, *naḥ* = *māma*, the idea to be 'supplied' may simply be "are": "just as all immortals are ours (mine)". It may be recalled that the gods follow Varuṇa's *vrata* (8, 41, 7; see above) and have Indra as their chief (*indrajyeṣṭhāḥ*, 6, 51, 15).

As to stanza 2, Lanman's observation may be repeated: "note that every one of the stanzas 1–6—which according to the Indian tradition constitute a unity <sup>56</sup>—begins with an emphatic form of the first personal pronoun". The similar beginning of st. 2 and 3 may induce us to translate, with Lommel and Renou, *ahám rājā vāruṇaḥ* in 2 a: "I am king Varuṇa",

<sup>52</sup> Otherwise ("ganz allein") in R. Pischel and K. F. Geldner, *Vedische Studien*, III, Stuttgart 1901, p. 3.

<sup>53</sup> Renou, *E.V.P.* VII, p. 78.

<sup>54</sup> Lommel, *o.c.*, p. 34. Norman Brown, *o.c.*, p. 41: "*dvitā* 'incontestably, firmly', because *Trasadasyu* rules under the two great gods' authority; (and at the same time) 'doubly, because he in his own person combines the qualities of both divine beings': ? J.G.

<sup>55</sup> Renou, *l.c.*

<sup>56</sup> See Lommel, *o.c.*, p. 32.



not, with Geldner: "Ich Varuṇa bin der König". The following words "On me those asura dignities were first conferred" show that it is as asura that the divinity speaking reveals his identity.

There can be no doubt that in st. 5 and 6 the dual deity describes itself from the side of Indra. Stanza 5 does not occur elsewhere, nor do its pādas, but there is a close resemblance between 5 ab *mām náraḥ* . . . *vājáyanto mām* . . . *havante* and 4, 25, 8 d *índram náro vājáyanto havante*. The sequence *índram náro* . . . *havante* occurs, moreover, in the Indra hymn 7, 27, as 1 a; compare also 8, 46, 12 *tām víśve mānuṣā* . . . *índram havante*; 10, 48, 1 *mām* (=Indra) *havante pitāram ná jantávaḥ*; 1, 63, 6; 1, 142, 13; 3, 43, 1. The term *vājáyantaḥ* "aiming at that particular power and good which is known as *vāja* (regeneration)" occurs also in the Indra hymns 1, 132, st. 1; 8, 53, st. 2. At 8, 45, 7 Indra is called *ājikṛt* "bringing about fighting-matches": here (4, 42) the poet has the god say *krṇómy ájim*. The words *maghāvāhām índraḥ* in 5 c should, in my opinion, not be translated "ich der freigebigste Indra" (Geldner, similarly Renou), but rather "I am the bestower of benefits, Indra"<sup>57</sup>. The phrase *íyarti reṇúm* (pāda d) occurs in the Indra hymns 1, 56, st. 4 and 4, 17, st. 13, where the god himself makes the dust fly up. The compound *abhībhūtyojas* "of overpowering or superior vital, creative, inaugurative energy" is a well-known epithet of Indra: 3, 34, 6; 3, 48, 4; 6, 18, 1. It would appear to me that this stanza as compared with the above parallel passages of Indra hymns is clearly secondary.

The first hemistich of st. 6, in which the deity boasts of his irresistibility, cannot be traced in other texts. "Divine overwhelming power" (*daívyam sahaḥ*; cf. 10, 108, 9) is, however, in 10, 100, 6 attributed to Indra, who is, moreover, repeatedly described as "irresistible" (*apratīta*) in other hymns: 1, 33, 2; 1, 133, 6; 3, 46, 3; 5, 32, 9; 6, 20, 9; 10, 104, 7; 10, 111, 3. In 6 c *yán mā sómāso mamādan yád ukthá* "When the soma juices have intoxicated me, when the eulogies" 10, 48, 4 d *yán mā sómāso ukthíno ámandiṣuḥ*, a passage of Indra's *átmastuti*, is repeated almost literally<sup>58</sup>. Pāda c may be compared to 10, 27, 22 c *áthedām víśvam bhúvanam bhayāte*, which forms part of a sūkta which "in der Form eines Zwiegesprächs zwischen Indra und dem Sänger gehalten (ist)"<sup>59</sup>.

According to Geldner<sup>60</sup> and Renou<sup>61</sup> Varuṇa ("willig", "avec quel sentiment?") acknowledges Indra's merits and superiority. In this they

<sup>57</sup> This possibility was already considered by Lanman, o.c., p. 367. For the relations between military exploits, *vāja* and the god's munificence see J. Gonda, Epithets in the R̥gveda, The Hague 1959, p. 42 ff.

<sup>58</sup> See also Renou, E.V.P. VII, p. 78.

<sup>59</sup> Geldner, Der R̥g-Veda übersetzt, III, p. 164. Norman Brown, o.c., p. 42 is, in st. 5, reminded of the Maruts who are often called *naraḥ* and sees in st. 6 a reference to the fear which heaven and earth felt of Indra when he drank the soma, in consequence of which they flew apart (see J. Am. Or. Soc. 62, p. 95).

<sup>60</sup> Geldner, o.c., II, p. 474.

<sup>61</sup> Renou, E.V.P. VII, p. 77.

differ from Sāyaṇa who (on st. 7) explicitly states that the last four stanzas are in praise of, that is eulogistically addressed to, Indra and Varuṇa. Bloomfield<sup>62</sup> was however right in observing that the content of 7 ab "All the worlds (and their inhabitants) know that of thee (O Indra); thou proclaimest these (deeds of thine) to Varuṇa, O disposer"<sup>63</sup> "creates the fiction easily enough that the two gods are vying with one another". I am not however convinced that these words are only spoken "because, after all, the two gods are felt to be so distinct that the qualities of one may be impressed upon the other". If I am right in assuming that in the preceding stanzas the dual deity and its components are speaking, the poet—whom I would consider to be the speaker in the stanzas 7–10—may be supposed to emphasize (in st. 7), in order to prepare and facilitate the transition to the last stanzas of the poem, the Indra component or aspect of the dual deity: "Of course, all creatures know thine (Indraic) feats. Thou art the slayer of Vṛtra etc. and thou proclaimest thy deeds (also) to thy complement Varuṇa". The idea that Indra addresses a self-laudation to a colleague is not new: R̥V. 10, 49, 11. The pādas a–c do not occur elsewhere, but compare, in an Indra hymn, 1, 11, 6; 7 *vidūṣṭe tāśya kārāvaḥ (médhirāḥ)*. The term *vedhas*, applied to Indra in 1, 169, 1; 2, 21, 2; 6, 22, 11; 10, 144, 1, is elsewhere used in connection with special knowledge of things divine (1, 169, 1), or (the wisdom of) a *kavi*, i.e. an inspired seer and poet who knows the riddles and secrets of the invisible world<sup>64</sup> (4, 2, 20). For *śṛṇviṣe* compare 8, 33, 10 c (Indra). I concur with Bloomfield<sup>65</sup> in regarding pāda d, which is identical with 4, 19, 5 d ("thou, O Indra, didst flow the confined rivers") where it follows naturally 5 c ("Thou didst delight the floods..."), as borrowed from previously existing descriptions.

The reference, in 7 c, to Indra's victory over Vṛtra gives the poet an opportunity to commemorate an important historical episode in which the dual deity had deigned to answer a prayer and to act as the saviour of the royal dynasty. From the text itself (st. 7–8), which is not completely clear, we may catch a glimpse of history: king Purukutsa's spouse, who by some misfortune was reduced to distress (in all probability childlessness) was, after worshipping the divinity Indravarunau, relieved from it by the birth of a son Trasadasyu. As his name<sup>66</sup> indicates this prince was, or was to be, a terror to the dasyus (aborigines), and the poet elucidates his name and character by adding that he was a conquerer of Vṛtra

<sup>62</sup> Bloomfield, l.c.

<sup>63</sup> The meaning of the term *vedhas* has been much discussed, the above translation is tentative ("Meister", Geldner); see Renou, E.V.P. IV, p. 68.

<sup>64</sup> J. Gonda, The vision of the Vedic poets, The Hague 1963, p. 42 ff.

<sup>65</sup> Bloomfield, o.c., I, p. 222.

<sup>66</sup> For which see J. Wackernagel–A. Debrunner, Altindische Grammatik, II, 1, Göttingen 1905, p. 316 and Nachträge (1957), p. 87 (F. Sommer, in Indogerm. Forsch. 55, p. 191 "mit zitternden Feinden").

(inimical powers) like Indra (8 d) and a slayer of Vṛtra (enemies; 9 d). Particulars, concerning mainly the name *daurgaha* in 8 b, about which the Indian traditions are divided<sup>67</sup>, need not detain us here. Oldenberg, Bloomfield, Geldner and Renou did not discuss the question of the identity of "our fathers" in st. 8 a. In and by itself these words might mean: "my (the poet's) father and his contemporaries, the fathers of my colleagues etc.", but the addition "the seven ṛṣis" prevents us from accepting so simple a solution. If we follow Sieg in regarding these figures as identical with the seven Āṅgiras (cf. 4, 1, 13), the poet's ancestors<sup>68</sup>, and Ludwig<sup>69</sup> in concluding that "die hilfreiche Tätigkeit der sieben ṛṣi . . . nur eine indirekte ideelle gewesen (sein kann)", we may also follow Lommel<sup>70</sup> in his appreciation of the poet's skill, modesty and justifiable pride. Renou's<sup>71</sup> translation of 8 d "qui triompha des résistances comme Indra, demi-dieu (comme Varuṇa)" and his note on the hapax *ardhadevām* is not completely convincing: "L'épithète convient sans doute à Indra-héros mieux qu'à Varuṇa, qui n'est *ardhadeva* que dans la mesure où il est 'roi' ". There can be no doubt that *ardhadeva* means "demi-god" ("Halbgott"; cf. *ardhacandra* "half-moon", *ardhatanu* "half a body", *ardhapatha* "half-way"<sup>72</sup>) and that it qualifies Trasadasyu, but there seems to be no conclusive evidence for assuming an elliptic parallelism *indram ná vṛtratúrām (varuṇam ná) ardhadevām*, however applicable the term "demi-god" would be to Varuṇa as representing half the dual deity. I would prefer: "Trasadasyu, a conquerer (slayer) . . ., like Indra, demi-god (like Indra, or like either component of the dual deity to whom he owed his existence)"<sup>73</sup>. In view of the fact that Trasadasyu was a gift of the dual deity it seems worth noticing that Indra, who is the lord of treasures received as a boon (10, 24, 3) is more than once implored for sons (3, 36, 10; 7, 23, 6; cf. 8, 46, 15). That the occurrence of this hapax in this context has nothing to do with the dual nature of the deity is in any case very improbable<sup>74</sup>.

At this point we must for a moment turn to RV. 4, 38, 1 where an anonymous divine duo is said to have given victorious Trasadasyu and the gifts bestowed by this king upon the Pūrus. According to the

<sup>67</sup> See E. Sieg, *Sagenstoffe*, p. 96 ff.; Geldner, o.c., p. 475, on st. 8 b.

<sup>68</sup> Cf. RV. 4, 2, 15 *saptá viprāḥ . . . āṅgirasah* and 16 *naḥ* (i.e. the poet's) *pitārah*; Sāyaṇa on this place: *vāmadevo 'nyaiḥ ṣaḍaṅgirobhiḥ saha brūte*.

<sup>69</sup> Ludwig, o.c., V, p. 464.

<sup>70</sup> Lommel, o.c., p. 37.

<sup>71</sup> Renou, E.V.P. VII, p. 79.

<sup>72</sup> Wackernagel, *Altindische Grammatik*, II, 1, p. 254; 307. Sāyaṇa's first explanation (*devānām ardhe samīpe vartamānam*) is untenable.

<sup>73</sup> In his second explanatory note Sāyaṇa refers to TS. 5, 4, 8, 3 where Indra is said to be "half of all" (*sarveṣām ardham*).

<sup>74</sup> For the post-Vedic doctrine of the belief that the king is identical with gods see J. Gonda, *Ancient Indian kingship from the religious point of view*, Leiden 1966, p. 24 ff. (= Numen, 3 (1956), p. 59 ff.).

Anukramanikā and Sāyaṇa the dual forms *vām* and *dadathur* refer to the divine pair Heaven and Earth who are in any case explicitly mentioned in 4, 39, 1 b; the sūktas 4, 38–40 belong closely together. Others<sup>75</sup> preferred to regard Mitra-Varuṇa as the benefactors; they referred to 4, 39, 2 and 5 where Mitrāvaruṇau are said to be the gods who gave the horse Dadhikrā which is at 4, 38, 2 stated to be a gift of the same anonymous gods who are addressed in 4, 38, 1. There is however much to be said for Sieg's<sup>76</sup> argument: "Die Lieder 4, 41 und 42 durchbrechen scheinbar das Anordnungsprinzip, die beiden Indrāvaruṇā-Lieder müssten eigentlich hinter den drei Aśvin-Liedern 43–45 stehen. Die Schwierigkeit ist sofort gehoben, wenn wir in *vām* (4, 38, 1) . . . die 4, 42, 9 ausdrücklich als die betreffenden Spender genannten Indra und Varuṇa sehen. Die fünf Lieder 38–42 gehören sachlich zusammen, wie die Erwähnung von Trasadasyu am Anfang und Ende zeigt: zweierlei Dinge sind es, die die Pūrus Indra und Varuṇa verdanken, einmal den Trasadasyu (4, 38, 1 und 4, 42, 9), zum andern das Ross . . . (4, 38, 2; 4, 39, 2; 5)"<sup>77</sup>. If these considerations are in and by themselves not beside the mark, what about the mention of Mitrāvaruṇā in 4, 39, 2 and 5? Could we go so far as to assume that for the poet of that sūkta the identity of the dual deity was a matter of indifference, that Mitrāvaruṇau could have been the givers of the horse just as well? Or should we say that he substituted these gods for Indrāvaruṇau because they were more generally known and acknowledged as a great divine duality? Or is the supposition warranted that in his eyes Indrāvaruṇau were, so to say, the representatives, locum tenentes, or duplicates of the other dual deity which should be honoured by an explicit mention of its names? Or did the poet represent the former as the latter because as the bestowers of these important gifts they behaved like the latter? That the question can be answered quite simply: Homer sometimes nods, is beyond acceptability.

The pāda 4, 42, 8 a is largely identical with 4, 1, 13 a *asmākam ātra pitāro manusydh* (Agni). It is together with b quoted in ŚB. 13, 5, 4, 5 in a reference to Purukutsa. Pāda 4, 42, 9 b *havyébhir indrāvaruṇā nāmobhiḥ*, which recurs at 7, 84, 1<sup>78</sup>, is except for the name identical with 1, 153, 1 b where it is addressed to Mitrāvaruṇā. ŚSS. 12, 11, 14 prescribes the recitation of st. 8–10 as part of the texts to be used on the sixth day of the ten-day-period<sup>79</sup>.

Stanza 10, "strophe conclusive indépendante de 8–9, sauf un lien ténu entre *havyébhiḥ* / *havyéna*"<sup>80</sup> may, in this context, be a reference to the

<sup>75</sup> See e.g. K. F. Geldner, *Der Rigveda in Auswahl*, II, Kommentar, Stuttgart 1909, p. 75; the same, *Der Rig-Veda übersetzt*, I, p. 469; Renou, E.V.P. XV, p. 161 ("sans doute Varuṇa et Mitra").

<sup>76</sup> Sieg, o.c., p. 101.

<sup>77</sup> Cf. also Geldner, *Der Rig-Veda übersetzt*, l.c.

<sup>78</sup> See further on, p. 267 f.

<sup>79</sup> See further on, p. 257; 267; 270.

<sup>80</sup> Renou, E.V.P. VII, p. 79; 77.



dakṣiṇā<sup>81</sup>, it is more than “une requête personnelle”. In my opinion, it essentially is a prayer for general welfare and a final benedictory stanza and, especially, for the dual deity’s continued favour. This appears from its occurrence as VS. 7, 10 where however the dual deity addressed is Mitrāvaruṇā. The stanza, which forms part of the formulas accompanying the *grahagrahaṇa* or drawing libations of soma juice, is to be recited when the soma is mixed with milk symbolizing wealth in cattle (ŚB. 4, 1, 4, 8 and 10; ĀpŚS. 12, 14, 12, where the stanza is quoted): “May we delight in the wealth (we have) gained; the gods in the oblations, the kine in pasture. That milch-cow, which does not shrink from the milking, do, O Mitrāvaruṇā, grant us (that) day by day”. For that cow see also RV. 6, 48, 11 on which Geldner aptly observes that the art of poetry is compared to a milch-cow (cf. 6, 48, 13). I am under the impression that the poet of RV. 4, 42, 10 has borrowed a well-known prayer, adapted it to suit this new context and while preserving its character as a prayer addressed to Indra-Varuṇa made it also serve his own purpose. It is in any case an argument for the thesis that there are no hard-and-fast lines between the spheres of the two dual deities.

Those who have followed my argument point by point will probably be aware of the fact that I concur with Norman Brown<sup>81a</sup> in regarding the hymn as a unit which falls into three parts (1–6; 8–9, the story of Trasadasyu’s origin; 10, final benedictory stanza; for 7 see above and further on) and in agreeing with Bloomfield that it is a self-praise, but differ from the former scholar in defending the latter’s thesis that the object of this *ātmaśtuti* is Indrāvaruṇā. Norman Brown, interpreting the hymn in the light of the Indian tradition concerning authorship and deity addressed, considers Trasadasyu to be an incarnation of Indrāvaruṇā and argues that it is this king who, impersonating the dual deity, praises himself. I must confess that I am prepared to accept his interpretation—with which I became acquainted after writing the above pages—as an alternative theory. It is completely compatible with my explanation,

<sup>81</sup> Geldner, o.c., I, p. 475.

<sup>81a</sup> Norman Brown, o.c. Because this article may not be accessible to part of my readers I quote his reconstruction of the legend and the context of RV. 4, 42: “Purukutsa Daurgaha, husband of Trasadasyu’s mother, was captured, possibly by dasyus, upon whom later Trasadasyu is to wreak vengeance. While Purukutsa was in captivity and his wife therefore incapable of conceiving by him, she nevertheless had a son who was named Trasadasyu. The official story of the prince’s parentage which was circulated was that the queen got him from Indrāvaruṇā through the aid of the seven ṛṣis. Trasadasyu himself believed the story, considered himself divine, or at least half so, called himself *ardhadeva* “demigod” and identified himself, again at least in part, with his assumed divine progenitor(s). In accordance with this belief he composed — or caused to be composed — this hymn of self-praise, in which he calls himself Indra and Varuṇa, ascribes to himself the deeds and attributes of the two deities whom he claims to incarnate, and supports his claims by recounting the story of his origin”.

and has perhaps, in connection with the pronoun "I" in stanza 3, something to recommend itself. In contradistinction to Norman Brown I would however emphasize the transitional and historical character of stanza 7 which in his opinion, though unclear, is part of the *ātmastuti*. Moreover, I wonder that the poet Trasadasyu after speaking, in 1-7, himself while impersonating the dual deity added, in 8-9, the story of Trasadasyu's origin as a gift of the dual deity without any reference to his identity with that king who in Norman Brown's view is an impersonation of the deity.

I cannot change the subject before reverting to Lommel's<sup>82</sup> interpretation of this poem. According to this scholar, who is strongly inclined to follow the Indian tradition in considering king Trasadasyu the one who is represented as pronouncing the stanzas 1-6, the hymn formed part of the formulary to be used on the occasion of the royal consecration<sup>83</sup>. "Wenn Trasadasyu spricht: "Ich bin Indra, (bin) Varuṇa", so passt das vortrefflich in das Ritual der Königsweihe, in der, als dem Varuṇa-sava, der König als *dharmapati* dem Varuṇa gleichgesetzt wird und er zugleich den Indra als Feindebesieger, *vṛtrahan*, verkörpert". It is perfectly true that the *rājasūya* is also known as *varuṇa-sava*<sup>84</sup> and that the royal sacrificer being anointed impersonates Varuṇa (ŚŚS. 15, 13, 4)<sup>85</sup>. It is also true that the king, at the chariot drive, which is one of the ceremonies of the *rājasūya*, is identified with Indra<sup>86</sup>. Rgveda 4, 42 is however never quoted or prescribed by the authorities who describe and explain this Vedic sacrifice. Nor does the tradition in this connection mention the *rājasūya*<sup>87</sup>. I am therefore also sceptical about Lommel's interpretation of *dvitā* in st. 1 a: "das Königtum ist ihm (in the light of the *rājasūya* ceremonies) sowohl von Varuṇa's Gnaden, und nach dessen Art, als *dharmapati*, als auch von Indra's Gnaden und nach dessen Art, als *vṛtrahan*,

<sup>82</sup> Lommel, o.c.

<sup>83</sup> This view was accepted by L. Alsdorf, in a note (p. 569, n. 2) on Lüders' Varuṇa and by B. Schlerath, *Das Königtum im Rig- und Atharvaveda*, Wiesbaden 1960, p. 160 and 102.

<sup>84</sup> Cf. ŚB. 5, 4, 3, 2.

<sup>85</sup> I refer to J. C. Heesterman, *The ancient Indian royal consecration*, Thesis Utrecht 1957, p. 85 f.

<sup>86</sup> Cf. Heesterman, o.c., p. 136 f. For an identification with Savitar, Varuṇa, Indra, Rudra, Brahman see ŚB. 5, 4, 4, 9 ff.

<sup>87</sup> It must be conceded that there exist texts which are used in connection with a king who is to be consecrated or restored. Thus the so-called *dhruvasūkta* (RV. 10, 173) and 10, 174, designated by the *Anukramanikā* as "praise of a king", are in BDev. 8, 73 said to be "hymns for consecrating a king" (see the note in J. Gonda, *The Rgvidhāna*, Utrecht 1951, p. 116 f.). KauśS. 16, 27 ff. prescribes the use of AV. 1, 9; 1, 29 and 3, 3 — which elsewhere accompany an oblation to Agni or occur in ceremonies for fortune and for power (see W. D. Whitney—Ch. R. Lanman, *Atharva-veda Samhitā*, Cambridge Mass. 1905, p. 9; 29; 87) — in the case of a ruler who is to be restored. AV. 3, 4 deals with a king who has been chosen or called and has to be inaugurated as such.

zu eigen" and about his thesis<sup>88</sup> that the king who is speaking "sich ganz in die Götter versetzt, die er vertritt"<sup>89</sup>. His suggestion to supply in st. 1 b *yáthā nah* by "(wie) alle beim Rājasūya angerufenen und beteiligten Götter (mir) diese Herrschaft verliehen und bestätigt haben" is a mere guess, his thesis that 1 d *kṛṣṭér upamāsya vavréh* denotes the contemporary Aryan peoples under the king's sway, problematic. Lommel goes, moreover, too far in explaining, by means of "erklärende Zwischenbemerkungen", stanza 7<sup>90</sup> which is, in his opinion, spoken by Vāmadeva, the king's purohita. That the poet, in st. 8 and 9, affirms "die erhabene Würde" of his king may be conceded, but there is no indication in the text of the latter's being "neugesalbt"<sup>91</sup>. If his explanation of *ardhadeva* were right (it emphasizes "die Vergöttlichung des Königs und gibt anderseits doch auch der Wirklichkeit ihr Recht"), we might rather expect *deva*.

Schlerath's<sup>92</sup> attempt to support Lommel's interpretation by a reference to relations between kingship and water does not convince me. In RV. 4, 42, 4 it is the person speaking who claims to have made the waters swell, in 1, 54, 7; 5, 34, 9 etc., which he quotes in substantiation of his view, the wish is expressed that the waters will swell for the benefit of a person who is king ("Mögen ihm die Wasser unversieglich schwellen" etc.). A comparison between these places makes it clear that in 4, 42, 4 the person speaking is a divinity rather than an earthly king.

These critical remarks should however not be understood as intimating that the rājasūya ceremonies do not raise questions regarding the relations between the two gods, to which we shall now for a moment have to revert. It has, for instance by Johansson<sup>93</sup>, been argued that the mythologies of Indra and Varuṇa were intimately related to each other, Varuṇa being originally identical with Vṛtra who, as (the demon of) winter was conquered by the sun-god Indra. Whereas in the light of our present-day conceptions of these deities these ideas need no refutation, some details of the ritual of the royal consecration<sup>94</sup> are worthy of our attention. How are we to explain the fact that Varuṇa, while occupying one of the central places in most of the lists of the gods who receive the so-called *samśr̥p* offerings<sup>95</sup>, is not mentioned by Śāṅkhāyana (ŚS. 15, 14, 4), whereas Indra, who it is true occurs also in the other lists does appear in his list? Was Varuṇa ousted in the tradition represented by that authority? How is the relation

<sup>88</sup> See e.g. Lommel, o.c., p. 35; 36.

<sup>89</sup> Lommel, o.c., p. 34.

<sup>90</sup> Lommel, o.c., p. 36.

<sup>91</sup> Lommel, o.c., p. 37.

<sup>92</sup> Schlerath, o.c., p. 102.

<sup>93</sup> K. F. Johansson, Ueber die altindische Göttin Dhiṣāṇā und Verwandtes, Uppsala-Leipzig 1917, p. 137; 157 f.

<sup>94</sup> Cf. Heesterman, o.c., p. 189.

<sup>95</sup> See Heesterman, o.c., p. 173 ff.

between the two gods viewed by that author of a brāhmaṇa passage who in dealing with the *daśapeya* ceremonies<sup>96</sup> informs us that when Varuṇa was consecrated king his *indriyam viryam* "departed" and fell asunder in three parts (MS. 4, 3, 9: 49, 5), whereas elsewhere the same event is recorded as happening to Indra (TB. 1, 8, 2, 5) to whom this quality might indeed be expected to belong (cf. ŚB. 12, 7, 1, 9)<sup>97</sup>, and in a third text it reads that when Varuṇa had been consecrated the lustre or radiance (*bharga(s)*, explained as *indriyasāmarthyam*) "departed" from him (PB. 18, 9, 1)? What does this shifting mean? Does it point to a certain degree of interchangeability between the gods or to the often supposed rivalry? There is however no reason whatever for supposing that the relations between them were in all Vedic milieus and at any moment viewed in the same way. It is not beyond possibility that the tendency to accentuate their co-operation and even to regard them as coalescing was partly due to what with some exaggeration could be called a reaction to those views of these figures which emphasized some form of antagonism.

There is no denying that in the later saṃhitās and in Vedic prose references to joint action, common experiences or some form of co-operation of the two gods are rare. It is therefore the more interesting that a number of brāhmaṇa texts give us some very welcome information on the ritual significance of the dual deity. The pertinent passages deal with the so-called *uktha*-lauds, a kind of recitation of certain verses which, generally as a series, constitute a subdivision of the śāstras. An *ukthya*-sacrifice differs not only from the other form of the Soma sacrifice in the forms of the stotras at the midday pressing<sup>98</sup>, in which it involves considerable modifications, and in the slaughtering of a second victim, a he-goat to Indra-and-Agni, it moreover consists of fifteen stotras (hymns of praise) and śāstras (recitations), because three more lauds are in the evening service added to the ordinary twelve of the normal agniṣṭoma (cf. e.g. ĀpŚS. 14, 1, 6)<sup>99</sup>. These are the *ukthastotra* of the *maitrāvaruṇa* (the first hotraka or assistant of the hotar), addressed to Indra-and-Varuṇa; that of the *brāhmaṇācchamsin* (an officiant who, though subordinated to the brahman, is in fact an assistant of the hotar), addressed to Indra-

<sup>96</sup> See Heesterman, *o.c.*

<sup>97</sup> In many passages *indriya* probably denoted "a complete command of all bodily and psychical faculties, including virile power etc.". See L. Renou, in *Journal asiatique* 1939, p. 357; the same, E.V.P. X, p. 66 and Gonda, *The Savayajñas*, p. 274.

<sup>98</sup> I refer to A. B. Keith, *The Veda of the Black Yajus School*, Cambridge 1914, p. CXV f.

<sup>99</sup> As appears from AiB. 6, 13 the question of *uktha* or no *uktha* at the evening pressing may have been a moot point.



and-Bṛhaspati; and that of the achāvāka (another assistant of the hotar), addressed to Indra-and-Viṣṇu.

It is worth while to dwell on the fact that it is the maitrāvaruṇa who is in charge of the texts for Indrāvaruṇau. This officiant—also called *upavaktar* or *praśāstar*, titles indicating his chief activity in the ritual, viz. the giving of directions to the priests—has in the case of a Soma sacrifice recitations of his own to perform which are largely directed to the dual deity Mitrāvaruṇau. Hence his other name “(the officiant) connected with Mitrāvaruṇau” (cf. e.g. ŚB. 4, 2, 3, 12)<sup>100</sup>. His intimate connection with this divine pair appears also from ĀpŚS. 7, 14, 5 where these gods are called the divine praśāstars. It moreover belongs to the task of this functionary to stand through the service, slightly bending forward and staff in hand, in the attitude of readiness to smite the demons (TS. 6, 1, 4, 2; ĀśvŚS. 3, 1, 20; KŚS. 6, 4, 6). There can be no doubt that the relations of the maitrāvaruṇa with Indrāvaruṇau were secondary and derivative. The supposition seems warranted that they date back from the moment that the uktha developed as a ‘redundant agniṣṭoma’<sup>101</sup>, as a rite which leads to greater results than a normal agniṣṭoma: “The ukthya is a successful (perfect: *samṛddha*) form of sacrificial device, for it has fifteen stotras, fifteen śastras; . . . it makes up the *virāj* (metre); the *virāj* is prosperity (*śrī*) and proper food; (so the ukthya) serves for the winning of the *virāj* as prosperity and proper food” (KB. 24, 9 (24, 8, 16 ff.)); “Through the agniṣṭoma the gods conquered this world; through the ukthas, the intermediate region . . .” (PB. 20, 1, 3). An ancient explanation of the appearance of dual deities in the ukthya-sacrifices is furnished in KB. 16, 11: their litanies serve for support, for being firmly established, the sacrificer having two feet. It is perhaps interesting to notice that according to ŚB. 4, 2, 5, 14 there exists another relation between the ukthas and divine duality: the above-mentioned victim to Indra-and-Agni is required because the ukthas belong (refer) to this dual deity (*aindrāgnāny hy ukthāni*; cf. KB. 16, 11, adding that this dual deity is all the gods). Cf. also ŚB. 5, 1, 3, 1. Besides two of the three ukthya-grahas, which at the morning and midday pressings form part of a normal agniṣṭoma and are shared by the above hotrakas between them, belong to dual deities, viz. Mitra-and-Varuṇa, Indra-and-Agni, the middle of the three being Indra’s. At an ukthya-sacrifice, an extension of a normal agniṣṭoma, the same ‘cup’ (*graha*) is likewise drawn at the evening service.

In particulars the accounts given by the authorities of the ukthas diverge. KB. 16, 11 which mainly consists of a statement and explanation

<sup>100</sup> Cf. e.g. W. Caland and V. Henry, *L’Agniṣṭoma*, Paris 1906, p. 244; J. Eggeling, *The Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa translated*, II, Oxford 1885, p. 326; 370; 397; III, Oxford 1894, p. XIV f.; A. B. Keith, *The religion and philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads*, Cambridge Mass. 1925, p. 296; 384 and see ch. V, p. 197 ff.

<sup>101</sup> Eggeling, *o.c.*, III, p. XVI. Cf. also KB. 19, 8 (19, 5, 6).

of the pertinent facts can be left out of account. According to AiB. 3, 49 f. the devas and the asuras were of equal strength, the former taking refuge in the agniṣṭoma, the latter in the ukthas. Instigated by the ṛṣi Bharadvāja Agni, having become a horse, rushed to the asuras. That was the origin of the *sākamaśva sāman* with which the ukthas should begin. Then the asuras took refuge in the litany of the maitrāvaruṇa. Indra, asking "Who with me will repel hence these asuras?" (notice the complementary construction and the use of the dual: *kaś cāhaṃ cemān īto 'surān notsyāvahai*) was in driving them out assisted by Varuṇa who answered "I with (you)" (*ahaṃ ca*). That is why the maitrāvaruṇa recites a litany (*uktham*) to these two gods (*aindrāvaruṇam*) at the third pressing of the soma. Being driven hence, the asuras took refuge in the litany of the brāhmaṇacchaṃsin. On his request Bṛhaspati answered that he was willing to help Indra etc. etc. The performance of this part of the rite (cf. also MŚS. 2, 5, 3, 1) is to expel the asuras; it is for this purpose that the litany to the dual deity Indra-Varuṇa is recited<sup>102</sup>. Among the texts used are RV. 3, 51, 1-3 (addressed to Indra), RV. 8, 42, 1-3 (addressed to Varuṇa) and the Indra-Varuṇa sūktas RV. 7, 82 and 7, 84<sup>103</sup>, followed by 6, 68, 11 which is the final stanza of another sūkta addressed to this dual deity (ŚŚS. 9, 2; cf. ĀśvŚS. 6, 1, 2)<sup>104</sup>. A different account is given by the author of JB. 1, 179 f.: the gods expelled the asuras with whom they competed for the possession of the sacrifice from that institution. The asuras, appropriating the essence and virtue of the three pressings, entered the intense darkness (*tamas*), that is all that is beyond the agniṣṭoma and the year which are each of them characterized by the number twelve (viz. stotras and śāstras, and months). Thereupon the gods advanced against their rivals with the ukthas. As however the asuras penetrated further into that darkness Indra (using the above sentence construction) asked who would be willing to join him in pursuing them. Varuṇa saying "I with (you)" (*ahaṃ ca*) went with him. They "took one third away" from the asuras, with which they strengthened the morning pressing (and libation) of soma which, it will be remembered, had been deprived by the asuras of its essence and virtue. This is why those who perform this rite have to use the above texts addressed to Indra, Varuṇa and Indra-Varuṇa. Afterwards Indra and Bṛhaspati took away the second, Indra and Viṣṇu the last third part and fortified the two other pressings with these portions. Thereupon the gods prospered and the asuras were brought to naught. The man who knows this will prosper and his rival

<sup>102</sup> Compare the commentary: *yasmād evaṃ tasmād ubhayor melanena teṣāṃ asurāṇām apanodārtham aindrāvaruṇam sūktam trītyasavane maitrāvaruṇanāmaka ṛtvik śaṃset*.

<sup>103</sup> Cf. also GB. 2, 4, 14 *dve saṃśasyante, aindraṃ ca vāruṇam caikam aindrāvāruṇam bhavati* (see W. Caland, *Das Vaitānasūtra des Atharvaveda*, Amsterdam Acad. 1910, p. 72).

<sup>104</sup> For some particulars see Caland, *Śrautasūtra des Āpastamba*, II, p. 366.

will go to rack and ruin. The Pañcaviṃśa-Brāhmaṇa contains the following version of the myth (8, 8, 1 ff.): the gods, having acquired by conquest the agniṣṭoma, could not conquer the ukthas. Having made Agni their leader<sup>105</sup> they proceeded together with the horse (i.e. Agni who had taken the form of a horse; see above, AiB. 3, 49, 7); therefore there is the sākamaśva sāman. After Indra had asked: "Who is going to pursue this conquest together with me?" Varuṇa saying "I" stood behind him and Indra fetched the uktha. That is why a text addressed to Indra-and-Varuṇa is recited by the hotraka. Etc.

Finally, the Gopatha-Brāhmaṇa. This text contains two passages worth mentioning in this connection. Dealing with the mantras for the uktha etc. of the hotrakas the sections 2, 4, 15 and 16, which are based on Ṛgvedic sources (cf. ĀśvŚS. 6, 1, 2; ŚŚS. 9, 2 ff.), the author accounts for the fact that the recitation belonging to Indrāvaruṇā (*aindrāvāruṇam*) is the uktha of the maitrāvaruṇa by a reference to the stanza RV. 6, 68, 10 (cf. AiB. 6, 12, 7; GB. 2, 2, 22) "O Indrāvaruṇā, drinkers of the pressed (soma), maintainers of the universal order, drink this exhilarating pressed (soma juice)"<sup>106</sup>. The use of RV. 8, 42, 1 (Varuṇa) is explained by the quotation "'I with (you)' said Varuṇa" and the observation that the stanza "is for reciting together"<sup>107</sup> for the two divinities and not for reciting (too) much" (*devatayoḥ saṁśamsāyānatiśamsāya*). The stanza RV. 7, 82, 1 a "O Indrāvaruṇā, (give abundant protection) to our sacrificial rite", mentioned next, is said to be the conclusion (*pariyāsa*) in the śastra belonging to Indrāvaruṇā. The author continues his pericope with the statement that this (śastra) is always the uktha of the maitrāvaruṇa. "Thus he establishes it on its own substratum, on its own support" (*tad etat svasminn āyatane svasyām pratiṣṭhāyām pratiṣṭhāpayati*). That means that it is established in that place or position in the systematic arrangement of things where it belongs and should be and that it is founded on a firm basis or foundation. The terms *āyatana* and *pratiṣṭhā*<sup>108</sup> occur also elsewhere in the same context so as to supplement each other: TS. 5, 1, 5, 8 (after the two worlds had burst asunder and separated) "having fallen from (being deprived of) his regular place and not having reached a firm foundation" (*pracyuto vā eṣa āyatanād agataḥ pratiṣṭhām*); cf. also ŚB. 11, 5, 2, 10 "he makes the sacrificer reach the heavenly world and establishes him therein" (Eggeling, *yajamānam evaitat svarge loka āyātayati pratiṣṭhāpayati*, rather: "he arranges him in . . . where he should be and founds him there on a firm basis"). It was the firm conviction

<sup>105</sup> Here again I omit Agni's part in the story.

<sup>106</sup> See further on, p. 260 f.

<sup>107</sup> For *saṁśams-* "to recite together, to connect in reciting" see e.g. ŚB. 13, 5, 1, 8; ŚŚS. 10, 13, 10; 15; 11, 12, 8; 16, 14, 2; 16, 7, 13; 17, 9, 6 etc.

<sup>108</sup> For which see my relative articles in Adyar Library Bulletin 33, Madras 1969 (also published separately) and in *Studia Indol. Internationalia*, I, Paris-Poona 1954.

of the ritualists that man himself and those powers and entities which are of importance to him and to the maintenance of the universe should be settled and arranged in their proper places and established on a firm foundation. Then they are believed to balance other powers and to prevent abnormal conditions and all forms of disaster from occurring. "After these two deities", the text continues, "had become a pair, they proved to be victorious. It (this śāstra) is (therefore) to attain victory and it serves the propagation of the pairing of the two"<sup>109</sup>. This is the well-known Vedic conviction that a pair represents greater strength and power as well as productivity. Says PB. 24, 12, 4 "The Ādityas prospered pairwise: Mitra and Varuṇa, etc."<sup>110</sup>. Some information on the use of the Indra-Varuṇa stanzas 7, 84, 1 and 6, 68, 11 which bring this section to a close can be omitted.

The second passage is of no less interest. In GB. 2, 6, 6 the author furnishes us with a 'mystical' or esoterical interpretation of the fact that the hotar recites two ukthas with one hymn each, whereas the hotrakas (the other officiants, his assistants) recite one uktha with two hymns. Leaving out the first part of his exposition, the last pericope of section 6, which needs no comment, may be quoted in full: "When the gods were performing a sacrificial rite the asuras and rakṣases practised detrimental magic in the joint of the sacrifice, (saying) 'we shall destroy their sacrifice at the time of the third pressing (and oblation). (But) at the third pressing the sacrifice is uninjured and strongest; we shall destroy their sacrifice when it is very weak'. They employed Varuṇa in the South, Bṛhaspati in the middle, Viṣṇu in the North. They (i.e. these three gods) said: 'We are each single; we shall not be able (to do) this. The second (deity, i.e. Agni) has been praised, with whom we shall obtain it (the sacrifice)'. Indra (however) said to them: 'All of you are second to me'. They (indeed) are all of them second to Indra. On account of this the uktha texts belonging to Indra-Varuṇa, to Indra-Bṛhaspati and Indra-Viṣṇu are recited. Those (gods) who are possessed of a second (a companion) indeed become their own (*svā bhavanti*, or rather: become their relatives?) by means of it (viz. the recitation). They consider themselves to be possessed of a companion who know that (?)"<sup>111</sup>. The relative passages of the first part of the next section do not seem to be derived from any known brāhmaṇa<sup>112</sup>. In this section the śāstras of the hotrakas are specified in connection with their respective pairs of divinities. Quoting only what is of immediate interest I draw attention to the following explanation: "Indra is manly strength or virtue (*vīryam*), Varuṇa royal power (*kṣatram*),

<sup>109</sup> Compare what has been said above (p. 249).

<sup>110</sup> For some references and other particulars see J. Gonda, *Viṣṇuism and Śivaism*, London 1970, p. 56 and p. 168, n. 304.

<sup>111</sup> Here the text (*ya evaṃ veda*) is corrupt.

<sup>112</sup> See H. Ch. Patyal, *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa*, English translation with notes and introduction, (unpublished) thesis Poona 1969, p. 352.



the ukthas are cattle. Therefore he envelops cattle on both sides with strength (virtue) and royal power. This is for stability (and) for not going away (i.e. it is . . . to prevent cattle from going away). In verses (dedicated) to Indra they 'produce' (*praṇayanti*: execute) the uktha of the brāhmaṇācchamsin. Indra indeed is *vīryam*; thus they execute it for him with *vīryam*". In a similar way Indra-Bṛhaspati are said to represent the combination of *vīryam* and *brahma* and Indra-Viṣṇu to represent *vīryam* and the sacrificial rite (*yajña*). The author continues: "On account of this a kṣatriya commands a large number of cattle . . . Because they recite jagatī metres which are connected with Indra, the third pressing in which this metre is required is connected with Indra . . ." (cf. AiB. 6, 15, 1).

The tenor of these passages is this: the co-operation of two deities constituting a complementary pair <sup>113</sup> is, in accordance with the aetiological myth, required for the expulsion or conquest of the powers of obstruction. The invocation of a dual deity means an increase in the exhibition of divine power and in the efficacy of the ritual acts. Although Indra, who is the only constant element in all three dualities, is the principal figure, the specific principles or power-substances presided over or represented by his colleagues, Varuṇa, Bṛhaspati and Viṣṇu, supplementing his particular abilities, constitute a valuable contribution to the success of the rites. It is moreover self-evident that their high position, the royal authority with which they were clothed and the possibility of supplementary activity were, in the case of Indra and Varuṇa, important factors in the process of their occasional uniting.

It is now easily intelligible why Indra-Varuṇa texts borrowed from the R̥gveda are not only prescribed in the above passage in Śāṅkhāyana (9, 2-4), but also in that section of the chapter dealing with the śāstras of the hotrakas which treats the points of difference between the twelve-day rite and the uktha rites (12, 10 f.).

One inducement to worship a dual deity remains to be discussed, an inducement which under certain circumstances must have been rather weighty in ritual practice. If for definite reasons not only that god was to be propitiated to whom some manifestation of evil was believed to be due, or that god was to be worshipped from whom some form of blessing might be expected, but also a god, who was supposed to have a share in the circumstances necessitating the rite or with whom the worshipper maintained special relations, one could without complicating the ritual acts or the formulas accompanying these—one set of yājyānuvākyaś could suffice <sup>114</sup>—and by the mere replacement of one

<sup>113</sup> Grammatically denoted by the construction . . . ca . . . ca.

<sup>114</sup> A *yājyā* is a formula, beginning with the words *ye yajāmahe* N.N. (i.e. the name of the god concerned in the accusative), to be pronounced by the hotar on the invitation of the adhvaryu saying "Worship N.N.". An *anuvākya* is a mantra to be recited by the hotar or his assistant the maitrāvaruṇa, in which a god is invoked to partake of the offering intended for him. These formulas are subject to variation

single divine name by a devatādvandva make the rite the concern of a closely associated pair of gods. This case could present itself if one and the same rite was to be performed for persons of different social class or order, because there were intimate connections between, for instance, Indra and the kṣatriyas, this god "being" or representing nobility (see e.g. ŚB. 5, 1, 1, 11; 5, 3, 1, 3), whereas Mitra represented the brahminical order (ŚB. 5, 3, 2, 4)<sup>115</sup>. If therefore the performance of a ritual ceremony regarding Varuṇa and Mitra—to which there was of course no objection whatever in the case of a brahminical sacrificer—presented difficulties when the sacrificer was a kṣatriya or a vaiśya there was a solution: Mitra was replaced by Indra or Agni respectively.

The necessity to replace Mitrāvaruṇau by another divine pair is explicitly taught in connection with one of the so-called *kāmyeṣṭis* ("Wunschopfer"), i.e. optional rites performed through the desire of benefit or from interested motives, viz. no. 160 in Caland's collection<sup>116</sup>. When a person has fallen ill (KS. 12, 1: 162, 1; MS. 2, 3, 1: 26, 10; MŚS. 5, 2, 1, 1) or has been seized by evil (TS. 2, 3, 13), a definite offering must be presented<sup>117</sup>

as circumstances (depending on the god or gods worshipped) may require. The Taittirīyas use as yāgyās those of their sacrificial formulas in which the name of the god for whom the offering is intended occurs in the second half, as anuvākyās those in which this 'mark' occurs in the former half, but they may also prefer the reverse order (TS. 2, 6, 2, 3 f.; BŚS. 26, 4; ĀpŚS. 19, 18, 9 f.). These formulas are always given in pairs, the first being, in most cases, the anuvākyā. Thus if one wishes to offer on behalf of a person who has fallen ill a definite *caru* (a mess of rice etc. boiled with butter or milk) to Varuṇa and a cake to Agni Vaiśvānara, one has to use two yāgyānuvākyās (KS. 10, 4: 128, 8–14; MS. 2, 1, 2: II, 3, 9–13; probably 4, 10, 2: IV, 146, 8–10; 4, 11, 1: IV, 160, 10; MŚS. 5, 1, 5, 46–49). If however one offers a definite *caru* to Indra and Brhaspati with a view to extending the power of a nobleman, a Taittirīya should use one set of formulas, viz. "To us, O Indrā-brhaspati"; "Brhaspati must protect us" (*asme indrābrhaspati, brhaspatir naḥ pari pātu*, TS. 3, 3, 11 cd). The case may present itself that a single god is worshipped together with a group of gods, for instance Agni and the Maruts (for the sake of rain: MS. 2, 1, 8: II, 9, 9–16; MŚS. 5, 1, 6, 38); then these gods receive one oblation and the formula is of the following type: *ā ye tanvanti rāsmibhis ... marudbhīr agnā āgahi, ā vo yantūdāvāhāsaḥ* (MS. 4, 2: 167, 6–9). That is to say, Agni is invited to come together with the Maruts. In other cases two oblations may be required, but only one set of formulas. When a kṣatriya wishes to come into possession of a village (MS. 2, 1, 9: II, 11, 2–5) Indra receives a cake and the Maruts an *āmikṣā* (a coagulated mixture of boiled and fresh milk), the formulas being: "pronounce the puronuvākyā for Indra and the Maruts" (*indramarudbhyo 'nubrūhi*), and "Pronounce the yāgya for Indra and the Maruts" (*indramaruto yaja*: MŚS. 5, 1, 7, 21 f.). More complicated cases — e.g. oblations intended for three deities and accompanied by three pairs of 'intertwined' formulas (KS. 10, 10: 136, 15–137, 2; MŚS. 5, 1, 10, 19–25 etc.) — cannot be considered here. See L. Renou, in J.A.O.S. 68 (1948), p. 79 ff. and J.A. 250 (1962), p. 165 f.

<sup>115</sup> See J. Gonda, *The Vedic god Mitra*, Leiden 1972, p. 83.

<sup>116</sup> W. Caland, *Altindische Zauberei. Darstellung der Wunschopfer*, Amsterdam Acad. 1908, p. 103 ff.

<sup>117</sup> The details of the ritual need not detain us, see Caland, *o.c.*, p. 103 ff.

to Mitrāvaruṇau, if the officiant's patron who benefits by the rite is a brahman (KS., MS., see further on). That an oblation is offered to Varuṇa is perfectly clear because he is the god who seizes men to make them ill <sup>118</sup>. That the offering is intended for Mitrāvaruṇā is no less intelligible: this dual deity is often, and already in the Ṛgveda, invited to sacrifices and implored for help and protection. If the diseased sacrificer is a kṣatriya Mitra is to be replaced by Indra—"because a kṣatriya belongs to Indra, is connected with Indra"—, if a vaiśya, by Agni, who representing all the gods (cf. also ŚB. 5, 2, 3, 6) may be supposed to assist a man of the third social order (cf. KS. 12, 1: 162, 6; MS. 2, 3, 1: II, 26, 15 f.; MŚS. 5, 2, 1, 3). Thus one has in each case "recourse to the patient's own deity", but Varuṇa is the constant element because the patient is by means of an oblation to that god to be delivered from him and his noose (KS. 12, 1: 162, 2 ff.; MS. 2, 3, 1: II, 26, 10 ff.; 27, 13 ff.). "If he would sacrifice separately the sacrificial rite would be drawn asunder (i.e. come to naught)" (MS. 2, 3, 1: II, 27, 14). According to the Mānavas the formulas to be used in the case of a brahman are: "O Mitrāvaruṇau, let us worship you by your powerful nature; by it deliver ye yonder one from distress" (MS. 2, 1, 3: II, 27, 15), in the case of a kṣatriya: "O Indrāvaruṇau . . ." etc., and "Thy noose, O king Varuṇa, among the gods I avert by this sacrifice . . ." (MŚS., l.c.). The puronuvākya and yājyā relating to the offering to Indrāvaruṇau are (MŚS. 5, 2, 1, 6): "O Indrāvaruṇau, grant ye great protection to our tribe, our people, for the sacrifice; let us conquer in the combats the evil-minded ones, him who plots against a man who sacrifices much. One of you is called universal sovereign (*samrāj*), the other *svarāj*, O ye great Indrāvaruṇau, rich in wealth; all the gods . . . have bestowed on you . . . strength and might" (RV. 7, 82, 1 and 2). Similarly, VarāhaParS. 3, 6 <sup>119</sup>.

However, in the variant of this rite discussed in TS. 2, 3, 13 it is only the dual deity Indrāvaruṇau for whom the sacrifice is intended. In this brāhmaṇa portion belonging to the mantras enumerated in 2, 5, 12 the author informs us that if a man is seized by evil (*pāpman*) <sup>120</sup> Indra departs with that power of his which is known as his *indriya*, i.e. the complete command of his physical and psychical faculties, and Varuṇa seizes him with his (Varuṇa's) noose. That is why one should for that man scatter a definite oblation to this dual deity (*aindrāvaruṇīm payasyām nirvapat*). "Then verily Indra will bestow *indriya* upon that man and Varuṇa will free him from his noose". After dwelling on the sacrificial

<sup>118</sup> See e.g. Caland, o.c., no. 19; 20; 169.

<sup>119</sup> See Śrautakośa, Encycl. of Ved. Sacrificial ritual, Engl. section, II, Poona 1962, p. 564.

<sup>120</sup> *Pāpman* is the evil — this term to be taken in a very general sense — from which one wishes to be delivered. See H. Hartog, Zur Frage des frühvedischen Sündenbegriffes, Thesis Marburg 1939, p. 59 ff.; S. Rodhe, Deliver us from evil, Lund-Copenhagen 1946, passim (cf. p. 206).

material (clotted milk and a cake) the author proceeds to quote the mantras to be pronounced by the officiant: "That disease of yours (sent by you), O Indrāvaruṇau, that is in the fire, that of yours I remove hereby by means of (this) sacrifice" (*yó vām indrāvaruṇāv agnau sṛdmas tām vām eténdva yaje*), adding that "he protects him from error or failure in sacrificing" (*durīṣṭi*), which is obviously regarded as a source of evil. The next mantra to be pronounced is "That disease of yours, O Indrāvaruṇau, that is in the two-footed cattle, that of yours I remove hereby by means of (this) sacrifice". The complete version of the formula which precedes the prose portion of this section inserts (after cattle) "... the four-footed, the cattle-yard, the house, the waters, the plants, the trees". The author's explanation continues: "So many are the waters, the plants, the trees, offspring and cattle on whom to live. He verily frees them for him (the person who is seized by evil) from Varuṇa's noose". The last-mentioned (eightfold) formula is also prescribed in ĀpŚS. 19, 25, 8 which likewise deals only with an offering intended for Indrāvaruṇau. In a description of the pertinent ritual details BŚS. 13, 33 f. likewise speaks only of this dual deity. The section TS. 2, 3, 13 is moreover introduced by another formula, viz. "That body of yours which is serviceable against demons, O Indrāvaruṇau, with that do ye free this one from distress (*aṃhas*)<sup>121</sup>; that powerful (conquering, overwhelming: *sahasya*), energetic (brilliant: *tejasya*) body of yours, with that do ye free him from distress". It is worth noticing that a similar formula beginning *yā vām mitrāvaruṇau yātavyā tanūs* ... occurs at MS. 2, 3, 1: II, 27, 17 and *yā vām mitrāvaruṇau rakṣasyā tanūs* ... ibidem 18 (cf. also KS. 11, 11: 158, 11). So the conclusion must be that the above Indrāvaruṇau formula was modelled upon this Mitrāvaruṇau mantra.

I now proceed to review the other Rgvedic texts that are dedicated to this dual deity.

The poem RV. 1, 17 is mainly an appeal for favour and mercy, a reminder of the gods' usual readiness to respond to the call of poet and reciter, the expression of the wish that this hymn also may reach them and that they will recompense those speaking abundantly for the homage. In st. 5 the names of the gods Indra and Varuṇa occur in the singular and are separated by another word. Elsewhere (st. 1; 3; 7; 8; 9) the poet uses the dvandva compound *indrāvaruṇā*, in the normal dual as well as in the vocative in -a<sup>122</sup>. The gods are characterized as "both

<sup>121</sup> See J. Gonda, The Vedic concept of *aṃhas*, Indo-Iran. Journal 1 (1957), p. 33 ff.

<sup>122</sup> For which see J. Wackernagel-A. Debrunner, Altindische Grammatik, III, Göttingen 1930, p. 53 f.



universal monarchs" (*samrāj*), a title which, while frequent in connection with this dual proper noun, is also given to each god individually (Indra: 4, 19, 2; 8, 46, 20 etc.; Varuṇa: 2, 28, 6; 5, 85, 1 etc.), occasionally also to others (e.g. Agni: 6, 7, 1); as *dhartārā carṣaṇīndm* "supporters of cultivators" which recurs 5, 67, 2 (Mitra-Varuṇa) <sup>123</sup>. By far the greater part of 1, 17 fails to turn up elsewhere, whether in the Ṛgveda or in the ritual texts. Stanza 1 c = 6, 60, 5 (Indra-and-Agni); cf. also 4, 57, 1 d. For *sumatīndm* in 4 b cf. 1, 4, 3 (Indra); 10, 89, 17 (Indra); for *prarēcanam* in 6 b cf. *prareké* in 3, 30, 19 b (Indra). Stanza 1 forms at TS. 2, 5, 12, 2 a part of a formula used in special sacrifices and is mentioned also in KS. 12, 14: 176, 14; 23, 11: 87, 1.

In RV. 4, 41 the names of the two gods occur as *indrā . . . varuṇā* (voc.), *indra . . . varuṇā* (nom.), *indrāvaruṇā* (voc.), *indram . . . varuṇam*. In this urgent demand for aid and assistance, gain and goods epithets are few in number. The term *prabhūti* "mighty" (7) is at 8, 41, 1 used in connection with Varuṇa, *svāpi* "good comrade" (7) at 8, 53, 5 in connection with Indra. The dual *mañhishthā* "most generous" recurs to characterize the same dual deity in 6, 68, 2, the Aśvins in 8, 5, 5; 8, 22, 12; 10, 143, 6; Indra alone in 1, 30, 1, Soma (9, 1, 3), etc.; *śambhu* and *śambhū* "causing happiness, beneficent" belong to the Aśvins at 1, 46, 13; 8, 8, 19, to Heaven and Earth (?) 2, 32, 19. Stanza 5 cd = 10, 101, 9 cd (a hymn addressing the officiants) <sup>124</sup>; 9 d also returns as 10, 133, 7 d (Indra), and in the accusative as VS. 17, 74 d (Savitar) etc.; 6 b = 10, 92, 7 b (Viśve Devāḥ); as to 7 c compare 9, 66, 18 c (Soma); 10 b = 7, 4, 7 b (Agni). There are some reminiscences: 1 cd: cf. 10, 91, 13 c (Agni); 1, 16, 7 (Indra); 2 b: 10, 11, 7 b (Agni); 9 d: 7, 90, 7 a (Indra-Vāyu). For the use of this sūkta in the śrautasūtras see ŚSS. 12, 11, 22 (to be used on the middle chandoma day, i.e. the 9<sup>th</sup> day of the twelve-day-cyclis) <sup>125</sup>.

The author of ŚSS. 12, 10, 9 f. informs us that at the fourth day (of the twelve-day rite) the stotra and corresponding triplets are RV. 8, 102, 6-8 = SV. II, 296-298 and RV. 5, 14, 1-3 (which are dedicated to Agni), and the hymns RV. 7, 87 (which is addressed to Varuṇa) and 6, 68. RV. 6, 68 is also prescribed for the last chandoma day <sup>126</sup> (ŚSS. 12, 11, 23). Stanza 1—"un exorde alambiqué" <sup>127</sup>—puts the union between both gods and their ritual reality beyond doubt: "En obédience à vous deux (ce) sacrifice a été dressé de concert" <sup>128</sup> (*śruṣṭi vāṃ yajñā ūdyataḥ sajōsāḥ*), the second line inviting Indra-Varuṇa (dual) to be present at the sacrificial

<sup>123</sup> Cf. also M. Bloomfield, *Rig-veda repetitions*, I, Cambridge Mass. 1916, p. 51.

<sup>124</sup> Cf. Bloomfield, *o.c.*, I, p. 232.

<sup>125</sup> For particulars and the ritual context one might consult Caland's translation and notes (W. Caland, *Śāṅkhāyana Śrautasūtra*, Nagpur 1953, p. 328 ff.).

<sup>126</sup> See above.

<sup>127</sup> Renou, E.V.P. VII, p. 79.

<sup>128</sup> Renou, E.V.P. V, p. 98.

ceremony. For pāda b compare RV. 10, 61, 15 c, which, while addressing Indra, expresses the intention to worship the Aśvins.

In this sūkta (6, 68) the dual deity is indeed mostly addressed, or spoken of, as *indrāvāruṇau* (st. 1), *indrāvaruṇau* (st. 3; 10; 11), *indrāvaruṇau* (st. 4; 6; 7; 8), once as *indrā . . . varuṇa* (st. 5). As to the epithets applied to them, *śaviṣṭha* "most valiant" (st. 2) is very often used to characterize Indra, and so are (in the same stanza) *maghōnām mānhiṣṭha* "the most generous of those who are active for the advantage of man" (5, 39, 4), *tviṣṭma* "of powerful vigour or valour" (e.g. 2, 22, 1) and *vṛtratur* "conquering antagonists" (cf. 4, 42, 8). That means that throughout stanza 2 the typically Indraic characterizations are transferred to the dual deity. There is, moreover, some similarity between 2 b *śūrānām śaviṣṭhā tđ hí bhūtām* and 7, 93, 2 a (Indra-and-Agni) *tđ sūnāsī śavasānā hí bhūtām*.

The term *sumna* "favour, benevolence" in st. 3 occurs in connection with the gods in general or with various gods individually. The pādas ab are not found elsewhere. The explicit differentiation made between both partners in 3 cd—"où Indra est dissocié en tant que vṛtrahan de Varuṇa vipra"—led Renou<sup>129</sup> to observe: "Ici la scission est claire, mais l'allocation de d à Varuṇa reste obscure, à part le mot typique *vipra* qui commande évidemment l'interprétation de *vṛjana*: il s'agit donc d'un 'cercle' voué aux réceptions sacrées . . .". Now it appears from 7, 88, 4 that Varuṇa—who is the omniscient god par excellence<sup>130</sup>—making a mortal man a ṛṣi and a praiser (*stotāram*) is considered to be a *vipra* "an excited or inspired sage, seer, poet, thinker"; at 5, 85, 6 the same god is called *kavitama* "the sage par excellence"; at 7, 86, 7 he is, as compared with his devotee, *kavitara* "a greater sage", stimulating that devotee to become well-to-do. From 5, 66, 4 it may be seen that Varuṇa and Mitra are concerned with *kāvya*, i.e. with the manifestations of that wisdom which is characteristic of a *kavi*; from 8, 41, 1 that he was supposed "to guard what has as visionary sight come to men". He indeed belongs to those gods who enable man to receive visions (cf. 1, 105, 15). So, Renou's interpretation of *vṛjana* does not seem to be wide of the mark, but the verb *śiṣakti* "servir d'accompagnement, d'escorte", and also "to be with (a person)" should, in my opinion, not be supplied by "Indra", but by "us"; cf. RV. 1, 18, 2; 5, 41, 5 *śiṣaktu mātā mahī rasā naḥ smāt sūrībhir . . .*; 10, 19, 1. As far as I am able to see, Varuṇa is, in the R̥gveda, never a witness of the Vṛtra-fight, nor a companion of Indra fighting the demon. I would therefore modify the translation<sup>131</sup>: "L'un (Indra) avec force frappe Vṛtra du foudre; l'autre (Varuṇa) accompagne (Indra)

<sup>129</sup> Renou, E.V.P. VII, p. 80 (cf. p. 79). See also Griswold, o.c., p. 199.

<sup>130</sup> Gonda, The vision of the Vedic poets, p. 85; 208.

<sup>131</sup> Renou, E.V.P. V, p. 98. Geldner's translation (o.c., II, p. 172) "... der andere ist im Bunde (der Götter) als Weisheitskünstler zugegen" is unconvincing. Sāyaṇa connects *śiṣakti* (= *saṃgacchate*) with *śavasā* in c; Mādhava takes d to refer to Varuṇa as a punisher of the wicked.

(rather, is with us) dans les cénacles (or 'cercles') (comme) orateur-sacré (rather, inspired sage)". It may have been the poet's intention to say that, while Indra secures the world of men against chaos and destruction, Varuṇa directs the contact between the human communities and the Unseen which is most essential to the maintenance of the earth and its inhabitants. It would moreover appear to me that the above interpretation is more in harmony with two other formulations of the division of labour between these two gods (RV. 7, 83, 9; 7, 85, 3) to which we shall have to revert.

Stanza 4 is interesting in that it clearly states that this pair of gods, as well as Heaven and Earth, surpass all their colleagues in greatness and majesty (*praiḥhya indrāvaruṇā mahitvā dyauś ca prthivi bhūtam urvī*). In the eyes of the poet Indra and Varuṇa obviously constitute a pair not different from Heaven and Earth, but it seems impossible to read into his words that the latter had set an example to the former. Although the stanza as a whole is not found elsewhere, the resemblance between pāda d<sup>132</sup> and 10, 93, 1 a (Viśve Devāḥ) is worth noticing: *dyauś ca prthivi bhūtam urvī* and *māhi dyāvāprthivi bhūtam urvī*.

The prospect of prosperity held out to those who worship these two gods in st. 5 and 6—which are not found elsewhere (but 5 ab reminds us of the Agni stanza 4, 4, 7; for 6 b see further on)—follows st. 4 quite naturally: men will look best after their own interests if they pay homage to these great gods. A similar prayer for "wealth consisting in many goods" (*rayīm vāsumantam*, 6 b) is, however, (at 1, 159, 5) addressed to Heaven and Earth, (at 4, 34, 10, a practically identical pāda) to the Rbhus, and again (at 7, 84, 4 d; cf. 1, 159, 5 d) to Indra-and-Varuṇa. These places have the phrase *rayīm dhatthā* (*dhatthah*, *dhattam*) in common with 4, 49, 4 b (Indra-and-Bṛhaspati). The expression *rayīm puruṣām* occurs, moreover, at 7, 5, 9 (Agni); 8, 5, 15 (Ásvins); 8, 7, 13 (Maruts). In referring to the warlike exploits of the poet's patrons stanza 7, of which there are no other occurrences, reminds us of the many Rgveda passages in which Indra is depicted as the god mighty in battle who assists his worshippers against their enemies.

Pāda c of st. 8 *itthā grṇānto mahinasya śārdhah* "praising thus the boldness (?) of the mighty one" creates the impression of being borrowed from an Indra hymn: it is almost identical with 6, 33, 5 c i. g. m. *śārman* . . . *śyāma*; notice the singular *mahinasya* and *śārdhas* which, though rendered by "Stärke" or "vigueur", admits also in the Indra hymn 2, 11 (st. 14), and in 5, 87, 7<sup>133</sup> of a translation "(bold) host", which is its usual meaning. The simile (8 d) recurs as 7, 65, 3 d in a hymn dedicated to Varuṇa and Mitra. For pāda b see 8, 5, 36 c (Ásvins). At KS. 12, 14:

<sup>132</sup> Which is metrically defective; see E. V. Arnold, *Vedic metre in its historical development*, Cambridge 1905, p. 308.

<sup>133</sup> Where H. Grassmann, *Wörterbuch zum Rig-veda*, Leipzig 1873, 1384 translates "(helfende) Macht".

176, 16 f. this stanza forms, after RV. 1, 17, 1, part of a formulary; at KS. 23, 11: 87, 1 it combines with other mantras quoted *pratikena* and dedicated to Indrāgnī, Indrāviṣṇu, Indrābrhaspati.

Stanza 9 is "purement varuṇienne"<sup>134</sup>. However, the qualification *samrāj* "universal ruler" is not only given to Varuṇa (e.g. 2, 28, 6), but also to Indra (e.g. 8, 46, 20; 10, 116, 7)<sup>135</sup>. The adjective *mahivrata*, "(das) ausschliesslich von Göttern gebraucht wird, die auch sonst in königlicher Funktion auftreten", but hardly means "der sich das Treuegelübde vieler verschafft hat"<sup>136</sup>—I would prefer "whose functional behaviour manifests itself mightily" or something to that effect—is on the other hand used to qualify Agni and Soma. Schlerath's<sup>137</sup> interpretation of this place is disputable. Why should we expect both gods to be mentioned or referred to in this stanza? The poets of the texts directed to dual deities do not make it an absolute rule to arrange their ideas so consistently and systematically as this author seems to suppose. That the adjective *ajara* "der alterlose" refers, not only in a comparison to Agni (notice the following *śociṣā*), but "als Rätsel" also to Indra—who may, it is true, be *ajara* (6, 22, 3)—and that "hier ein Schnittpunkt der drei Gottheiten . . . angesprochen (wird), der in ihrer Beziehung zur Sonne liegt" is in this hymn dedicated to a dual deity hardly acceptable, because it strains the meaning of the simple statement. The noun *kratu* "inventiveness, resourcefulness"<sup>138</sup> is at 1, 151, 2 found in a verse dedicated to Varuṇa and Mitra, at 10, 104, 10 in a stanza eulogizing Indra, and often in connection with other gods. The stanza is *pratikena* quoted in ŚSS. 12, 10, 4.

In st. 10 the dual deity is addressed as *sutapau* "drinkers of the pressed (soma)", a qualification mostly given to Indra, but also to Indra-Agni (1, 21, 1; 3) and Indra-Bṛhaspati (4, 49, 3); in 8, 46, 26 to Vāyu<sup>139</sup>. Varuṇa is, according to RV. 9, 64, 24 (cf. 9, 84, 1; 9, 85, 6 etc.<sup>140</sup>), not averse to a draught of the soma. The epithet *dhṛtavrata* "observing his vratas", though mostly used in connection with Varuṇa (e.g. 1, 25, 10) or Mitra-Varuṇa (e.g. 1, 15, 6)<sup>141</sup>, qualifies Indra at 6, 19, 5; 8, 97, 11. So Renou's<sup>142</sup> statement: "*dhṛtavrata* (10) est presque exclusivement de Varuṇa, tandis que l'appel final et imagé à boire le soma est indrien" needs supplementation. The qualification *vṛṣan* "bull" in st. 11 is often found in connection with a variety of gods, among whom first and foremost Indra, the dual being

<sup>134</sup> Renou, E.V.P. VII, p. 81.

<sup>135</sup> See further on, p. 262 f.

<sup>136</sup> H. P. Schmidt, *Vedisch vrata und awestisch urvata*, Hamburg 1958, p. 100; "hochgebietend", Geldner (9, 97, 7).

<sup>137</sup> Schlerath, o.c. (Fn. 83), p. 66.

<sup>138</sup> See Gonda, *Vision*, p. 12; 46; 111; 183 f.; 261 f.; 276.

<sup>139</sup> See p. 224.

<sup>140</sup> Cf. Geldner-Nobel, o.c., IV, p. 135.

<sup>141</sup> See Gonda, *The Vedic god Mitra*, p. 2; 29.

<sup>142</sup> Renou, E.V.P. VII, p. 79.



applied to the Áśvins (e.g. 1, 116, 21 and often elsewhere), Mitra-Varuṇa, Dyavāpṛthivī, Agni-Soma, Soma-Pūṣan and Indra-Agni, Indra-Soma, Indra-Pūṣan, Indra-Varuṇa (also 7, 82, 2; 7, 83, 9). Pāda 11 b = 1, 108, 3 d (Indra-Agni); 11 d is practically identical with 6, 52, 13 d (Viśve Devāḥ), which is often quoted in other texts (TS. 1, 1, 13, 3 d etc.; ŚB. 1, 8, 3, 25; AV. 18, 1, 42 c; 18, 3, 20 d; 18, 4, 46 c etc.).

The last two stanzas (10 and 11) constitute, in the Atharvaveda, the short text 7, 58 (there are some variants<sup>143</sup>). This invitation to Indra-and-Varuṇa is not used in the Kauśikasūtra, but the Vaitānasūtra (25, 2) combines it (probably only st. 1) with AV. 7, 51, imploring the protection of the two gods Indra and Br̥haspati, and 44 extolling Indra and Viṣṇu to have these texts recited in the so-called *atyagniṣṭoma* ceremony, which is a variant of the normal agniṣṭoma. The full import of this ritual direction becomes clear from the context and Caland's<sup>144</sup> explanatory note: "He (the brahman accompanies the offering of) the oblations (of the soma) which are accompanied by the yājyā (and are offered by the hotrakas) with these three stanzas", viz. "AV. 7, 58, 1 for the maitrāvaruṇa, AV. 7, 51 for the br̥hmaṇācchamsin, AV. 7, 44, 1 for the achāvāka"<sup>145</sup>. "Es sind die Yājyās gemeint, die die Śāstras der drei Hotrakas abschliessen". The sections 2, 15–17 of the Gopatha-Br̥hmaṇa deal with the mantras for the uktha etc. of the hotrakas, which are borrowed from the Ṛgveda. "The uktha recitation belonging to Indra and Varuṇa is the uktha (a eulogy recited as a subdivision of the śāstras) of the maitrāvaruṇa; it has been referred to by the stanza ṚV. 6, 68, 10" (GB. 2, 4, 15; cf. 2, 2, 22). The stanza 6, 68, 11 is, according to the same sūtra, to be used as the yājyā (words of consecration recited by the hotar to accompany a libation offered by the adhvaryu). For stanza 10 see also AiB. 6, 12, 7; ĀśvŚS. 5, 5, 19; ŚŚS. 8, 2, 6; for stanza 11, ĀśvŚS. 6, 1, 2; ŚŚS. 9, 2, 6 (ukthya of the maitrāvaruṇa). Pāda 11 b is identical with ṚV. 1, 108, 3 d (Indrāgnī); 11 d is a frequently used final pāda inviting the gods addressed "to sit down on this barhis and revel" (AV. 18, 3, 20; VS. 2, 18 etc. and with other verb forms, ṚV. 6, 52, 13 d (Viśve Devāḥ) and as a c pāda, 10, 17, 8 (Sarasvatī)).

As to the "tendance précatrice" which is a feature of the whole poem, Renou<sup>146</sup> may be right in commenting: "par suite à dominance varuṇienne". Yet, the numerous stanzas of the same tenor occurring in Indra hymns (e.g. 2, 20, 4; 3, 30, 19; 20; 4, 20, 2; 4, 21, 1; 5, 33, 7; 8, 13, 5; 8, 21, 6; 8, 54, 6) should not be overlooked. A similar "allure d'ensemble" ("précatrice")<sup>147</sup> is characteristic of ṚV. 7, 82.

The 8<sup>th</sup> section of maṇḍala 7 consists of four hymns dedicated to Indra-

<sup>143</sup> For which see Whitney-Lanman, Atharva-veda saṃhitā, p. 428.

<sup>144</sup> W. Caland, Das Vaitānasūtra des Atharvaveda, Amsterdam Acad. 1910, p. 71.

<sup>145</sup> See above, p. 248 f.

<sup>146</sup> Renou, E.V.P. VII, p. 79.

<sup>147</sup> Renou, E.V.P. VII, p. 81.

Varuṇa. Two (82 and 83), in the jagatī metre, are longer (ten stanzas each, the last stanzas which invoke also Mitra and Aryaman<sup>148</sup> being identical), two (84 and 85) shorter (five stanzas each, st. 7, 85, 5 = 7, 84, 5).

The dual deity is, in 7, 82, continually addressed as *indrāvaruṇau* (voc. and nom.); however, in 10 a it reads *indro vāruṇo mitró aryamā*.

RV. 7, 82 forms part of TS. 2, 5, 12 (2) containing the yājyās with the puronuvākya for the special sacrifices which have been discussed in one of the preceding sections of this chapter<sup>149</sup>. Cf. also MS. 4, 12, 4: 187, 1; GB. 2, 4, 15; ŚŚS. 9, 2, 4<sup>150</sup>. The hymn is, in the R̥gvedic brāhmaṇas, required as an invocation (śāstra) for the use of the hotrakas (ŚS. 12, 10, 8; 12; 12, 11, 15; cf. ŚŚS. 6, 1, 2). ŚŚS. 14, 35 it is used in another, and typically Varuṇic, context of which there are no parallels: "(1) Varuṇa, desirous of rain, performed austerities and beheld that (one-day) rite called "raining". Having sacrificed with it he obtained rain. A person desirous of rain should perform this (rite). (2) The hymns are 7, 61 (dedicated to Mitra-Varuṇa) and 7, 82; they mention Indra and Varuṇa, that is the characteristic feature of this day". A reference to rain can be read in 7, 82, 3 a "You split open the openings of the waters with (inaugurative) power". For Varuṇa causing or bringing rain see RV. 5, 85, 3 f.; for Indra, whose co-operation was obviously wanted, 1, 121, 2; 2, 13, 6; 2, 15, 3. The stanzas 7, 82, 1 and 2 are used in MŚS. 5, 2, 1, 6—the chapter deals with sacrifices with a special wish—in case one wants to offer an oblation to Indra and Varuṇa, the preceding sūtra (5) stating that "stanzas are prescribed according to the wish (of the person sacrificing)".

Stanza 7, 82, 1 b = 1, 93, 8 d (Agni-Soma); cf. also 2, 26, 3 (Brahmaṇaspati). St. 2 d is reminiscent of 1, 80, 15 (Indra); for 3 a<sup>151</sup> compare 2, 15, 3 b ascribing the same feat to Indra alone: *khāny atr̥ṇan nadīnām*; 3 b, where they are said to have placed the sun in the heavens, of 7, 86, 1 d (Varuṇa); 5, 63, 7 d (Mitra-Varuṇa); 9, 86, 22 d (Soma); for 4 a cf. 1, 91, 21 (Soma); for 6 d cf. 4, 32, 3 (Indra) and 1, 31, 6 (Agni).

As to the statement in 2 cd: "All gods have conferred on you creative and inaugurative power (*ojas*) and physical power (*balam*)", these concepts point first and foremost to Indra. The term *ojas* is in the R̥gveda mostly used with reference to this figure, the god of energy and vitality<sup>152</sup>; for *balam* see 1, 80, 8; 3, 53, 18; 9, 113, 1; 10, 54, 2; 10, 116, 5; 10, 133, 5; 10, 153, 2. Interestingly enough Varuṇa is only said to possess *ojas* when he is closely connected with Indra (cf. 4, 41, 4); this points to a transference from the Indra hymns to the Indra-Varuṇa conceptions and imagery.

The distinction made between the two gods in st. 2 a *samr̥dī anyāh*

<sup>148</sup> "La strophe finale, comme souvent, élargit le cercle divin", Renou, E.V.P. VII, p. 81.

<sup>149</sup> See above, p. 255.

<sup>150</sup> See above, p. 258.

<sup>151</sup> See above.

<sup>152</sup> J. Gonda, *Ancient Indian ojas* . . . , Utrecht 1952, p. 9 ff.

*svardī anyā ucyate* ("la tentative la plus nette pour séparer les deux divinités"<sup>153</sup>) has been held to be in harmony with a predominant use of the epithets *samrāj* "(universal) sovereign", which is often given to Varuṇa or Mitra-Varuṇa (but also to Indra: e.g. 4, 19, 2; 4, 21, 10; 8, 16, 1; 8, 46, 20; 10, 116, 7, Agni, the Ādityas), and *svarāj*, not the "self-ruler"<sup>154</sup> or "the self-made god" but rather "the independent ruler", which is typical of Indra, though also given to Agni (1, 36, 7) and other deities, among whom the Āditya Varuṇa (2, 28, 1)<sup>155</sup>. Yet this place hardly admits of Dumézil's<sup>156</sup> conclusion "in 7, 82, 2 Varuṇa is the *samrāj* and Indra is the *svarāj*" and still less of the ebullition of his pen when he expatiates on "la vertu du sang et celle du bras, le chef héréditaire et le héros, l'administrateur-magicien et le conquérant-champion, bref le *samrāj* et le *svarāj* de l'Inde, Varuṇa et Indra". The other places, for instance those in which Indra is called a *svarāj*, seem to have escaped his attention and his interpretation of this place is largely determined by more or less preconceived ideas. On the other hand Schlerath's<sup>157</sup> rejection of any idea of 'opposition'<sup>158</sup> is hardly warranted: "Wenn der Dichter ein Nebeneinander dieser beiden Herrschaftsformen oder—wie Dumézil will—einen Gegensatz hätte bezeichnen wollen, hätte er irgendeinen Hinweis darauf geben müssen". This 'Hinweis' has however been given: the disjunctive construction *anyā . . . anyā*<sup>159</sup> cannot be misunderstood: "one (of them, perhaps Varuṇa) is *samrāj*, the other (perhaps Indra) *svarāj*". Instead of Schlerath's view of this passage: "Es werden ihre (Indra's and Varuṇa's) Gemeinsamkeiten herausgehoben . . . Es liegt nahe, diese Zeile aufzufassen als: 'ihr beide seid Allkönige und Selbstherrscher', I would assume, here also, that the poet draws attention to the complementary character of both deities, who have, it is true—see the statements in the pādas b-d—much in common and constitute a duality. One of these gods is, the poet says, a *samrāj*, the other bears the title *svarāj* (which is of wider application<sup>160</sup>) and expresses not only the idea of a ruling king but also, and even especially, that of independent authority. In contradistinction to *samrāj* the term *svarāj* is never accompanied by a genitive or other construction indicating that or those that are ruled. The poet may intimate that the combination Indra-and-Varuṇa, the dual deity (not "beide Götter"), is *samrāj* as well as *svarāj*.

According to Renou 3 c is said "plûtôt d'Indra", d "de Varuṇa";

<sup>153</sup> Renou, E.V.P. VII, p. 81.

<sup>154</sup> M. Monier-Williams, A Sanskrit-English dictionary, Oxford (1899), s.v.

<sup>155</sup> For some other particulars see Schlerath, o.c., p. 132 ff.

<sup>156</sup> G. Dumézil, Mythes et dieux des Germains, Paris 1939, p. 23.

<sup>157</sup> Schlerath, o.c., p. 135.

<sup>158</sup> See further on, p. 264.

<sup>159</sup> See e.g. J. S. Speyer, Sanskrit syntax, Leyden 1886, p. 214; 340; J. Gonda, Reflections on the numerals 'one' and 'two', Utrecht 1953, p. 79.

<sup>160</sup> I refer to Schlerath, o.c., p. 132.

in his opinion, the phrase *pínvatam dhiyaḥ* <sup>161</sup> which in 1, 151, 6 (cf. 5, 71, 2) is used in connection with Mitra-Varuṇa, in 10, 39, 2 with the Ásvins (cf. 7, 94, 2: Indra and Agni, 9, 19, 2: Soma and Indra), represents "(un) emploi dérivé de l'acte mythique consistant à faire gonfler les eaux" <sup>162</sup>. The tenor of 4 a referring to battles is Indraic, *mitajñavaḥ* "with knees firmly implanted" <sup>163</sup> recurring in connection with Mitra in 3, 59, 3, with Indra in 6, 32, 3, with Sarasvatī in 7, 95, 4 may, it is true, be regarded as "décrivant une possession pacifique" <sup>164</sup> but is not typically 'varuṇien'. In view of 6, 91, 10 the phrase *vásva ubháyasya*—which often refers to celestial and worldly goods—would point to Indraic origin. The adjective *suhava* "easily invoked" occurs with Indra, Indra-Agni, Indra-Vāyu, the Ásvins (four times), but not with Varuṇa.

The co-operation and complementary function and character of both gods—rather than "Gegensatz" <sup>165</sup>—are clearly delineated in st. 5: they have, obviously in concerted action, created the world and its inhabitants, but Varuṇa, through Mitra's intervention, guarantees that men shall peacefully enjoy their possessions (5 c), whereas Indra with the Maruts, his train and host, makes himself responsible for the defence of the world. This thought is continued in st. 6 which was misunderstood by Ludwig and Geldner <sup>166</sup>: "Mitra und Indra sind nur die Gehülfen des Varuṇa, der erste in friedlicher Arbeit, der andere im Krieg". Since there can be no doubt that 6 c refers to Indra's great feat, the *anyaḥ* in 6 d must be Varuṇa, "(qui) recouvre un grand nombre avec quelques-uns", i.e. "'arrête' la faute de beaucoup avec un petit nombre de *spas* ('spies' or watchers)" <sup>167</sup>. That on the strength of 8, 1, 5 *śulka* "remuneration" in 6 a might be an 'Indraic' term was already suggested by Oldenberg <sup>168</sup>. The dative *twiṣe* "vehemence" or "brilliance" must belong to Varuṇa although at 4, 17, 2 this word characterizes Indra. The pronoun *asya* in b presents a difficulty: to "chacun des deux" I would prefer "singular instead of dual" under the influence of *svam* which may refer to any grammatical number.

There is a strong resemblance between 7 a and 2, 23, 5 a (Brahmaṇaspati) and 10, 126, 1 a (mentioning Aryaman, Mitra, Varuṇa to whom, according to BrhD. 8, 43 f., this hymn belongs). RV. 10, 126 is (e.g. Manu 11, 252) quoted in dharma texts; it destroys all stains of a sinner (Rgvidhāna 4, 4, 4). Since st. 7 c reminds us of 1, 151, 7 (Mitra-Varuṇa), the whole

<sup>161</sup> For which see Gonda, *The vision of the Vedic poets*, p. 124 f.

<sup>162</sup> Renou, E.V.P. VII, p. 36.

<sup>163</sup> There is some difference of opinion on the implications of this adjective, see Gonda, *The Vedic god Mitra*, p. 100.

<sup>164</sup> Renou, E.V.P. VII, p. 82.

<sup>165</sup> Geldner, o.c., II, p. 253 (on st. 4 ab).

<sup>166</sup> Geldner, o.c., II, p. 254.

<sup>167</sup> Renou, E.V.P. V, p. 99; VII, p. 82 f.

<sup>168</sup> Oldenberg, *Rgveda. Noten*, II, p. 58.



stanza may be said to be tinged with reminiscences of Varuṇa's sphere <sup>169</sup>.

Pāda 8 c resembles 8, 10, 3 cd (Aśvins) and 8, 27, 10 b (Viśve Devāḥ); the words *sakhyam* "comradeship" and *āpyam* "intimacy" combine also in 8, 10, 3 (Aśvins); cf. 7, 88, 6 *āpīr . . . varuṇa . . . sákhā te*. The "notion varuṇienne" expressed by *mārdikam* "mercy, compassion" in 8 d—the Rgvedic poets do not however use this noun in connection with Varuṇa (1, 79, 9 Agni etc.); for *mārdika* see 1, 25, 3; 5; 7, 86, 2 (Varuṇa), but 4, 1, 3; 5 etc. (Agni), 8, 48, 12 (Soma) and 6, 33, 5 (Indra)—is not in my opinion an indication that pāda c must be "mis au compte d'Indra": the word *āpyam* occurs, it is true, in connection with this god at 7, 32, 19 and 8, 97, 7, but more often with Agni (1, 36, 12; 1, 105, 13; 3, 2, 6 etc.), Soma (9, 62, 10) and the Viśve Devāḥ. The occurrence of the dual (*yuvór hí sakhyám . . .*) shows that the friendly disposition is characteristic of both gods.

Pāda 9 d is almost identical with 4, 24, 3 d (Indra); compare, for the thought expressed, also 6, 18, 6 c (Indra). The pādas a–c, containing the noun *puroyodha* "champion", which at 7, 31, 6 applies to Indra (cf. also *puroyudh* 1, 132, 6: Indra-Parvata), do not refute the conclusion that an Indraic thought is transferred to the dual deity <sup>170</sup>.

In the final stanza (=7, 83, 10) introducing also Mitra, Aryaman and Savitar, Indra and Varuṇa <sup>171</sup> precede, as individual gods, some of their colleagues (Mitra and Aryaman) who however are, as a rule, more or less closely associated with Varuṇa; for Savitar who is considered to be an Āditya: 8, 18, 3, see e.g. 5, 81, 4 where he is 'identified' with Mitra <sup>172</sup>. As to the order of the proper nouns one might compare R.V. 1, 36, 4 *devāsas tvā vāruṇo mitró aryamā*; also 7, 66, 12; 8, 19, 6; 8, 26, 11; 10, 36, 11; 1, 40, 5 I. V. M. A.; 10, 65, 1 Agni I. V. M. A.; but 10, 92, 6 V. M. A. I. <sup>173</sup>.

It is true that "les traits communs demeurent prépondérants" <sup>174</sup>, but one had better say that, while clearly distinguishing between the individual features and functions of the two gods the poet does not omit emphasizing their co-operation and their complementary activity. They are implored as a duality (st. 1; 3; 4; 8) and have as such performed most important deeds (st. 3) or are invited to bestow, as such, their favours upon their worshippers (st. 8). Part of the expressions used point to Indra's (st. 2 cd; 4 a; d; 9), part to Varuṇa's sphere (7; 8 d); some words are elsewhere used in connection with either god.

<sup>169</sup> I have grave doubts about Renou's (E.V.P. VII, p. 83) suggestion to regard 7 ab as a reference to Dumézil's "trois fonctions": *amhas* and *duritam* occur elsewhere (e.g. 10, 39, 11) without *tapas*.

<sup>170</sup> For *kṛṣṭyojāsā* see Schlerath's note (o.c., p. 43).

<sup>171</sup> For this combination see above.

<sup>172</sup> For Mitra and the Sun see Gonda, The Vedic god Mitra, p. 58.

<sup>173</sup> Bloomfield, o.c., I, p. 67.

<sup>174</sup> Renou, E.V.P. VII, p. 81.

RV. 7, 83 is different in that, while unmistakably referring to the battle of the ten kings (st. 6; 8), it almost consistently represents both gods as a unity. It addresses them in most stanzas by the dual compound (only in 6: *īndraṃ ca . . . vāruṇaṃ ca*). Not before stanza 9 the poet distinguishes between the god of the inimical obstructions (*vr̥trāṇi*) and the god of the observances and fixed rules of conduct (*vr̥tāṇi*; cf. 7, 82, 5 and 6); for an Indraic phraseology compare 4, 20, 8 c; 10, 48, 9 c (*samītheṣu*), for Varuṇa's *vr̥tāṇi* see e.g. 1, 24, 10. Curiously enough, it is in these typically Indraic spheres and scenes—"nous sommes en plein milieu indrien, et l'hymne n'enferme d'ailleurs aucun trait varuṇien . . ." <sup>175</sup>—not Indra, but the dual deity who is implored, and from whom all aid and assistance are expected and to whom warlike feats are attributed. This remarkable fact may find its explanation in the close relations between the reputed poet, Vasiṣṭha, and the god Varuṇa <sup>176</sup> who was even regarded as the ṛṣi's father (RV. 7, 33, 11) <sup>177</sup>. If this assumption is right this poem must be kept apart from the others. Its poet allows us to gain an insight into the probable origin of part of the hymns dedicated to dual deities: in particular cases a prominent ṛṣi or poet invoked, not only the god who was traditionally regarded as the right or most competent figure to deal with the special problems, desires, difficulties touched upon in the poem, but also his own "favourite deity". It may in this connection be recalled that in some four stanzas of the poem the poet addresses the gods in such a direct and personal way that Geldner <sup>178</sup> could write that they "den Inhalt des Gebetes während der Schlacht wiedergeben". Since, moreover, the poem has no pādas in common with other sūktas, it impresses me as a comparatively original piece of work. Nevertheless, a traditional concept of a dual deity denoted by a dvandva compound must have been very well known to the poet.

In addition to the above attention may be drawn to the figure of king Sudās who, in the battle of the ten kings, stood high in the gods' favour (7, 83, 1; 4, 6 ff.). It may be true that he is often said to be assisted by Indra (1, 63, 7; 7, 19, 3; 6 etc.) but at 7, 60, 8 f.; 7, 64, 3 it is Mitra, Varuṇa (and Aditi) who extended their sympathy to him. This may have been another reason for addressing both gods.

It is worth while to compare this sūkta with 7, 33 which bears upon the same figure (Vasiṣṭha) and refers to the same critical situation of king Sudās. In inscribing the name Vasiṣṭha above that hymn Geldner <sup>179</sup> deviates from the Indian tradition: according to Br̥hD. 5, 163 "they pronounce (it) to be a dialogue or a hymn addressed to Indra", according

<sup>175</sup> Renou, E.V.P. VII, p. 83.

<sup>176</sup> The reader may be referred to Geldner, o.c., II, p. 211; 254; 259. See also Br̥haddevatā, 6, 11 ff.

<sup>177</sup> See Gonda, The Vedic god Mitra, p. 4.

<sup>178</sup> Geldner, o.c., II, p. 254.

<sup>179</sup> Geldner, o.c., II, p. 32.

to the Anukramaṇī and Śaḍguruśiṣya it relates the mutual praise of Vasiṣṭha (the reputed poet) and his sons: in the stanzas 1-9 the father praises the sons (similarly, in Mādhava's commentary), in 10-14 the sons the father. Unlike 7, 83 this hymn does not address or mention the dual deity Indra-Varuṇa. On the contrary, it does not even refer to these gods in the same stanzas or series of stanzas. In st. 1-9 Indra is the god, in 10-14 which deal with Vasiṣṭha's origin, Mitra-Varuṇa come to the fore.

Of course there are, in 7, 83, reminiscences: for *āpyam* "alliance" (1 a) see 9, 110 (Soma); for *dāsā ca vrtrā . . . dryāṇi* see 6, 22, 10 c (Indra); for 2 a the reference to a battle scene in 6, 75, 11 c; for *ghoṣa* (3 b) 3, 30, 16 a (Indra); for *havanaśrutā* (3 d) 6, 59, 10 (Indra-Agni), 8, 8, 7 (Aśvins); the locative *havimani* recurs 10, 64, 4; 10, 92, 12 (Viśve Devāḥ); for 4 d (cf. 7) compare 6, 65, 5 (Uṣas) and, as to the term *purōhiti* "priestly ministration", 7, 60, 12 (Mitra-Varuṇa); there is a strong resemblance between 5 ab and 6, 59, 8 ab (Indra-Agni); cf. also 6, 48, 16 d (Pūṣan); for the words *aryó vanūṣām* cf. 7, 21, 9 d; for 5 c compare 7, 82, 4 c (see above); for 6 ab: 4, 24, 3 a; for 6 cd: 1, 119, 8 ab (Aśvins); for those who do not sacrifice (7 a) compare 10, 49, 1 d (Indra); the locative *dāśarājñe* "in the battle of the ten kings" (8 a) occurs also in 7, 33, st. 3 and 5 where Indra is said to have assisted king Sudās and answered Vasiṣṭha's prayers; for *śvityāñco . . . tṛtsavaḥ . . . kapardīnaḥ* see 7, 33, 1 a and d *śvityāñco mā dakṣiṇatāskapardāḥ* and *vasiṣṭhāḥ*.

As to the ritual use of the text, at ŚŚS. 12, 11, 17 its first five stanzas are after RV. 8, 59, 1-5 (likewise dedicated to this dual deity) used between the concluding part and the first three hymns of the one-day-rite. In deviation from this work ĀśvŚS. 7, 9, 2, discussing the śastras of the ukthyas<sup>180</sup>, enumerates the following Vedic texts dedicated to Indrā-varuṇau in the same context: 3, 62, 1-3 (occurring in ŚŚS. 12, 11, 24); 4, 41 (ŚŚS. 12, 11, 22); 6, 68 (ŚŚS. 12, 10, 10; 12, 11, 23); 7, 83 (ŚŚS. see above); 7, 85 (ŚŚS. 12, 10, 6); 8, 59 (ŚŚS. 12, 11, 17 prescribing st. 1-5), stating that the Maitrāvaruṇa should insert these as the occasion requires and that the two texts which are mentioned first are the 'sūktas'<sup>181</sup>. That means that when the 'eulogium', the praise and invocations, is extended the hotrakas must in a particular manner<sup>182</sup> according to requirement insert *ṛcas* taking them from these collections of stanzas.

Turning now to RV. 7, 84<sup>183</sup> it must be noticed that in st. 1 *indrāvaruṇau* are addressed as "kings" (*rājānau*); that the dual compound recurs in st. 4 a; that in st. 5 the poet preferred *indraṃ varuṇam*; and that st. 2 cd is alone in distinguishing between both gods mentioning their individual

<sup>180</sup> See above, p. 248.

<sup>181</sup> See Caland, Śrautasūtra des Āpastamba, II, p. 366.

<sup>182</sup> which is explained in Gārgya Nārāyaṇa's commentary: *yathāprayojanam yāvatīnām ṛcām āvāpe sati tryavarābhīḥ ṛgbhīḥ stomo 'tiśasto bhavati tāvatīr āvapetety arthaḥ*.

<sup>183</sup> See also Schlerath, o.c., p. 144.

names, expressing the desire to be spared the anger (*heḷas*) of Varuṇa (see 1, 24, 14; 4, 1, 4), and the wish addressed, immediately after this prayer for safeguards against Varuṇa's indignation, to Indra to make wide room for those speaking to live safely. For Indra and wide room as well as the phrase *urúm . . . kṛṇavad u lokám* one might compare the Indra hymn 6, 23, 7 and especially 7, 33, 5: Indra answers Vasiṣṭha's prayers and gives ample room to the Ṛtsus; however, at 7, 60, 9 Mitra-Varuṇa are requested to give *urúm . . . lokám* to king Sudās<sup>184</sup>. At 4 cd the poet distinguishes once again between the gods, referring to Varuṇa by his usual metonymic Āditya (e.g. 1, 24, 15; 4, 1, 2) and to Indra by the epithet "hero" (*śūra*; cf. 1, 11, 6; 1, 29, 4; 1, 103, 6 etc.). The "ton précatif"<sup>185</sup> is unmistakable.

Pāda 1 b is identical with 4, 42, 9 b (Indra-Varuṇa) and, except for the name, with 1, 153 b (Mitra-Varuṇa); 1 d is, but for *jigāsi* instead of *jigāti*, identical with RV. 5, 15, 4 d (Agni); pāda 2 c might be compared with 2, 33, 14 a (Rudra) and 6, 28, 7 d dealing with the *hetī rudrásya* instead of the *heḷo várūṇasya*; for 3 d see 7, 58, 3 d (Marutaḥ); for 4 b compare 1, 159, 5 d (Heaven-and-Earth) and 4, 49, 4 b (Indra-and-Bṛhaspati) and 6, 68, 6 b (Indra-and-Varuṇa)<sup>186</sup>; st. 5=7, 85, 5; 5 c=7, 67, 6 d (Ásvins, quoted TB. 2, 4, 3, 7); 5 d is the very frequent (7, 1, 20 d etc. etc.) final pāda of the Vasiṣṭha's with which the poet turns to the gods in general: "Do ye protect us evermore with blessings". It is clear that as to its phraseology the sūkta has much in common with other sūktas addressed to dual deities.

The hymn is prescribed in ĀśvŚS. 6, 1, 2 and ŚŚS. 9, 2, 5 as part of the uktha śāstra belonging to the maitrāvaruṇa, the other stanzas and verses of this formulary being RV. 6, 16, 16-18; 19-21 (Agni); 3, 51, 1-3 (Indra); 8, 42, 1-3 (Varuṇa and the Ásvins); 7, 82 (see above); 6, 68, 11 (see above)<sup>187</sup>; at ŚŚS. 12, 10, 5 as a concluding part of the texts used at the third and fifth days and middle chandoma day. ĀśvŚS. 8, 2, 16 prescribes it as obligatory for a ritual ceremony lasting one day (*nityam aikāhikam*). Stanza 5 "This speech of mine has reached Indra and Varuṇa" is likewise stated to be a text of the maitrāvaruṇa: AiB. 6, 15, 5 (litanies of the hotrakas). (St. 5 c (= 7, 67, 6 d, see above) is quoted in TB. 2, 4, 3, 7 among the upahoma mantras addressed to Agni).

In RV. 7, 85—the last stanza of which = 7, 84, 5—the compound *indrāvaruṇau* occurs in st. 2, the juxtaposition *indra varuṇa* in 1 and 3. Nevertheless the verb is in the dual in 1 d and 2 d and the dual pronoun *vām* occurs in 1 a and 4 b and c. Whereas the protection and assistance of both gods is invoked in 1 cd and 2 cd and references to their common worship are found in 3 ab and 4 ab, a clear distinction between them

<sup>184</sup> See also J. Gonda, *Loka*, Amsterdam Acad. 1966, p. 23.

<sup>185</sup> Renou, E.V.P. VII, p. 85.

<sup>186</sup> See also Bloomfield, o.c., I, p. 330.

<sup>187</sup> See p. 261.



is made in 3 cd: "The one (Varuṇa) preserves the separated habitations of cultivating men, the other (Indra) slays the irresistible inimical powers" (*kr̥ṣṭīr anyó dhārāyati prāviktā vṛtrāny anyó apratīni hanti*). Syntactically and phraseologically this is another reminiscence (cf. also 6, 68, 3; 7, 82, 2 and 6; 7, 83, 9) of the well-known complementary structures dealing with the different activities of pairs of gods or other beings: cf. 1, 164, 20 (two birds); 10, 85, 18 (two playing children); 10, 137, 2 (two winds); 3, 31, 2 (those who perform meritorious acts); 1, 181, 4 (the Áśvins); 2, 20, 4 and 5 (the dual deities Soma and Pūṣan); 6, 57, 2 (Indra and Pūṣan); 6, 52, 16 (Agni and Parjanya). Compare especially 7, 83, 9<sup>188</sup> and Renou's observation: "Séparation des fonctions, Indra étant, comme toujours, caractérisé d'un trait banal et facile (d), Varuṇa d'un trait moins apparent"<sup>189</sup>. In explanation of this statement one could have noticed that Indra's 'mythology', whilst almost onesidedly centring round his great deed, provides the poets traditionally and so to say automatically with a reference to the Vṛtra combat, whereas Varuṇa's preservative presence needs detection, identification, and interpretation. The military phraseology of st. 2 is indraic (cf. 4, 41, 4; 11); for the arrows (*didyāvah*) see 6, 46, 11; 10, 38, 1; 10, 134, 5 (Indra). Strictly speaking the vocative *āditya*<sup>190</sup> in 4 b cannot apply to Indra who is no Āditya; but PB. 24, 12, 4 Indra and Vivasvat are after Mitra and Varuṇa etc. the fourth pair of Ādityas. There are no other occurrences of separate stanzas or pādas, but 2 c *yuvām tām indrāvaruṇāv amitrān* reminds us of AV. 1, 20, 2 c *yuvām tām mitravāruṇau* and RV. 1, 132, 6 a *yuvām tām indrāparvatā puroyūdha*.

For the ritual use of RV. 7, 85 see ŚŚS. 12, 10, 6 (it is to be used at the days of the *pr̥sthya* six-day-period other than the second, third and fifth etc.) and ĀsvŚS. 7, 9, 2<sup>191</sup>.

After five Indra hymns, one hymn dedicated to Indra and other gods, one directed to the Áśvins and three other texts, the last Vālakhilya hymn (RV. 8, 59), a stylistically confused piece of work, is dedicated to this dual deity (cf. Bṛhaddevatā 3, 119). The compound *indrāvaruṇā* occurs in all seven stanzas. Stanza 1 c reminds us of 3, 52, 2 c (Indra); 2 a of 3, 55, 22 a (Indra); 2 b of 1, 85, 2 a (Maruts); 3 c of 1, 47, 5 c (Áśvins); 1 d is almost identical with 10, 27, 1 b (Indra)<sup>192</sup>; the prayer in 7 b almost identical with 10, 17, 9 d (Sarasvatī) and 10, 122, 8 c (Agni);

<sup>188</sup> See above, p. 266 f.

<sup>189</sup> Renou, E.V.P. VII, p. 87.

<sup>190</sup> Cf. Renou, E.V.P. VII, p. 86.

<sup>191</sup> See above, p. 267.

<sup>192</sup> In view of the 'secondary' character of this text I am doubtful of the applicability to this verse of the "general principle" supposed to be valid by Bloomfield, o.c., I, p. 384: "In hymns in which a god speaks for himself (that is, e.g. in 10, 27, 1) repeated pādas, which are otherwise attributed by the poets to a god in the second or third person (as is the case in 8, 59, 1), are secondary and epigonal".

for *vācō matīm* in 6 b compare 1, 143, 1 b; for *prajdm puṣṭīm* in 7 c see VS. 9, 25 d; TB. 3, 3, 11, 2 b etc. With these exceptions no stanzas or pādas are utilized by other Ṛgvedic poets or quoted in other Vedic texts. Notice the epithet *śubhaspatī* in 3 c which is elsewhere given to the Aśvins; and especially the phraseology of st. 5 b: "*tveṣā* épithète de la zone indrienne, . . . donc "formidable"; notez que *tvīṣimant* est épithète de Varuṇa dans AV. 6, 20, 2. — *mahimānam indriyām*, formule fréquente des hymnes à Indra, inattendue ici" <sup>193</sup>. Instead of Renou's tentative interpretation "nous avons célébré Indra sous le couvert d'Indra-Varuṇa" I would prefer Geldner's <sup>194</sup> translation: "Zu grossem Glücke haben wir vor den Furchtgebietenden ihre wahre indrische Grösse (not "la véritable majesté d'Indra") verkündet" and suggest considering the line an indication of the poet's conviction that that majesty which is characteristic of Indra can also be attributed to the dual deity. This would imply that, in his opinion, Varuṇa, as a component of the duality, might be supposed to assume Indraic qualities. RV. 8, 59, 1–5 are together with RV. 7, 83, 1–5 in ŚŚS. 12, 11, 17 stated to be inserted, as a śastra of the hotrakas, between the concluding part and the first three (hymns) of the one-day-rite. Mention of the use prescribed in ĀśvŚS. 7, 9, 2 has already been made. Cf. also ĀśvŚS. 8, 2, 13.

The stanzas 1–3 of RV. 3, 62, a poem addressed to various deities, are, in a different metre, entreaties proffered to Indra and Varuṇa, whose names occur three times in the compound *indrāvaruṇā* (vocative). They do not contain special epithets etc., but the sequence *purutāmo rayīdān* in 2 reminds us, as observed already by Geldner <sup>195</sup>, of 4, 44, 1 *purutāmam vasūyūm* occurring in an Aśvin hymn. In the śrautasūtras of the Ṛgvedins the three stanzas form part of the śastras of the hotrakas: ŚŚS. 12, 11, 22 ff. "At the middle *chandoma* day (i.e. the 8<sup>th</sup> day of the *daśarātra*) RV. 4, 41; at the last RV. 6, 68, at both RV. 3, 62, 1–3".

<sup>193</sup> Renou, E.V.P., VII, p. 88.

<sup>194</sup> Geldner, o.c., II, p. 380.

<sup>195</sup> Geldner, o.c., I, p. 410.

## CHAPTER VIII

### INDRA-AND-AGNI

Macdonell<sup>1</sup> has already drawn attention to the fact that the association of the couple Indra-Agni is very intimate. This fact is the more remarkable as ancient places exhibiting a common activity of both gods individually do not seem to be very numerous: at RV. 4, 28, 3 Indra slew and Agni burned the dasyus; RV. 5, 11, 2 the god of fire is said to be (approach) on the same chariot as Indra (cf. also 10, 70, 11). In the Indra hymn 1, 84 the question is (st. 18) put: "Who invokes Agni?". In enumerations of divine names both gods make, quite naturally, their appearance: 1, 106, 1; 1, 107, 3; 1, 136, 6; 1, 199, 6<sup>2</sup>. Nevertheless, Macdonell<sup>3</sup> was of the opinion that "it is doubtless from his lightning aspect that Agni is so often joined with Indra in his conflicts against the demons". It cannot be denied that both gods combatted the dasyus and other inimical powers, but in texts such as 1, 59, 6; 1, 78, 4; 5, 4, 6; 5, 14, 4; 7, 5, 6 etc. Agni is alone in destroying or driving them away, in 1, 175, 3; 2, 12, 10; 2, 20, 8; 3, 34, 6; 9; 3, 49, 2; 5, 29, 10 Indra is their great opponent who needs no assistance. Their common activity in this respect—cf. ŚB. 5, 2, 4, 11 "Indra and Agni consulted with each other . . . Come let us throw the vajra at the demons"—may have contributed to their intimate relations—one might e.g. refer to HGS. 1, 18, 1 which will be discussed further on<sup>4</sup>—the texts will show us that these relations must have been a complicated development from many factors, among which no doubt much 'priestly' speculation. Anyhow, Indra is invoked conjointly with the god of fire—i.e. constituting with him a dual deity—in more hymns than with any other deity<sup>5</sup>, while Agni is otherwise addressed as a dual divinity only in one hymn and two detached stanzas with Soma and in one stanza with Parjanya. In the sūkta addressed to the Viśve Devāḥ 5, 51 both gods are as *indraś cāgniś ca* invoked after the well-known pair Mitrāvaruṇau (st. 14), the *ca . . . ca . . .* construction denoting a whole constituted by a complementary pair<sup>6</sup>. St. 5, 46, 3 begins: *indrāgni*

<sup>1</sup> A. A. Macdonell, Vedic mythology, Strassburg 1897, p. 127 (a brief survey). See also the same in J.R.A.S. 25 (1893), p. 470 f. and E. D. Perry, in J.A.O.S. 11, p. 168 ff. For Hillebrandt's views of this divine couple see p. 285; for Bergaigne's his Religion védique, II, passim.

<sup>2</sup> Places such as RV. 2, 12, 3 where Indra is said to have produced Agni (fire) between two stones are left out of account.

<sup>3</sup> Macdonell, Mythological studies in the Rigveda, II, in J.R.A.S. 1895, p. 175.

<sup>4</sup> See p. 305.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. also E. W. Fay, in Amer. J. of Phil. 17, p. 14.

<sup>6</sup> See my article on the use of the particle *ca*, in Vāk, 5, p. 1 ff.

*mitrāvaruṇā*, and 5, 45, 4 they are implored for aid as *indrā agnī*; 5, 27, 6 as *indrāgni*.

The close connection between both gods is also apparent from R.V. 6, 59, 2 where they are stated to be twin brothers, curiously enough as children of mothers who are "here and there": "vous (êtes) frères, (vous êtes) jumeaux (même, si bien que vous ayez) des mères çà et là"<sup>7</sup>. In a few cases one of the memorable feats of Indra is ascribed to the god of fire: at R.V. 7, 6, 3 he is pictured as having vanquished the "resourceless, crooked, unbelieving Paṇis, non-sacrificers of contumelious speech . . ."<sup>8</sup>. In the first stanza of the same hymn the poet praises the feats of Agni, the strong one, as if they were Indra's. At 7, 9, 2—another text directed to him—he is said to have opened the doors of the Paṇis. These demoniac beings are primarily the enemies of Indra (cf. 6, 20, 4: 39, 2), but secondarily also of his allies, among whom Agni, Soma, Brhaspati. Whereas Kaegi, as already recalled<sup>9</sup>, supposed the dualité-unité Indrāgni to be due to their being the conqueror of any enemy and victor (or, the joint conquerors and victors) of demons, Macdonell<sup>10</sup> offered the opinion that these proceedings of the god of fire are ascribable to his association with Indra. There is however room for the observation that the apotropæic character of fire is well known and it may be added that Soma also is (9, 49, 5) spoken of (independently of Indra) as driving away goblins.

Agni is moreover the only deity who with any frequency receives the epithet *Vṛtrahan* "slayer of *Vṛtra*" which is the chief and specific characterization of Indra. He is sixteen times called 'Vṛtra-slayer', in seven of these passages conjointly with Indra. The correctness of Macdonell's<sup>11</sup> thesis that this also is due to "Agni's frequent association with Indra as a dual divinity" can only be demonstrated after a reconsideration of the (pre)history of the term *vṛtrahan*. Without reopening the discussion it may be recalled that according to Benveniste and Renou<sup>12</sup> the Iranian *Vṛθragna*, representing the idea of destruction of obstacles and resistance, was the god who destroyed resistance and so gave victory, and that in Vedic mythology *Vṛtrahan*, who 'originally' must have had the same character, was later re-interpreted as "the killer of the serpent-demon *Vṛtra*". The demon owed his very name and very existence to the idea expressed by the compound and his killer was absorbed by the hero Indra, who had become a god, the confused mythological texture taking up three originally distinct themes, viz. those of the victorious god, of the serpent-killing Indra and the liberation of

<sup>7</sup> L. Renou, *Études védiques et pāṇinéennes*, XIV, Paris 1965, p. 53. For twins see ch. I, p. 33 f.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. also H. P. Schmidt, *Brhaspati und Indra*, Wiesbaden 1968, p. 189 f.

<sup>9</sup> Kaegi, *Der Rigveda*, p. 48; see chapter I, p. 8.

<sup>10</sup> Macdonell, *o.c.*, p. 95.

<sup>11</sup> Macdonell, *Vedic mythology*, p. 60; the same, in *J.R.A.S.* 25 (1893), p. 472.

<sup>12</sup> E. Benveniste and L. Renou, *Vṛtra et Vṛθragna*, Paris 1934.



the waters. This theory is, it is true, open to criticism<sup>13</sup>—it does not, to mention only this, sufficiently consider the improbability of the supposed origin of the snake-demon and the other aspects of Indra's cosmogonic activity; it cannot, on the strength of Vedic material be shown that the snake-demon is a 'secondary' figure—, but the prehistoric existence of a divine figure "slayer of the demoniac power of obstruction" can be considered as well-established. If the supposition is legitimate that this 'deity' only in the course of time fused with Indra—with whom he has nothing to do in ancient Iran—the possibility cannot be excluded that his activity and name were also transferred to another god, in casu Agni. Be this as it may, Agni and Indra have much in common: their victoriousness, their protective power, their ability to ward off demoniac and inimical influences and their readiness to assist their worshippers<sup>14</sup>. On the other hand, this does not alter the fact that in the R̥gveda viewed synchronistically Indra is the Vṛtra-slayer par excellence, so that the occasional application of this epithet to Agni could easily be felt to convey the information that the poet temporarily identified that god with Indra or ascribed to him an aspect or feature which is very prominent in the latter.

Moreover, this is only one aspect of their relations. Making use, in advance, of some texts which should be discussed in a later part of this chapter, I would here already emphasize their common interest in the ritual. The sacrifice does not only belong to Agni, he does not only preside over it, like Viṣṇu he is the sacrifice (ŚB. 5, 2, 3, 6 *āgneyo vā eṣa yajño bhavati . . . agnir u vai yajña eva*). Indra is on the other hand said to be the self and the deity of the sacrifice (9, 5, 1, 33). Both gods are identified with the sacrificer (for Agni see 6, 3, 3, 21; 6, 6, 2, 7; 9, 5, 1, 31, for Indra 5, 1, 3, 4; 5, 2, 5, 3). The sacred fire belongs to both of them (6, 3, 3, 21; 6, 6, 2, 7); they are the great fire-place (10, 4, 1, 7). Besides, both of them are identified with the Viśve Devāḥ (10, 4, 1, 9).

I now proceed to review a number of Vedic places to show that the ritualists gave the "unité-dualité" of these gods<sup>15</sup> their careful consideration and made various attempts to comprehend and explain it and to profit by an understanding of its nature. Thus the author of ŚB. 2, 3, 4, 12 was well aware of the fact that the unity of the two gods was a source of strength: approaching these two who are thus united (*saha santau*) with VS. 3, 13 = RV. 6, 60, 13 "... givers, you twain, of vigour and riches, I invoke you twain for winning (re)generative power (*vājasya sātāye*)" the officiant thinks "These two, united, must grant me (favours, requests)".

<sup>13</sup> See also J. Duchesne-Guillemin, *Zoroastre*, Paris 1948, p. 43 ff.; J. Gonda, *Die Religionen Indiens*, I, Stuttgart 1960, p. 60.

<sup>14</sup> Occasional identifications such as RV. 2, 1, 3 "Thou, Agni, art Indra" point to the belief in partial identity or similarity of function; an invocation of Agni in a hymn addressed to Indra (5, 30, 12 ff.) to a certain form of 'companionship'.

<sup>15</sup> In a formula occurring at KS. 35, 10 and ĀpŚS. 14, 26, 1 (*indrāgni paridhī mama*) they are consistently called "a double fence".

Turning for a moment to other post-Ṛgvedic texts I mention that the two gods are quite intelligibly compared to relatives or friends: "as one would cook a dish of rice . . . in common for two relatives or friends who have come in company to stay with him . . ., in like manner they (the gods) offered to those two together that sacrificial food, the rice-cake . . . for Indrāgnī" (ŚB. 1, 6, 4, 3). Nor is the idea of sexual union absent: "The achāvāka (one of the officiants) represents sexual union, since he belongs to Indrāgnī, and Indrāgnī are two, and a productive union (*mithunam prajananam*) means a pair; from that same productive union he produces the seasons, the year" (ŚB. 4, 3, 1, 3)<sup>16</sup>. "These are two deities, and two means a pair, so that a productive union is thereby obtained" (2, 4, 4, 9).

That also in the case of Indra and Agni the intimate relation of two gods could be felt as resulting in a combination of their particular functions or faculties is apparent from TS. 1, 6, 2 r etc.; ĀpŚS. 4, 9, 13. An oblation to Agni is accompanied by the formula: "By (this) worship of Agni I may be an eater of food", "By (this) worship of Indra I may have a full command of my faculties (*indriyāvi bhūyāsam*)", "By this worship of Indrāgnī I may become one who has a full command of his faculties and an eater of food".

In view of the ritual importance of the dual divinity, which we shall have to discuss further on, a place such as ŚB. 9, 2, 3, 20 is not devoid of interest, because it shows that in performing rites an invocation—and that means an expected co-operation—of both figures was, at definite moments, required: "They now approach (the great fire-place) with VS. 17, 61 (=RV. 1, 11, 1 addressed to Indra) 'They all have magnified Indra'—and he is the deity (*devatā*) and leader (*netar*) of the sacrifice" (ŚB. 1, 4, 5, 4; 4, 1, 2, 16; 9, 5, 1, 33)—and 17, 62 "Let the god-invoking sacrifice lead hither (the gods)" and "Let Agni, the god, make offering and lead hither the gods". Interestingly enough, VS. 17, 74, used on the same occasion (ŚB. 9, 2, 3, 22) invites Indrāgnī to drive away the enemies.

Discussing the *indraturīya*—one of the ceremonies of the royal consecration<sup>17</sup> in which the fourth oblation (i.e. one fourth) belongs to Indra—ŚB. 5, 2, 4, 11<sup>18</sup> sheds some light on the ideas formed by the author of the nature of a dual divinity: Now Indra and Agni (the text has the usual *indrāgnī*) on that occasion consulted with each other: "The evil demons, the *rakṣas*, suck out these (creatures) in the (four) quarters (of the universe); come, let us hurl the vajra at them. Agni then said: 'Let there be three shares for me, one for thee'. 'So be it'. By that offering those two smote the evil demons . . . and gained the universal conquest

<sup>16</sup> For this officiant see further on, p. 286.

<sup>17</sup> See J. C. Heesterman, *The ancient Indian royal consecration*, Thesis Utrecht 1957, p. 34 ff.

<sup>18</sup> See above, p. 271.

which now is theirs". Remarkably enough the two gods are here represented as conversing with one another. In ŚŚS. 14, 29 they appear on the scene as disputing. Elsewhere it is told that Agni helps Indra in winning the day by manifesting himself in three forms, viz. Agni, Varuṇa, Rudra, and by extending himself with these over the earth, atmosphere and heavens in order to protect Indra from these three positions. Indra then joins the triple god of fire and, being the fourth, obtains the fourth part of the oblation (MS. 4, 3, 4: 42, 17 ff.). In this episode Indra and Agni are perfectly distinct gods and the dvandva compound fails to turn up.

The relation of Indrāgnī with one of the nakṣatras may be another help in understanding the views of their duality. As is well known the nakṣatras or lunar mansions<sup>19</sup> are presided over by deities. Thus Agni is the god of the *kṛttikās* etc.<sup>20</sup> Now Indrāgnī are the governors of the fourteenth nakṣatra called Viśākhe (fem. dual) or Viśākhā (fem. sing.; also Viśākha, neuter sing.). The term literally means "branched, forked" and the lunar asterism originally consisted of two stars which were therefore quite appropriately placed under the regency of a dual divinity. (See KS. 39, 13: 131, 2; MS. 2, 13, 20: II, 166, 2; TS. 4, 4, 10, 2; TB. 3, 1, 4, 14; cf. 1, 5, 1, 3). The sacrificer performing the pertinent rite should use the formula *indrāgnibhyām svāhā viśākhāyām svāhā* (cf. comm. on TB., l.c.), TB. 3, 1, 1, 11 mentioning the invocatory and oblation mantras for offering oblations to the divine nakṣatras specifies those which are to be used in this case: "(Our) enemies must, afraid, go far away from us. Indrāgnī (and) Viśākhe must bring that about. Therefore the gods (plur.) must rejoice in our sacrifice. There must be safety for us (from) behind (and) from the front" and "O overlords of the nakṣatras, Viśākhe, O most excellent Indrāgnī, herdsmen of the (inhabited) world, repelling the ubiquitous enemies drive away hunger and malignity". These formulas do not occur elsewhere. In another publication<sup>21</sup> I invited attention to TS. 2, 1, 9, 3 stating that in the case of a sacrifice to Mitra-and-Varuṇa the sacrificial post should be bifurcate (*viśākho yūpaḥ*), because there are two deities. From ĀpŚS. 19, 16, 15 it appears that the bifurcation concerns the upper part of the post, symbolizing, I suppose, that both deities are half and fundamentally identical to diverge half-way.

One of the ritual acts to be performed by those who build the great fire-place (*agnicayana*) is the placing of the so-called *dviyajus* brick which may be called a stepping-stone to heaven. It owes its name to the fact that in the 'mythical past' two gods, viz. Indrāgnī, who desired to go to the heavenly world, 'saw' it (in the myth it is the earth) and used it as a foundation from whence to ascend to heaven (ŚB. 7, 4, 2, 16). It is clear that the mythical tale invented to account for the use of this

<sup>19</sup> See A. A. Macdonell and A. B. Keith, *Vedic index of names and subjects*, I, London 1912 (Benares 1958), p. 409 ff.

<sup>20</sup> W. Kirfel, *Die Kosmographie der Inder*, Bonn-Leipzig 1920, p. 35 f.

<sup>21</sup> J. Gonda, *The Vedic god Mitra*, Leiden 1972, p. 5.

brick, called "the one which (is accompanied by) two yajus formulas" <sup>22</sup>, required the activity of a pair of gods, but it is interesting to notice that the joint action of this pair did not need any comment or explanation. Cf. also BaudhŚS. 10, 32; 2; 4.

"The hymn 'O Indra and Agni, ye two' (RV. 8, 40) forms the two thighs which belong to Indrāgnī, the two supports with broad 'knees' " (AiĀ. 1, 5, 1) the commentary observing that Indra and Agni are the strongest of the gods <sup>23</sup>.

There are more occasional references to the divine pair which may throw light upon the significance of their intimate relation. Discussing with some other authorities the question as to who is the deity of the soma <sup>24</sup> Kauṣītaki offered the opinion that this should be Indrāgnī, because it begins by Agni in that it begins with the *ājya*, and (it should be connected) with Indra, in that it ends in a definite concluding stanza (KB. 16, 9) (16, 9, 6 ff.). What is of interest here is the belief that the *raison d'être* of a dual deity could be deduced from the fact that one of the two gods concerned himself with the beginning, the other with the ending of a ceremony.

In view of the fact that there exists a relation between the *dakṣiṇā* (the offering to be presented, at the end of a sacrifice) to the officiant(s) and the type or character of the sacrifice—cf. ŚB. 13, 1, 5, 6 "such sacrifices he offered, such gifts he gave"—, the quantity and quality of the *dakṣiṇā* being related to the purpose of the ceremony, it is not devoid of interest to refer also to ŚB. 5, 2, 3, 8 stating that a bull is the *dakṣiṇā* <sup>25</sup> for an offering to the dual deity because this animal is, by his shoulder of Agni's nature (cf. 1, 1, 2, 9), and by his testicles of Indra's nature <sup>26</sup>.

In the formulas quoted KS. 34, 15 and AthPrāy. 3, 3 which relate to the various forms assumed by the soma or the ritual manifestations of the divine draught there is an unmistakable occurrence of a parallelism between Indrāgnī and Mitrāvaruṇā; KS., o.c.: *indrāgnyor dhenur dakṣiṇāyām uttaravedyās śronyām āsannā. mitrāvaruṇayor dhenur uttarasyām uttaravedyās śronyām āsannā*. In the post-Vedic Devī-Upaniṣad, 1, the Goddess quoting the words of Vāc in RV. 10, 125, 1 declares herself the 'bearer' of Mitrāvaruṇau, Indrāgnī and the Aśvins; like the Vedic author the upaniṣad obviously regards these three pairs as completely similar in nature.

<sup>22</sup> "(La brique) Biformulaire", A. Minard, *Trois énigmes sur les Cent chemins*, II, Paris 1956, p. 335, § 909.

<sup>23</sup> For a discussion of this place see further on, p. 280.

<sup>24</sup> For a discussion of this somewhat obscure place see A. B. Keith, *Rigveda Brahmanas*, Cambridge Mass. 1920, p. 437, n. 1.

<sup>25</sup> See J. C. Heesterman, The significance of the *dakṣiṇā*, in *Indo-Ir. Journal*, 3, p. 241 ff.

<sup>26</sup> For Indra as a 'Fruchtbarkeitsgenius' see J. J. Meyer, *Trilogie altindischer Mächte und Feste der Vegetation*, Zürich-Leipzig 1937, III, p. 154 ff.



It is not surprising that in the systems of the ritualists there should exist correspondences between a dual deity and other pairs of entities. Thus the performance of the Varuṇa-praghāsa or second seasonal sacrifice requires five oblations which are said to be (Prajāpati's) toes; in this context the *aindrāgnam* oblation is identified with the knuckles: "it belongs to two deities, whence there are these two knuckles" (ŚB. 11, 5, 2, 3; similarly, 5).

A certain preponderance of Indra over Agni seems unmistakable in KB. 3, 2, 11 ff. "He repeats eleven kindling verses. The triṣṭubh has eleven syllables. Indra is connected with the triṣṭubh. Thus he obtains both Indra-and-Agni (*ubhā indrāgnī*)". Further on (3, 2, 27 f.) it reads: "Agni is connected with the gāyatrī... Thus the praises Agni with his own metre", and now no mention is made of Indra. That may mean that, according to this authority, Indra, represented by his triṣṭubh, may so to say include Agni, but Agni alone cannot represent Indra.

As observed by Renou<sup>27</sup> RV. 1, 21 is an 'elementary' hymn in which no distinction is made between the characters and functions of both gods, Indra and Agni. Nor is any mention made of exploits or abilities which are typical of either god. The repeated praise and invocation is addressed to both of them, their names, which occur in all stanzas, constituting a dvandva compound. Both of them are said to be the most prominent drinkers of soma, although elsewhere this qualification as a rule applies to Indra. The request to subdue the demoniac power is in 7, 104, 1 addressed to Indra and Soma. So the preponderance is on Indra's side.

Having regard to the brevity of the hymn we might say that the number of 'repetitions' occurring in it is considerable<sup>28</sup>. It has 3 b in common with 5, 86, 2 d and 6, 60, 14 d, which are directed to the same dual deity, and 1, 3 c with 4, 49, 3 c (*Indrābrhaspati*); 4 b with 1, 16, 5 b (an invitation to partake of the Soma addressed to Indra) and 6, 60, 9 b (*Indrāgnī*); for 5 b compare 7, 104, 1 a (*Indrāsomā*); 6 c = 7, 94, 8 c (*Indrāgnī*).

Whilst inviting Indra and Agni to drink of the Soma the poet of 1, 108 requests them to approach on the same chariot (st. 1) and to sit down and drink conjointly (st. 3). Mention is made of their traditional comradeship (st. 5). An allusion is inserted to their common exploits (st. 5). From the long enumeration of abodes of both gods (st. 6 ff.) it appears that they were supposed to be, or to be able to be, together everywhere. They are together implored to grant the poet's wish (st. 13). Yet references to Indra's sphere are slightly predominant: though also used in connection

<sup>27</sup> Renou, E.V.P. XIV, p. 49.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. also M. Bloomfield, *Rig-Veda repetitions*, Cambridge Mass. 1916, I, p. 53.

with Agni (1, 74, 3 etc.) the epithet *vṛtrahan* is mostly characteristic of Indra; stanza 3 d = 6, 68, 11 b (Indra and Varuṇa).

As observed already by Geldner<sup>29</sup> the tenor of st. 1 of ṚV. 1, 109 is not unlike that of Agni stanzas 1, 31, 10; 1, 71, 7. The apportionment of goods and the slaying of Vṛtra in st. 5 are on the other hand to be regarded, with the above reserve, as Indraic; so are, in most cases, the epithets *puramdara* and *vajrahasta* in st. 8 and *vajrabāhu* in 7 (cf. 6, 59, 3); in st. 5 the dual deity is invited to exhilarate itself with the pressed soma. The application of the name Áśvins to this pair (st. 4) is of special interest because it may be an allusion to their close relationship which was so to say modelled upon the well-known divine twins.

Similar observations can be made with regard to 3, 12, 4 *vṛtrahanā* (cf. 8, 38, 2)<sup>30</sup>, but *aparājita* applies at 1, 11, 2 to Indra, at 5, 25, 6 to Agni, just like the idea of *aptūr* (st. 8) which is 3, 51, 2 Indra's, 3, 27, 11 Agni's. The destruction of the ninety strongholds (3, 12, 6) is one of Indra's achievements (1, 130, 7); however, the last words of st. 9 occur also in the hymn to Agni and Soma 1, 93 (st. 4 a). The poet of 3, 12 emphasizes (st. 2) that the sacrifice of the singer is intended for both gods in common (cf. 5, 86, 6).

That mortal man who is favoured by these gods will destroy even the strongest or most solid strongholds: 5, 86, 1: "allusion à Vala, donc motif indraïque"<sup>31</sup>. St. 2 ab is reminiscent of 8, 46, 9 ab (to Indra); 2 c is practically identical with 7, 15, 2 a (to Agni) and 9, 101, 9 c (Soma); 4 a = 5, 66, 3 a (Mitrāvaruṇau); for 4 c compare the practically identical 6, 44, 5 b (to Indra); for 6 c, 8, 14, 4 b (Indra), and for 6 e, 8, 13, 12 b (Indra)<sup>32</sup>. The epithet *maghavan*, st. 3, in the dual, is mostly Indra's<sup>33</sup> and so is the weapon in the same stanza. In st. 3 their lightning arrow is sharp.

In 6, 59 also "bilden beide Gottheiten als Paar eine so feste Einheit, dass die Attribute des einen auf beide übertragen werden"<sup>34</sup>. In st. 3, for instance, both of them are armed with the bolt. The hymn is remarkable in that in the riddles of st. 5 and 6 Agni is the prominent figure (5 c: cf. 10, 79, 7 a; 6 c: cf. 10, 79, 2 b), although *indrāgni* or *indrā agnī* are invoked in each stanza. The close association of the gods as well as their different sphere and origin are emphasized in st. 2: "You are twins of different mothers"; they have the same father<sup>35</sup>. Stanza 1 ("your fathers,

<sup>29</sup> K. F. Geldner, *Der Rig-veda übersetzt*, Cambridge Mass. 1915, I, p. 141.

<sup>30</sup> "One is obviously patterned after the other. But which?" (Bloomfield, o.c., I, p. 189).

<sup>31</sup> Renou, E.V.P. XIV, p. 124.

<sup>32</sup> For the interpretation of 5, 86, 6 see also Bloomfield, o.c., I, p. 271 f. (not mentioned by Renou, E.V.P. XIV, p. 124).

<sup>33</sup> J. Gonda, *Epithets in the Rgveda*, The Hague 1959, p. 42 ff. and passim.

<sup>34</sup> Geldner, o.c., II, p. 160.

<sup>35</sup> See above, p. 272.

in the plural, have been slain") may be reminiscent of 4, 18, 12 (Indra killing his father), and 10 b is identical with 8, 12, 23 b (Indra) and 8, 8, 7 d (Ásvins), but 7 cd reminds us of the Agni stanza 8, 75, 12 ab; 9 d is identical with 1, 79, 9 b (Agni). For st. 8 ab compare the Indra-Varuṇa stanza 7, 83, 5; for 8 b, 6, 48, 16 c (Pūṣan). There is considerable resemblance between 3 c and 5, 45, 4 b *índrā nò agnī ávase huvádhyai*, this hymn being addressed to the Viśve Devāḥ.

In a note on RV. 6, 10, 1 Renou<sup>36</sup> rightly observed: "La présence de Vṛtra souligne d'emblée le caractère indraïque". In st. 2 cd there is "une dissociation fictive d'Agni d'avec Indra": *disaḥ sṅar uśāsa indra citrá apó gā agne yuvase niyútvān*, the last epithet ("drawn by a team of horses") being elsewhere used to characterize Indra or Vāyu. Stanza 10 is exclusively Agni's, but is immediately followed by 11 which is to extol Indra's assistance. The phraseology of 1 a strongly reminds us of 4, 17, 8 c (Indra), 1 c however of 8, 39, 10 b (Agni; cf. 4, 55, 8 a, Agni); 1 d of 1, 127, 9 a (Agni). The hemistich 14 ab is to a great extent identical with 8, 73, 14 ab which is directed to the Ásvins; according to Bloomfield<sup>37</sup> the latter text "strains after greater effect, secondarily of course", its stanza 15 betraying also the later date of "the versifex", but what about the possibility of borrowing from a common lost source? For 5 c compare 1, 17, 1 c (Indrāvaruṇau); for 7 b, 1, 11, 8 b (Indra), for 8 a, 4, 47, 4 ab (Indra-and-Vāyu), for 9 b, 1, 16, 5 (Indra)<sup>38</sup>.

The poet of RV. 7, 93, though addressing both gods in most stanzas, directs the two concluding ones (7 and 8) to Agni alone who is even implored to invite Mitra, Varuṇa and Indra (7); in 8 Indra, Viṣṇu and the Maruts are addressed separately. The phraseology is, however, often indraic: *vṛtrahanā* (1; 4); the adjectives *sthávirasya ghṛṣveḥ* (2) qualify Indra in 3, 46, 1; 6, 18, 12; but 6 d reminds us of 7, 1, 3 c (Agni). The prayer for forgiveness 7 c, practically identical with the words addressed by Agastya to Soma in 1, 179, 5 c, seems to represent a more or less fixed phraseology (cf. 2, 27, 14; 5, 8, 7 d)<sup>39</sup>.

Stanza 2 a of RV. 7, 94 is identical with 8, 85, 4 a (to the Ásvins; cf. also 8, 13, 7 b to Indra); 2 c=5, 71, 2 c (Mitra-and-Varuṇa; 9, 19, 2 c to Soma and Indra); 3 ab is strongly reminiscent of 8, 19, 26 ab (Agni); 3 c=8, 8, 13 d (Ásvins); for 5 a see 5, 14, 3 (Agni); for 5 c, 8, 74, 12 b (Agni); 6 b=5, 20, 3 d (Agni) and 8, 65, 6 b (Indra); for 7 b see 5, 35, 1 c (Indra), and compare also 7, 24, 2 c with 7, 94, 4 bc (Indra). The epithet *carṣanīśāh* "overpowering cultivators" is elsewhere Indra's.

The qualification *ṛtvijā* "the officiants" used at 8, 38, 1 in connection with both gods is elsewhere typically Agni's; the adjective *sasni* "gaining

<sup>36</sup> Renou, E.V.P. XIV, p. 125.

<sup>37</sup> Bloomfield, o.c., I, p. 300.

<sup>38</sup> See also Bloomfield, l.c.

<sup>39</sup> For petitions for deliverance from sin see S. Rodhe, Deliver us from evil Lund-Copenhagen 1946, p. 145.

(and procuring)" is Indra's in 5, 35, 1; 10, 38, 4. Is Renou<sup>40</sup> right in observing "*karman* (comme 10, 131, 4 et passim) met en évidence l'intention indraïque"? The epithets *vrtrahanā* and *aparājītā* recur in st. 2. The epithet *jenyāvasū* (7 b) is at 7, 74, 3 given to the Ásvins. As to st. 3 compare 8, 65, 8 (Indra), for st. 8 see 8, 36, 7 attributed to the same poet (Indra). St. 4 a = 5, 78, 3 b (Ásvins), cf. also 5, 72, 3 b (Mitra-and-Varuṇa). For 7 a see 5, 51, 3 b (Viśve devās); 8 a = 8, 36, 7 a (Indra) and cf. 8, 37, 7 a (Indra); 9 ab = 8, 42, 6 ab (Ásvins), and compare, for c, 8, 42, 6 c; for 10 b see 8, 94, 8 b (Maruts). The double mention of the gāyatrī metre (st. 6; 10) is worth noticing because this metre belongs to Agni (ŚB. 5, 2, 1, 5). In ŚSS. 12, 2, 22 it is observed that "there are 46 gāyatrī stanzas addressed to Indra and Agni in the collection of *rcas*; of these the achāvāka<sup>41</sup> (takes his stanzas for 'over-reciting')".

The hymn 8, 40<sup>42</sup>, at AiĀ. 5, 3, 1, 2 said to belong to the "thigh stanzas"<sup>43</sup> is the most instructive of the collection. It is used in connection with the two thighs of the ritual fire-place in AiĀ. 1, 5, 1, 8 explaining the Mahāvratā from an 'allegorical' point of view ("it forms the two thighs which belong to Indra and Agni, the two supports with broad knees"), "Indra and Agni being the strongest of the gods and the thighs enabling the bird to fly aloft" (Sāyaṇa); with that which represents the tail ŚSS. 18, 16, 1, with the wings ŚB. 8, 6, 2, 3<sup>44</sup>. The two gods are indeed called *sahantā* ("overwhelmingly powerful") in st. 1, the root *sah-* being characteristic of Agni<sup>45</sup>; those praying hope to "overpower, like fire in a storm the forests, even what is strong and firm" (*dr̥hā . . . ā viṣū cit*), words occurring also in the Agni hymn 1, 71, 2 *viṣū cid dr̥hā*. St. 2 (not quoted) mentions only the most heroic Indra, the adjective *śaviṣṭham*, which is applied to Agni only in 1, 127, 11, being frequent in connection with the former god. Indra is exclusively mentioned also in st. 6 (= AV. 7, 90, 1 f.), (to destroy, with Indra's aid, the generative power, *ojah*, of a rival, according to Kauś. 36, 35 the lover of one's wife, and to get hold of possessions), and in st. 9 and 10, which together with 11 constitute one of the three triplets to be recited "to tear open the cave at the morning pressing" (AiB. 6, 24, 3), the other triplets being devoted to Varuṇa (8, 41, 4-6) and Indra and Agni (8, 40, 3-5). The god of st. 11 must be Agni, whose name is, however, omitted. If one would, with Grassmann<sup>46</sup>, regard Indra as the god of st. 11, this stanza would be rather tautological. It is rather a variant of 10 and an instance of the "duplication propre aux hymnes à divinités jumelées"<sup>47</sup>. As to the common

<sup>40</sup> Renou, E.V.P. XIV, p. 127.

<sup>41</sup> See further on, p. 286.

<sup>42</sup> See above, p. 276.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. A. B. Keith, *The Aitareya Āraṇyaka*, Oxford 1909, p. 292.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. J. Eggeling, *The Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa*, IV, Oxford 1897, p. 111 f.

<sup>45</sup> J. Gonda, *The relations between 'gods' and 'powers'*, The Hague 1957, *passim*.

<sup>46</sup> H. Grassmann, *Wörterbuch zum Rig-Veda*, 1155, s.v. *sāvan-*.

<sup>47</sup> Renou, E.V.P. XIV, p. 129.



characterizations of the gods in the other stanzas, the idea expressed by *kavi* (st. 3) is more often used in connection with Agni, though also with Indra <sup>48</sup>. The statement that the sun and moon rise and the rivers flow at the command of Indra and Agni (st. 8) is no doubt to emphasize their equivalence as great gods, although elsewhere it is Indra who releases the waters. The exploit ascribed to both gods in st. 5 is not mentioned elsewhere. The compound *indrāgnī* occurs several times, the dual in 4, but a singular in 5 (Indra in an anacoluthon) and the imperative "cut off" in 6 is no doubt addressed to Indra (cf. 4, 30, 14; 5, 30, 7; 8; 6, 20, 6 etc.).

A good instance of duplication occurs in 8, 40, viz. st. 10 and 11: (10) *tām śiśitā suvṛktībhis tveṣām sātvanam ṛgmīyam / utó nú cid yá ójasā śuśnasyāñḍāni bhédati jēṣat śvarvatīr apó . . .* "Make him sharp with excellent hymns of praise, the impetuous warrior, who is worthy of stanzas (so that) he now (we hope) will cleave by his inaugurative power the eggs of Śuśṇa, conquer the waters with the sun", the poet using the word *satvan* which is often applied to Indra and referring to Indra's breaking of the eggs (1, 104, 8) and his conquest of water and sun (cf. e.g. 3, 34, 8); (11) *tām śiśitā svadhvarām satyām sātvanam ṛtvīyam / utó nú cid yá óhata āñḍā śuśnasya bhédaty ájaiḥ śvarvatīr apó . . .* "Make him sharp, the good officiant, the true warrior, who is worthy of stanzas and who now expects he will cleave the eggs of Śuśṇa; he has (indeed) conquered the waters together with the sun". The compound *svadhvara* is often applied to Agni, *satya* however is an epithet of Indra; "l'épithète *satvan*-séra passée indument (but not unconsciously, I suppose) de 10 à 11" <sup>49</sup>. Notice the aorist: Agni has already done what is expected from Indra (cf. 5, 14, 4). "Was der eine Gott soll oder will, das hat sogleich der andere von beiden ausgeführt" <sup>50</sup>.

As to parallel places compare 1, 11, 8 a (to Indra) and 8, 76, 1 b (Indra) to st. 5 e; 10, 22, 8 d (Indra) to 6 c; 1, 8, 4 c (Indra) and 9, 61, 29 c (Soma) to 7 d; 1, 132, 1 bc (Indra) to 7 de; 6, 45, 3 ab (Indra) and 8, 12, 21 ab (Indra) to 9 b; and the prayer 4, 50, 6 d (Bṛhaspati), 5, 55, 10 d (Maruts), 8, 48, 13 d (Soma) and 10, 121, 10 d (Prajāpati) to 12 d.

There is no hymn dedicated to *Indrāgnī* in the maṇḍalas 2, 4, 10 and, of course, 9.

I now turn to those stray occurrences of this pair of gods in other hymns of the Ṛgveda. From ṚV. 10, 125, 1 (=AV. 4, 30, 1) where the goddess Vāc is speaking, it appears that *Indrāgnī* were regarded as a pair of gods of the same type as *Mitrāvaruṇau* and the *Ásvins*: "I bear both *Varuṇa*-and-*Mitra*, I *Indra*-and-*Agni*, I both *Ásvins*".

In the Agni hymn 8, 72 a support (*dharúṇam*) is (st. 15) said to be made in heaven, the last word, in the locative, being followed (after the caesura

<sup>48</sup> Gonda, Epithets, p. 86; 90.

<sup>49</sup> Renou, E.V.P. XIV, p. 129.

<sup>50</sup> Geldner, o.c., II, p. 354.

it is true) by *indre agnā*. If Renou's interpretation<sup>51</sup> is correct ("... ils se créent des assises au ciel, dans Indra, dans Agni. Homage (soit au) ciel!") this means that the dual deity—here denoted by two singular locatives—is assumed to be a support for the sacrificer who hopes for heaven. For the ritual application see ŚŚS. 12, 2, 20.

Remarkably enough the Indra hymn 10, 116, in which the god is in the usual way invited to quench his thirst and requested to extend his sympathy to his worshipper, concludes with the poet's assertion (st. 9) that his exhibition of eloquence is for the sake of Indrāgnī of whom nothing more is said. Is this a sort of climax, an appeal, at the end of the *sūkta*, to the dual deity felt to be more powerful than Indra alone? A parallel is the Agni *sūkta* 5, 27, a *dānastuti* in which the poet, after dwelling upon the liberality of his patron *Ásvamedha* (st. 4 f.), recommends this nobleman to the continued favour of Indra and Agni. I wonder whether this "clause à l'adresse d'Indra-Agni" is no more than an indication of "le trouble des invocations en contexte *dānastutien*"<sup>52</sup>: in st. 2 and 3 the poet made, under similar circumstances (mention of two other patrons), an appeal to Agni alone.

The divine pair is mentioned twice in a decidedly *atharvanic* *sūkta*, aiming at relief from disease ('consumption'), viz. RV. 10, 161, which in an extended form occurs also, as 3, 11, in the *Atharvaveda*. In stanza 1 Indra and Agni are implored to release the patient from the 'seizure' which has seized him; in 4 the same gods as well as *Savitar* and *Brhaspati* are requested to give him a hundred years to live. No other gods are invoked. In both stanzas the magic operator, after asserting that he himself, by means of his rites and formulas, brings about the results hoped for invokes the gods to do the same. It may be recalled that, although neither god has specialized in cures and healing, both of them—and especially Agni (for Indra see 3, 36, 10)—are also elsewhere supposed to be able to give a long duration of life. As a powerful pair with a well-known position in the ritual they were obviously expected to be mighty helpers in this curative ceremony. The *Kauśika-Sūtra* prescribes AV. 3, 11 twice, viz. at 27, 32 f. in a general healing ceremony and at 58, 11 in a rite for length of life.

This dual deity makes its appearance also in some of the *sūktas* dedicated to the *Viśve Devāḥ*. In 1, 139 ("hymne à arrangement ritualisant"), characterized by "une disposition assez trouble des noms divins"<sup>53</sup>, the poet, after invoking both gods separately (Agni in 1 and 7, Indra in 6, Indra with *Vāyu* in 1), is sure to attract by his words of praise Indra-and-Agni (st. 9) on whose deeds and characteristics he remains silent. In 3, 57, "eigentlich nur ein Proömium zu einem *Viśvedevalied*" and

<sup>51</sup> Renou, E.V.P. XIV, p. 15.

<sup>52</sup> Renou, E.V.P. XIII, p. 118.

<sup>53</sup> Renou, E.V.P. IV, p. 7 and 31.

"hauptsächlich an Agni gerichtet" <sup>54</sup>, they are, in st. 1, individually, it is true, expected to approve of the poem: that is, as "dieux louangeurs" to be "les garants de l'efficacité de la louange humaine" <sup>55</sup>. I am under the impression that it is not by chance that the poet, while referring only once to the Viśve Devāḥ (st. 2), names, beside Agni alone (st. 5 and 6) and the dual deity under discussion, two other important pairs, viz. Indra-and-Pūṣan (st. 2) and Heaven-and-Earth (st. 4). In another hymn traditionally directed to the Viśve Devāḥ but actually glorifying Sūrya <sup>56</sup>, the favour of Indra and Agni is (5, 45, 4) invoked (*sūktébhir vo vácobhir devájusṭair indrā nò agnī ávase huvádhyai*): this must mean an appeal to worship these gods in order to secure their assistance in bringing about a new appearance of the sun.

In stanza 1 the poet of 7, 35 introduces not only Indrāgnī (a), but also Indrāvaruṇau (b), Indrāsoma (c) and Indrāpūṣaṇau, proceeding to invoke, in the stanzas which are to follow, only single gods (with the exception of Mitrāvaruṇau in 4 b, Heaven and Earth in 5 a), although some of these—e.g. Bhaga and Śaṃsa in 2 a—are coupled. It seems impossible to assume that the poet and his hearers were unconscious of this impressive opening. The question remains as to how far they realized the full implications of the four dvandvas and the differences between these four dual deities with Indra as a constant component, unless, however, the addition of "with their favours" (*ávobhiḥ*) in a, "to whom oblations are given" (*rātāhavyā*) in b, "good luck or prosperity" (*suvidāya*) in c, and "on the occasion of winning vāja" (*vdjasātaru*) in d are meant to be an allusion to what is, in every case, especially relevant.

RV. 5, 46 is remarkable in that it invokes in st. 2 Agni, Indra, Varuṇa, Mitra and in st. 3 Indrāgnī and Mitrāvaruṇau. This may be due to negligence on the part of the poet rather than his belief that the dvandva compound referred to some deity which has little to do with bearers of the two names in the singular; Viṣṇu is invoked in both stanzas. RV. 10, 65, 1, likewise addressed to the Viśve Devāḥ, begins with Agni, Indra, Varuṇa, Mitra and other gods, st. 2 with Indrāgnī, who are said to be, "in 'the slayings of Vṛtra' (victorious fights), good lords, urging on each other, dwelling together...".

The Atharvan-like text 10, 128 which, except for some variants, is identical with AV. 5, 3, is also directed to various gods who are invoked for protection and blessings. In its AV. form it is variously prescribed by Kauśika (for glory, prosperity etc.) and in its RV. form used at the beginning of sacrifices, e.g. ĀpŚS. 1, 1, 4; in its TS. form (TS. 4, 7, 14) it is recited on the occasion of the placing of the vihavya bricks which

<sup>54</sup> Geldner, o.c., I, p. 404.

<sup>55</sup> Renou, E.V.P. IV, p. 55, who, in his translation, E.V.P. V, p. 18 unnecessarily inserts "et autres dieux".

<sup>56</sup> See e.g. Renou, E.V.P. IV, p. 72; H. Lüders, Varuṇa, Göttingen 1951-1959, p. 325 ff.

are called after the name of this sūkta. After invocations of single gods, among whom Agni and Indra, in st. 1-8 the concluding stanza "They that are our rivals—away be they; with Indra and Agni we beat them down" expresses what may be the main purpose of the one who uses the text: to have the upper hand of his rivals.

The combination Indra-Agni was a ritual reality. In ritual practice they were regarded as one unit, receiving one single victim (e.g. ŚŚS. 14, 10, 17; 19; ĀpŚS. 7, 12, 8; 7, 19, 2). In dealing with some sacrificial rites relating to the setting up of the sacred fires authors of śrautasūtras and authorities on ritualism give us the following information. In connection with BaudhŚS. 2, 19 ff. giving the prescriptions for the consecration of the sacrificial grass, the depositing of the sacrificial cake on the *vedi* (sacrificial bed) etc. Aupamanyava<sup>57</sup> was of the opinion that there should be, inter alia, two definite stanzas for the offering to Agni (as is usual, on eight dishes) and two *ājyabhāga* (portions of clarified butter) stanzas containing a form of the root *vr̥dh-* "to grow, increase" (i.e. stanzas expressing and that means actualizing, inter alia, the idea of "growing" or "increase") for the offering to Indrāgnī, and two definite stanzas to the Ādityas. After the presentation of the dakṣiṇās to the officiants and the performance of other acts the adhvaryu should measure out rice-grains for an offering of a cake on eleven dishes to Indrāgnī and one of cooked rice to Aditi. The puronuvākya and the yājyā formulas<sup>58</sup> for Indrāgnī should be ṚV. 3, 12, 9<sup>59</sup> and ṚV. 6, 60, 1<sup>60</sup>. See also BhārŚS. 5, 14; ĀpŚS. 5, 22, 1; VaikhŚS. 1, 16. For ṚV. 1, 109, 1 see TB. 3, 6, 8, 1 (puronuvākya for the offering of a rice cake). Interestingly enough, ĀśvŚS. 2, 1, 27 considers the oblation to this deity optional ("the principal deity should be Agni-Soma, Indra-Agni, or Viṣṇu"), ŚŚS. 2, 3, 3 ff. prescribes it in case the sacrificer is a brahmin (who may also offer the oblation to Agni-Soma), whereas a kṣatriya should offer to Indra and a vaiśya to the Viśve Devāḥ, a passage which may be elucidated by ŚB. 10, 4, 1, 9: "the brahman (the first social class) is Agni, the kṣatra (nobility) Indra, and the Viśve Devāḥ are Indrāgnī; but the Viśve Devāḥ are also the third estate; hence it is the brahmin order, nobility and the third estate". MŚS. 1, 5, 6 omits the oblation altogether. In explanation of these ritual performances the authority to whom we owe the Taittiriya-Brāhmaṇa informs us (1, 1, 6, 4 ff.) that the *indriyaṃ viryam*, the potency

<sup>57</sup> The reader may be referred to Śrautakośa, Encyclopaedia of Vedic ritual, I, Sanskrit section, Poona 1958, p. 49 and I, English section, Poona 1958, p. 53.

<sup>58</sup> See 253 f.

<sup>59</sup> See further on, p. 287.

<sup>60</sup> See further on, p. 287. Here also it seems convenient to quote the Ṛgvedic occurrences of the mantras.



and complete command of one's physical and psychical faculties, is "overtaken" if one prepares (establishes) one's sacral fires (*ubhayam vā elasyendriyam viryam āpyate yo 'gnim ādhatte*). One should immediately offer ("scatter") a sacrificial cake on (distributed in) eleven dishes to Indra-and-Agni (*aindrāgnam . . . anunirvapet*) because they are of (all) gods those whose potency is never used up, i.e. who are always of unweakened strength and unimpaired freshness (*ayātayāmānau*). From these gods of unweakened strength—see also TB. 1, 2, 5, 1; ŚB. 3, 7, 18—one obtains or secures (*avarundhe*) the unimpaired *indriyam viryam*. On the other hand Aditi is the earth. In that one offers an oblation to her one secures a firm foundation on the earth (*iyam vā aditiḥ. asyām eva pratiliṣṭhati*)<sup>61</sup>. It is further worth noticing that the oblation should be distributed on eleven pieces of earthenware, because eleven and the triṣṭubh metre (eleven syllables) belong to Indra, Agni being connected with the number eight (see e.g. ŚB. 1, 8, 2, 13; 3, 4, 1, 9; VS. 9, 33; 29, 60). Eleven potsherds are also prescribed in the case of an offering to Agni-Soma (*agnīṣomīya*; ŚB. 1, 6, 3, 14). Eleven or twelve dishes should be arranged for the baking of a sacrificial cake for Indrāgnī by those who perform the Full- and New Moon rites (BhārṢS. 1, 24, 7)<sup>62</sup>.

As to the above-mentioned interchangeability of offerings intended for Agniṣomau and those intended for Indrāgnī attention may be drawn to KS. 7, 5: 66, 13; ĀpṢS. 6, 16, 5, stating that in performing the agnihotra the sacrificer should, in the bright half of the month, pray with the stanza 1, 93, 1 (TS. 2, 3, 14, 2)<sup>63</sup> addressed to Agniṣomau, and in the dark half of the month with the stanza 6, 60, 13 dedicated to Indrāgnī: "Deign to be invoked, O Indrāgnī; deign to revel in (my) gift. You are both givers of refreshments (jouissances rituelles<sup>64</sup>), of possessions; I invoke you in order to gain recreative power (*vāja*)<sup>65</sup>". The motivation furnished in KS., l.c., is the following: In the bright half of the month one should worship the sacral fires with a verse directed to Agniṣomau (because) the full moon sacrifice is the share of Agniṣomau<sup>66</sup>; to these two he entrusts it; these two protect him not going away (from him), that is

<sup>61</sup> The author of ŚB. 2, 2, 1, 18, following the tradition of the White Yajurveda says that "he who performs the preceding oblations (to the three forms of Agni) moves away, as it were from this world"; the offering to Aditi makes him again take his stand on this firm foundation, the earth.

<sup>62</sup> Hillebrandt's views of the relations between this dual deity and the rites relating to the moon (A. Hillebrandt, *Vedische Mythologie*, II, Breslau 1929, p. 263) need no discussion here.

<sup>63</sup> See W. Caland, *Das Śrautasūtra des Āpastamba*, I, Göttingen-Leipzig 1921, p. 198 (on 6, 16, 5).

<sup>64</sup> Renou, E.V.P. XIV, p. 55.

<sup>65</sup> See further on, p. 287, n. 80.

<sup>66</sup> Because in performing that rite one has to offer the second sacrificial cake to this dual deity.

to say, they will not fail him or lose interest in him <sup>67</sup>. With a stanza addressed to Indrāgnī in the second half of the month (because) the new moon sacrifice is <sup>68</sup> the share of Indrāgnī; to these two he entrusts it; these two protect him not going away (from him). Agniṣomau entrusts him to the bright half of the moon, Indrāgnī to the dark half of the moon . . . The gods protect him who knowing thus worships the sacred fire.

According to ŚB. 3, 6, 2, 12 f. and 4, 3, 1, 1 ff. the achāvāka—one of the functionaries who were subordinate to the hotar—being excluded (from drinking soma) was continued (in his office) by Indrāgnī for the production of creatures, and that is why he belongs to them <sup>69</sup>. From AiB. 6, 10, 6 f. we learn that his offering stanza is RV. 8, 38, 7 “Come hither with the gods who move at dawn, you two who have genuine (?) goods, O Indrāgnī, in order to drink soma”. See also KB. 28, 7 (28, 6, 11 ff.); ĀsvŚS. 5, 7, 6 and ŚŚS. 7, 7, 2. This stanza is said to be in itself perfect (*svayam samṛddhā*). The author of AiB. 6, 6, 5 informs us that RV. 7, 94, 10 is day by day recited by this functionary in order to invoke the divine pair; “when they invoke in competition no other appropriates Indrāgnī, where an achāvāka knowing thus recites this (stanza) day by day”.

Other mantras used by the achāvāka are RV. 8, 38, 10 a and b “I seek the assistance of Indrāgnī together with Sarasvatī”: “Sarasvatī is (sacral) speech (see also RV. 1, 30, 10 f.); Speech (Vāc) is the dear (favourite) *dhāman* (modality of their divinity) of Indrāgnī; thus (by using this formula) one causes the pair of gods to prosper with their favourite *dhāman*. With a dear *dhāman* does he prosper (is he abundantly furnished) who knows this” (AiB. 6, 7, 10 f.; GB. 2, 5, 13) <sup>70</sup>.

The stanza 3, 12, 1 “Moved, Indra-and-Agni, by our invocations come to the pressed (soma) . . . Drink of it, urged by the poetic vision” is also used in another ritual act, viz. the taking of the *graha* (ladleful) offered to these two gods <sup>71</sup>.

It was the task of the achāvāka to recite, in the framework of a Soma-sacrifice, the third ājyaśastra <sup>72</sup>. This recitation is concluded by an invitation addressed to both gods and a libation. The stanzas prescribed are RV. 3, 12, 1-3; 7-9; 4-6; 1, 21, 1-6; 7, 94, 1-9, all of them being Indra-Agni stanzas (see e.g. ĀsvŚS. 5, 10, 28; ŚŚS. 7, 13, 1-4). It is worth recalling that the second ājyaśastra consists of stanzas dedicated to Mitra-Varuṇa to be recited by the Maitrāvaruṇa. The mythical justification

<sup>67</sup> For *apa-kram-* cf. e.g. 4, 6, 9, 4; 13, 2, 6, 7 where “loss of energy” etc. is clearly implied in the idea of “going away”.

<sup>68</sup> For the same reason.

<sup>69</sup> See above, p. 274. For the task of this officiant compare also VS. 7, 23; ŚB. 4, 2, 3, 14; 17; AiB. 2, 36, 5 f.; 6, 10, 6 f.; KB. 28, 5 ff. (28, 4 ff.); GB. 2, 2, 20; 2, 3, 15; 2, 3, 23.

<sup>70</sup> See also J. Gonda, The meaning of the Sanskrit term *dhāman-*, Amsterdam Acad. 1967, p. 70 f.

<sup>71</sup> W. Caland-V. Henry L'Agnistoma, Paris 1906, p. 229 f.

<sup>72</sup> Caland-Henry, o.c., p. 262 ff. ŚB. 4, 2, 3, 14; 17.

of the third ājyaśāstra is given in GB. 2, 3, 15 "He (the sacrificer) said to Indra-and-Agni: 'Do you bring in order again this part of our sacrifice, viz. the achāvāka's office'. They agreed. Both of them, having become united (*sayujau*) and strong (*sabalau*), passed, enduring, over death. They brought this part of the sacrifice in order. That is why the achāvāka recites the śāstra-portions belonging to Indra and Agni at the morning-pressing".

RV. 3, 12, 9; 6, 60, 1 and 1, 109, 6 combine so as to constitute the stanzas accompanying the oblation offered on eleven dishes to Indra-and-Agni in the framework of the Varuṇapraghāsa<sup>73</sup>, the second of the four monthly rites<sup>74</sup> (TS. 4, 2, 11, 1; MŚS. 5, 1, 3, 19 etc.)<sup>75</sup>: "O Indra-and-Agni, you strengthen the luminous realms of heaven (by a circumambulation)<sup>76</sup> motivated by manifestations of vāja (to be granted to your worshippers). That exhibition of virtue (energy) has been observed from afar"; "He shall pierce the antagonist (*vṛtram*) and gain vāja who worships Indra and Agni (. . . *indrā yó agnī* . . .), the victorious (gods), who rule over much wealth; the highly overwhelming ones (are) by their dominant power striving after vāja"; "You are superior to the races of (cultivating) men in the battle calls, to the earth, and to heaven. You surpass the mountains and the rivers in greatness, and, O Indra-and-Agni, all (inhabited) worlds"<sup>77</sup>.

Some stanzas addressed to Indra and Agni (RV. 6, 60, 13; 1, 109, 2; 3, 12, 6; 7, 93, 1) occur as stanzas 1-4 in the section TS. 1, 1, 14 to be followed by stanzas directed to Pūṣan, Agni alone etc.; this section consists of the *yajyā* and *puronuvākya* stanzas<sup>78</sup> used by the hotar at certain rites performed to obtain the satisfaction of special wishes (*kāmyeṣtis*)<sup>79</sup>. RV. 6, 60, 13, in which the gods are invoked for the winning of that important generative power which is known as vāja<sup>80</sup> and said to be givers of food and possessions, and 1, 109, 2, stating that these gods give more than a son-in-law or the brother of a wife and therefore are worthy of praise, are used in rites for a sacrificer who wishes for a

<sup>73</sup> For the ritual acts see Śrautakośa, English section, p. 678 ff.; compare also *ibidem*, p. 705.

<sup>74</sup> See e.g. J. Gonda, *Die Religionen Indiens*, I, Stuttgart 1960, p. 80; 146; 163.

<sup>75</sup> For other uses: TS. 4, 3, 13, 8.

<sup>76</sup> See J. Gonda, *Four studies in the language of the Veda*, The Hague 1959, p. 78.

<sup>77</sup> ĀsvSS. 2, 17, 18 states that two months after the varuṇapraghāsa one should perform an animal sacrifice for Indrāgnī (*aindrāgnah paśuḥ*). For an offering to this deity in the framework of the sākamēdha see Śrautakośa, English section, p. 712; 742; 749; 895. The principal deities are Agni, Soma, Savitar, Sarasvatī, Pūṣan, Indrāgnī, Indra and Viśvakarman. For the śunāsiriya see Śrautakośa, English section, p. 759 f.; 763.

<sup>78</sup> See p. 253 f.

<sup>79</sup> For particulars see TS. 2, 2, 1, 1 ff. and A. B. Keith, *The Veda of the Black Yajus School*, Cambridge Mass. 1914, p. 16.

<sup>80</sup> See J. Gonda, *Aspects of early Viṣṇuism*, Utrecht 1954 (2<sup>nd</sup> Delhi 1969), p. 48 ff.

child, for one who has a conflict over a field or with a neighbour, and for a man who goes to battle. A mythical motivation (TS. 2, 2, 1, 1 ff.) is: When Prajāpati created offspring Indra-and-Agni hid this; they restored it after receiving this oblation on eleven dishes. "Indra-and-Agni indeed conceal the offspring of him who being fit for offspring, yet does not obtain it; so let him offer this sacrifice". Since both gods are believed to give offspring (for Agni compare e.g. RV. 3, 24, 5, for Indra 6, 18, 6; 8, 6, 23), they may also withhold it. At ŚB. 2, 5, 2, 8 it is taught that creatures (or offspring: *prajāḥ*) are restored by the two 'breaths' *prāṇa* and *udāna* which are *Indrāgnī*.

The stanzas RV. 6, 60, 8, imploring the gods to approach with their teams of horses, and 7, 93, 1, another invocation, requesting the gods to enjoy the hymn of praise and emphasizing that they are givers of *vāja*, are used as *puronuvākya* and *yājyā* relating to the offerings to *Indrāgnī* in the optional sacrifice for the one who desires to occupy a field (MŚS. 5, 1, 5, 17); these offerings are followed by sacrifices to *Pūṣan*, the guide and bringer of prosperity, and to *Kṣetrapati* 'the lord of the field'. The same stanzas serve the purpose of the man who, being about to attack another's country, should sacrifice to *Indrāgnī* and *Pūṣan* (MŚS. 5, 1, 5, 16), and that of the one who is desirous of conquest or victory in battle (MŚS. 5, 1, 5, 67), the other deities worshipped being Agni and Heaven-and-Earth. The latter place refers to a passage in MS. (2, 1, 3: 4, 16 ff.) where this desire is explicitly mentioned and the following motivation is given: when Indra, the mythical prototype of the conquerer, had slain *Vṛtra* he was deprived of (had lost) his inaugurative power and heroic virtue (*ojasā viryeṇa vyārdhyata*); he saw this ritual act relating to *Indrāgnī* and acquired creative or inaugurative power and heroic potency or virtue (*ojo vīryam ātmann adhatta*); the man who is victorious in battle or conquers other men deprives himself of *ojas* and *vīryam* (because they are used up); by sacrificing to these two gods they make him recover these because these gods are *ojo vīryam*. Now *Indrāgnī* are ŚB. 13, 1, 2, 6 said to be among the gods those who are most possessed of *ojas* (*devānām ojasvitamāḥ*), and the conclusion drawn in PB. 24, 17, 3 and 25, 11, 3 is therefore perfectly intelligible: "*Indrāgnī* are of the gods the richest in *ojas*; they become the richest in *ojas* who perform this rite". Although in the *R̥gveda* the 'idea' of *ojas* is most frequent in connection with Indra<sup>81</sup>, it is also found in connection with Agni (e.g. 4, 7, 10). We shall have to revert to this point<sup>82</sup>.

RV. 3, 12, 6 "Ye, O *Indrāgnī*, destroyed the ninety fortresses which were in the power of the demons, simultaneously with (in) one exploit" and 6, 60, 1 "He shall pierce etc." (see above) are used if one, having enemies, is rivalling them (MŚS. 5, 1, 5, 8) and also for the benefit of

<sup>81</sup> J. Gonda, *Ancient Indian ojas* ..., Utrecht 1952, p. 9 ff.

<sup>82</sup> See p. 293.



a man who desires to set out for a battle, the offering being a cake on eleven dishes to the dual deity: MŚS. 5, 1, 5, 14 f., adding that one should present the deity with the same offering, if one wins the battle, but then with RV. 3, 12, 9 (see above) and 1, 109, 6 (see above). For the same event BaudhŚS. 13, 2 prescribes RV. 3, 12, 6 and 7, 93, 1, but 3, 12, 9 and 6, 60, 1 for one who desires to rival in the matter of field or kinsmen. RV. 3, 12, 9 and 1, 109, 6 are also recommended to the man whose kinsmen are about to fail him or have already deserted him (MŚS. 5, 1, 5, 6 f.).

TB. 2, 4, 8, 3 (mantras for subsidiary sacrifices) mentioning the mantras required for the *ājyabhāga* (portion of clarified butter), has, before the stanza RV. 7, 93, 1, another stanza, viz. "Offer a new hymn of praise, a new oblation to Indrāgnī<sup>83</sup>. They must enjoy that unanimously" (*nāvaṃ stōmaṃ nāvaṃ haviḥ indrāgnībhyāṃ nī vedaya. tāj juṣetām śacetasā*). This formula does not occur in other texts.

The stanzas RV. 7, 94, 1-3 in which the hymn of praise is compared to rain form at PB. 12, 8, 7 f. part of a ritual instruction for the sake of food, because, of course, food presupposes rain.

Whereas BaudhŚS. 13, 7 advises the man who is desirous of progeny to sacrifice to Agni *putravant* ("Agni with sons") on eight potsherds and Indra *putrin* ("Indra with a son") on eleven potsherds, the same work makes, in 13, 2, mention of an oblation (a cake on eleven potsherds) to Indrāgnī, the formulas being RV. 6, 60, 13 and 1, 109, 2. Under the same circumstances MŚS. 5, 1, 5, 13 has the oblation for Indrāgnī accompanied by RV. 3, 12, 5 stating that the hymn in honour of the dual deity is started and that the poet (reciter) wishes to acquire 'jouissances rituelles' and 7, 93, 3, dwelling on the poets' approaching in order to gain the gods' provident protection<sup>84</sup>.

Rather than surveying all brāhmaṇa and sūtra texts quoting these Indrāgnī stanzas<sup>85</sup> it seems expedient to cast a glance on the content of these parts of these hymns which were adopted by the post-Rgvedic authorities. As might be expected preference was given to invocations, invitations, and confirmations of the gods' power or benevolence (1, 21, 1; 3, 12, 1; 4; 6, 60, 3; 4; 5; 7; 8; 13; 14; 7, 93, 3 f.; 7, 94, 5; 6; 7; 10; 8, 38, 4); to the expression of the intention to praise them (1, 21, 1; 6, 60, 7; 7, 93, 1; 3; 7, 94, 1; 2; 4); to the statement that they are the only resource of those speaking (1, 109, 1); to a mention of their function or ability (8, 38, 1; 8, 40, 3); to the affirmation that these gods are liberal (1, 109, 2) or surpass everyone and everything in greatness (1, 109, 6); to a prayer

<sup>83</sup> A new hymn and a new oblation serve for purposes of renewal: J. Gonda, in W.Z.K.M. 48, p. 275 ff.

<sup>84</sup> For other ritual uses of verses dedicated to this pair of gods see e.g. TB. 3, 5, 3, 2; 3, 5, 5, 1; 3, 5, 7, 3; 6; 3, 6, 8, 1; 2; 3, 6, 9, 1; 3, 6, 11, 1; 2; 3, 7, 6, 14; 3, 8, 9, 3; PB. 13, 2, 7; 11, 2, 3; 15, 8, 4.

<sup>85</sup> Not all of which are however prescribed in the ritual handbooks.

for aid, favour, and assistance (1, 109, 7; 7, 94, 4; 8, 38, 10) or for food (3, 12, 5), gain (7, 94, 9), a special ability (8, 40, 1) or mercy (6, 60, 5); a reference to their great deeds (3, 12, 6; 9) and their ability to perform them also *hic et nunc* (6, 60, 2); the conviction that the worshipper of these gods will be powerful and victorious (6, 60, 1).

The above facts and observations may be summed up as follows. Leaving a few stanzas out of account the gods Indra and Agni make their appearance as a pair, a duality. When the poets praise *Indrāgni* any idea of differences in character between the individual gods tends to fade away. That the boons bestowed by Agni as an individual god are rather offspring, prosperity and domestic welfare, while Indra for the most part gives power, glory and victory is irrelevant (cf. e.g. also AV. 7, 84, 1 and 2) as soon as the poets proceed to extol the duality *Indrāgni*<sup>86</sup>. The epithets and qualifications the gods receive apply to both of them as a pair, even if these qualifications are, in other parts of the *Rgveda*, as a rule given to one of them. In most cases *Indraic* qualifications are predominant, although sometimes (priests, 8, 38, 1; lords of the abode, 1, 21, 5; wise, 8, 40, 3) their common features are more appropriate to the god of fire. That means that the common activities, ascribed to or expected from the gods, the favours anticipated, the hospitality offered are mostly viewed in the light in which the deeds and traits of character of one of the partners are traditionally seen. Although the poets are not explicit on this point it is clear that in dealing with this intimately associated pair of gods they tend to consider one of these the predominant partner. If we leave common epithets and qualifications, references to common abilities, the statement with regard to their being the strongest of gods etc. out of consideration, the above *Rgvedic* text-places nowhere explain why these two gods should constitute a pair, why they should be associated so closely as to form a dual deity. As such they obviously were for the poets a ritual reality the existence of which was regarded as self-evident. It was left to the ritualists whose theories are handed down in the *brāhmaṇas* to give their mind to the nature and function of these divine pairs and to investigate, within the framework of their view of the world, their *raison d'être*.

In illustration of this some instances of brahmanic argumentation may be subjoined. As already mentioned<sup>87</sup> the close association of Indra and Agni is also determined by the fact that they are the divine representatives of the *kṣatriya* and *brahman* classes of society (cf. especially TS. 7, 1, 1, 4 f.).

<sup>86</sup> At RV. 4, 28, 3 the gods, not addressed as a pair, are clearly contrasted: Indra slays, but Agni burns the *Dasyus*.

<sup>87</sup> See above, p. 284.

Says the author of the ŚB. 2, 5, 4, 8 "By means of a cake on twelve dishes for Indra and Agni they (the gods) slew him (Vṛtra). Agni means *tejas* (brilliant energy) and Indra means *indriyaṃ* (the command of one's faculties) *vīryam* (manly creative energy and 'virtue'), and by means of these two powers (*vīrya*) they indeed slay him. Moreover, Agni is *brahman*, Indra *kṣatram*; having allied these two, having closely united *brahman* with *kṣatram*, they (the gods) slew him by means of these powers; hence there is a cake on twelve dishes for Indra and Agni". The last sentence means that this oblation is to re-enact *hic et nunc* the exertion of the powerful influence of these two gods. After stating the same identification, Agni = *tejah* and Indra = *indriyaṃ vīryam*, ŚB. 3, 9, 1, 19 relates that with these two energies (*vīrya*) Prajāpati again strengthened himself; the one who performs the ritual act under discussion becomes strong by them, because he makes them subject to himself. This argument is, in a discussion of eleven victims, inserted after the mention of that for Indra-and-Agni. Theirs is, in a way, a complementary relation, which makes the statement ŚB. 2, 5, 2, 8 more understandable where they are identified with the two 'breaths' known as *prāṇodānu*; for the ritual implication see 4, 3, 1, 22. Elsewhere, at 6, 1, 2, 28, the same authority, while describing the construction of the great fire-place, argues that one builds with both speech and breath, for Agni is speech and Indra is breath, and the fire(-place: *agni*) relates to *Indrāgnī*.

This is not, however, the whole theory. Being created, Agni as the first social class and Indra as nobility, they were separate (ŚB. 10, 4, 1, 5: *nānaivāstām*). "They said: 'While being thus we shall be unable to produce creatures: let us both become one form'. They two became one form (. . . *ekaṃ rūpam ubhāv asāveti tāv ekaṃ rūpam ubhāv abhavatām*)". The author, discussing the mystery of the great fire-place, continues (6 ff.): *Indrāgnī* are the same as the gold plate (worn by the sacrificer) and the gold man (placed in the centre of the site of the fire-place), Indra being the plate and Agni the man. "They are made of gold: gold means light and 'immortal life', and *Indrāgnī* are light and 'immortal life'. It is these two, *Indrāgnī*, that they build up (when they construct the fire-place). Whatever is of brick that is Agni . . . , all that is baked by fire is Agni. And what filling of mould (humus)<sup>88</sup> there is (in the fire-place), that is Indra. Thus it is these two, Indra and Agni, that are built up. And the two become that one form, to wit, the fire which is placed on the structure and hence those two, by means of that form, produce creatures".

It may be repeated that Agni is closely associated with the brahmanical order and Indra with nobility, and emphasized that their intimate companionship must have been largely determined by the well-known tendency to propagate the socio-religious and political ideal of the close

<sup>88</sup> For *purīṣa* see L. Renou, in *Journal asiatique* 1939, p. 387 ff.; J. Gonda, *The Savayajñas*, Amsterdam Acad. 1965, p. 224 f.

association and co-operation of the two higher social classes<sup>89</sup>, a relation which is also co-ordinated with the dual deity Mitrā-Varuṇau (ŚB. 4, 1, 4, 1 ff.), and in the case of a noble ruler and his brahmin chaplain is even conceived of as a marriage<sup>90</sup>. Through the rite called "stoma (a typical form of chant) of Indrāgnī"<sup>91</sup> these two gods surpassed the other deities. He who knows this surpasses others (PB. 19, 17, 1). It is executed with nine or fifteen verses, that with nine verses being the first social order (*brahma*), that with fifteen the second (nobility, *kṣatram*). He who knows this shines among these two orders; a king and his chaplain should perform this rite (ibid. 2 ff.). Now PB. 6, 1, 6 and 8 inform us that there is a fixed correspondence between the stoma of nine verses with Agni and the brahmans and between that of fifteen verses with Indra and noblemen (cf. also PB. 25, 11, 4).

This identification occurs also in JB. 2, 132 f., dealing with the so-called *indrāgnyoḥ kulāya*<sup>92</sup>, a rite which being executed with lauds of nine and fifteen verses, used alternately, owes its origin to the wish of this pair of gods to become the most excellent of the gods who are all their equals (i.e. of whom they are no more than equals) and to enjoy by means of one and the same rite the same prosperity. Through the nine verses Agni reached excellence and through the fifteen, Indra. So the rite may be performed by a brahmin and a nobleman conjointly. BaudhŚS. 18, 35 tells the story as follows: Indra and Agni, desiring to gain the same 'heaven' (*samānalokau syāva samānam lokam iyāva*), saw this ritual ceremony and performed it with the result that their hope was realized. If therefore a king and his chaplain wish to gain the same 'heaven', they must perform this sacrifice (cf. also LŚS. 9, 4, 30 *rājapurohitau yajeyatām indrāgnyoḥ stomena*). It may be observed that the king and his priest represent, like Indra and Agni, nobility and the brahman class of men. See also HirŚS. 17, 5: 31 *indrāgnyoḥ kulāyena rājapurohitāv ubhāv ekasyām yājayet* and BaudhŚS. 26, 32: 318, 9<sup>93</sup> (compare ĀpŚS. 22, 13, 10). It may be parenthetically added that another account of the gods' desire to become superior is given in TB. 3, 1, 4, 14, where they are said to have offered a sacrificial cake on eleven potsherds to Indrāgnī Viśākhā<sup>94</sup>. According to ŚŚS. 14, 29 the *indrāgnyoḥ kulāya* was "seen" and devised by the other gods in order to pacify Indrāgnī when they disputed about superiority among the gods, "if these two dispute in this manner, the

<sup>89</sup> See e.g. ŚB. 1, 2, 3, 2; 5, 4, 4, 5; VS. 18, 44, and J. Gonda, *Ancient Indian kingship*, Leiden 1966, p. 62 ff.

<sup>90</sup> Cf. J. C. Heesterman, *The ancient Indian royal consecration*, Thesis Utrecht 1957, p. 56; 78.

<sup>91</sup> W. Caland, *Pañcaviṃśa-Brāhmaṇa*, Calcutta 1931, p. 521 and n. 1.

<sup>92</sup> Caland, *o.c.*, p. 519.

<sup>93</sup> KŚS. 22, 11, 13 and LŚS. 9, 4, 28 state that a *kula*, i.e. a *gokula* "a herd of kine" (comm.) is the dakṣiṇā when this rite is performed by a person desirous of offspring or cattle.

<sup>94</sup> See above, p. 275.



asuras will prevail over us". ĀśvŚS. 9, 7, 29 prescribes the *indrāgnikulāya* for a man who is desirous of propagation, i.e. of offspring (and cattle).

Hence also the 'theory' enunciated in TB. 3, 9, 16, 3 f.: as the man who performs an *āśvamedha* goes away from (is deprived of) this world, he immolates the sacrificial animals in order to secure a firm basis to stand on. In that the animal is sacred to *Indrāgnī* he secures *brahman* and *kṣatram* because *Agni* is identical with the former, *Indra* with the latter.

In the long account of the so-called Great Oblation (*mahāhavis*) by which the gods slew *Vṛtra* (ŚB. 2, 5, 4) it is (8) told also that they slew him by a cake for *Indrāgnī*, since *Agni* means *tejas* and *Indra* *indriyaṃ vīryam* and with these two 'powers' (*vīryābhyām*) they did indeed slay him. Moreover, *Agni* is *brahman*, *Indra* nobility (*kṣatram*); "having allied (*saṃrabhya*) these two, having closely united (*sayujau kṛtvā*) *brahman* and *kṣatram*, they (the gods) slew him by means of these two 'powers' . . .". But when *Indra* had slain the demon, his *indriyaṃ vīryam* ("a full command of his psychical and physical faculties") came to fail him because he was frightened and by offering a cake to *Indrāgnī* he again possessed himself of that (ŚB. 5, 2, 3, 8).

Another homology is communicated at GB. 2, 1, 22: "In that there is (a cake) on twelve potsherds for *Indrāgnī* (*aindrāgna*)—physical strength (*balam*) and fiery energy (*tejas*), one should know, are *Indrāgnī*; thus indeed he places the *balam* on a (firm) foundation of *tejas*". The parallel passage KB. 5, 4 (5, 4, 10 f.) informs us that the dual deity are supports (*pratiṣṭhe*), so that this oblation serves for support (*pratiṣṭhityai*). Similarly, KB. 3, 6 (3, 8, 2).

*Indrāgnī* are among the gods the first in *ojas* and physical strength (*devānām ojiṣṭhau baliṣṭhau*)<sup>95</sup>. That is why the formula *indrāgnibhyām tvā (jṣṭām prokṣāmi)* "(I sprinkle thee) so as to be agreeable to *Indrāgnī*" should be pronounced to accompany the sprinkling of water from the south, facing the north (TB. 3, 8, 7, 1, dealing with the horse sacrifice, *adhvaryor caturdikṣu prokṣanam*; ŚB. 13, 1, 2, 5). The text continues: "(in doing so) he places *ojas* and *balam* in the horse, and that is why the horse is of (all) animals *ojiṣṭho baliṣṭhaḥ*"<sup>96</sup>. Elsewhere a relation is assumed to exist between *Agni* and the east and between *Indra* and the south (ŚB. 8, 6, 1, 5 f.). References to the gods' exceptional power occur also in PB. 24, 17, 3—after 2: they surpassed the other deities—, adding "They who perform this (rite) become the most powerful (*ojiṣṭhāḥ*)"; 25, 11.

Now, the statement that *Indra* and *Agni* are the most powerful (*ojasvitamau*) of the gods occurs also at ŚB. 13, 1, 2, 6. At 2, 4, 3, 5 they win a race so as to become entitled to the *Indrāgnī* cake. At 3, 9, 2, 16; 9, 5, 2, 10; 13, 5, 3, 2 the same text states that they are all the gods (*sarve devāḥ*). At 4, 2, 2, 14 they are even said to be "this All" (*idaṃ sarvam*). That is why they receive, at new moon, a cake which is identical

<sup>95</sup> See above, p. 287.

<sup>96</sup> For the ceremony see P. E. Dumont, *L'Āśvamedha*, Louvain 1927, p. 26.

with a libation to the Viśve Devāḥ because they are all the gods (*viśve devāḥ*: 2, 4, 4, 13)<sup>97</sup>. Or they are nobility (*kṣatram*) and the Viśve Devāḥ the common Āryan people (2, 4, 3, 6)<sup>98</sup>. They owe their high position to the fact that they had granted the wish of their colleagues to lay down the third layer of the great fire-place (ŚB. 8, 3, 1, 3); "hence people say: 'Indra-and-Agni are the best (*śreṣṭhau*) of the gods' ". At ŚB. 9, 5, 2, 10 the fire-place is said to belong to these two gods. Thanks to these two offspring and cattle do not perish and hence they receive a definite sacrificial cake (2, 5, 2, 8).

In connection with the layers of the great fire-place it reads (ŚB. 6, 2, 3, 10) that Prajāpati saw the first layer, the gods the second, Indrāgnī and Viśvakarman the third, the ṛṣis the fourth etc. This explains the existence of a fixed relation between Indrāgnī and the third layer. In setting this layer they are invoked to "make the brick fast so as not to shake; with thy back thou (the brick) drivest asunder heaven, earth and atmosphere" (VS. 14, 11; TS. 4, 3, 6, 1; ŚB. 8, 3, 1, 8; ĀpŚS. 17, 1, 12; MŚS. 6, 2, 1, 11 etc.), TS. 5, 3, 2, 1 explaining: "These worlds are separated by Indrāgnī; verily (this brick) serves to separate these worlds. Now the middle layer is, as it were, insecure, it is as it were the atmosphere . . . Indrāgnī are the supporters of creative power (*ojas*) among the gods; verily he piles it with *ojas* in the atmosphere, for support"; MS. 3, 2, 9: 29, 16 observing that these two deities are among the gods those who bear *ojas* (*indrāgnī vai devānām ojobhṛtau*); they are *ojas* and potency or energy (*ojo vīryam*); (by means of the pertinent ritual act) *ojo vīryam* is placed among the creatures; and KS. 20, 11: 30, 20 ff. identifying, in a similar explanation, creatures and atmosphere. So Indra and Agni may, in a discussion of the building of the great fire-place, make their appearance as a 'dualité-unité': ŚB. 6, 2, 3, 3 "Indrāgnī and Viśvakarman (. . . *ca . . . ca*) saw the atmosphere as a second naturally perforated layer", and 8, 3, 1, 4 ff. "He accordingly lays it down by means of Indrāgnī and settles it by means of Viśvakarman . . . (Why does he do this?). When Prajāpati had become relaxed (disjointed) . . . Indrāgnī and Viśvakarman took his middle part" and did not restore it to him before he had promised that that part of his body would be sacred to them<sup>99</sup>.

Some places may be added to show the gods' special association with some aspects of superior power. ŚB. 3, 7, 18 they are *devānām ojiṣṭhau* and *ayātayāmānau* (*apratihatāsāmarthyau* "of irresistible ability", comm.); that is why, the author adds, the sacrificer 'employs' (*yunakti*) them both (by means of the sacrificial ceremony) for attaining heaven. As already mentioned, the term *ayātayāmāna* is also applied to Indrāgnī

<sup>97</sup> Cf. Eggeling, o.c., I, Oxford 1882, p. 375.

<sup>98</sup> See above, (p. 284) for ŚB. 10, 4, 1, 9.

<sup>99</sup> Prajāpati as the Puruṣa, the Primeval Being, Brahman (see e.g. J. Gonda, *Die Religionen Indiens*, I, Stuttgart 1960, p. 180 ff.; 187 ff.).

at TB. 1, 1, 6, 5<sup>100</sup>: the man who prepares his sacred fires should offer to them so as to secure, through their agency, *indriyaṃ viryam*; 1, 2, 5, 1. A prospect of becoming *oṣiṣṭha* is held out to the man who performs the over-night rite for Indrāgnī (HŚS. 18, 3, 3). The man who offers a head of cattle to them secures *ojas* and physical strength (*balam*: TB. 1, 3, 4, 3). That physical power was believed to be a characteristic of this divine pair is also apparent from a long formula quoted at Mantrabrāhmaṇa 2, 4, 14 "May I be(come) like the sun (with, i.e. in) sight, like Agni in fiery energy (*tejas*), like Vāyu in breath, like Soma in fragrance, like Bṛhaspati in intelligence, like the Aśvins in outward appearance, like Indrāgnī in physical power (*balena*); may brahman be my share, evil the share of those who hate me". In TS. 5, 6, 21 mention is made of a number of gods who are to receive two victims each, irrespective as to whether they are single (e.g. Soma, Vāyu), dual or plural (the quarters), the author distinguishing, moreover, between Indrāgnī, the givers of *ojas* (*ojodābhyām*) who are presented with two camels, and the same gods as the givers of *balam*, who are given two sheep (or, if the commentary is right, two small oxen like sheep) that are to drag the plough. See also KSAśv. 10, 1. This seems to be an instance of how even an intimate combination of deities may occasionally be 'split up' in accordance with its functions, however allied they may be, or rather of how a differentiation in function may lead to a sort of duplication of a composite divine personality.

Whilst, in Uddālaka's esoteric interpretations of the Agnihotra ritual, most identifications of the single stages in the preparation of the milk<sup>101</sup> are sufficiently intelligible—e.g. when it is put on the fire it belongs to Agni, when water is poured to it, to Varuṇa—it is at first sight not so clear why it should be *aindrāgnam*, when the light is made to shine upon it (ŚB. 11, 5, 3, 5)<sup>102</sup>. It may however be remembered that Agni represents, not only fire, but also brightness and splendour, that he is identified with the sun (6, 1, 2, 20) and is all bright things (6, 1, 3, 20; 7, 4, 1, 24), that he is, with Vāyu and Āditya, all the light (6, 3, 3, 16), and lastly, that he is the demon-killing light (7, 4, 1, 34); further, that Indra is, in the R̥gveda, sometimes closely connected with the sun (RV. 4, 26, 1; 8, 82, 4; 10, 89, 2), that he has produced this heavenly body and won light (3, 34, 8); and that Agni-and-Indra are at ŚB. 10, 4, 1, 6 said to be light (*jyotiḥ*) and continuance of life.

The fact that Indra-and-Agni constitute the two complementary 'vital breaths'—here designated by the dvandva *prāṇodānau*—is ŚB. 4, 3, 1, 22 f. made the motive of the obligatory *aindrāgna graha* ("cup"): He who has drawn the libations to the seasons has generated this All, and by drawing

<sup>100</sup> See above, p. 284 f.

<sup>101</sup> Cf. also TB. 2, 1, 7, 1; 2, 1, 8, 3.

<sup>102</sup> See P. E. Dumont, L'Agnihotra, Baltimore 1939, p. 13.

the *aindrāgna* cup he establishes it on *prāṇodānanu*, for *Indrāgnī* are *prāṇodānanu*, and so are heaven and earth, and within these two this All is established<sup>103</sup>. Moreover, by drawing this cup he lays *prāṇodānanu* into this All. The accompanying stanza is RV. 3, 12, 1 = VS. 7, 31 "(Moved,) O *Indrāgnī*, by our sacral words, come to the pressed (juice)..."

The homologation of the two intimately related gods and two corresponding ritual acts enables us to comprehend the character of this closely united pair more thoroughly. In a section dealing with the particular soma sacrifice called *abhijit* (KB. 24, 1) it reads: "With the *abhijit* (the victorious) the gods conquered the three 'worlds'. Therefore it has three turns and four endings. With the *viśvajit* ('the all-conquering', another sacrifice of the *gavāmayana* rite) they conquered the four quarters. The gods conquered by means of the *abhijit*. What was left unconquered clung on as it were. They conquered that by the *viśvajit*, which owes its name to that fact. The *abhijit* and the *viśvajit* are these two, *Indrāgnī*. The *abhijit* is *Agni*, for *Agni* conquered all this (universe). The *viśvajit* is *Indra*, for *Indra* conquered all this wholly (*idaṃ sarvaṃ viśvaṃ ajayat*)". Here again, *Indra* is, in a way, his colleague's superior. See also ŚSS. 13, 29, 23 ff.

According to ŚB. 5, 4, 3, 5 the gods *Varuṇa* and *Mitra* are the two arms, and the nobleman belongs, by his arms, to these gods<sup>104</sup>. Interestingly enough a similar statement is made in connection with the gods under consideration: after observing (in 36) that the offering spoons are arms, and in 37 ff. that one of these spoons made of *kārṣmarya* wood, which is *Agni*'s, is laid down on the right side with VS. 13, 13 dedicated to *Agni*, and the other made of *udumbara*, which is *Indra*'s, on the left side with VS. 13, 14 dedicated to *Indra*, the author of ŚB. 7, 4, 1, 43 says: "*Indrāgnī* indeed are those two arms of his (i.e. *Prajāpati*'s). They join him (together) with fiery (brilliant) energy and vigorous energy (virtue)..." (*tāv enaṃ tesajā ca vīryeṇa ca saha prapadyete*). (In a preceding paragraph (39) it had been told that when *Prajāpati* was relaxed, *Agni* had taken his *tejas* and *Indra* his *ojas*, both gods appearing and acting individually). The words quoted from 43 must mean, first that *Indra* and *Agni* are essentially equivalent and complementary deities, and in the second place that they constitute the upper limbs of the creator god who is also the primeval being, that they are, so to say, his instruments with which he exerts vigorous energy (*vīrya*: ŚB. 6, 3, 1, 33). "It is by the arms that food is made and by means of the arms that it is eaten, for *Prajāpati* bestowed all food on these two gods, his two arms" (ŚB. 7, 4, 1, 40). At 10, 5, 4, 15 the same *brāhmaṇa* repeats that the two arms of *Agni*, the great fire-place

<sup>103</sup> Cf. TB. 1, 6, 4, 3 f. *athaiṣa aindrāgno bhavati. prāṇāpānanu vā etau devānāṃ yad indrāgnī. yad aindrāgno bhavati prāṇāpānāv evāvarundhe. oḥ balaṃ vā etau devānāṃ yad indrāgnī. yad aindrāgno bhavati oḥ balaṃ evāvarundhe.*

<sup>104</sup> I refer to J. Gonda, *The Vedic god Mitra*, Leiden 1972, p. 19.



which is identical with the universe, are the two offering spoons and that these are Indrāgnī.

The intimate relation between the two gods is indeed variously explained and elucidated. The sacrificer, it is said (ŚB. 6, 3, 3, 21), offers with two stanzas relating to Agni and therefore being Agni, for he is two-footed, and he is Agni; inasmuch the metre of the stanzas is the triṣṭubh (Indra's metre), they are Indra; and the (sacrificial) fire belongs to Indrāgnī (*aindrāgno 'gniḥ*). Compare also 6, 6, 2, 7: the gāyatrī (based on units of eight syllables) is Agni, the triṣṭubh is Indra, and the fire relates to Indrāgnī; 6, 7, 4, 6; 7, 4, 1, 42; 9, 5, 2, 10<sup>105</sup>.

We are not left without an explanation of the ritual significance of a victim killed for Indrāgnī: "all the gods are Agni, since in him offering is made to all the deities (*agnir vai sarvā devatā agnau hi sarvābhyo devatābhyo juhvatī*), and Indra is the deity of the sacrifice: thus one neither offends any of the deities, nor does one offend the deity of the sacrifice" (ŚB. 4, 6, 3, 2; cf. ibidem, 3<sup>106</sup>). KB. 12, 6 (12, 7, 1 ff.) relates that some say that the victim offered should be for Indrāgnī because all the gods (*sarve devāḥ*) are Indrāgnī; "thus by it he delights all the gods (*sarvān devān*)". Cf. also 16, 11 (16, 10, 1 f.).

These convictions may furnish us a clue to a better understanding of places such as the following. The idea underlying the animal sacrifice being a renewal of the sacrificer himself, the redemption of his own self, that is the ransoming of his own life from the sacrificial fires (ŚB. 11, 7, 1, 2) which are supposed to long for flesh (cf. also GB. 2, 2, 1) led the author of the Gopatha-Brāhmaṇa to say that the sacrificer's body was (about to be) devoured by Indrāgnī. That is why the man who is desirous of a complete life-time should slaughter a victim. It may be remembered that the sacrificial fire is related to this divine biunity. As moreover Indrāgnī are outbreathing and inbreathing (*prāṇāpānau*), the sacrificer places these in himself and thus becomes long-lived.

Reverting for a moment to the statement that the totality of the gods are Agni (ŚB. 4, 6, 3, 2) attention may be drawn to the following texts, which in Eggeling's translation of the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa are not kept distinct from one another. The identification of Indrāgnī with *sarve devāḥ* "the gods in their totality" is at 6, 1, 2, 28; 6, 3, 3, 21; 7, 4, 1, 42; 9, 5, 2, 10 explained by a reference to the fact that Agni (as the great fire-place) is *sarvadevatya* "belongs to all the gods"; at 7, 4, 1, 42 the author, moreover, observes that Agni includes Indrāgnī (*aindrāgno 'gniḥ*). At ŚB. 13, 5, 3, 2 a conclusion is drawn from this identification: one should offer the omenta of the victims of the other deities after that of

<sup>105</sup> In JB. 1, 68 it is told that Prajāpati created, inter alia, the gāyatrī, Agni and the brahmin, out of his head, his mouth, and the triṣṭubh, Indra and the kṣatriya, out of his arms, his breast.

<sup>106</sup> Cf. e.g. also ŚB. 4, 6, 3, 3; 5, 1, 3, 1; KB. 16, 11 (16, 10, 1); 30, 2 (30, 1, 22).

the victim of *Indrāgnī*, "for, doubtless, *Indrāgnī* are all the gods; it is in this way he gratifies them deity after deity". It may on the other hand have been a practice in discussing the signification of the offering of a cake to this dual divinity for the ritualists to emphasize that it truly was "all the gods" (*indrāgnī vai viśve devāḥ*): ŚB. 2, 4, 4, 13, in connection with a libation to the *Viśve Devāḥ*; 3, 9, 2, 14.

An interesting case of co-operation is told at ŚB. 11, 1, 4, 4: when at that time the sacrificer sought to secure the moon, which is King Soma, and missed him "Agni, the Giver, gives (it to him), and Indra, the Bestower, presents (it to him); *Indrāgnī* give that (moon, Soma) as a sacrificial rite (to him) and with this sacrificial rite he worships..." (... *agnīr dādatindrah pradātā prayacchati, tasmā indrāgnī yajñam dattaḥ*...). The relation between the nouns *dātā* and *pradātā* is not easy to determine, the prefix *pra* emphasizing the ideas of "forth, away", and "cession". The combination of these two 'names' is however in harmony with the well-known tendency to name two mythological figures, one of whom—as a rule the bearer of the simple name—is the greater or the better known, the other a colleague who is a sort of double or inferior in rank: *Dhātā*: *Vidhātā*<sup>107</sup>; *Dhartar*: *Vidhartar* (also *VāPur.* 67, 126); *Sunda* and *Upasunda* in the *Mahābhārata* always shared with each other happiness as well as sorrow and never went anywhere unless together.

The reason why in the after-offerings of the Full and New moon sacrifices the formula "for abundant obtainment of abundant possessions" (*vasuvane vasudheyasya*) is used is in a far-fetched explanation said to be that Agni is the obtainer of possessions (*vasuwan*) and Indra is what is to be given as possessions (*vasudheya*) (ŚB. 1, 8, 2, 16): another unmistakable reference to a complementary relation.

That in the case of these two gods concerted action was considered quite normal may for instance appear also from the mythological tale narrated in JB. 1, 283 f.: When *Prajāpati* had created the creatures and after them Death, they complained of this useless kind of proceeding. Thereupon *Prajāpati* ordered them to compose and enter the metres in order to escape death. So they did: the *Vasus*, *Rudras*, *Ādityas*, *Viśve Devāḥ*, ... *Indrāgnī*. Here this pair of deities is put on a par with those divine beings which are normally conceived as constituting groups. When the *Maruts* performed a great and effective sacrifice it was this dual deity who considered the eventualities and concerted measures in order to prevent them from becoming too mighty (JB. 2, 299).

When the gods, wishing to divide the *ājyastotras* (chants connected with the morning service) among themselves, did not come to an agreement, they decided to run a race for them. After Agni, *Mitra-and-Varuṇa* and *Indra* had, each of them, won a *stotra*, one more *stotra* remained. *Indra*, knowing that this one would be won by Agni, said to him: "Agni,

<sup>107</sup> I refer to Macdonell, *Vedic mythology*, p. 115 f.

which of us two shall win this—we two will have it in common”. Agni agreed and won the stotra, which now belongs to both of them; that is to say, either god has a stanza and a half of the three stotra stanzas (JB. 1, 105 ff.). For a similar story see PB. 7, 2, 2. In another account of the origin of the *aindrāgna ājyastotra* in JB. 1, 108 f. there is no such prompt settlement of the affair: Indra wishes to have the ājyastotra in common with Agni after the latter has won it and Agni offers such a stubborn resistance that finally Prajāpati has to decide the dispute; since Agni had looked at Indra in order to conciliate him he has to share the stotra with him. In GB. 2, 1, 17 Indra, knowing that Agni would, in a race, first win the crops, speaks in the same way, but here Agni is the first, and Indra the second winner of the same crops.

It is also told of the gods that once they ran a race, the motive of which was the possession of the herbs (TB. 1, 6, 1, 10). The dual deity succeeded in winning these. They selected this (sacrifice) of twelve dishes belonging to them (*aindrāgnam*) which serves for winning. It requires twelve dishes. “The year has twelve months. He (the officiant) secures for him (the sacrificer) food by means of the year”.

In a discussion of the āgrayaṇa ceremonies<sup>108</sup>, which in their full form consist of three offerings of rice or barley for Indrāgnī, the Viśve Devāḥ and Heaven and Earth, the necessity of using twelve potsherds is explained by a reference to the fact that Indrāgnī are the beginning of the gods (*devānām mukham*) and that thus at the beginning one delights the gods (KB. 4, 14=4, 9, 8 ff.). The reader should supply: “the āgrayaṇa may be regarded as the beginning of a new year of twelve months”.

Occasionally there may be question of co-operation of Indrāgnī and another deity: VS. 12, 54 (=15, 59), ŚB. 8, 7, 2, 6 etc., not to be translated, with Eggeling<sup>109</sup>, “Indra and Agni and Bṛhaspati”.

We must now turn to the sūtras lest we should fail adequately to bring out the great importance of this dual deity in the ritual. From the fact that, in performing (optional) animal sacrifices, the name of the relevant divinity should, in the *praiśas* (calls upon assistant priests to commence a ritual act), be substituted for the name *agnīṣomau* (ĀśvŚS. 3, 4, 9) it may be inferred that the *hautra*, i.e. the office of the *hotar*, in connection with the animal offerings to Indrāgnī and other deities, is to be similar to that in connection with the animal offering performed for Agniṣomau, which according to ŚŚS. 6, 1, 1 constitutes the norm of all animal sacrifices<sup>110</sup>. BaudhŚS. 24, 5 is however of the opinion that the animal sacrifice offered to Indrāgnī is, among the conventional animal

<sup>108</sup> See A. Hillebrandt, *Ritualliteratur*, Strassburg 1897, p. 119 f.

<sup>109</sup> J. Eggeling, *The Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* translated, IV, Oxford 1897, p. 134.

<sup>110</sup> With the exception of the animal sacrifices for Agniṣomau one should pronounce the desires and the name of the sacrificer (ŚŚS. 6, 1, 23, 6). For the animal sacrifice in general see J. Schwab, *Das altindische Thieropfer*, Erlangen 1886.

sacrifices, the basic ritual—compare also the formula which forms part of the sacrificer's 'intention': "Since I am desirous of heaven I will offer an independent animal sacrifice to Indra-and-Agni" <sup>111</sup>—, while all optional animal sacrifices are to be regarded as modifications. Some light is thrown on this disagreement by ĀpŚS. 24, 3, 42 f. and Bhāradvāja (ŚS. 6, 15, 9): The oblations intended for one divinity are modifications of the oblation for Agni; those intended for two or more divinities of the oblation for Agniṣomau or Indrāgni (*ekadevatā āgneyasya, dvidevato bahudevata ity āgniṣomīasyaindrāgnasya vā*). However, according to KāthakaŚS. <sup>112</sup> the rites relating to the divinity Āpas (the "Waters") should be performed on the model of (the rites relating to) Indrāgni, while those relating to the other deities should be performed on the model of (the rites relating to) Agni (*āpa aindrāgnivikārāḥ, śiṣṭāḥ sarvā āgneyavikārāḥ*) <sup>113</sup>.

The Full moon offering (a cake) is sacred to Agni-and-Soma, the New moon offering to Indra-and-Agni (ŚB. 1, 8, 3, 1 ff., esp. 2 and 4) <sup>114</sup>. That is why the formula (VS. 2, 15) "May I be victorious after (with, in conformity with) the victory of Agniṣomau", which is usual on the former occasion, is (ŚB. 1, 8, 3, 3) replaced by "May I . . . Indrāgni" (VS. 2, 15; TS. 1, 6, 4, 1 *indrāgnyor ujjitīm anūjjeṣam*) in the case of a New moon sacrifice. These words are (4) followed by the formula "Indrāgni must drive him away who hates us, and whom we hate . . .", a well-known imprecation (AV. 2, 11, 3; cf. RV. 3, 53, 21 etc.). The very precedence of the Full moon rites in this passage of the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa being one of the indications of their priority and paradigmatic character <sup>115</sup> one may be tempted to conclude that the offering to Indrāgni is modelled upon that given to Agniṣomau. In the commentary furnished by TS. 1, 7, 4, 1 f. it reads: "With the victory of the Full and new moon sacrifices the gods conquered and by means of these sacrifices they drove away the asuras. Through the victory of the deities in these sacrifices the sacrificer is victorious and drives away his enemies". It may be recalled that offering to Indrāgni means offering "directly and expressly"

<sup>111</sup> Schwab, o.c., p. XXI.

<sup>112</sup> See Raghu Vira, in Journal of Vedic studies 2, p. 106 and Śrautakośa, English section, p. 642.

<sup>113</sup> For KGS. 47, 11 see chapter I, p. 11, n. 31.

<sup>114</sup> Cf. KauśS. 73, 11 (dealing with the evening and morning oblations) *agnīṣomābhyām darśana indrāgnibhyām adarśane*.

<sup>115</sup> Baudhāyana, Piṭṛmedhasūtra 1, 1 expressly states: "The teachers say that the darśapūrṇamāsa sacrifices begin with full moon and end with new moon". Hence also the custom of performing the *anvārambhaṇīyā ṣṣṭi*, i.e. the first offering of these sacrifices on the day of full moon. The order of the two terms in the compound is determined by the tendency to pronounce, in a dvandva, the shortest member first (Pāṇini, 2, 2, 34; see W. Caland, in Acta Or. (Lugd.), 9, p. 59 ff.). This is also observed by the commentator on VaikhGS. 1, 1: "Although the sacrifice at new moon occupies the second place, it precedes (in this compound) . . .".



to the Full and new moon, which have this pair of gods as their deity (ŚB. 2, 4, 4, 17).

In the New moon sacrifice one should invoke this dual deity with the formula *indrāgnī ā vaha* (TB. 3, 5, 3, 2; ŚŚS. 1, 5, 3) if the rite is performed for a person who is not offering the *sāmnāyā* (i.e. a mixture of cooked and sour milk offered as a burnt offering or oblation <sup>116</sup>: *dadhipayobhyām yāgam kurvan sannayann ity ucyate*, comm. on ĀśvŚS. 1, 3, 10 <sup>117</sup>). If that person is offering the *sāmnāyā* to Indra <sup>118</sup> this god should be invoked with the corresponding formula (HirŚS. 21, 2, 14). In the former case the non-performance of a *sāmnāyā* can, so to say, be counterbalanced by an invocation to the dual deity. Says the Taittirīya-Saṃhitā (2, 5, 4, 1; 2, 2, 5, 1): "He, indeed, performs the Full- and New moon rites who performs them as equipped with Indra . . . He who knowing thus offers these sacrifices offers them with Indra, and day after day it becomes better for him . . .", the compiler of the Śrautakośa adding <sup>119</sup>: "By what, indeed, do the Full moon and the New moon sacrifices of one who has not performed a (Soma-)sacrifice become equipped with Indra? One should say, by means of a cake offered to Indra-Agni". In Āśvalāyana's opinion (ĀśvŚS. 1, 3, 10) Indrāgnī must be the divinity in the place of Agniṣomau (which is worshipped in the Full moon sacrifice), if the sacrificer does not, in the New moon rite, offer a *sāmnāyā*.

That the dual deity was however supposed to concern itself with the *sāmnāyā* milk appears from the following formula mentioned in TB. 1, 7, 4, 16; ĀpŚS. 1, 13, 1 and MŚS. 1, 1, 3, 23 to accompany the noise of the stream of milk when the cow is milked for the *sāmnāyā*: "They milk the spring . . ., the goddess Idā, the cow giving sweet (milk), for welfare (winning the light of heaven); Indrāgnī must urge on (promote, enlarge) this (milk) accompanied by kind and true (words) <sup>120</sup>; let it bring continuance of life to the sacrificer". The commentary on TB., i.e., observes that "it" refers to the milk (after it has been) 'favoured' by the dual deity.

If the milk of the one who performs the agnihotra becomes impure before the first oblation is offered one should offer an oblation of that milk to Indrāgnī because it belongs to that divinity. The accompanying formulas are *indrāgnibhyām svāhā* or "Indrāgnī, this milk belongs to you" (*indrāgnī etad vām payah*) <sup>121</sup>. From the texts quoted and the observations

<sup>116</sup> Some authorities allowed this milk mess at the New moon sacrifice, while others restricted this offering to one who performs soma sacrifices.

<sup>117</sup> See also L. Renou, *Vocabulaire du rituel védique*, Paris 1954, p. 163.

<sup>118</sup> Who according to TS. 2, 5, 3, 7 should be regarded as the deity of that ritual act.

<sup>119</sup> Śrautakośa, English section, I, p. 364, from which source?

<sup>120</sup> *sūnṛtāvat*: *priyasatyātmakavacanayuktam*.

<sup>121</sup> Cf. Śrautakośa, English section, I, p. 179, and KŚS. 25, 2, 2. For such occurrences and the expiations see e.g. ŚB. 12, 4, 2, 1 ff.; JB. 1, 53 ff.; H. W. Bode-witz, *Jaiminiya-Brāhmaṇa*, Thesis Utrecht 1973, p. 159 ff.

made on the preceding pages the reasons for introducing this divinity are sufficiently clear. In case both the milk of the morning-milking and that of the evening-milking become unfit for offering one should, *ĀsvŚ.* 3, 10, 27 f. holds, pour out (the grains for) five plates of boiled rice to *Indrāgnī* and offer cooked rice separately to *Agni* and *Indra* (the commentator stating: in this order).

In the section dealing with the task of the sacrificer at these same rites *MŚS.* 1, 4, 2, 6 prescribes the use of the formula "By the worship of *Indrāgnī* may I obtain virtue and a complete command of my faculties (*indrāgnyor*<sup>122</sup> *aham devayaṅyendriyavān vīryavān bhūyāsam*). The formula is, in a somewhat modified form "may I obtain creative and inaugurative power . . ." (*ojasvān* instead of *indriyavān*) handed down *KS.* 5, 1: 44, 8 and 32, 1: 19, 2.

*HirŚS.* 4, 1 teaches that one should perform the so-called separate or independent (cf. also *ĀsvŚS.* 3, 8, 3) animal sacrifice<sup>123</sup> once every six months or once every year<sup>124</sup>. *VaitS.* 43, 31 recommends the rite to those who are desirous of a long life, progeny, and cattle. The principal deity of this sacrifice is *Indrāgnī*, but this deity may optionally be replaced by *Sūrya* or *Prajāpati*. Cf. also *ĀpŚS.* 7, 28, 5; *KŚS.* 6, 3, 29. This option is 'mythologically motivated' in *ŚB.* 11, 8, 3, 1 ff.: the victim should belong to *Prajāpati* because he was the first to see it; to *Sūrya*, cattle being tied up when the sun has set, or to *Indrāgnī*, for behind these are (all) the other gods (*ete vai devate 'nv anye devāḥ*), they sustain the person who is afflicted as well as the man who sacrifices with a desire for abundance<sup>125</sup>. The words "behind this . . ." are an unmistakable indication of a certain priority of position taken by *Indrāgnī*. One who desires to perform this rite should offer an oblation of clarified butter after having recited mentally the so-called six hotar (*ṣaḍhotar*) formula (*MŚS.* 1, 8, 1, 1; cf. *TĀ.* 3, 6): "The hotar is the voice, the (sacrificer's) wife the consecration, the *adhvaryu* the water, the *abhigara*<sup>126</sup> the wind, the oblation the breath, the brahmin (*brahmā*) the mind (*manas*)". *VaitS.* 10, 23 insists on offering a he-goat to *Indrāgnī* before the performance of an animal sacrifice with intent to obtain the gratification of desires.

It is therefore not surprising to read that the victim of an animal sacrifice must belong to this dual deity which takes precedence of the

<sup>122</sup> Thus in Miss J. M. van Gelder's edition: *The Mānavasrauta sūtra*, New Delhi 1961 (*agnindrayor* . . . in M. Bloomfield, *A Vedic concordance*, Cambridge Mass. 1906, p. 20).

<sup>123</sup> Cf. above, p. 287, n. 77.

<sup>124</sup> I also refer to A. B. Keith, *The religion and philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads*, Cambridge Mass. 1925, p. 324.

<sup>125</sup> If this is the meaning: *yadi mahasā yajate* (, i.e. *mahataḥ prāpakatvāt*, comm.).

<sup>126</sup> The priest whose task it is to "call out" or address approvingly and "his calling out in approbation".

other gods and sustains the sacrificer who is afflicted as well as the man who sacrifices with a view to obtaining abundance (ŚB. 11, 8, 3, 3)<sup>127</sup>.

It is no doubt in their capacity of great sacrificial gods that Indrāgnī are, in a formula (KS. 17, 19: 264, 6) accompanying the Sautrāmaṇī sacrifice—in which *surā* (a kind of beer) called *soma* is offered—requested not to “call off” this beverage when it has been drunk and to allow it to be wholesome and refreshing.

The divinity under discussion is also presented with an oblation in the *dākṣāyana*, one of the modifications of the Full and New moon rites (see ŚSS. 3, 8, 17; ĀpŚS. 3, 17, 6; KŚS. 4, 4, 1 ff.). This rite “serves for the obtaining of all desires” (or royal dignity: ŚB. 2, 4, 4, 6) and “in that . . . one offers a cake on twelve potsherds to Indrāgnī and the third pressing belongs as regards its *sāman* to this deity, one obtains the third pressing” (KB. 4, 4 (4, 4, 7; 20 ff.)). ŚB. 2, 4, 4, 9 draws attention to the fact that “two means a pair, so that a productive pair is thereby obtained”. Contrary to the rules made by other authorities (Āśvalāyana and Baudhāyana) ŚSS. 3, 9, 4 mentions an oblation for this dual deity also in its description of the *idādadha* sacrifice.

The importance attached to the oblation to this dual deity made it possible to replace, to a certain extent, the *avabhṛtheṣṭi* (a supplementary sacrifice at the end of the rite to atone for defects in a principal and preceding one) in the case of a *sākamedha* (the third seasonal ceremony) by the throwing away into water of the husks of the rice grains used for the oblation to Indrāgnī (cf. ĀpŚS. 8, 12, 6; HīrŚS. 5, 3, 10; VaikhŚS. 9, 3: 92, 15 *aindrāgnatuṣair avabhṛtham abhyavayanti*).

The sacrificer should, at a given moment, touch the sacrificial cake intended for Indrāgnī while pronouncing the formula: “Whoever here at this sacrificial rite wishes me, the sacrificer, ill (lit. something inferior), him Indrāgnī should expel from the (inhabited) world; I would like to obtain offspring consisting of heroic (virtuous) sons” (TB. 3, 7, 6, 14; ĀpŚS. 4, 8, 5; cf. BhārŚS. 4, 12; KŚS. 31, 14; 16, 10 f.).

In his exposition of the *upanayana* (initiation of a Veda student) the author of MGS. 1, 22, 5 makes mention of a series of otherwise identical formulas to be pronounced by the teacher: “To Bhaga (the god of luck and success) I consign you. To Aryaman (the tutelary deity of the right social relations) . . ., Savitar . . ., Sarasvatī (the goddess of learning and eloquence) . . ., Indrāgnī . . ., the All-gods (*viśvebhyaḥ* . . . *devebhyaḥ*) I consign you, to all the gods (*sarvebhyaḥ* . . . *devebhyaḥ*) I consign you”. Here again Indrāgnī occupy, as the only divine pair, a prominent place. It may be recalled that in ŚB. 11, 5, 4, 3 the student is committed to Prajāpati and Savitar who are the “two highest and most important deities”, the latter being the guardian of all beings who sees everything here (9, 2, 3, 12).

<sup>127</sup> See J. Eggeling, *The Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa*, V, Oxford 1900, p. 128, n. 2.

The divinity is in Mantrabrāhmaṇa 1, 5, 12 implored to protect the worshipper's son: "O Indrāgnī, extend (your) protection to my offspring, O lords of offspring (*prajāpati*), that this son of mine will not die, (coming) out of (the womb of) his mother".

MŚS. 5, 2, 10, 25 states that the sacrificer whose father and grandfather did not partake of soma should sacrifice a bull born at a subsequent delivery<sup>128</sup> to Indrāgnī. The idea of subsequence is intelligible but why should Indrāgnī be the recipient? The answer is given in GB. 2, 1, 16: the divinities deprive the man whose father and grandfather were no soma-drinkers of *indriyaṃ vīryam* and the victim restores this because it belongs to Indra; since it also belongs to Agni, who is all the divinities, it makes him prosper through all divinities. See also VaitS. 11, 1. According to some authorities an animal to Indrāgnī (instead of one to Indra) should be offered in the *mahāvish*, i.e. the essential part, of the *sākamedha* rites (VārPar., Āk. 2)<sup>129</sup>. Mention is made of the sacrificing of a he-goat to Indrāgnī (TB. 3, 6, 15, 1); compare also the mantra MS. 4, 13, 7: 208, 14; TB. 3, 6, 11, 3 (cf. 4) *yatrendrāgnyoś chāgasya haviṣaḥ priyā dhāmāni*.

If soma of which has been drunk and soma of which not yet has been drunk come to be mixed up a formula should be recited in which Indrāgnī are requested to partake of the offered and the non-offered etc. (PB. 9, 9, 8; TB. 3, 7, 8, 3; ŚŚS. 13, 12, 7; ĀpŚS. 14, 30, 2, etc.). The quotation RV. 8, 38, 1 a<sup>130</sup> which in KS. 35, 5: 54, 3, TB. and ĀpŚS. precedes this formula sheds light on the invocation: these two deities are the officiants of the sacrifice: *yajñāśya hī sthā ṛtvījau* etc., KS. adding *indrāgnī kalpanā yuvam* "O Indrāgnī ye (accomplish) the (ritual) practice". After the request made to Indrāgnī to partake of the juice the wish is expressed (TB., ĀpŚS. 14, 30, 3) that darkness may not find the *yajamāna*, the priests and "these creatures" who will drink this soma.

"United with brahman" this dual deity is supposed to assist those who perform an expiation for the approach of a wild ram intending to attack the priests (TĀ. 4, 31, 1); this vicious animal, believed to originate from Indra's nose (ŚB. 12, 7, 1, 3), was regarded as unclean (12, 4, 1, 4); so the demon-fighting gods could be easily conceived of as its opponents. Indrāgnī are, together with Mitrāvaruṇau, Soma, Dhātār and Bṛhaspati, implored to deliver those speaking from 'sin', i.e. 'pollution' caused by others (TĀ. 2, 3, 1 in connection with the *kuṣmāṇḍa homa*, a ritual means of purification from grave 'sins').

In invocations etc. the dual deity may of course be associated with

<sup>128</sup> I prefer this translation to Caland's "freigelassen" (W. Caland, *Das Vaitāna-sūtra des Atharvaveda*, Amsterdam Acad. 1910, p. 31), and Miss van Gelder's "released" (J. M. van Gelder, *The Mānava śrautasūtra translated*, New Delhi 1963, p. 175).

<sup>129</sup> See Śrautakośa, English section, p. 897 f.

<sup>130</sup> See above, p. 279 f.



other divinities. Thus Indrāgnī, Soma, Bṛhaspati, the Viśve Devāḥ and the Aśvins are implored to give the vigorous lustre of health (*varcas*: TS. 3, 3, 3, 3; ĀpŚS. 12, 8, 9; at HGS. 1, 13, 18 it is pronounced by a person who eats as much as he likes). ĀpŚS. 13, 21, 3, dealing with the agnistoma, has the sacrificer sprinkle his head three times while pronouncing (as the third mantra) the formula TB. 3, 7, 14, 2 (which does not occur elsewhere): "Through (by means of) which brahman (the first social order), nobility, Indrāgnī, Prajāpati, Soma, king Varuṇa, the Viśve Devāḥ, the ṛṣis and the vital airs (*prāṇāḥ*) (viz. exist), (through that) the 'worlds' (*lokāḥ*, i.e. 'places' in which to exist safely)<sup>131</sup> have assumed from the waters *tejas* and *indriya*...; (the waters) which release from the consecration (*dikṣā*) (have) bestowed *tejas* and *indriya* on me". See also VS. 13, 23 = 18, 47; TS. 4, 2, 9, 4; 5, 7, 6, 3 etc.; ŚB. 8, 7, 2, 6. During the recitation of the formula "Indrāgnī, Heaven-and-Earth, Waters, Plants" (TS. 1, 2, 1, 2; KS. 2, 2) the sacrificer is led by the officiant to the place assigned to him (ĀpŚS. 10, 8, 1); VS. 21, 20; KS. 37, 15; ĀpMB. 1, 7, 12. From the occurrence of this pair beside "Mṛtyu, Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Varuṇa etc. (*varuṇādayaḥ*)" in a post-Vedic text (Bhasmajābāla Up. 2, 29) it may be inferred that at least in certain milieus it was traditionally reckoned among the great gods.

HGS. 1, 18, 1 has preserved some formulas to be used in connection with the cows when they go away to their pastures. In this domestic rite Indrāgnī taking priority are requested to make the animals go, the Aśvins to protect them (cf. RV. 1, 120, 4; 7; 157, 4; 4, 43, 4; 8, 8, 22; 8, 9, 11), Bṛhaspati to be their herdsman (cf. RV. 4, 50, 5; 10, 67, 8; 10, 68, 11; 10, 108, 11 etc.)<sup>132</sup> and Pūṣan (the god who knows and protects the paths and directs cattle straight; RV. 6, 53, 9 etc.) to drive them back again. The supposition seems warranted that the great protective and sacrificial deities are here also called upon for help and defence against inimical influences.

There can be no doubt that this important pair of gods was also outside the greater ceremonies employed in magic and occasional expiatory rites. Since a kind of frog which "makes sounds like cattle" (*gomāyū*) is supposed to forebode evil, those who wish to secure themselves from this bad omen should invite the officiant to pronounce a definite formula consisting of two stanzas in which he implores Indrāgnī, increased by (in) brahman (i.e. through the formula pronounced), the gods characterized by continuance of life, to make the person concerned 'excellent' (*indrāgnī tvā brahmaṇā vāvṛdhānāv āyuṣmantāv uttamaṃ tvā karāthaḥ*). Thereupon he should sacrifice to these gods (KauśS. 96, 3). The gods should impart their own longevity to the man who prays. The same formula and rite are applicable in case one's family is quarrelsome and therefore supposed

<sup>131</sup> See J. Gonda, *Loka, World and heaven in the Veda*, Amsterdam Acad. 1966.

<sup>132</sup> See also H. P. Schmidt, *Bṛhaspati und Indra*, Wiesbaden 1968, p. 214 f.

to be seized by the goddess of perdition (97, 6). In KauśS. 99, 2 they are in the case of a solar eclipse invoked to protect those praying in agreement with (the potent) herbs. If one cow sucks the udder of another cow an expiation must be performed in order to counteract the bad omen (KauśS. 114): one should offer with the formula *indrāgnibhyām svāhā* after pronouncing "When Indrāgnī have sent a flashing light to our livelihood, the milch-cow, the mistress of regenerative power (*vājapatnīm*)<sup>133</sup>, O Agni, protect me from that dreadful (omen). Let there be born for us pairs (of young animals) in various forms"<sup>134</sup>.

Special attention may be paid to a curious feature of the āgrayana ceremonies, i.e. the offerings of the first fruits. In connection with these rites some ritualists make a distinction between Indrāgnī and Agnīndra. In ŚS. 6, 29, 10 (8) Āpastamba gives directions with regard to the oblations replacing the second sacrificial cake which is to be offered in the paradigmatic sacrifice. In contradistinction to the old rice to be used for the first principal cake to be offered to Agni (6, 29, 7) the ingredients for the oblations under discussion should consist of new rice<sup>135</sup> and these oblations should be, inter alia, a cake on twelve dishes<sup>136</sup> intended for Indrāgnī or Agnīndrau (*aindrāgnaṃ dvādaśakapālam āgnendraṃ vā*)<sup>137</sup>.

<sup>133</sup> A. Weber, Zwei vedische Texte über Omina und Portenta, Phil. u. hist. Abh. Akad. d. Wiss. Berlin 1858, Berlin 1859, p. 379: "Glück und Heil, die Gattin der Kraft, die Milchkuh, durch Indrāgnī ausgesandt sie aussaugen (?)".

<sup>134</sup> In illustration of the prominent place occupied by this pair of gods in the ritual some formulas may be quoted here: The *sampraīṣa* (direction to an officiating priest): "A soma-feast for you both tomorrow, O Indrāgnī, that I announce to you, to all the gods, the . . . soma-drinking brahmans" (ŚŚS. 10, 1, 13, or words to that effect: ĀpŚS. 21, 6, 1 etc.). The mantra for the eight *sayuj* bricks runs as follows: "I yoke thee in bonds of fellowship with Indrāgnī, with the ghee sprinklings, with brilliance, with radiance, with the hymns . . . ; I yoke thee in bonds of fellowship with me" (TS. 4, 4, 5, 1, and compare KS. 40, 2; ĀpŚS. 17, 5, 2; TS. 5, 3, 9, 1 explains: "For all the gods is the fire piled up; if he were not to put (the bricks) down in unison, the gods would divert his fire; in that he puts (them) down in unison, verily he puts them in unison with himself; he is not deprived of his fire . . ."). Cf. BaudhŚS. 16, 3, 2 *śvāḥ sutyām indrāgnibhyām viśvebhyo devebhyo brāhmaṇebhyaḥ somaṇebhyaḥ somam prabrūyāt* ( . . . *prabrahvīmī*). The formal announcement of the consecrated sacrificer (BaudhŚS. 6, 5: 161, 14 ff.) (see Caland-Henry. o.c., p. 20) *adikṣiṣṭāyaṃ brāhmaṇo 'sāv itthamgotro 'muṣya putro 'muṣya pautro 'muṣya naptā tam indrāyendrāgnibhyām vasubhyo rudrebhya ādityebhyo viśvebhyo devebhyo brāhmaṇebhyaś ca somaṇebhyaḥ prabrūmaḥ*. For other formulas see also M. Bloomfield, A Vedic concordance, Cambridge Mass. 1906, p. 218 ff. and compare also Śrautakośa, p. 819; 832; 836 ff. etc. It may be noticed that the formula *hotā yakṣad āsvinau chāgasya haviṣā* etc. "Let the hotar worship the Āsvins with the oblation of the goat etc." (VS. 21, 43; KŚ. 19, 6, 24) is in texts of the Black Yajurveda (MS. 4, 13, 7: 208, 3; TB. 3, 6, 11, 1; MŚS. 5, 2, 8, 37) directed to Indrāgnī: *hotā yakṣad indrāgnī* etc.

<sup>135</sup> As is well known this part of the rites are to guarantee the continuity of fertility. See e.g. M. Eliade, Traité d'histoire des religions, Paris 1949, p. 288 ff.

<sup>136</sup> See above, p. 285; 307.

<sup>137</sup> KŚS. 4, 6, 1: *aindrāgno dvādaśakapālaḥ*.

Dhūrtasvāmin's commentary supplies us with the information concerning the accompanying formulas: "As agreeable to Agnendrau (sic, viz. I scatter this"; cf. ĀpŚS. 1, 18, 1 *indrāgnibhyām* . . .); "Agnendrau must protect the oblation"; "lead near Agnendrau" (cf. TB. 3, 5, 3, 2 etc. *indrāgnī ā vaha*); "Agnendrau must remove him from the inhabited world" (cf. TB. 3, 7, 6, 14 c etc. *apa tam indrāgnī bhuvanān nudetām*); "of Agnendrau I . . ." (cf. KS. 5, 1 *indrāgnyor aham* . . .); "O Agnendrau, this oblation" (cf. MS. 4, 13, 9: 212, 5 etc. *indrāgnī idam havir* . . .). That is to say, in offering to Agnīndrau the formulas used in worshipping Indrāgnī should be pronounced, but the order of the proper nouns in the compound inverted. For similar directions see BhārŚS. 6, 16, 13 f. prescribing new rice for the cake on eleven dishes intended for Indrāgnī or on twelve dishes for Āgnīndrau (*āgneyam aṣṭākāpālaṃ purāṇānām nirupyaindrāgnam ekādaśākāpālaṃ navānām nirvapati. dvādaśākāpālaṃ āgnendram vā*); VārŚS. 1, 5, 5 mentioning eleven potsherd in both cases; ĀśvŚS. 2, 9, 13 stating that in this sacrifice the principal deities should be (besides Agni) Agnīndrau or Indrāgnī, the Viśve Devās, and Dyāvapṛthivī (cf. ĀpŚS. l.c.). "If the divinity is Indra-Agni instead of Agni-Indra, he should recite the usual puronuvākya and yājyā, viz. *indrāgnī* . . ." (cf. VaitS. 8, 6) <sup>138</sup>.

Although the Ṛgvedic Śāṅkhāyana-Śrautasūtra, 3, 12, 3, likewise gives the option between an oblation destined for Indrāgnī and one for Agnīndra, KB. 4, 14 (4, 9, 8 ff.) allows only the first offering, observing that Indrāgnī are the beginning of the gods and that thus at the beginning one delights the gods. It is interesting to notice that according to this authority Heaven and Earth which obtain another obligatory oblation are said to be the preparers of the harvest, the earth being a support and the sky co-operating by sending rain <sup>139</sup>. AiB. 2, 37, 12 f. evinces a definite preference for Agnīndra: the Ṛgvedic stanza 3, 25, 4 "O Agni and Indra, in the residence of the devout one" (*āgna indraś ca dāśūṣo duroṇē*) is used as offering verse, but "these two as Indrāgnī did not conquer, being Āgnīndrau they conquered. In that he uses (a verse) for Āgnīndrau . . . (it serves) for conquest". It may be added that according to Caland's translation Agni and Indra or rather the divinity Agnīndrau—the text has the uncommon *āgneyaandro purolāśaḥ vaiśvadevaḥ caruḥ*—is, beside the Viśve Devās, also presented with an offering in ŚŚS. 3, 11, 11 (cf. also the commentary), the section dealing with the periodical *turāyana* rite (a modification of the New moon sacrifice, to be performed by one desiring heaven: KB. 4, 11 (4, 7, 5 ff.)) and immediately preceding the *āgrayana*: "the *turāyana* consists of a cake to Āgnīndra and the Viśve Devās". ĀśvŚS. 2, 14, 5 however mentions separate offerings to Agni, Indra and the Viśve Devās. Finally, VS. 7, 32, quoting RV. 8, 45, 1

<sup>138</sup> Cf. Śrautakośa, English section, I, p. 513.

<sup>139</sup> For the reading of the text see A. B. Keith, *Rigveda brāhmanas*, Cambridge Mass. 1920, p. 370, n. 2.

(which is addressed to Indra) adds some formulas, among which twice *agnīndrābhyām tvā*, which should not be translated <sup>140</sup> "For Indra-Agni thee", the commentator Mahīdhara inviting attention to the other possibility (*aīndrāgnagrahe*) in another Vedic school.

From the above texts it appears that the two forms of the compound were for, or were made by, the ritualists themselves more than mere grammatical variants, conditioned by subtle phonetic tendencies <sup>141</sup>, without ritual significance. In contradistinction to Minard's <sup>142</sup> note "Bien que l'explication n'en soit pas certaine, l'ordre du dvandva *indrāgni*-est presque constant" I would venture the opinion that the compound *indrāgni* was, in view of Indra's precedence in many other devatādvandvas, by far the most current and is to be regarded as normal <sup>143</sup>, and that the other order of the members (*agnīndra*) was liable to occur under the influence of the compounds with *agni*- which in other cases always takes precedence (*agnīṣomau*, *agnīparjanau* etc.).

Apart from some verses which occur also in the Ṛgveda the Atharvaveda makes mention 19 times of this dual deity. In AV. 1, 35, 4 cd (=8, 2, 21 cd) *Indrāgnī* and all the gods (*viśve devāḥ*) are implored "to have a favourable opinion concerning you, not bearing enmity", the text being used to secure length of life (a hundred years) to a person by means of an amulet. The same sequence *indrāgnī viśve devdḥ* occurs 3, 3, 5, where these gods are stated to have maintained security among his subjects for a king who wishes to be restored to his former realm (see KauśikaS. 16, 30). Agni alone is invoked in st. 1, Indra alone in st. 2, 3 and 6, the Aśvins in st. 4. In 5, 7, which is intended to counteract niggardliness and its effects, the same gods are (st. 6) implored "to bring good things to us" (*ubhāv indrāgnī ā bharatām no vāsūni*); the formula is at VaitS. 3, 2 said to be used by a brahman performing the New moon sacrifice. Sarasvatī, Anumati and Bhaga are invoked in st. 4. AV. 6, 104 was used in a battle rite for victory over enemies who were to be "tied up"; in st. 2 c Agni is invoked to perform this deed, in st. 3 c (the final stanza) Indra with the Maruts; in between (3 ac) it reads "Let *Indrāgnī* tie them up, and king Soma, allied". The conclusion must be that the Atharvanic milieu joined the poets of the Ṛgveda in distinguishing between the dual deity and its component elements. This is also apparent from 9, 2 which, being

<sup>140</sup> With R. T. H. Griffith, *The texts of the White Yajurveda*, Benares 1927, p. 67.

<sup>141</sup> As such they are treated by J. Wackernagel, *Altindische Grammatik*, II, 1, Göttingen 1905, p. 166; 168.

<sup>142</sup> Minard, o.c., p. 182 (§ 453 a).

<sup>143</sup> There is perhaps room for the suggestion that these *indra*-compounds were very influential in formulating the rule Pāṇini 2, 2, 33 (stems beginning with a vowel and ending in *a* take precedence).



addressed to Kāma, is to secure various blessings: this god is requested to make, in alliance with Indrāgnī, one's rivals fall downward; in the same stanza (9) Agni alone is implored to burn their abodes. Compare also 13, 1, 31: Agni, Bṛhaspati, Indrāgnī and Mitrāvaruṇau. In the five stanzas of 6, 132 which with the exception of the names of gods are identical and are to compel a man's love, the gods, all the gods (or, the All-gods: *viśve devāḥ*), Indrāgnī, Indrāgnī and Mitrāvaruṇau are, in succession, stated to have "poured out love within the waters". In 8, 1, 2, a text to ensure a person's continued life, the dual deity finds itself in company with Bhaga, Soma and the Maruts who have "taken up him for his welfare"; in st. 16 a similar appeal is made to the Ādityas, the Vasus and Indrāgnī. In 9, 3, 19 Indrāgnī are asked to defend a dwelling which is the centre of a religious rite<sup>144</sup>. Remember that at RV. 1, 21, 5 they are said to be the lords of the abode (*sadaspati*) and to drive away demoniac beings. In 10, 1, 21 they are implored for the same favour on behalf of those reciting the text which is to counteract witchcraft and its practisers<sup>145</sup>. From 11, 8, 5 it seems to appear that Dhātār, Bṛhaspati, Indrāgnī and the Aśvins were well-known divinities: unborn they were at that time; "whom did people worship (as) chief (god)?" Compare also 14, 1, 54 (nuptial stanzas): "Let Indrāgnī, Heaven and Earth, Mātariśvan, Mitrāvaruṇau, both Aśvins . . . increase this woman with progeny", 19, 16, 2 where in a ceremony for safety and protection from all sides and this pair of gods is requested "to defend the man speaking in front" and 20, 1 where they are among a considerable number of gods implored for protection. In 9, 1, the *madhusūkta* (VaitS. 16, 12) prescribed to accompany the mixing of soma with milk in the agniṣṭoma ceremony, the Aśvins, Indrāgnī and the Rbhus are successively stated to love the early, second and third pressings: st. 11-12 quoted, at VaitS. 21, 7, to accompany an offering of sacrificial butter. This statement is followed by the prayer "Let illustriousness (*varcaḥ*) be maintained in my self". In a long prayer for release from the fetter of a large number of divine powers and forms of evil st. 23 ff. mentions the fetter of Heaven and Earth, of Indrāgnī, Mitrāvaruṇau and Varuṇa. It may be added that in AV. 7, 110, 1 (a battle incantation) "Agni together with Indra, ye (dual) slay the Vṛtras irresistibly" the compound is replaced by *agna indraś ca*.

The adjective *aindrāgna*, which is foreign to the R̥gveda, occurs AV. 8, 5, 19 in connection with "a formidable defence", viz. an amulet, "which not all the gods together pierce through" and which is expected to save a man's body on all sides. The other occurrence is 11, 7, 6.

<sup>144</sup> See J. Gonda, *The Savayajñas*, Amsterdam Acad. 1965, p. 386 f.

<sup>145</sup> Instead of "rich in progeny" (in the dual) *prajāpati* of the Paippalāda text (16, 37, 1) seems preferable.

## CHAPTER IX

### INDRA-AND-BṚHASPATI

It is not surprising that the relations between the two gods Indra and Bṛhaspati or Brahmanaspati should have attracted the attention of many scholars. Roth<sup>1</sup> observed that in the references to the Vala myth part of the task which is usually shouldered by Indra alone is also attributed to Bṛhaspati<sup>2</sup>. Langlois<sup>3</sup> and Wilson<sup>4</sup> were under the impression that both gods were occasionally confounded or identified. About a century ago Grassmann<sup>5</sup> wrote: "Der Gebetes Herr, Bṛhaspati ist, wie schon der Name andeutet, der welcher das Gebet in der menschlichen Seele erregt und belebt, und den frommen Beter leitet, schützt und bei den Göttern für ihn eintritt. Da aber nach vedischer Auffassung das Gebet die Götter in Tätigkeit setzt und ihnen Kraft zu ihren Taten verleiht, so werden die Eigenschaften und Taten der andern Götter und namentlich des Indra auch ohne weiteres dem Bṛhaspati beigelegt". Words to the same effect were written by Max Müller<sup>6</sup> who added that Bṛhaspati is often represented as the companion of Indra. This point did not of course escape Macdonell<sup>7</sup> either. Weber<sup>8</sup>, followed by Hopkins<sup>9</sup>, regarded Bṛhaspati as a new god, "der sich dann allmählich als Vertreter der priesterlichen Sangeskunst an die Stelle des alten tapferen Volks-Kriegsgottes Indra einnistet und dessen Taten und Attribute auf sich

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<sup>1</sup> R. Roth, in *Zs. d. deutsch. morgenl. Ges.* 1 (1846), p. 72 ff. E. D. Perry, *J.A.O.S.* 11, p. 165, quoting Roth, was of the opinion that "Indra's union with Brahmanaspati . . . . furnishes an excellent parallel to his alliance with Soma, and is similarly explainable: i.e. not from any common features of original nature-myths, but as the product of conscious deliberation. Indra is joined with Soma for a purely physical, with Brahmanaspati for a purely moral reason".

<sup>2</sup> According to N. J. Shende, Bṛhaspati in the Vedic and epic literature, *Bull. Deccan Coll. Res. Inst.* 8 (Poona 1949), p. 225 ff. the Vala enterprise, undertaken by Indra and Bṛhaspati conjointly, is a mythological parallel of the campaigns conducted by Vedic nobility with the assistance of their domestic priests.

<sup>3</sup> A. Langlois, *Rig-Véda ou Livre des hymnes*, traduit . . ., I, Paris 1948, p. 249; 254; 578 etc.

<sup>4</sup> H. H. Wilson, *Rig-Veda-Sanhitā*, I, London 1850, p. XXXVII.

<sup>5</sup> H. Grassmann, *Rig-Veda übersetzt*, I, Leipzig 1876, p. 29.

<sup>6</sup> F. M. Müller, *Rig-Veda-Sanhitā translated*, I, London 1869, p. 77; the same, *Beiträge zu einer wissenschaftlichen Mythologie*, II, Leipzig 1899, p. 383 ff.

<sup>7</sup> A. A. Macdonell, *Vedic mythology*, Strassburg 1897, p. 103.

<sup>8</sup> A. Weber, *Über den Vājapeya*, *Sitz. Ber. Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss.* 1892, p. 775, n. 1.

<sup>9</sup> E. W. Hopkins, *The religions of India*, Boston 1895, p. 136.

nimmt". H. Zimmer<sup>10</sup> was of the opinion that Indra's feats were attributed to Bṛhaspati because he was the purohita of the great warrior god. Oldenberg's<sup>11</sup> view of the relation between both gods may be learnt from the clear statement: "... den königlichen Feldherrn begleitet der Priester in den Kampf. So tritt neben Indra den heldenmässigen Schlachtgott Bṛhaspati als priesterlicher Schlachtgott". In contradiction to most scholars who are inclined to regard the Vala combat as primarily an Indraic myth, Lüders<sup>12</sup> was of the opinion that the Vṛtra and Vala myths were in a way mixed or confused and that the latter originally was an enterprise of Bṛhaspati and the Aṅgiras.

I need not submit here the question of the origin of the god Bṛhaspati, who in the Veda is a reality<sup>13</sup>, to a renewed examination, the less so as the various discussions of this problem were recently reviewed and criticized by H. P. Schmidt<sup>14</sup>. However, I am, as will appear from the following pages, highly sceptical about the thesis defended by, or conclusion arrived at by this scholar—"das Wort *bṛhaspāti*<sup>15</sup> (war) ursprünglich ein

<sup>10</sup> H. Zimmer, *Studien zur Geschichte der Gotras*, Thesis Berlin 1914, p. 43 ff.

<sup>11</sup> H. Oldenberg, *Die Religion des Veda*, Stuttgart 1923, p. 65 f.

<sup>12</sup> H. Lüders, *Varuṇa* Göttingen 1951-1959, p. 531 ff.

<sup>13</sup> I shall therefore also refrain from discussing, for instance, Oldenberg's (o.c., p. 65 ff.) view of the god ("(eine) Gestalt, bei der man eine gewisse Leerheit zu erwarten geneigt sein könnte" ... "Ein deutliches Beispiel dafür, wie die späte, abstrakte Konzeption durch das Hineinströmen alter mythischer Substanz greifbare Körperlichkeit empfängt").

<sup>14</sup> H. P. Schmidt, *Bṛhaspati und Indra*, Wiesbaden 1968, p. 4 ff.

<sup>15</sup> Schmidt, o.c., p. 14 seems to doubt the antiquity of the name *bṛhaspāti*, because no ancient Indian *pāti*-name recurs in the other Indo-European languages, not even in Old-Iranian. This may tentatively be explained from the fact that *pāti*-names must, by their very nature, have been given mostly to rather vague, insignificant, otherwise anonymous 'parochial' gods, or rather Söndergötter. It may be noticed that Schmidt does not enter into a discussion of the facts recalled in my *Notes on Brahman*, Utrecht 1950, p. 67 f. — In connection with his remarks on what I said, in the same publication, on the meaning of *bráhman* I take the liberty to quote what I wrote, some eight years before Schmidt's book was published (*Notes on the study of Ancient-Indian religious terminology*, in *History of religions*, 1 (Chicago 1961), p. 267 f., known to Schmidt, see his book, p. 16, n. 37): "I would for the benefit of my superficial readers recall to mind that, while intending to follow up the inquiry on problems which may be related to the riddle (sic) and to go on ... bringing to the fore such aspects of the question as seem not to have attracted sufficient attention, I criticized the main views upheld by my predecessors, emphasizing the weakness of evolutionistic constructions and the difficulty of arranging the senses of ancient Vedic terms of outstanding importance, like *bráhman*, in such a manner that a definite historical development may be read off from the very arrangement. ... I warned against arbitrariness in constructing semantic developments and affiliations and against attempts to overestimate etymological possibilities, especially when they start from the assumption that the sense of a possible etymological relative in another language ... is more original than the senses expressed by the Indian word. ... I intentionally emphasized the arguments

Epithet Indras, der Gott Br̥haspati aber eine sekundäre Verselbständigung der priesterlichen Funktionen des Götterkönigs" <sup>16</sup>. Among those points which Schmidt failed to make clear is the relation between a 'name' and an 'epithet' <sup>17</sup>, a 'concept' which he does not even adequately define. Nor does he discuss the problem as to whether these 'concepts' were distinguished from each other by Vedic man in the same way as they are in the definitions of our philosophers, linguists or lexicographers. That is to say: did Vedic man distinguish between "die besondere Benennung eines Einzelwesens" (the definition given of Name by German lexicographers) and a formulaic or petrified epithet: "Mechanisierung einer ursprünglich lose . . . hinzugefügten Apposition" <sup>18</sup>, or whatever definition one might prefer? Did Schmidt realize the full import of a

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in favour of the etymology *brāhman*:- *br̥h-*, *br̥hpati* "to be or make firm, strong, solid; to expand, promote" which was always taken for granted by the Indian exegetes, without, however, expressing the conviction that this etymology is correct". (Whether this etymology is correct or not, the very fact that the Indian thinkers thought it was may have contributed significantly to the growing importance of special aspects of its meaning and exerted influence upon its semantic development). In contending (o.c., p. 17) that I have attempted to solve the problem "dadurch . . ., dass (ich) die spätere spekulative Deutung . . . in die ältesten Texte hineinprojizierte" Schmidt shows that he has misunderstood my argument. What I argued was this: "If *brāhman* belongs to the above root *br̥h-* — a derivation which in any case does not require etymological stunts of the *flamen* or *μωρφή* variety — it may be assumed to have denoted a more or less definite power (vaguely expressive of 'ideas' such as 'firmness, solidity, expansion, promotion') the more specific connotations of which may be understood in the particular contexts and situations in which the term is used, and which often, and especially in the most ancient texts, manifests itself as 'ritual word' etc.". I do not exclude the twofold possibility that *brahman* can mean "sacred formula, sacred word etc.", because this was a manifestation of a specific form of power, and that this meaning comes to the fore in the R̥gveda because it was most prominent in the special vocabulary of its authors. I do neither deny "die sprachliche Entwicklung von *brāhman*" nor introduce an anachronism ("die spätere spekulative Deutung") into the Veda. I only examined the merits of another view of the relations between the various 'meanings' of this important word and in so doing I disagreed — and still disagree — with some German authors of repute. There seems indeed to be room for doubt of the adequacy of the semantic methods applied by indologists, indo-europeanists and students of comparative religion in studying the various uses of words. Their methods too often smell of the rectilinear pseudo-historical, but essentially logical combinations, derivations and assumptions of developments of 'meanings' of our traditional lexicography and of XIX<sup>th</sup> century linguistics. The importance of the verbal context does not seem to be always fully appreciated, this term to be taken in a large sense, including the non-verbal elements of the situation and the wider influence of social setting and cultural background which are of considerable relevance to the rise of minor shifts in meaning such as special uses etc. that in different milieus may also simultaneously crystallize into major ones.

<sup>16</sup> Schmidt, o.c., p. 239; cf. p. 16 and elsewhere.

<sup>17</sup> See J. Gonda, *Epithets in the R̥gveda*, The Hague 1959.

<sup>18</sup> J. B. Hofmann, in M. Leumann-J. B. Hofmann, *Lateinische Grammatik*, München 1928, p. 454.



name in all pre-modern societies, where it is equivalent to the true existence of an individual<sup>19</sup>? May it, with Schmidt<sup>20</sup>, be taken for granted that the *pāti* names, with the exception of Prajāpati, Kṣetrasya pati, Vāstoṣpati and Bṛhaspati, were "Augenblicksgötter, die, kaum konzipiert, bald wieder vergessen sind" and can we be sure that Kṣetrasya pati and Vāstoṣpati "Epitheta verschiedener, vielleicht lokaler Gottheiten (waren), die von Ort zu Ort und von Zeit zu Zeit wechselten, so dass es sicherer war, sie bei ihrem Epithet als bei ihren Namen zu nennen, weil man sich in diesem zu leicht irren konnte"? Should we fail to notice the fact that otherwise anonymous 'owner' gods ('Art- und Eignergeister', 'Herren' und 'Herrinnen' der Natur) are an essential element in many religions<sup>21</sup>? Is it therefore so self-evident that Bṛhaspati originated in a mere epithet?

<sup>19</sup> "The name is no mere specification, but rather an actuality expressed in a word" (G. van der Leeuw, *Religion in essence and manifestation*, London 1938, p. 147). The name assigns to divine power and will a definite form and some settled content. It delimits a power or deity from other 'deities' or manifestations of power. As soon as there is a divine name, there is a divine "personality", because the name is in a sense identical with its owner or forms part of his personality (J. Gonda, *Notes on names and the name of God in ancient India*, Amsterdam Acad. 1970, p. 5 ff.).

<sup>20</sup> Schmidt, o.c., p. 15.

<sup>21</sup> In addition to the instances quoted in my *Notes on Brahman*, p. 68 attention may be invited to I. Paulson, Å. Hultkrantz, K. Jettmar, *Die Religionen Nord- und Südasiens und der amerikanischen Arktis*, Stuttgart 1962, p. 67 ff. (Sibirien: "individuelle Schutzgeister der Einzeltiere und kollektive Schutzgeister der Tierarten, 'Wächter' oder 'Hüter' genannt; Eigner der Erde, des Süßwassers, des Meeres; ihnen sind die lokalen Natureigner, Geister oder Gottheiten der einzelnen Naturbezirke untertan . . . Sie werden meistens anthropomorph vorgestellt als sog. 'Mütter' und 'Väter' der Naturbereiche und -elemente"); p. 173 ff. and p. 193 ff. (finnische Völker: names such as 'Wald', 'Wäldler', 'Waldgeist', 'Waldwirt', 'Waldfrau', 'Espanjungfrau' etc.); p. 289 ff. (Lappen: names such as 'Fischälteste', 'Vogelmutter', 'Vogelalte', 'Mutter der wilden Rentiere', 'Hornherrscher', 'Erlenmann', 'Wassermann' etc.); p. 388 ff. (amerikanische Arktis: "die Idee des Tiereigners, des Schutzwesens der Tiere, des 'Herrn' oder der 'Herrin der Tiere', ist, besonders in der zirkumpolaren Zone . . . weit verbreitet"); H. Nevermann, E. A. Worms, H. Petri, *Die Religionen der Südsee und Australiens*, Stuttgart 1968, p. 138 ff.; E. Dammann, *Die Religionen Afrikas*, Stuttgart 1963, p. 38 "Die jagdbaren Tiere stehen unter dem Schutz eines Buschgeistes, eines 'Herrn der Tiere', der in manchen Fällen ein 'Herr der Fische' ist"; p. 47; 49; 199; 258; W. Krickeberg, H. Trimborn, W. Müller, O. Zerries, *Die Religionen des alten Amerika*, Stuttgart 1961, passim, using the term 'Bossvorstellung': p. 9 'Herren der Tiere', p. 84 'Regenknaben' and especially p. 308 ff., p. 311: "bei vielen der hier angeführten Stämme Südamerikas . . . lässt sich mit Recht vermuten, dass sogar prinzipiell jeder einzelnen Tierspezies ein eigener Schutzgeist zugeschrieben wird"; it may be surmised that the 'mothers' of plant-species were likewise widely recognized as 'divine beings'; p. 315 "Vater der Fische" etc., p. 371 'Grossvater des Kaimans'; G. Tucci, W. Heissig, *Die Religionen Tibets und der Mongolei*, Stuttgart 1970, p. 352 f.; 412 f. etc. (Mongolei: 'Erdherren', 'Erdmütter', 'Herren der Berge', "vor allem die Höhen und Berge galten als Wohnsitz der Erdherren und Berggeister"). In dealing with the Highest Being of the Mandaeans K. Rudolph justly speaks of 'names', not of 'epithets': "An der Spitze der Lichtwelt steht ein höchstes Wesen, eine Art agnostos theos,

In his book *Bṛhaspati und Indra* <sup>22</sup> H. P. Schmidt discusses a number of Rgvedic passages which he is more or less strongly inclined to explain as evidencing the use of the name *bṛhaspati* as an epithet of Indra. In so doing he had predecessors: Sāyaṇa <sup>23</sup>, O. Richter <sup>24</sup> and, perhaps, K. L. Janert <sup>25</sup>. A reconsideration of his argument led me to make the following marginal notes. As to RV. 10, 42, 11—according to the author himself the most evident instance—“Bṛhaspati soll uns ringsherum schützen (*pāri pātu*), von hinten und von oben, von unten vor dem Übelwollenden, Indra soll uns von vorn und von der Mitte als Freund den Freunden Weite schaffen”, his main argument in favour of his thesis is, curiously enough, not his interpretation of *pāri* as “ringsherum” which he does not justify—“round about” includes “in front” (*pāda c*), Geldner, obviously starting from the assumption that the poet speaks of two distinct gods, translated “schützen”, neglecting the preverb—, but the fact that in the stanzas 2; 3; 4; 7 and 8 of this *sūkta* Indra is named by his name as well as by an epithet (2 *īndram—śūram*, etc.). “Hieran schliesst sich 11 *bṛhaspātīḥ—īndrah* so genau an, dass es beinahe unausweichlich ist, *bṛhaspātī* als ein Epithet Indras anzusprechen, zumal das ganze Lied sonst keinen anderen Gott erwähnt” <sup>26</sup>. The author obviously overlooked final stanzas such as RV. 1, 82, 6; 4, 30, 24; 5, 35, 8; 5, 36, 6;

das verschiedene, ältere und jüngere Namen hat, (viz.) . . . ‘das Leben’, ‘das grosse Leben’, ‘das Grosse’ . . . , ‘Herr der Grösse’ . . .” (H. Gese, M. Höfner, K. Rudolph, *Die Religionen Altsyriens, Altarabiens und der Mandäer*, Stuttgart 1970, p. 417). The question also arises as to whether it was necessary for an ancient Indian ‘Lord of the soil or of the site’ to have another name. Schmidt’s remarks on RV. 7, 54 and 54 (o.c., p. 15) are, in my opinion, based on a misinterpretation. The poet of RV. 7, 55 addresses *Vāstospati*, which does not prevent him from directing, in st. 2, a prayer to Soma (cf. Renou, E.V.P. XV, p. 175), whom we need not identify with the moon (cf. 1, 91, 19; 12, quoted by K. F. Geldner, *Der Rig-Veda übersetzt*, II, Cambridge Mass. 1951, p. 229). Instead of regarding, with Schmidt, *vāstospati* as an epithet of Soma who, at night, is, as the moon, the lord of the site, one could, if so minded, rather consider the Lord of the site to be wheedled by this occasional identification with so important a deity as Soma. The above use of *pāti* names does not of course exclude the occasional application of such a designation to an individual god (RV. 6, 53, 1 *Pūṣan* is “Lord of the way”: *pathas pate*). In principle, a parochial god may be represented as the ‘lord’ of his province (e.g. Soma is at 9, 75, 2 *pātir dhīyāḥ*), but this does not mean that all *pāti* designations are epithets.

<sup>22</sup> Schmidt, o.c., p. 79 ff.

<sup>23</sup> I refer to Schmidt, o.c., p. 80 with n. 17.

<sup>24</sup> O. Richter, in *Indog. Forsch.* 9 (1898), p. 220 f.: “Vielleicht ist *bṛhas-pāti* ursprünglich ein Beiwort des Indra (*vrtrahān*) mit der Bedeutung “Herr der Höhe”, d.h. entweder des Wolkenberges oder eines himmelwärtsragenden Berggipfels”. The meaning “height” is however very questionable, see J. Gonda, *Notes on brahman*, Utrecht 1950, esp. p. 18 ff.; 31 ff.

<sup>25</sup> K. L. Janert, *Sinn und Bedeutung des Wortes dhāsi*, Wiesbaden 1958, p. 15, whose translation “Herr der Kraft” may also denote a different god.

<sup>26</sup> The contention (p. 81, n. 19) *bhāga* (in st. 3) “ist sicher als Appellativ zu verstehen” is unfounded; even if a generous patron is meant, he impersonates the god Bhaga. For the verb *bhṛ-* see e.g. 6, 8, 4; 6, 16, 41.

7, 82, 10 which exhibit names of a god or gods who did not occur in the previous part of the poem. All things considered, another interpretation seems worth suggesting. Br̥haspati is not an epithet of Indra, but both names denote, it is true, distinct divine persons, but persons between whom co-operation is so close, whose functions are in this particular context so similar that they are, so to say, on the verge of a dualité-unité. Does the poet, whilst invoking at the end of a hymn dedicated to Indra the god's protection, remind his hearers of the god's close association with the divine purohita who protects the sacrificer from all dangers and calamities (cf. e.g. 2, 23, 4 ff.)?

Of RV. 2, 30, 4 and 9 Schmidt is less sure <sup>27</sup>. After requesting Br̥haspati to pierce the men of the asura with burning heat as if with a stone, it implores Indra to kill "our enemy", the names, in the vocative, occupying the first and the last place of the stanza. "In 4 d könnte man gegen die Gleichsetzung von *bṛhaspāti* mit Indra einwenden, dass *bṛhaspāti* "wie mit einem Stein" kämpft, während Indra nach 5 ab wirklich einen Stein schleudert". Are, moreover, the "men of the asura" and "our enemy" identical? Is not the first half of st. 8 a prayer to Sarasvatī (only here accompanied by the Maruts, Indra's intimate associates) and the second half praise or confirmation of Indra's power? "Für die Interpretation von *bṛhaspāti* als Epithet Indras spricht aber, dass er in 9 *rājan* genannt wird, eine Bezeichnung, die der Gott Br̥haspati nur einmal (2, 23, 1) erhält, und die dort eindeutig spezifiziert wird...". This is a weighty argument, but is not the supposition discussable that the dual deity, or at least the intimate association of the two gods, was present to the poet's mind so as to make him combine the name of the one with the title of the other? For Br̥haspati as a militant god see e.g. 2, 23, 11; 10, 103, 4. Could not the poet of 6, 47, 20 <sup>28</sup> be supposed to have, in a similar way, combined both names (in the vocative) in the same hemistich: *bṛhaspate prā cikiṣā gaviṣṭāv* (cf. 1, 91, 23, addressed to Soma) *itthā saté jaritrā indra pānthām* "O Br̥haspati, show the invoker who in the raid is in such a situation, a way, O Indra"? One should not argue that such constructions are impossible, because in 1, 151, 6, which is directed to the dual deity Mitrāvaruṇau, the names of both gods occur, in the same pāda, in the vocative (of the singular); in 7, 66, 9 (likewise eulogizing this dual deity) the vocatives *deva varuṇa* are placed in pāda a, *mitra* in b: *té syāma deva varuṇa té mitra sūribhiḥ sahá*; in 1, 122, addressed to the Viśve Devāḥ, the same gods are, likewise in the singular, invoked individually (st. 7 *stusē sá vāṃ varuṇa mitra rātīḥ*), notwithstanding the fact that these gods are, in the R̥gveda, about 60 times addressed as Mitrāvaruṇā(u). In 7, 66, 3 these vocatives occur in two successive pādas, the verb being, it is true, in the dual: *tā na stipā tanūpā vāruṇa jaritṛṇām*/

<sup>27</sup> Schmidt, o.c., p. 81 f.

<sup>28</sup> Schmidt, o.c., p. 82 ff.

*mitra sādhyatam dhīyaḥ*. (In 5, 64, 5 ab *mitra* . . . *várunaś ca* are distributed over two successive pādas, to be followed by *yuvām varuṇa* in 6 a).

Schmidt's discussion of R.V. 5, 42<sup>29</sup>, and especially his conclusion that *bṛhaspatim* in st. 7 is nothing but an epithet of Indra does not convince me. It would appear to me that it is not so "ganz auffällig, dass in diesem Liede von Indra ausdrücklich das gesagt wird, was man von Bṛhaspati, dem Herrn des Gedichtes, erwarten sollte (st. 4)". Indra, who here is implored with all his heart<sup>30</sup> to unite the poet or reciter to cows, patrons etc., appears as the god who gives cows or other rewards in R.V. 6, 45, 23; 8, 13, 22; 1, 63, 9; 4, 16, 16; 4, 17, 13; 18 etc.; he is invoked for the benefit of the poets and their patrons at 1, 51, 15; 6, 23, 3; 6, 26, 7; 6, 37, 4 etc.; he is also concerned with the poet's inspiration and is explicitly called a ṛṣi (5, 29, 1; 8, 6, 41; 3, 34, 5 "he (Indra) revealed these 'visions' to the praiser, he furthered their bright (pure) form (outward appearance)"<sup>31</sup>; 1, 6, 8; 1, 102, 10 etc.). The last pāda of st. 4 *sām devdnam sumatyā yajñīyānām* "(führe uns) zusammen mit der Gnade der opferwürdigen Götter" could indeed to a certain extent be compared to the refrain of the Bṛhaspati hymn 2, 25 *yām yaṁ yūjaṁ kṛṇutē brāhmaṇas pātiḥ* "whomever Brahmanaspati makes his yoke-fellow", but a reference to the favour of the gods in general is by no means inconsistent with an Indraic entourage. "Ganz auffällig ist es", the author continues, "dass die Maruts, auf die schon in 6 durch Indras Epithet *marútvant* hingewiesen ist, erst in 10 auftreten, von Indra durch die drei *bṛhaspāti*-Mantras getrennt sind". However, the separation of Indra and the Maruts would be more notable, if this were the only instance. This is not the case: in 3, 54 stanza 13 is dedicated to the Maruts, 14 to Viṣṇu, 15 to Indra; in 5, 43—which is attributed to the same poet as 5, 42—Indra is mentioned in st. 5, the Maruts in 10 and the stanzas 6–9 are dedicated to Aramati, the Aśvins, Pūṣan, Vāyu and some form of disconnectedness may be found in other Viśvadeva hymns<sup>32</sup> also. It is true that the stanzas 7–9 are to praise Bṛhaspati, but is the conclusion inevitable that this name actually denotes Indra? Schmidt must concede that "keine der Aussagen Bṛhaspati's Wesen widerspricht". Could not the poet, after mentioning Indra, out of a special feeling of reverence and affection, or because Bṛhaspati was so to say his 'favourite deity', have inserted these three lines to eulogize that god before reverting to the Maruts whom he had already mentioned in st. 6? Would such an 'interruption' be unparalleled? (Cf. e.g. 1, 23, 4–6; 3, 57, 2; 6, 21, 11)<sup>33</sup>.

<sup>29</sup> Schmidt, o.c., p. 84 ff.

<sup>30</sup> *manasā*, not "durch (unseren) Gedanken".

<sup>31</sup> J. Gonda, The vision of the Vedic poets, The Hague 1963, p. 99; see also p. 40; 151; 168 etc.

<sup>32</sup> For the composition of which see Renou, E.V.P. IV, p. 5 ff.

<sup>33</sup> I leave the possibility of interpolation undiscussed. Compare Schmidt's (o.c., p. 130 f.) discussion of the three Bṛhaspati stanzas 3, 62, 4–6.



I have my doubts about the interpretation of RV. 10, 108, 6 and 11 proposed by Schmidt<sup>34</sup> and especially about his argument: "im Verlauf des Gesprches der Saram mit den Paṇis wre die Einfhrung eines zweiten Gottes in str. 6 geradezu widersinnig", because in that case "... sie (Saram) wrde zugeben, dass Indra nicht die Macht besitzt, die sie ihm in 4 zugeschrieben hat". There are no doubt many authentic passages in Sanskrit literature which in a European study may seem "widersinnig", but I thought there is a certain communis opinio that in various cases the rules of our logic are not applicable to Indian poetry, and our presentation of the subject-matter is different from that of the ancient ṛṣis. I for one find no difficulty in understanding the proper name in stanza 6 in the traditional way. I would prefer Renou's<sup>35</sup> comment: "Brhaspati figure ici  cause de la mention des paroles et des flches et d'abord  cause de 11 c" and Syana's short note: Brhaspati "urged or instigated by Indra" (*indrapreritah*). Indra will conquer the Paṇis with sacred words, and that is why the poet, for whom the companionship of the two gods in the mythical story of the cows was a fact, introduces Brhaspati. If Syana's note is correct, I fail to see why Brhaspati's assistance should be derogatory to Indra's dignity. Did not Indra himself, after exerting his superiority in st. 4, call upon Viṣṇu at 8, 100, 12 to stride farther (than usual) and did he not want him to protect him by placing himself on his right side<sup>36</sup> so that they would be able to slay the Vṛtra together (st. 2)?

A digression must be made here on those cases in which the name Brhaspati has been held to figure as a designation of other gods. Whereas many scholars have, for instance, maintained the opinion that Brhaspati is, in a number of places, identified with Agni<sup>37</sup>, the question as to when that god is a distinct and independent divine figure, when he is a manifestation or double of another god, or when his name is only an epithet attributed to another divinity has proved liable to provoke controversy. Leaving out of consideration those cases which are also in Schmidt's recent book regarded as identifications—a procedure which in these texts is far from rare—some remarks may be inserted on the use of a name as an epithet, which in that publication is not only alleged as a fact but also considered more 'original': "Das wichtigste Ergebnis ist ... der Nachweis, dass *bṛhaspti* sich in einigen Stellen als Epithet erhalten hat"<sup>38</sup>. Among these places is, in Schmidt's opinion, the much

<sup>34</sup> Schmidt, o.c., p. 87; cf. also p. 189.

<sup>35</sup> Renou, E.V.P. XVI, p. 161.

<sup>36</sup> For this place see J. Gonda, The significance of the right hand and the right side in Vedic ritual, in *Religion*, 2 (1972), p. 1 ff.

<sup>37</sup> See e.g. Macdonell, o.c., p. 103; A. B. Keith, The religion and philosophy of the Veda and upanishads, Cambridge Mass. 1925, p. 163 and Schmidt, o.c., p. 66; 93 etc.

<sup>38</sup> Schmidt, o.c., p. 93.

discussed stanza 3, 26, 2<sup>39</sup>: *tām śubhrām agnīm āvase havāmahe / vaiśvānarām mātariśvānam ukthīyam / bṛhaspātim mānuṣo devātātaye / vipraṃ śrótāram ātithīm raghuṣyādam*. Whereas, for instance, Geldner<sup>40</sup> and Renou<sup>41</sup> have, in their translations, the words *vaiśvānarām*, *mātariśvānam* and *bṛhaspātim* printed as proper names, Schmidt takes, not only the first, but also the two others, as epithets. The interpretation of RV. 3, 5, 9 and 10—*mātariśvā* in 9 c is taken as an epithet of Agni and in 10 c as the proper name of the 'producer of fire' (the Feuerbringer)—on which he bases this view of *mātariśvan* is however not very convincing. No attempt is made to refute, for instance the explanation proposed by Macdonell<sup>42</sup>: "The only explanation of such a discrepancy in contiguous verses of the same hymn seems to be that the name of a specific personification of Agni in the latter verse is used as an epithet of the generic Agni in the former" or the translation of st. 9 cd suggested by Renou<sup>43</sup>: "Agni (en tant que) Mitra<sup>44</sup> (est) digne d'être invoqué. Que Mātariśvan (agissant comme) messenger convoie les dieux pour le sacrifice!". The meaning of the two hemistichs, viewed as a whole, no doubt is: "the same Mātariśvan who, in the myth, kindled the oblation-bearer (an aspect of Agni) who was concealed, should now, as a messenger, lead the gods to the sacrificial ceremony". And just as, in the myth, Agni rose to heavenly heights (10 ab) he has now begun "to radiate in the high extent of heavens (9 ab)". If Mātariśvan is the name, or the indication of the function, of the divine producer of fire<sup>45</sup>—which may of course also be represented as producing itself (cf. 3, 29, 11 c "as Mātariśvan he was fashioned in his mother"<sup>46</sup>)—it is not surprising that the inflaming fire is called by this name, that is to say that it is seen as a concrete representative of that divine fire-producer, that at the moment of inflaming Agni is Mātariśvan. I can therefore agree with the supposition that "der Grund für die Benennung Agnis als *mātariśvan* . . . in der Tatsache der Entflammung liegen (kann)", not however with the view that *mātariśvan* is a mere epithet. The highly uncertain explanation of the term under discussion as "mit dem Feuerquirl versehen"<sup>47</sup> is no cogent argument.

I cannot therefore follow Schmidt in concluding that in 3, 26, 2 "der parallel gebrauchte Ausdruck *bṛhaspāti*" is an epithet<sup>48</sup>, because *mātariśvan*

<sup>39</sup> See Schmidt, p. 68 ff. etc.

<sup>40</sup> Geldner, o.c., I, p. 359.

<sup>41</sup> Renou, E.V.P. XII, p. 66.

<sup>42</sup> Macdonell, Vedic mythology, p. 71.

<sup>43</sup> Renou, E.V.P. XII, p. 54.

<sup>44</sup> See also J. Gonda, The Vedic god Mitra, Leiden 1972, p. 45 ff.

<sup>45</sup> See the places enumerated by Macdonell, o.c., p. 71, § 25, 3<sup>rd</sup> section.

<sup>46</sup> Whatever the influence of popular etymology might have been.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. M. Mayrhofer, Kurzgefasstes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen, II, Heidelberg 1963, p. 618.

<sup>48</sup> Schmidt, o.c., p. 68 does not hesitate to consider *vaiśvānara* an epithet.

is such a qualification. I would modify Schmidt's remarks on the use of that name in 3, 26, 2<sup>49</sup> as follows: the term *vīpṛam* in pāda d may, also in my opinion, correspond to *bṛhaspatim* in c, but it is exactly Agni's being a *vīpṛa* "one who experiences the rapture of religious inspiration" (cf. e.g. 3, 14, 5; 3, 29, 7; 8, 43, 14) which makes the poet temporarily assimilate<sup>50</sup> the character of this god, who is a great furtherer of inspiration<sup>51</sup>, with Bṛhaspati, the guide and producer of ritual texts (1, 190, 1; 2, 23, 1; 19), and of sacrificial ceremonies (cf. e.g. 10, 35, 11), and the god who grants the faculty of powerful speech (10, 98, 2; 7), the god also who shares with Agni the function of a domestic priest (2, 24, 9; 6, 16, 1; 8, 49, 1 etc.). So I would subscribe to Renou's<sup>52</sup> opinion: "... encore qu'une identification spontanée à Agni soit d'abord à conseiller"<sup>53</sup>.

Turning now to the next link in Schmidt's chain of 'probabilities' — "ist *bṛhaspāti* in 3, 26, 2 ein Epithet Agnis, so ist damit auch die Wahrscheinlichkeit gegeben, dass es sich in 5, 43, 12 ebenso verhält"<sup>54</sup> — I am inclined to approve Oldenberg's<sup>55</sup> suggestion, which was endorsed by Geldner<sup>56</sup> quoting 7, 97, 6 and 1, 40, 2: both gods are identified because they have some traits of character in common: in my opinion these are their relations with inspiration, religious poetry, and priesthood. Agni officiates at the sacrifice and without Bṛhaspati this ceremony does not succeed (1, 18, 7). Both gods are moreover qualified as *brahmán* (4, 9, 4; 10, 141, 3). The association or 'assimilation' of two gods may sometimes lead to a certain degree of interchangeability of their names. Cf. e.g. RV. 3, 36, 5; 10, 147, 5.

According to Max Müller<sup>57</sup> Brahmanaspati can in RV. 1, 38, 13 be a sort of adjectival or appositional qualification (Beiwort) of Agni, according to Bergaigne<sup>58</sup> the poet of this stanza identifies both gods. Geldner<sup>59</sup>

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It is not without reason that Macdonell, o.c., p. 99, speaks of an epithet exhibiting "a semi-independent character" and another author of "besondere Gestalt oder Manifestation".

<sup>49</sup> Schmidt, o.c., p. 70 f.

<sup>50</sup> For this term see W. Norman Brown, in *New Indian Antiquary* 2 (1939-40) p. 115.

<sup>51</sup> Gonda, *Vision*, p. 83 ff. etc.

<sup>52</sup> Renou, E.V.P. XII, p. 124.

<sup>53</sup> It would appear to me that Geldner (o.c., I, p. 359) and Renou (E.V.P. XII, are right in writing in their translations *Vaiśvānara* with a capital.

<sup>54</sup> Schmidt, o.c., p. 71.

<sup>55</sup> H. Oldenberg, in *Nachr. Ges. d. Wiss. Göttingen*, 1915, p. 20 ff. (= *Kleine Schriften*, Wiesbaden 1967, p. 378 ff.).

<sup>56</sup> Geldner, o.c., II, p. 12; cf. also Renou, E.V.P. IV, p. 68.

<sup>57</sup> M. Müller, *Beiträge zu einer wissenschaftlichen Mythologie*, II, Leipzig 1898-99, p. 383 ff.

<sup>58</sup> A. Bergaigne, *La religion védique*, I, Paris 1878, p. 299 ff.

<sup>59</sup> Geldner, o.c., I, p. 48.

takes the words *bráhmanas pátim* as a proper name, Renou<sup>60</sup> translates "Maître de la Formule". Schmidt<sup>61</sup>, though regarding this place as "nicht entscheidend" and "weniger zuversichtlich (zu) beurteilen", classes the name further on among the cases of Agni epithets. In my opinion the poet, while eulogizing the Maruts, exhorts himself, in this stanza, to invoke two distinct deities, viz. Brahmanaspati and Agni, the former in order to induce him to give him (the poet) a long span of life, the latter to secure his 'friendship'. The poet turns away from his main subject, the Maruts, in order to invoke the favour and the assistance of the god of fire who is closely connected with the Maruts and often occurs in the Marut hymns<sup>62</sup>, and of the Lord of Brahman, the inspired poet par excellence and patron of the reciters (2, 23, 1 etc.), who at 2, 25, 1 is explicitly stated to extend the life-time of that man who has made him a yoke-fellow. The appearance of these gods in one and the same stanza points, once again, to their intimate relation.

Commenting upon R.V. 1, 62, 3 Schmidt<sup>63</sup> writes: "In 3 heisst es, dass Indra und die Aṅgiras bei ihrer Suche von der Hündin Saramā begleitet waren, die den Quell (? H.P.S. and J.G.)<sup>64</sup> für die Nachkommenschaft fand (*indrasyāṅgirasām ceṣṭāṁ vidāt sarāmā tānayaṁ dhāsim*). Als Spalter des Felsens und Finder der Kühe wird *bṛhaspāti* genannt, während die Männer, die Aṅgiras, mit den Kühen zusammen brüllten (*bṛhaspátir bhinád ádriṁ vidád gāḥ sām usrīyābhir vāvaśanta nāraḥ*) . . . Man hat in *bṛhaspāti* wohl ein Epithet Indras zu sehen. Und das wird auch durch 4 nahegelegt, wo Indra zusammen mit den sieben Sängern den Vala durch Gebrüll bricht"<sup>65</sup>. This is, however, not the only possibility. In view of the well-known identifications of the type "Agni is Mitra when inflamed" (R.V. 5, 3, 1)<sup>66</sup>, or "the intelligent sage (is) for us Aditi, Vivasvat, Mitra . . ." (7, 9, 3) Indra may for the occasion assume Bṛhaspati's name, because he fulfils a function which usually is Bṛhaspati's; compare e.g. 4, 50, 5 where the latter, accompanied by his praising host, which knew the sacred texts, rent Vala with a roar and, shouting, drove out the lowing cows. Or, what would appear to be the most probable interpretation, Bṛhaspati and Indra are, here also, two distinct divine persons who act in co-operation. In this case the event described is represented as taking place in two stages: first Bṛhaspati splits or cleaves (st. 3 *bhinad*) the

<sup>60</sup> Renou, E.V.P. X, p. 15.

<sup>61</sup> Schmidt, o.c., p. 67; 71; 93.

<sup>62</sup> Renou, E.V.P. X, p. 3.

<sup>63</sup> Schmidt, o.c., p. 164 f.; cf. p. 87. See also Bergaigne, o.c., I, p. 302.

<sup>64</sup> "treasure", ?, see J. Gonda, Old-Indian, Leiden 1971, p. 176.

<sup>65</sup> The interpretation of *stuvaté* in stanza 1 preferred by Schmidt ("Indra ist selbst ein Preisender" and Renou "(dieu) louangeur", E.V.P. XVII, p. 25) is uncertain; see Geldner, o.c., I, p. 80. The epithets *kratumant* "inventive, resourceful" and *dhīra* "possessed of vision, wise" quoted to add to the force of the argument, do not prove Indra to be the "Herr der Preisung".

<sup>66</sup> See Gonda, The Vedic god Mitra, p. 46 ff.



rock and finds or locates the cows, then Indra bursts it or forces it open (st. 4 *darayah*). It is worth noticing that while the verb *bhid-* means "to split, cleave, pierce", "spalten, einbrechen, ein Loch in Etwas schlagen, aufreissen, schlitzen" (Petr. Dict.)—compare the related Latin *findo* "to cleave, split, part, separate, divide"—, the verb *dṛ-*, *dṛ-*, *dṛṇāti* denotes processes such as "to burst, break asunder, tear, rend, break open, disperse", "bersten machen, sprengen, zerreißen, zerpfücken, aufbrechen, auseinander laufen machen" (Petr. Dict.)—compare its relatives, in Greek *δέγω* "to skin, flay", in Gothic *galairan* "to break, destroy". The difference in the meaning of these verbs, however slight it may seem to be, does not prevent us from supposing that Indra may be represented here as completing the destruction which was begun by Br̥haspati (cf. 10, 68, 4 *bṛhaspātir* . . . *bibheda*; 6 *yadd* . . . *bhéd bṛhaspātih*; 2, 24, 3). It may be observed that, excepting a few cases, the latter verb is in connection with Indra's destructive activity very common; only once, at 6, 73, 2, Br̥haspati is the subject. Finally, st. 1, 62, 3 c containing the name *bṛhaspātih* recurs as 10, 68, 11 d, which forms part of a hymn in which "das Aufbrechen des Vala allein Br̥haspati zugeschrieben (wird)"<sup>67</sup>. Even if one would be inclined to concede that also for the poet of this hymn "Indra nicht aus dem Mythos wegzudenken war"<sup>68</sup>, the fact remains that its twelve stanzas are silent on this god.

There are more instances of a certain co-operation of Indra and Br̥haspati or Brahmanaspati: although RV. 1, 18, 1–5 is addressed to the latter deity, Soma, Indra and Dakṣiṇā<sup>69</sup> are, after him, invoked also in st. 5. In 1, 40, 1 Indra is invoked after Brahmanaspati, the god of the poem; there are more allusions to the former god<sup>70</sup>.

No light on the relations between the two gods is thrown by the statement in RV. 1, 161, 6, the only occurrence of Br̥haspati in connection with objects created and presented by the Ṛbhus, the other deities mentioned being Indra and the Ásvins.

It is difficult to ascertain the exact meaning of RV. 10, 100, 5 a *indra ukthēna śávasā páruṣ dadhe*, but so much is clear that in the stanzas 4–6 "(es) offensichtlich die Absicht des Dichters (war), Indra mit den drei Göttern zusammen zu nennen, zu denen er auch sonst engste Beziehungen hat"<sup>71</sup>, viz. with Soma (4 b), Br̥haspati (5 b) and Agni (6 b). Whether 10, 36, 5 c is intimately connected with pāda b<sup>72</sup> or not, there can be no doubt that Indra (in pāda a) and Br̥haspati (in b) here are different deities whose presence serves the same purpose (cf. 7, 10, 4 a and d).

In enumerations of names those of the two deities under examination

<sup>67</sup> Schmidt, o.c., p. 222.

<sup>68</sup> Schmidt, o.c., p. 224.

<sup>69</sup> Renou, E.V.P. XV, p. 46.

<sup>70</sup> See Geldner, o.c., p. 50; Renou, E.V.P. XV, p. 47 ff.; Schmidt, o.c., p. 100 ff.

<sup>71</sup> Schmidt, o.c., p. 120.

<sup>72</sup> Schmidt, o.c., p. 126.

occur in immediate succession in RV. 1, 90, 9 (VS. 36, 9; TĀ. 7, 1, 1; 7, 12, 1; TU. 1, 1, 1; 1, 12, 1) *śām no mitrāḥ śām vāruṇaḥ śām no bhavatu aryamā / śām no indro bṛhaspātīḥ śām no viṣṇur urukramāḥ*; similarly in the nearly correspondent AV. 19, 9, 6; RV. 10, 103, 8 *indra āsām netā bṛhaspātīr dākṣiṇā yajñāḥ purā etu sōmaḥ*; 1, 18, 4 (otherwise 1, 18, 5): "Es ist deutlich, dass der Kampf—10, 103, 8 is a war-hymn—von einem Opfer unterstützt wird, und dass Bṛhaspati als der Hauptpriester Indra auf seinem Wagen begleitet . . ." <sup>73</sup>; 10, 141, 5 (otherwise 4). On the contrary, however, at RV. 9, 5, 11; 1, 89, 6 Indra is first, Bṛhaspati last of a series; 7, 10, 4; and compare also 1, 14, 3 *indravayū bṛhaspātim . . .*; 10, 161, 4 *indrāgnī savitā bṛhaspātīḥ*; 10, 173, 5; 8, 10, 2.

The two hymns (4, 49; 7, 97) addressed <sup>74</sup> to Indra and Bṛhaspati <sup>75</sup> "consist chiefly of invitations to drink soma and of prayers to bestow great wealth abounding in steeds and to promote devotion" <sup>76</sup>. This opinion strains the truth with regard to RV. 7, 97 which presents a greater variety of content than the shorter hymn 4, 49. The texts differ on more points. In 4, 49 the dual deity is, by means of the dvandva compound, invoked in every stanza, in 7, 97 this compound does not occur; it is not before the last (10<sup>th</sup>) stanza that we find *bṛhaspate yuvām indraś ca*—notice, however, in 9 ab *iyām vām brahmaṇas pate suvṛktīr . . . akāri*—, Indra alone being invoked or named in st. 1, 3 and 9 and Bṛhaspati or Brahmanaspati alone in all stanzas except the first and the last. It is therefore quite intelligible that the Anukramanī considers the shorter hymn to be addressed to the dual deity, the longer hymn to Bṛhaspati as far as regards st. 2; 4–8; to Indra as far as regards st. 1; to both gods as far as regards st. 3, 9 and 10. Both names indeed occur in st. 3 and 9, but not in the same syntactic units. The Bṛhaddevatā, 6, 25 even goes so far as to regard 7, 97 as addressed to Bṛhaspati alone.

RV. 4, 49 is full of phrases and even pādas which occur also in other parts of the corpus <sup>77</sup>. Pāda 1 c=1, 86, 4 c (Maruts); 3 b=1, 135, 7 c (Indra-and-Vāyu); 3 c=1, 21, 3 c (Indra-and-Agni); 5 c=1, 22, 1 c (Aśvins); 1, 23, 2 c (Indra-and-Vāyu); 5, 71, 3 c (Mitra-and-Varuṇa); 6, 59, 10 c (Indra-and-Agni); 8, 76, 6 c (Indra and the Maruts); 8, 94, 10 c–12 c (Maruts): from this survey it appears that the words *asyā sōmasya pītāye* "to drink this soma" occur only in contexts dealing with a dual

<sup>73</sup> Schmidt, o.c., p. 100.

<sup>74</sup> According to the Bṛhaddevatā, Macdonell, Geldner, Schmidt (o.c., p. 94) and others.

<sup>75</sup> Compare also Bergaigne, o.c., I, p. 302 f.

<sup>76</sup> Macdonell, Vedic mythology, p. 128.

<sup>77</sup> For a more complete survey see Bloomfield, o.c., I, p. 238; Geldner, o.c., I, p. 480.

deity or a group of deities; 6 b = 4, 46, 6 c (Indra-and-Vāyu); 8, 22, 8 d (Aśvins).

The stanzas 1, 2 and 4 appear among the formulas (puronuvākyaś and yājyāś) for special offerings (*kāmyeṣṭis*): see TS. 3, 3, 11, 1 and compare MS. 4, 12: 176, 8 ff.; they are followed by 10, 42, 11 which we have already discussed<sup>78</sup>. The story of the institution of this *kāmyeṣṭi*<sup>79</sup> is related in TS. 2, 4, 13: "The gods were afraid of the nobleman<sup>80</sup> on his birth. While still in the womb they fettered him with a bond. The nobleman thus is born fettered. If he were born not fettered, he would continually slay the enemies. If one should desire of a nobleman 'May he be born not fettered, may he continually slay the enemies', one should offer for him this oblation for Indra-and-Bṛhaspati, for the nobleman is connected with Indra (*aindraḥ*), Bṛhaspati is brahman; verily by (means of) brahman one frees him from the bond which fetters him. The dakṣiṇā is a golden bond . . .". The motivation of the oblation is interesting in that it shows that each god has his traditional relations, Indra as the god of the kṣatriyas or the divine representative of nobility (e.g. ŚB. 5, 1, 1, 11) and Bṛhaspati as the "Lord of brahman"<sup>81</sup> (ŚB., *ibidem*). That Indra should be worshipped in a rite affecting a nobleman is self-evident. It is no less clear that fetters made by the gods can be loosened only by means of a very potent power<sup>82</sup> which is, for instance, in another passage of the TS. (1, 5, 4, 3) believed to be able to connect or bind together what has been cut up. For other versions of this mythical story see KS. 11, 4: 148, 5 ff., where the rite is to be performed on behalf of a nobleman who wishes to increase in might; MS. 2, 1, 12: 13, 18 ff., where it is to benefit a nobleman who does not reach a higher rank and position: "Aditi, desirous of offspring, cooked a rice mess. She ate the remains<sup>83</sup>. She fettered Indra<sup>84</sup> when he (still) was an embryo with an iron bond. He was born fettered. Bṛhaspati functioned for him as a priest at this sacrificial rite in honour of Indra-and-Bṛhaspati. That bond of his (then) was completely destroyed without external agency. He (thereupon) turned himself to these quarters of the universe with his bolt. The nobleman who does not rise in the world should cause (his priest) to perform this sacrificial rite in honour

<sup>78</sup> See above, p. 314.

<sup>79</sup> For which see also W. Caland, *Altindische Zauberei*, Amsterdam Acad. 1908, p. 64 f.

<sup>80</sup> For the meaning of *rājanya* (which should not, with A. B. Keith, *The Veda of the Black Yajus School*, Cambridge Mass. 1914, p. 186 be translated by "warrior") see W. Rau, *Staat und Gesellschaft im alten Indien*, Wiesbaden 1957, p. 67: "Es bezeichnet (1) den Adligen im allgemeinen und (2) den Mann aus dem niederen Adel".

<sup>81</sup> See J. Gonda, *Notes on brahman*, Utrecht 1950, p. 66 ff. Compare also Schmidt, *o.c.*, p. 122.

<sup>82</sup> See Gonda, *o.c.*, p. 42 f.

<sup>83</sup> For Aditi and the rice mess see J. Gonda, *The Savayajñas*, Amsterdam Acad. 1965, p. 55 ff.

<sup>84</sup> For Indra as a son of Aditi see e.g. MS. 1, 6, 12: 105, 2 and TB. 1, 1, 9, 3.

of Indra-and-Bṛhaspati. He, one should know, is surrounded by evil; hence he does not rise in the world. It is to Bṛhaspati that the sacrificial food is to be strewn, i.e. the oblation is to be presented, to Indra that the rite is performed. He frees him in all respects. He turns with the vajra to all quarters of the universe". One should remember that the noble sacrificer impersonates Indra, and that while turning (clockwise) to all quarters of the universe Indra became invincible. MŚS. 5, 1, 9, 13 makes mention of the two stanzas (4, 49, 1 and 4) after dealing with the person who is desirous of the office of family priest and the man who desires to have a village.

Describing the pertinent ritual acts the author of MŚS. 5, 1, 7, 48 ff. says: "Who, destined for kingship, does not obtain it (lit. "does not become superior"), shall strew (sacrificial food) for an oblation to Indra-and-Bṛhaspati. After having strewn it for Bṛhaspati and prepared (it) for Indra he shall proceed for both. Stanzas containing "slayer of enemies" are prescribed. The two stanzas 4, 49, 1 and 4 (cf. MS. 4, 12, 1: 176, 8 f.) 'This oblation is dear in your mouth, O Indra-and-Bṛhaspati. The praise and the intoxicating drink are announced. To us, O Indra-and-Bṛhaspati, grant wealth a hundredfold' (should accompany) the oblation". Like the author of MS. 2, 1, 12 the *sūtrakāra* no doubt made an attempt at explaining and making significant, from the point of view of ritual practice, the necessity of offering the oblation to a dual deity. ĀpŚS. 19, 27, 22 prescribes the *caru* for this dual deity when a kṣatriya is born; cf. also HŚS. 22, 6, 28. See also BaudhŚS. 13, 42: 149, 9: "If he wants a nobleman to be born unbound (free) and practising the destruction of inimical powers (*vrtrān ghnāmś caret*) he should offer this Indra-and-Bṛhaspati oblation for him".

The stanzas RV. 4, 49, 3 and 4 are prescribed in the rite mentioned at ĀśvŚS. 2, 11, 18 f., which is to be performed in case a (nobleman) is overpowered by his enemies. The commentator Gārgya Nārāyaṇa supplies the annotation: If the officiants (*adhvaryavaḥ*), after having prepared an oblation for Indra-and-Bṛhaspati, order accompanying words to be pronounced for Indra, or if they do so after having prepared an oblation for Bṛhaspati (alone), in both cases these stanzas serve as *anuvākya* and *yājyā*<sup>85</sup>.

KS. 10, 13: 142, 7 ff. combines only the stanzas RV. 4, 49, 4 and 10, 42, 11 in which Bṛhaspati and Indra are invoked individually.

With regard to RV. 4, 50 Kaegi<sup>86</sup> was of the opinion that it was made up of three parts which originally did not belong together, st. 1-6 eulogizing the god Bṛhaspati, "in welchem die priesterliche Tätigkeit personifiziert

<sup>85</sup> As the stanza by which the god is invited to partake of the oblation (*anuvākya*) precedes the stanza which is to accompany it (*yājyā*) the usual translation "yājyā and *anuvākya*" should be given up (see Pāṇini, 2, 2, 34).

<sup>86</sup> K. Geldner und A. Kaegi, Siebenzig Lieder des Rgveda übersetzt, Tübingen 1875, p. 108 f.



ist"; st. 7-9 praising "die Vorteile, welche einem Fürsten erwachsen, der einen Priester anstellt und hochhält—der Priester ist der menschliche Brhaspati—"; st. 10 and 11 "sind an Indra und Brhaspati gemeinsam gerichtet"<sup>87</sup>. He was, in the main, followed by Geldner<sup>88</sup> who preferred to regard the two final stanzas as an invitation of the "king of the gods and his purohita" to the soma sacrifice. According to Schmidt<sup>89</sup> the stanzas 4, 50, 10 and 11, "die ursprünglich ein selbständiges Lied gebildet haben müssen", "sind inhaltlich an 4, 49 (, 6) anzuschliessen".

The hemistich 4, 50, 11 cd = 7, 97, 9 cd, "die einzige interne Wiederholung in den Brhaspati-Liedern, die überdies in . . . Indra-Brhaspati-Strophen steht"<sup>90</sup>. Pāda 11 c is, moreover, identical with 7, 64, 5 c which is addressed to Mitra-and-Varuṇa. In 10 d the poet prays for *rayīm śārvavīram* "wealth comprising, or consisting of, (a complete number of) uninjured heroic sons"<sup>91</sup>, a supplication addressed to the Maruts in 2, 30, 11 and 3, 62, 3; to the Rbhus in 4, 35, 6; to the Fathers in 10, 15, 11; the pressing-stones in 10, 76, 4. The hemistich 11 ab, in which the gods are implored to cause those speaking to increase and to show them their benevolence (lit. "that benevolence of yours must be with us"<sup>92</sup>), does not occur elsewhere.

As to stanza 10, it occurs also AV. 20, 13, 1; in a discussion of the śāstras of the hotrakas in AiB. 6, 12, 8 (as an offering stanza of the brāhmaṇacchamsin); cf. ĀśvŚS. 5, 5, 19; ŚŚS. 8, 2, 7; GB. 2, 2, 22, the uktha recitation belonging to this dual deity being the uktha of the brāhmaṇacchamsin (AiB. 3, 50, 2; 6, 14, 9; KB. 16, 11; GB. 2, 4, 16 and see also AVPr. 3, 3). See also VaitS. 22, 21<sup>93</sup>; PB. 8, 8, 7; JB. 1, 180. Specifying the śāstras of the hotrakas in connection with the pairs of deities to which they belong the author of GB. 2, 6, 7 observes: "Thus (the uktha) connected with Indra-and-Brhaspati is recited after(wards). Indra, indeed, is manly strength (heroism, virtue, *viryam*), Brhaspati is brahman, cattle are the ukthas. Therefore, with *viryam* and brahman on both sides he envelops cattle; it is for remaining and not going away (i.e. to prevent them from going away)".

RV. 7, 97<sup>94</sup> is prescribed at the fifth day of the *prsthya* six day period

<sup>87</sup> Compare Brhaddevatā 5, 5: 4, 49 and 4, 50, 10 and 11 are in praise of Indra-and-Brhaspati, 4, 50, 1-9 in praise of Brhaspati.

<sup>88</sup> Geldner, Der Rig-Veda übersetzt, I, p. 480.

<sup>89</sup> Schmidt, o.c., p. 96; and compare also ibidem, p. 215.

<sup>90</sup> Schmidt, o.c., p. 25.

<sup>91</sup> "Faite d'hommes d'élite en nombre-total" (Renou, E.V.P., XV, p. 65); not "Reichtum ganz aus Mannen" (Schmidt, o.c., p. 96).

<sup>92</sup> It is not advisable to combine *sacā* in pāda b (not to be printed, with Schmidt, o.c., p. 96, in a) with the words of pāda a (Geldner, Renou, Schmidt, whose "gemeinsam" should in any case not belong to "wachsen"). Cf. *sacā* in RV. 1, 71, 4, *sacābhū* etc.

<sup>93</sup> and Caland's note: Das Vaitānasūtra des Atharvaveda, Amsterdam Acad. 1910, p. 63.

<sup>94</sup> For an interpretation of which see Schmidt, o.c., p. 62 ff.

and the middle *chandoma* day<sup>95</sup> (ŚŚS. 12, 12, 13, dealing with the śastras of the hotrakas). In the other brāhmaṇa of the R̥gveda it combines with 4, 50, which eulogizes Bṛhaspati, to be used in the so-called *vardhamāna stoma* (ĀśvŚS. 7, 9, 3). Stanza 2 is *pratikena* quoted at ŚŚS. 6, 10, 5 prescribing its use as an invitational stanza if a victim is immolated for Bṛhaspati (sic, not for Indra-and-Bṛhaspati), the other anuvākyās being 5, 43, 12 (forming part of a sūkta addressed to the Viśve Devāḥ and relating to Bṛhaspati) and 6, 73, 3 (a hymn directed to Bṛhaspati). The same sūtra has st. 7, 97, 4 and 7, together with 4, 50, 5 (Bṛhaspati), on the same occasion recited as offering stanzas. At ŚŚS. 9, 24, 8 stanza 6 combines with 3, 62, 5 (Bṛhaspati) for a similar purpose. Stanza 7 occurs also MS. 4, 14, 4: 219, 13; TB. 2, 5, 5, 4; and see TB. 2, 8, 2, 7. In KS. 17, 18 st. 4, 6, 5, 7 (in this order) combine with 4, 50, 4 a; 6; 1, 116, 25 (Āśvins); 1, 92, 6 (Uṣas) etc. The prayer contained in stanza 7, 97, 10 "Bṛhaspati and Indra (*bṛhaspate yuvām indras ca*), ye both dispose of heavenly and earthly goods. Grant wealth to the man who praises, even if he be weak. (And you, the gods in general), protect us always with (your) blessings" is repeated at the end of 7, 98 which, being addressed to Indra, does not, in st. 1-7, mention any other deity; it recurs as AV. 20, 17, 12; 20, 87, 7. In ĀpŚS. 22, 7, 11 it is prescribed to accompany the sprinkling (anointing), during the midday service, of the sacrificer (*yajamāna*) in a one-day soma sacrifice. See TB. 2, 5, 6, 3. In ĀśvŚS. 6, 1, 2 it is a yājyā (see also ŚŚS. 9, 3, 4); in 9, 9, 14 a closing stanza; see also GB. 2, 4, 16, adding "thus indeed he delights the two deities (*devate*) in accordance with their portions".

The compound *indrābrahmaṇaspati* occurs in RV. 2, 24, 12. The hymn is dedicated to Brahmanaspati, who, in st. 2; 4; 5; 8; 13; 14 and 15 is mentioned by this name and in st. 1; 10; 11 called Bṛhaspati. These facts led the author of the Bṛhaddevatā (4, 81) to say that the poet praised Bṛhaspati incidentally and Brahmanaspati strictly speaking while praising Indra-and-Brahmanaspati in st. 12. Leaving this detail out of account the Sarvānukramaṇī, followed for instance by Geldner, gives the deity of RV. 2, 23-26 as Brahmanaspati. Whereas Geldner<sup>96</sup> is silent on the isolated occurrence of the dual deity in st. 12, Renou<sup>97</sup> regards this 'jonction avec Indra' as an 'amorce'. Yet the stanza does not impress us as an intrusion. Eulogizing Bṛhaspati the poet, after saying in st. 11 that the god has reached a state of enlargement and extension so as to be equivalent to the (other) gods and that he encloses all (the worlds), words which after the preceding attribution of separate exploits to this god and some laudatory stanzas of a general character are a sort of climax and recapitulation, the poet proceeds so to say to duplicate the god,

<sup>95</sup> See above, p. 268 etc.

<sup>96</sup> Geldner, o.c., I, p. 308.

<sup>97</sup> Renou, E.V.P. XV, p. 56; 59.

changing over to the dual: "For you, O (two) benevolent ones, everything becomes real (is realized). Even the waters do not infringe your rule(s) of functional conduct (*vratām*)<sup>98</sup>. Come, O Indra-and-Brahmaṇaspati, to our oblation, like a two-horse team, bearers (and producers) of *vāja*, to feed"<sup>99</sup>. If the translation of the last pāda is right the transition to st. 13 is not abrupt: "Even the swiftest draught animals obey him (Brahmaṇaspati) . . . Hating vigorous resistance . . . Brahmaṇaspati is impetuous in hostile encounters".

I must for a moment dwell upon st. 12 inviting attention to my deliberate disagreement with the interpretation of these words proposed by H. P. Schmidt<sup>100</sup>. Referring for critical remarks on his views of the term *vrata* to other publications<sup>101</sup>, I must object here, not only to his translation of pāda b: "Selbst die Wasser täuschen (vereiteln) nicht euer Gelübde", but also to his interpretation of pāda d: "wie zwei beutebeladene Verbündete zum Mahle"<sup>102</sup>. Polemizing with Thieme<sup>103</sup> the author argues that *vratam* may, it is true, here consist "im Kommen der Götter", but does not express the gods' will. "Vor allem heisst es nämlich, dass die Götter wie Verbündete kommen (? , J. G.); und für Verbündete ist nicht der Wille das Motiv des Kommens (why not?, J. G.), auch nicht etwa ein dem Partner gegenüber zu erfüllendes 'Gebot'—was für das Verhältnis von Gott zu Mensch (of which there is no question in this stanza, J. G.) ohnehin kaum denkbar ist—, sondern vielmehr ein Vertrag, eine Vereinbarung oder ein Versprechen. *vratam* ist an dieser Stelle also das Vertragsgelübde . . .". It would appear to me that the author has fallen a victim to his own terminology and German translations. The word *yuj*—plural forms of which are, significantly enough, rare—means, at RV. 1, 162, 21, in connection with a two-horse team, "zusammengejocht, an gleichen Wagen geschrirrt (Grassmann), Jochgenosse (Geldner)" or the animal which is together with another animal put to the same vehicle (10, 102, 9); also "verbunden, vereinigt" or "Gefährte, Genosse" (Grassmann) with reference to divine or human beings (1, 7, 5; 1, 8, 4; 1, 23, 9; 1, 129, 4; 2, 23, 10; 2, 25, 1; 4, 32, 6; 5, 34, 8; 7, 31, 6; 8, 21, 11; 8, 62, 6; 8, 63, 11; 8, 83, 2; 8, 102, 3; 9, 14, 4; 9, 65, 12; 10, 33, 9; 10, 42, 4; 10, 55, 8; 10, 89, 8) and also with reference to 'inanimate objects', e.g.

<sup>98</sup> I am not convinced that the Petersburg Dict. VI, 1495 and P. Thieme, Beiträge zur Vedaexegese, Z.D.M.G. 95 (1941), p. 106 (= Kleine Schriften, Wiesbaden 1971, p. 31), n. 1 are right in translating *vratam* by "Wille" and considering this to be the oldest meaning of the word. This translation (or "Gebot") is of course in itself not nonsensical, but this might be said of many other German words which would fit a particular context well.

<sup>99</sup> Thus Sāyaṇa followed by Renou, E.V.P., l.c.

<sup>100</sup> H. P. Schmidt, Vedisch *vrata* und awestisch *urvāta*, Hamburg 1958, p. 24.

<sup>101</sup> Gonda, in History of religions, 1 (Chicago 1961), p. 259 f.; The Savayajñas p. 290.

<sup>102</sup> Compare Geldner, o.c., I, p. 308.

<sup>103</sup> P. Thieme, l.c.

to Indra's bolt (10, 92, 7, "seine verbundene Keule", Geldner, cf. 1, 33, 10; 8, 77, 7). Although the use of the term may occasionally remind the person addressed of an agreement (5, 30, 8), the large majority of texts shows that a *yuj* is the one with whom a being performs a task, the one who helps for a common object (cf. e.g. 8, 68, 9), a co-operating or supporting individual, without any reference to "ein Vertrag, eine Vereinbarung", of which there can of course be no question in the case of animals put to the same carriage and in all those cases in which this use (or image) is still distinctly present to the poet's mind. With a *yuj* one is stronger, more successful, victorious. Thus Soma was Indra's *yuj* when he made the waters flow (4, 28, 1)<sup>104</sup>. Effusions such as 7, 1, 13 "With thee as a *yuj*, O Agni, I would like to overpower those who intend to attack me" are perfectly intelligible without the assumption of a pact or covenant between the god and his worshipper, and even if one would argue that the relation between these presupposes a sort of covenant no allusion is made to it in these stanzas. The term under discussion quite naturally combines with *sakhi* "mate, comrade, associate, companion"<sup>105</sup> (cf. 6, 56, 2), which likewise indicates a relation that, as far as appears from the texts, does not presuppose a pact or 'league of amity'. Thus Brhaspati has, in 2, 23, 18, with Indra as his *yuj*, freed the waters.

Brhaspati is also Indra's *yuj* at RV. 8, 96, 15 "With Brhaspati as his yoke-fellow Indra overwhelmed the godless troops as they approached (attacked)". The context<sup>106</sup> is not relevant, but it is worth noticing that the triplet 8, 96, 13-15 induced the author of AiB. 6, 36, 14 to furnish the following explanation: "The asura folk rebelled against the gods; Indra with Brhaspati as yoke-fellow beat off the asura hue when attacking. Verily thus also the sacrificers by means of Indra and Brhaspati as yoke-fellow (notice the singular *yujā*: *indrābrhaspatibhyām eva yujā*) beat off the asura hue when attacking". The last section of the Gopatha-Brāhmaṇa (2, 6, 16, last sentences) deals with this verse: "The godless troops are the 'others' (*aparajanāḥ*, opposed to "one's own relations, own people"). (He who recites this verse) is not afraid of the 'other(s)' ". In the same section it had been said that "in that he recites this triplet belonging to Indra-and-Brhaspati and the last triplet belonging to Indra . . . he delights him (Indra) in his own regular place (or position: *āyatana*)". See also VaitS. 32, 35.

As has appeared in the foregoing sections both divine names not rarely occur in the same stanza. Whereas the frequent references to their mutual relations contrast with the relative rarity of the dual compound, the

<sup>104</sup> See above.

<sup>105</sup> For the use of this term I refer to my article *Mitra and mitra* (see above, p. 149, n. 21).

<sup>106</sup> For which see Geldner's (o.c., II, p. 422 f.) and Schmidt's (o.c., p. 112 f.) comments.



association of both gods finds its explication in their being the divine counterpart of the king and his domestic priest. In 2, 23, 18<sup>107</sup> Indra is said to be Brhaspati's "yoke-fellow" (*yuḥ*)<sup>108</sup>. "Wie sich der Dichter das Verhältnis beider zueinander vorstellt, kommt nicht zum Ausdruck. Es wird als bekannt vorausgesetzt..."<sup>109</sup>, or it is left to the hearer's imagination. Schmidt continues "... und lässt sich erschliessen aus der Tatsache, dass die Gegner einerseits als Herrscher (12 b, cf. 11 d), andererseits als Priester (10; 16) dargestellt werden...; es ist ... zu verstehen als das von König zu Priester". Without rejecting the analogy between the divine pair on the one hand and the king and his priest on the other, I fail to see why st. 10 and 16 should refer to inimical priests. Though relating to the Vala myth, the phraseology of the second hemistich reminds us of the Vṛtra myth (cf. 1, 56, 5; 1, 85, 9)<sup>110</sup>; since Brhaspati is only mediately concerned with the latter we may have to do here with an Indraic component.

This dual deity, which does not appear in Śaunaka's Atharvaveda, figures in AVP. 1, 40, 1 among many gods who are said to be controlled by the operator—that is, who by means of this magical text fall into his power. The use of the formulary is explained in KauśS. 133, where it is quoted also: it is, together with AVŚ. 6, 117–119; 6, 61, to be employed in a rite in expiation of the portent of the burning of one's house. The only detail which may be of interest for our purpose is that this dual deity occurs, in st. 1 b, immediately after Mitra-and-Varuṇa in 1 a, the third divine pair mentioned (in 3 a) being Dyāvāprthivī.

Of the animal victims to be slaughtered at a horse sacrifice the red-spotted hornless cows are for Indra-and-Brhaspati (TS. 5, 6, 12; KSAśv. 9, 2), but VS. 24, 7 and MS. 3, 13, 8 assign to them a humpbacked one with white fore-feet and a white back, whereas TS. 5, 6, 14 and KSAśv. 24, 4 speak of a white-humped, white-backed and white-rumped one. White seems to be, in this connection, Brhaspati's colour: VS. 24, 2 "one with white fore-feet, wholly white, belongs to Brhaspati".

The formulas "With glory (come) to me, Heaven-and-Earth, with glory, Indra-and-Brhaspati" (*yaśasā mā dyāvāprthivī, yaśasendrābrhaspati*) occur at PGS. 2, 6, 21 to consecrate the snātaka's donning a new upper garment and at MGS. 1, 9, 27 to accompany the same act performed by a bride. From the other formulas used on the same occasion it appears that the person concerned hopes that this act will conduce to a long life, increase of wealth, glory and good fortune. The question arises as to

<sup>107</sup> Cf. e.g. Bergaigne, o.c., II, p. 291; 313.

<sup>108</sup> See above.

<sup>109</sup> Schmidt, o.c., p. 112.

<sup>110</sup> In arguing that the Vala and Vṛtra myths cannot be of the same origin Schmidt (o.c., p. 243) incorrectly supposes 'duplicate myths' to be, always and necessarily, variant developments of one and the same 'original' myth. As far as I am able to see the term is usually used to denote a myth which is closely related to another myth, expressing in a different imagery the same fundamental idea.

why these gods are invoked, whereas ĀśvGS. 3, 8, 9 prescribes, for the snātaka, the appropriate words "Garments with fat (splendour) you put on, O Mitrāvaruṇā" (RV. 1, 152, 1). Now, Heaven and Earth, who contain the universe (ŚB. 3, 1, 3, 26), sustain all creatures (RV. 1, 159, 2; 1, 160, 2 etc.), are guardians of the living beings (1, 160, 2), protectors (1, 185, 10) and implored for protection against distress and injury (10, 36, 2). RV. 5, 43, 2 is of special interest: eulogizing, in this hymn to the Viśve Devāḥ, Dyāvāprthivī the poet expresses the wish that this divine couple, the Father and Mother, the two glorious ones (*yaśāsau*), will assist himself and his people. It seems warranted to look here—or in other places, unknown to us, exhibiting the same association between *yaśas* and Heaven-and-Earth—for an answer to the question as to why this dual deity should, in the formula under discussion, be accompanied by fame or glory. Glory (*yaśas*) is, moreover, proper to the gods in general (ŚB. 1, 1, 1, 5; 10, 1, 4, 14 etc.) and highly desired by those who undertake religious rites (5, 2, 1, 15 etc.). ŚB. 5, 3, 2, 3 states that the one who is learned (in the Veda), while being qualified for *yaśas*, does not represent it and is covered with darkness; this darkness is removed by the dual deity Soma-and-Rudra. On the other hand, the study and teaching of the Veda are a source of pleasure to the brahman, to whom restraint of the sense organs, growth of intelligence, *yaśas* are peculiar (11, 5, 7, 1). As to Indra-and-Bṛhaspati, the king of the gods and the divine purohita, it may be recalled that they are masters of celestial and earthly goods (RV. 7, 97, 10).

## CHAPTER X

### A. INDRA-AND-VIṢṆU

As is well known the Vedic Viṣṇu is Indra's friend, and frequently allied with the latter in the Vṛtra combat. The closeness of their alliance is indicated by the fact that in the Viṣṇu hymns Indra is the only other deity incidentally associated with him either explicitly or implicitly<sup>1</sup>. That this 'friendship' has contributed much to the genesis of the dual deity Indrāviṣṇū seems beyond doubt. That, however, the sūkta 6, 69, dedicated to Indrāviṣṇū, owes its existence to, or "indicates", the close alliance of both gods in the fight with the demon<sup>2</sup> is not certain, since this hymn does not, as far as I am able to see, clearly refer to this exploit. The co-operation of both gods and the community of their interests, however, induced the poets to use the same characterizations in connection with either god and to invoke them in the same context (e.g. 1, 22, 19; 6, 20, 2)<sup>3</sup>. The phrase "fearful wild beast of the mountain" is at 10, 180, 2 used in connection with Indra, at 1, 154, 2 in connection with Viṣṇu. The words *urū kramiṣṭa jivāse* are used of the latter at 1, 155, 4, of the former at 8, 63, 9<sup>4</sup>. The poet of 1, 156, 4 even attributed to Viṣṇu, accompanied by his friend, the famous deed of opening Vala's cowpen. In 4, 55, 4, forming part of a sūkta addressed to the Viśve Devāḥ, Indrāviṣṇū are invoked for protection and a strong defence; similarly, 10, 66, 4. R.V. 4, 2, 4 "Aryaman, Varuṇa, Mitra, Indrāviṣṇū, the Maruts and the Aśvins"—the hymn is dedicated to Agni—likewise attests to the tendency to view Indra and Viṣṇu as a 'dualité unité'. In 8, 10, 2 the compound precedes the dual *aśvīnau*; cf. also 8, 92, 4.

The sūkta 6, 69 is our main R̥gvedic source attesting to the close association of Indra and Viṣṇu. In st. 3 and 6 their favour is implored with a view to property or material goods. According to Renou<sup>5</sup> "ici (st. 1) *karman* est plus spécialement affecté à Indra, *iṣ* à Viṣṇu". The term *iṣ* is however used in connection with the former god at 1, 129, 7; 8, 69, 1; 8, 82, 3 etc. and 5, 7, 1; 8, 23, 3 in connection with Agni. Compare also 7, 99, 6<sup>6</sup> where Indra is addressed, although the stanza is dedicated to both gods. The statement in st. 2 "ye that are the generators of all

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<sup>1</sup> A. A. Macdonell, Vedic mythology, Strassburg 1897, p. 39.

<sup>2</sup> Thus Macdonell, l.c.

<sup>3</sup> J. Gonda, Aspects of early Viṣṇuism, Utrecht 1954 (3New Delhi 1969), p. 31.

<sup>4</sup> E. W. Hopkins, in J.A.O.S. 36, p. 264, n. 21.

<sup>5</sup> Renou, E.V.P. XV, p. 43.

<sup>6</sup> See further on.

inspired thoughts" (cf. st. 3) is remarkable because these gods are only incidentally concerned with the process of poetic inspiration (for Viṣṇu cf. 1, 90, 5; for Indra 5, 29, 1). The expression *madapati madānām* in st. 3 reminds us of Indra's qualification *madānām pate* in 8, 93, 31. The noun *kalāṣa* "pitcher", or rather "tub"<sup>7</sup> (st. 2 and 6) occurs in the Indra stanzas 3, 32, 15; 6, 47, 6. The adjective *somadhāna* "containing soma" occurs at 3, 36, 8 in an Indra hymn. The epithet *sadhamād* "fellow reveller" (st. 4) is used of Indra's steeds (3, 43, 6; 10, 44, 3). St. 5 shows a curious combination of the Indraic *somasya mādē* (cf. 2, 15, 2-9; 2, 17, 1; 4, 26, 7; 8, 14, 7) with the well-known Viṣṇuite phrase *urū kram-* (e.g. 1, 90, 9): *somasya māda urū cakramāthe*. "Occasionally an attribute of the lesser deity is predicated of both. Thus Indra-Viṣṇu are together said to have taken wide strides"<sup>8</sup>. The compound *ghṛtāsuti* "one to whom belongs the oblation of ghee" characterizes Viṣṇu at 1, 156, 1 and Mitrāvaruṇau at 1, 136, 1 and 2, 41, 6. Although the Viṣṇuite component is much in evidence, Renou<sup>9</sup> was not wrong: "c'est le thème indraïque qui domine".

The whole *sūkta* 6, 69 is at AiB. 6, 15, 2 stated to belong to the *acchāvāka*. In connection with this fact GB. 2, 4, 17 dwells at length upon the recitation (*uktha*) of this functionary (cf. also ĀśvŚS. 6, 1, 2; 6, 7, 5 f. and ŚSS. 9, 4): "... it is for common praise, i.e. in order to praise both gods jointly and not to praise them (individually) to an uncommon degree": *devatayoh saṁsaṁsāyānatisaṁsāya*. "The stanza 6, 69, 1 is the conclusion (of the śāstra) belonging to Indrāviṣṇu. The Indrāviṣṇu (recitation) is his (the *acchāvāka*'s) ordinary (obligatory: *nityam*) recitation. Thus he establishes it (this śāstra) on its own regular sacred seat (*āyatane*)<sup>10</sup>, on its own foundation (*pratiṣṭhāyām*)<sup>11</sup>. These deities having become pairs (*dvandvam* ... *bhūtvā*) became victorious (conquered); it is for victory (conquest: *viṣṭyai*) and it is for the propagation of a pair, of a couple. 'You both conquered, you are not defeated' (6, 69, 8 a), with this verse addressed to Indra-and-Viṣṇu he concludes (the śāstra); thus he establishes the sacrifice of Indra-and-Viṣṇu. The verse "O Indra-and-Viṣṇu, drink of this tasteful drink" (7 a) he recites as the *yājyā*. Thus, indeed, he delights the same deities in accordance with their portions ...". See also GB. 2, 2, 2; ĀśvŚS. 5, 5, 19; ŚSS. 8, 2, 10.

RV. 6, 69, 1 is indeed used as *puronuvākya* (TS. 3, 2, 11, 2 f.; MS. 4, 12, 15; KS. 12, 14) and st. 8 as *yājyā* for Indrāviṣṇu in one of the *kāmyeṣṭis* described in TS. 2, 4, 11; see TS. 3, 2, 11, 1 and 2, d and e; MS. 4, 12, 5: 192, 1 etc. For the first stanza "With (ritual) action, with the enjoyment of the libation I impel you, O Indrāviṣṇu, to the completion of this

<sup>7</sup> Renou, E.V.P. XV, p. 45.

<sup>8</sup> Macdonell, o.c., p. 127.

<sup>9</sup> Renou, E.V.P. XV, p. 43.

<sup>10</sup> For *āyatana* see my paper in Adyar Library Bulletin 33 (1969, also published separately).

<sup>11</sup> For *pratiṣṭhā* see my paper in Studia Indol. Intern., Poona-Paris 1954.



(sacrificial) work. Rejoice in the sacrifice and bestow wealth, bringing us over (dangers and obstacles) by safe ways". See also *ĀśvŚS.* 6, 1, 2; *ŚŚS.* 6, 11, 3; 9, 4, 6; 12, 26, 5; *ĀpŚS.* 19, 27, 19; *MŚS.* 5, 2, 5, 14. Stanza 8, the second half of which alludes to the god's dividing a thousand (cows, compare *ŚB.* 3, 3, 1, 13<sup>12</sup>) is used in *TS.* 7, 1, 6, 7 in connection with "the thousand divided into three parts at the three-night festival"; in *MS.* 2, 4, 4 and elsewhere in the so-called *traidhātaviya kāmyeṣṭi*: an offering of three cakes for Indra-and-Viṣṇu (cf. also *KŚS.* 15, 7, 30; *MŚS.* 5, 2, 5, 4 etc.), which is to be performed either in connection with a sacrifice which requires a dakṣiṇā of a thousand cows, or in connection with witchcraft<sup>13</sup>. Stanza 8 occurs also as the only stanza of 7, 44 in the *Atharvaveda* and is used in *Kauśika-sūtra* 42, 6 in a rite for establishing harmony (the commentator Keśava adding: on the arrival of a distinguished guest). As only "two persons with moist feet" are to be subjected to this ceremony, it may be supposed that the stanza (which according to *AiB.* 6, 15, 11 alludes to Indra-and-Viṣṇu's willingness to make an arrangement with the asuras after they had conquered them) was regarded as the more suitable for this purpose because it is dedicated to two deities, one of whom is Viṣṇu, the god of the steps or strides, the other Indra who made the waters flow. The *Ṛgvidhāna* (2, 23, 4) agrees with other sources in prescribing this sūkta for those who desire the fulfilment of special wishes: "muttering (it), well prepared and regularly, one obtains the objects of one's desires".

For the ritual use of 6, 69, 3 see *GB.* 2, 4, 17 (uktha of the *acchāvāka* belonging to *Indrāviṣṇu*); *ĀśvŚS.* 6, 1, 2; *ŚŚS.* 9, 4, 7.

Only part of *RV.* 1, 155 is unequivocally dedicated to the dual deity. The compound *indrāviṣṇu* occurs in st. 2; in st. 1 (containing the dual pronoun *vah*) Viṣṇu is mentioned by name, Indra indicated by the qualification *śūrāya* "heroic" and the audience is urged to praise the pressed soma for the benefit of two individual gods. The other stanzas being in the singular clearly refer to Viṣṇu. The reference to the mountain, though relating to both gods, in 1 c is Viṣṇuite; cf. 1, 154, 2 and 3. Stanza 3 is held to refer, in b, to Indra (cf. 3, 49, 1; *paum̐syam* "virility, manly deed" belongs to Indra, e.g. 1, 80, 10, but *AV.* 17, 1, 6 to Viṣṇu), in cd ("The sun sets the lower and higher name ("pouvoir caractéristique de l'être doté d'un nom"<sup>14</sup>) of the father (Heaven) (upon the lower and middle planes); (his) third name upon the luminous space of heavens") probably to Viṣṇu<sup>15</sup>. In the difficult stanza 2 the dual deity is given

<sup>12</sup> See also Geldner, *o.c.*, II, p. 173 and see further on.

<sup>13</sup> For many details: W. Caland, *Altindische Zauberei*, Amsterdam Acad. 1908, p. 125 ff.

<sup>14</sup> Renou, *E.V.P.* XV, p. 37.

<sup>15</sup> See Sāyaṇa and K. F. Geldner, *Der Rig-Veda übersetzt*, Cambridge Mass., I, p. 213, but compare M. Bloomfield, *Rig-Veda repetitions*, Cambridge Mass. 1916, p. 148.

the epithet *śīmivat* "violent"; *sulapā* "drinker of soma" is an epithet of Indra.

RV. 7, 99 is in the main dedicated to Viṣṇu, whose name occurs in st. 1, 2, 3, 6 and 7, but Heaven and Earth are meant in the invocation in 3 ab and Indrāviṣṇū, addressed in 5, is the deity of 4-6. Of st. 4<sup>16</sup> the first half is decidedly Viṣṇuite, the second half (the victory over a *dāsa*) Indraic. The reference to the ample space made by the dual deity (a) followed by "you produced sun, dawn and fire" (b) gives us a clear impression of the poet's view of the two-fold act of the creation of our cosmos, the making of room (for the sacrifice) after the successful Vṛtra combat and the organization of the inhabitable world immediately following on that important feat. The two-fold act was, in the poet's view, performed by a dual divine power. This did not however prevent him from dissociating the gods in st. 6 cd, where a twofold whole of the 'do ut des' type is distributed over Viṣṇu and Indra, whose names in the vocative are placed at the end of the pādas. The defeat of Śambara and Varcin, in st. 5 attributed to Indrāviṣṇū, is one of the well-known deeds of Indra<sup>17</sup>. After quoting 7, 99, 5 MŚS. 5, 2, 5, 17 prescribes the use of 4, 18, 11 (cf. TS. 3, 2, 11, 3) "Then his mother tried to persuade the buffalo (probably from attacking Vṛtra): 'O son, these gods are abandoning you'. Then said Indra, about to slay Vṛtra: 'O friend Viṣṇu, step more widely' ". The epithet *urukramā* in st. 6 is elsewhere Viṣṇu's<sup>18</sup>.

The stanza 7, 99, 5 occurs, after 6, 69, 1 (see above) among the formulas quoted in MS. 4, 12, 5 (: 192, 4); see also TS. 3, 2, 11, 3 a and MŚS. 5, 2, 5, 17.

In a hymn eulogizing the Aśvins, Bṛhaspati, the Viśve Devāḥ, Indrāviṣṇū and the Aśvins are invoked in a hemistich (RV. 8, 10, 2) which does not occur elsewhere, but cf. GB. 2, 2, 15; VaitS. 17, 7 *bṛhaspatiṃ vaḥ prajāpatiṃ vo vasūn vo devān . . . viśvān vo devān . . . viśvataḥ pari havāmahe*.

JB. 2, 242 f. and PB. 20, 15, 6 ff. tell the following story: Once Indra raised, three times in succession, his bolt against Vṛtra, Viṣṇu standing by him. Vṛtra, praying Indra not to smite him with the weapon offered a "thing of splendour and energy (*tejas*)", viz. *indriyaṃ viryam* (JB.). Three times Indra agreed, but Viṣṇu accepted the thing offered. Then (JB.) Indra claimed the whole of the thousand given by Vṛtra, but Viṣṇu claimed a third part of it. Prajāpati decided by answering with RV. 6, 69, 8 (see above) and by assigning to Indra two thirds and to Viṣṇu one third<sup>19</sup>. ŚB. 5, 5, 5, 1 ff. explains the institution of the offering to Indra-and-Viṣṇu (*aindrāvaiṣṇavam*) as resulting from the fact that Indra raised the bolt and Viṣṇu stood by him. TS. 2, 4, 12, 2 ff. Indra raised his bolt, Viṣṇu

<sup>16</sup> For which see my book *Loka. World and heaven in the Veda*, Amsterdam Acad. 1966, p. 21.

<sup>17</sup> Macdonell, o.c., p. 161; 162.

<sup>18</sup> For st. 7 see Renou, E.V.P. XV, p. 41.

<sup>19</sup> For details: W. Caland, *Pañcaviṃśa-Brāhmaṇa*, Calcutta 1931, p. 541.

standing by him, and Indra himself gave Vṛtra's 'virtue' (*viryam*) to Viṣṇu after he had received it because Viṣṇu had stood by him. "In that Viṣṇu aided him and he gave (it) to Viṣṇu therefore the offering is Aindrāvaiṣṇavam" (2, 4, 12, 7). See also MS. 2, 4, 3 and for another version of the story KS. 12, 3. It is clear that the authors of these texts considered the assistance—according to TS. 2, 4, 12, 3 f. Viṣṇu had deposited himself in the three divisions of the universe, by means of which Indra successively raised his bolt—or mere presence of Viṣṇu, Indra's companion<sup>20</sup>, a plausible explanation of the origin of an oblation for this dual deity. "Die *iṣṭi* (i.e. the so-called *traidhātaviya iṣṭi*, see e.g. BŚS. 13, 41, which requires an oblation to the dual deity: ĀpŚS. 19, 27, 16) gilt dem Indra und Viṣṇu, weil Viṣṇu dem Indra zur Seite gestanden und Indra ihm die Macht übergeben hat"<sup>21</sup>.

A curious, grammatically incorrect, aetiological story occurs in ŚŚS. 14, 37, 1: Indrāviṣṇu (sic), desirous of heaven, applied himself (the verbs are in the singular!) to asceticism and saw, as a result, the rite called 'heaven'. Having sacrificed with it he attained to heaven, etc. Is the proper name a mistake for Indra or was—what is hardly acceptable—Indrāviṣṇū, in the author's view, a single divine person, or at least a non-complex concept? For a similar story in the dual see *ibid.* 14, 71, 2.

Stanzas addressed to Indra-and-Viṣṇu seem to have been especially suited for expiations. Compare ŚŚS. 13, 12, 5 f.; ĀpŚS. 14, 23, 12. If a pressing stone bursts . . . stanzas directed to this dual deity are to serve for the extra śastra and a stanza addressed to them is the offering-verse. ĀpŚS. 14, 18, 8 has the hotar adapt a formula consecrating the drinking formula (*bhakṣamantra*) containing Indra's name so as to be *indrāviṣṇubhyām pītasya* . . . In connection with the same expiatory rite ĀśvŚS. 6, 7, 4, after mentioning a śastra addressed to Indra and one addressed to Viṣṇu, quotes Gāṇagāri who speaks of one addressed to Indrāviṣṇū "because of the pre-eminence of this deity". See also HŚS. 15, 5, 9 using also RV. 8, 94, 4 referring to the Maruts and the Aśvins.

## B. INDRA-AND-SOMA

Two complete hymns of the R̥gveda are dedicated to Indra-and-Soma, viz. 4, 28 and 6, 72. That means that they are addressed to the god who is the soma drinker par excellence and the divine draught. In the stanzas 1–3 of the former poem Soma is addressed, but Indra's exploits are praised: with Soma as an ally the great creator of a cosmos performed his important deeds: he made the waters flow for man, slew the snake, destroyed the dasyus etc. In the first half of stanza 4 the poet addresses

<sup>20</sup> Gonda, *Aspects*, ch. V and VI.

<sup>21</sup> Caland, *Altindische Zauberei*, p. 128.

Indra: he humiliated the enemies, in 4 cd and 5 he turns to both gods (they oppressed the foes, 4 c *abādhetām* etc.) and in 5 he directs his praise to the two benevolent ones (*maghavānā*), Indra and Soma (*indraś ca soma*). Here it appears that the chief deed done by both gods conjointly was that they broke open the rock in which the cows and horses were locked in<sup>1</sup>. No deed is exclusively ascribed to Soma, no tribute paid to him alone. It is true that at 10, 108, 11 it is Soma and Br̥haspati who set the cows free, but it is the latter who after Indra (and beside Agni) is mostly credited with the release of these animals. It should be noticed that the *devatādvandva* does not occur in this poem. So the Br̥haddevatā, 4, 136 is right: in 4, 28 Indra is eulogized together with Soma.

It is worth noticing that 4, 28, 1 c = 10, 67, 12 c, where, in a hymn directed to Br̥haspati, Indra is the subject of the sentence "he slew the snake . . ." (compare also 2, 12, 3 a: Indra), and that 4, 28, 2 d = 6, 20, 5 which, intelligibly enough, forms part of a hymn to Indra<sup>2</sup>. There are more reminiscences of Indra hymns: compare e.g. 1 b to 1, 52, 8 b; 5, 31, 6 d; 1 d to 1, 51, 4 a; 5, 32, 1 a; 4 a to 5, 32, 7 d.

RV. 4, 28 is at MŚS. 5, 1, 5, 79 (77 ff.) ritually prescribed for those who desire to sacrifice with a special wish: "One desirous of the office of family priest shall strew (rice) for a mess to be offered to Soma-and-Indra (sic: *saumendram carum*); at the oblation one should pronounce the two stanzas beginning with "With thee as companion" (MS. 4, 11, 2: 164, 7-10; KS. 9, 19: 123, 3-6, the second stanza being RV. 8, 48, 10). The same two stanzas should be used in an expiatory rite in case, at the mess of millet offered to the same dual deity, a man vomits soma (KS. 11, 1: 143, 11 ff. etc.; MŚS. 5, 1, 10, 66). For the pertinent myth compare KS. 12, 10; MS. 2, 4, 1; ŚB. 5, 5, 4: Indra, having killed Tvaṣṭar's son was excluded by the latter from a soma sacrifice. As he even uninvited consumed Tvaṣṭar's pure Soma, this hurt him, flowing in all directions from the openings of his body. That soma became millet<sup>3</sup>.

The structure and character of the other hymn, RV. 6, 72, are widely different. All five stanzas begin with an invocation of the dual deity, viz. *indrasomā(u)*, all exploits enumerated are referred to by means of pronouns and verb forms in the dual, but on closer examination it appears that "Indra's Taten beiden Göttern gemeinsam zugeschrieben werden"<sup>4</sup>. They found the sun and the light of heaven, they dispelled the darkness, made Dawn shine, supported the heavens, spread out the earth, slew Vṛtra, the snake, made the rivers flow, filled the oceans, placed the milk in the bodies of the cows and inspired the people settled in the cultivated

<sup>1</sup> This is a reference to one of the myths of the cows being fetched out of a rock (Macdonell, o.c., p. 59; 102; 159; 161).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. K. F. Geldner, in *Vedische Studien*, II, Stuttgart 1897, p. 172.

<sup>3</sup> See also Caland, *Altindische Zauberei*, p. 102.

<sup>4</sup> Geldner, o.c., II, p. 175.



land with courage. However, as already observed by Macdonell<sup>5</sup>, Soma, the divine draught, so often and lavishly drunk by Indra (1, 80, 2; 1, 84, 1; 1, 177, 3 f.; 2, 11, 11; 2, 18, 6 etc.) and so effectively stimulating him to a display of courage, is described as being the latter's soul (*ātmā*, 9, 85, 3; at 1, 84, 1 Indra seems to have the full command of his faculties, *indriyam*, only after having drunk the soma which is prepared for him), his gracious or auspicious friend (*śivāḥ sakhā*, 10, 25, 9) and assistant in slaying Vṛtra (9, 61, 22). He is not only said to be, like Indra, the slayer of the enemies (*hantā vṛtrāṇām*, 9, 88, 4) and the destroyer of strongholds (ibid.), he is sometimes called Indra's bolt (*vajra*, 9, 72, 7; 9, 77, 1) or he is co-ordinated with the bolt: the poet's words will make Indra eager for victory, that Soma and the vajra will never fail in battle (9, 111, 3). Soma is an ever-victorious warrior (9, 66, 16), supposed to be able to throw a missile weapon at the enemy (6, 52, 3). He is even alone, without Indra, the god who helps to bring about the gaining of the sun (9, 66, 18), to drive away the thwarting influences (9, 29, 4), to destroy demons (9, 91, 4) and resist enemies (9, 94, 5). He is distinguished by epithets which are so often Indra's (9, 66, 16 *ugrāṇām inda ōjiṣṭhaḥ*; and *vṛtrahan*, e.g. 1, 91, 5)<sup>6</sup>. These places and other statements of a similar content are instructive: the intoxicating draught is Indra's friend, soul and weapon; it is placed on a par with his weapon, it is able to achieve, alone and independently, Indra's objects; as a god, Soma receives characterizations which are typically Indra's. It obviously was in perfect harmony with the views of divine power and divine agency formed by Vedic man that Soma could also be conceived, not only as Indra's double, but so-to-say even as his complementary half.

As neither the hymn under discussion nor its separate stanzas are used ritually we can confine ourselves to the observation that the poet utilized some phrases which occur also in 10, 62, 3 addressed to the Viśve Devāḥ (2 d), where Bloomfield<sup>7</sup> justly regarded it as "obviously secondary as compared with 6, 72, 2"; in 2, 40, 2 (4 a), addressed to Soma-and-Pūṣan; in 1, 117, 23 (5 b), addressed to the Aśvins. For the permission given by the deity Heavens to slay Vṛtra one might compare TS. 2, 5, 2, 5 f., where the permission is given by Heaven and Earth after they had chosen a boon.

In connection with 6, 72, and especially with st. 1, it is worth noticing that Indra and Soma are said to be the two gods who have created things or beings (*indras ca yā cakráthuḥ soma*).

I now turn to the remarkable sūkta RV. 7, 104 (=AVŚ. 8, 4; AVP. 16, 9-11), "hymne de conjuration avec des allusions personnelles, peut-être

<sup>5</sup> Macdonell, o.c., p. 109. For soma and Indra's weapon see also J. Eggeling, *The Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa*, II, Oxford 1885, p. XVII ff.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. also A. A. Macdonell, in J.R.A.S. 25, p. 472.

<sup>7</sup> M. Bloomfield, *Rig-Veda repetitions*, I, Cambridge Mass. 1916, p. 303.

adventices, peut-être au contraire essentielles”<sup>8</sup>. According to the native tradition and Geldner<sup>9</sup> “steht im Mittelpunkt die Auseinandersetzung des Vasiṣṭha mit seinem Verleumder, der nur Viśvāmitra sein kann”<sup>10</sup>. What interests us most is that eight of the twenty-five stanzas, viz. 1-7 and 25 are dedicated to the dual deity Indra-and-Soma, six and one fourth, viz. 8; 13 d; 16; 19-21; 24, to Indra alone; two and three fourths, viz. 9; 12 and 13 abc, to Soma alone, and four to other gods (10 and 14 Agni; 18 Maruts; 11 the gods in general); 23 mentions Heaven and Atmosphere; in three stanzas (15; 17; 22) no gods are addressed or mentioned. According to the Indian tradition<sup>11</sup>, however, st. 15 is among those stanzas which are directed to Indra-and-Soma, 8; 16; 19-22 and 24 are addressed to Indra; 9, 12, 13 to Soma; 17 to the pressing stones. While the occurrence of the four deities who are mentioned by name needs no comment the large part occupied by Indra-and-Soma is notable.

RV. 7, 104, 1 a is strongly reminiscent of 1, 21, 5 b (Indrāgnī); as to 1 c compare 10, 87, 12 d (Agni)—notice that the request in 1 b “Ye two bulls, thrust down those who prosper by (or, in) darkness” does not occur elsewhere in the R̥gveda<sup>12</sup>—; to 3 b cf. 1, 182, 6 b (Aśvins); to 4 cd cf. 2, 30, 5 ab (Indra); to 5 abc cf. 2, 30, 4 (Bṛhaspati, Indra); to 6 a cf. 1, 10, 12; to 7 b cf. 10, 76, 4 a (to the stones for pressing out the soma) and 9, 71, 1 b (Soma); to 7 c cf. 10, 86, 5 d (addressed by Indra’s wife to her husband). It may, moreover, be noticed that at 6, 22, 8 Indra’s and at 6, 52, 3 Soma’s aid is invoked against the one “who hates brahman” (st. 2 c); that *śavas* “prowess” (st. 3 d) is 1, 8, 5 etc. attributed to Indra, 9, 64, 2 to Soma, etc.

The Bṛhaddevatā (6, 27 f.) informs us that the text is—of course with the exception of the stanza addressed to other deities—addressed to Indrāsomau and was “seen” (composed) for the destruction of demons. In the R̥gvidhāna (2, 30, 3 f.) the sūkta which abounds in terms for oppressing, slaying, crushing, piercing and so on is recommended to those who are wronged by enemies or falsely accused: they should, after fasting and whilst offering, mutter it at least a hundred times. Stanza 1 and 2 are moreover quoted in full in KS. 23, 11: 87, 3 ff.<sup>13</sup>. No ritual use of AVŚ. 8, 4 is prescribed in the Atharvavedic sūtras (Kauśika and Vaitāna), but the commentator on AVŚ. 8, 3, observing that this text

<sup>8</sup> Renou, E.V.P. XVI, p. 114.

<sup>9</sup> K. F. Geldner, *Der Rigveda in Auswahl*, II, Stuttgart 1909, p. 118; the same, *Der Rig-Veda übersetzt*, II, p. 273; see also A. Hillebrandt, *Lieder des R̥gveda*, Göttingen-Leipzig 1913, p. 112; W. Norman Brown, in *J.A.O.S.* 61, p. 76 ff.

<sup>10</sup> Geldner, *Rig-Veda übersetzt*, l.c.

<sup>11</sup> Sarvānukramaṇī. Compare also Bṛhaddevatā, 6, 27 ff., according to which the seer invokes a blessing and protection in heaven and earth on his own behalf; in 8 and 5 Vasiṣṭha, the seer (poet) utters a curse.

<sup>12</sup> In st. 10 a similar wish is expressed in a stanza addressed to Agni.

<sup>13</sup> See below, p. 340.

(addressed to Agni and in st. 1-23 corresponding to ṚV. 10, 87, 1-23) as well as 8, 4 belong to the so-called Cātana texts (Kauś. 8, 25; 25, 22) serving in exorcising demons, says that both hymns are to be used in a variety of practices. One should repeat them for the benefit of a man who is possessed by piśācas and other demons; in the pertinent rites one should by means of them consecrate nails of iron or copper which are to be fixed in the ground or heated gravel which is to be strewn on the bed (of the patient). Or one should sprinkle a person who is possessed by a planet demon with water that has been consecrated with these collections of formulas, or cause him to sip that water.

The first pāda of st. 1 forms the third hemistich of a short khila (RVKh. 2, 16, 1) added to ṚV. 7, 103, the well-known frog-hymn which appeals to these animals for rain<sup>14</sup>. In the two other lines of this khila (=AV. 4, 15, 14) frogs are addressed: "Speak to the rain, etc.", the third line is nothing but the beginning of the next hymn. The occurrence of st. 25 in the *upākaraṇa* (the ceremony by which the annual course of study is opened) in ĀśvGS. 3, 5, 7 and ŚŚS. 4, 5, 8 is only due to its being the last stanza of the seventh book of the R̥gveda<sup>15</sup>.

The dual deity appears also in ṚV. 2, 30, 6, where they are "praised together" (Bṛhaddevatā 4, 84). Most stanzas of this sūkta are traditionally dedicated to Indra (8 ab to Sarasvatī, 9 to Bṛhaspati, 11 to the Maruts). After the poet has, in st. 1-5, indirectly and directly eulogized Indra (slay our enemy, 4 d) and, in st. 5, referred to Indra's state of intoxication in which he destroys the enemy by fire, he addresses, in 6, the dual deity: "Ye indeed 'tear off' the resourcefulness (of him? <sup>16</sup>) at whom ye aim. Ye are the inspirers of the weak (?) one who performs sacrificial rites. Indrāsomau, assist us, and make free space (a 'world' to live in, *loka*m) in (this) perilous situation". This stanza is not quoted elsewhere. Indrāsomau are also among the four dual deities mentioned in ṚV. 7, 35, 1 (AVŚ. 19, 10, 1; AVP. 13, 8, 1; VS. 36, 11).

The man who desires heroic progeny should offer a cake on eleven potsherds to Agni-and-Soma, one to Indra-and-Soma, and one cooked with rice to Soma (cf. HŚS. 13, 3, 44 and the commentary). It is not surprising that Soma should be worshipped in this connection, because he is not infrequently requested to give offspring (ṚV. 9, 30, 3; 9, 59, 1; 9, 61, 6; 26; 9, 97, 26). Hence also TB. 1, 7, 2, 3 discussing the same rite: "Soma is (the god) who impregnates" (*somo retodhāh*) . . . , "Agni the (one) who procreates; Indra the (god) who gives adult (sons)".

<sup>14</sup> I refer to J. Gonda, The so-called secular, humorous and satirical hymns of the R̥gveda, in *Orientalia Neerlandica*, Leiden 1948, p. 312 ff.

<sup>15</sup> For particulars see H. Oldenberg, *The Grihya-sūtras*, I, Oxford 1886 (2<sup>nd</sup> New Delhi 1964), p. 113 and P. V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, II, Poona 1941, p. 811.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Geldner, *Rig-Veda übersetzt*, I, p. 314 and Renou, *E.V.P.* XVI, p. 6.

## C. INDRA-AND-PŪṢAN

In the R̥gveda, Indra-and-Pūṣan are invoked conjointly in only one short hymn of six stanzas, viz. 6, 57. Their names form a dual compound only twice, remarkably enough not in this hymn, but at 1, 162, 2 and in a general prayer for well-being together with Indra-and-Agni, Indra-and-Varuṇa and Indra-and-Soma, at 7, 35, 1 (=AVŚ. 19, 10, 1; AVP. 13, 8, 1; VS. 36, 11). The structure of 6, 57 is worth noticing. As already observed by Renou<sup>1</sup>, the "séparation des traits mythiques" is a characteristic of the poem. Indra is fond of soma, Pūṣan desires gruel (st. 2); the former has two bay steeds at his disposal, the other is drawn by he-goats (st. 3). Of these features, so well known that the proper names could be omitted, mention is made 'chiastically': that is to say, the greater god receives more attention: it is his behaviour and his exploit which are in some detail narrated first and last, whereas his companion's food and conveyance are dispatched as succinctly as possible. This is not all. Indra's superiority is also brought out in st. 4: when this god, the most virile one (*vr̥ṣantamaḥ*, the only epithet in the poem), made the great waters flow, Pūṣan was with him. In st. 1, 5 and 6 both gods are implored for friendship and besought to be benevolent, etc.: the poet cum suis "grasp" their goodwill and draw it to themselves "for their great well-being".

Only part of this hymn occurs in other Vedic texts. Stanza 1 is quoted in full in MS. 4, 12: 196, 3 f. and KS. 23, 11: 87, 7 f. where it forms part of the *yājyānuvākyāḥ*; st. 4 occurs also at KS. 23, 11: 87, 9 f. and, *pratikena*, SVB. 2, 6, 2. The pāda 6 c is also found in ĀpMB. 1, 6, 14 (c) and 1, 8, 8 (c). ŚSS. 6, 11, 1 prescribes the use of the hymn for a victim immolated to Indra and Pūṣan (*indrā nu pūṣaṇety aindrāpauṣṇasya*) and MŚS. 5, 2, 7, 17 ff. says: "One should offer ... cooked rice to Indra-and-Pūṣan (... *aindrāpauṣṇasya*)". The *puronuvākyā* and the *yājyā* relating to this offering should be *indrā nū pūṣāṇā vayām* "We would invoke Indra and Pūṣan for friendship, for success, for the acquisition of *vāja*" (6, 57, 1) and *yan nirṇijā* (1, 162, 2). The author, who is dealing here with sacrifices relating to wishes and taken from the *rājasūya* ceremonies, connects the sacrifice prescribed in 17 with a special wish (16), viz. continuity of sacrificial activity (... *yajñakāmo yajeta*). It should be remembered<sup>2</sup> that the offering to this dual deity (see e.g. MS. 2, 6, 4) belongs to the so-called *triṣamyuktaṃ havis*, more exactly, to that part of it which concentrates upon Pūṣan. The author of ŚB. 5, 2, 5, 7 provides us with a motivation: "And as to why there is a *caru* (oblation of rice etc.) for Indra and Pūṣan (*aindrāpauṣṇaḥ*)—Indra is the sacrificer, and cattle are Pūṣan's. Whatever cattle Agni, the giver, gives him, therewith he now

<sup>1</sup> Renou, E.V.P. XV, p. 151.

<sup>2</sup> See Chapter I, p. 77.



puts himself in contact, those he makes his own", whereas TB. 1, 7, 2, 4 states that Pūṣan is the one who generates cattle (*paśūnām prajanayitā*, i.e. the god who presides over the procreation of cattle) and Indra the giver<sup>3</sup> of adult (heads of cattle). This points to the assumption of a complementary relation between the two gods. Prescribing this offering for the benefit of the man who is desirous of cattle (similarly, ĀpŚS. 18, 10, 6) MS. 4, 3, 7: 46, 5 ff. says that Pūṣan is the generator of cattle, that cattle are born with a full command of their faculties (*indriyena*), and that Pūṣan is the procreator god, generating, for the sacrificer, cattle *indriyena*<sup>4</sup>.

Before passing on to the other interesting Rgvedic occurrences of Indra-Pūṣan, I shall first deal with those places in which both gods are more or less significantly linked. Because of its resemblance to RV. 6, 57, 4 I begin with 6, 56, 2: with him (Pūṣan to whom the poem is addressed) as an allied companion Indra kills the inimical powers (manifestations of Vṛtra: ... *sá ... sákhyā ... yujā / índro vṛtrāni jighnate*).

In RV. 3, 52, 7 Indra, to whom this hymn is dedicated, is addressed as follows: "We have prepared gruel for thee in Pūṣan's company (*pūṣanvāte te cakṛmā karambhām*), fried grains for (the god) with the bay horses ...": compare 6, 57, 2; 3. The line does not occur elsewhere. Pūṣan is also the great god's companion, when the latter is drinking soma together with his wife (1, 82, 6).

RV. 6, 17, 11 gives evidence of another relation between the gods: here Pūṣan and Viṣṇu are said to have poured out three lakes of soma for Indra, the slayer of Vṛtra.

Eulogizing Pūṣan the poet of RV. 6, 48, 14 states that he is possessed of *māyā* like Varuṇa, and is inventive or resourceful (*sukratum*) like Indra, whose brother he is said to be at 6, 55, 5.

There can be no doubt that in the 'Flurseggen' RV. 4, 57 (AV. 3, 17, 4 where *abhi rakṣatu* instead of *ānu yachatu*) both gods are represented as co-operating in producing a good furrow: "Indra must make a deep furrow, Pūṣan must extend it" (st. 7). While Indra is assumed to show the agricultural side of his nature<sup>5</sup> (cf. TS. 1, 8, 7, 1), Pūṣan may be supposed to act in his function as a bringer of prosperity, and especially of a well-nourished condition (*puṣṭimbhara*, RV. 4, 3, 7) and the lord of the 'Speisesegen' *ilās pātih*, 6, 58, 4)<sup>6</sup>. The AV. (l.c.) represents him as the protector of the furrow. Both gods are also among the divine powers to which oblations are due at the preparation of the implements

<sup>3</sup> Read: *pradāpayitā*.

<sup>4</sup> See also KŚS. 15, 2, 14; BaudhŚS. 12, 4: 90, 5.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. e.g. J. J. Meyer, *Trilogie altindischer Mächte und Feste der Vegetation*, Zürich-Leipzig 1937, III, p. 332 etc. Cf. also *ibidem*, II, p. 170.

<sup>6</sup> Rather than "as a god of the way, knowing right direction" (Atkins, o.c., p. 24).

for ploughing, at the circumambulation, the sowing, the reaping, the offering to the furrow etc. (MGS. 2, 10, 7) <sup>7</sup>.

The poet of RV. 6, 24, 5 informs us of another form of co-operation: when Indra converts the 'unreal' (the 'chaotic') into the 'real' (the 'cosmic'), Pūṣan is, with Mitra <sup>8</sup>, the god who stabilizes, puts things right and regulates the contacts between men and gods, and Varuṇa, the great upholder and governor of the universal Order, the god who anticipates, for the benefit of those speaking, their rival's 'will'. This must mean that Pūṣan is conceived here as a benevolent and obviously righteous dispenser of the products of Indra's creating.

In st. 2 of RV. 3, 57, a sort of "prooemium à un chant aux Viśvedevāḥ" <sup>9</sup>, the two gods (*īndrah* . . . *pūṣā* <sup>10</sup>), equally characterized as virile and skilful with the hands (*vṛṣaṇā suhāstā*), are said to have, when satisfied (favourably disposed), (cum suis) milked the ever-flowing (milk) like (the milk) of the heavens <sup>11</sup>. The stanza is not used ritually.

With regard to RV. 1, 162 dealing with the horse sacrifice—which at the time of the composition of that hymn appears to have been much less complicated than it is in the brāhmaṇas and sūtras—Dumont <sup>12</sup> observed: "Il n'y avait, semble-t-il, que deux victimes: le cheval et un bouc, qui était offert à Pūṣan et que l'on menait devant le cheval pour annoncer aux dieux le sacrifice". One might add that Pūṣan is the god who knows the ways and guards the roads <sup>13</sup>, just like the goat, the animal manifestation of this aspect of his nature. Hence 1, 162, 2 (=VS. 25, 25; TS. 4, 6, 8, 1; MS. 3, 16, 1: 181, 9 f.; KS. 46, 4: 176, 15 f.): "the he-goat of many forms goes, bleating, straight forward to the dear (own) protectorate (domain) <sup>14</sup> of Indra-and-Pūṣan (*īndrāpuṣṇōḥ* . . . *pṛthah*)". Although st. 3 ab dispels all doubt about the destiny of the animal—"This he-goat is, with the horse, the bearer of *vāja* (regenerative power), led in advance

<sup>7</sup> For particulars see M. J. Dresden, *Mānavagṛhyasūtra*, Thesis Utrecht 1941, p. 143.

<sup>8</sup> At RV. 9, 109, 1 Soma is implored to "stream about" for Indra, Mitra, Pūṣan, Bhaga.

<sup>9</sup> Renou, E.V.P. IV, p. 55.

<sup>10</sup> For Pūṣan's relations with other gods, and especially with Indra, see S. D. Atkins, *Pūṣan in the Rig-Veda*, Princeton 1941, p. 22 ff.

<sup>11</sup> The interpretation of this line proposed by K. L. Janert, *Sinn und Bedeutung des Wortes 'dhāsi'*, Wiesbaden 1956, p. 33, n. 70 and quoted by Renou, l.c., "(die mythischen Flüsse) gleichsam des Himmels Geliebte [this is not the meaning of *pṛthā*] haben die immer wieder anschwellende Frauenbrust, i.e. den himmlischen Quell (als Euter) gemilcht", is untenable. For the plural *pṛthāḥ* see Geldner, *Der Rig-Veda übersetzt*, I, p. 404.

<sup>12</sup> P. E. Dumont, *L'Āśvamedha*, Paris-Louvain 1927, p. XIII.

<sup>13</sup> See e.g. A. A. Macdonell, *Vedic mythology*, Strassburg 1897, p. 35 f. We should not follow Sāyaṇa in identifying Pūṣan with Agni.

<sup>14</sup> For the meaning of *pāthas* see J. Gonda, *The meaning of the Sanskrit term dhāman*, Amsterdam Acad. 1967, p. 42 f.; A. B. Keith, *The Veda of the Black Yajus School*, Cambridge Mass. 1914, p. 377: "stronghold".

as Pūṣan's share, (while) belonging to all the gods"<sup>15</sup>—the sense of st. 2 cd is not immediately clear. Stanza 4 gives some additional information on the function of the animal: when the horse is conducted on the way which leads to the gods, Pūṣan's share, the he-goat, goes first in order to announce the sacrifice to the gods. Compare ĀpŚS. 20, 17, 7 "A he-goat is led before the horse (when the latter is led to the place where it will be immolated)" and especially ŚŚS. 16, 3, 29 ff. "A (goat destined) for Pūṣan (is fastened) at the front (of the horse). This is mentioned in ṚV. 1, 162, 4 c. At its navel a dark goat for Indra-and-Pūṣan. This is mentioned in 1, 162, 2 d"; see also ĀpŚS. 20, 13, 12. Two questions arise: why is in stanza 2 mention made of Indra-and-Pūṣan, and is there any difference between their *pāthas* and the *āśāḥ*, the "regions" of the gods ("die Gefilde der Götter", Geldner) in st. 7 which the horse is said to have entered? As to *pāthas*, in ṚV. 3, 55, 10 Viṣṇu is described as watching, protecting or governing (*pāti*) as a herdsman the highest 'protectorate' and in 1, 154, 5 the *priyām . . . pāthāḥ* of the same god is identical with the 'place' or 'sphere' where those men who turn to him will have contact with him. These implications are, as far as I am able to see, foreign to *āśā*. It may further be remembered that Pūṣan, the protector (2, 1, 6), who belongs to all the gods (*viśvadevyāḥ*: "accompagné de tous les dieux"<sup>16</sup>), and is invoked to lead the way (1, 42, 1) and to make the roads passable (7), is requested to promote the course or further the progress of those speaking (10, 92, 13) and that it is this god himself who at 10, 17, 4 conducts the deceased safely on his journey to his ancestors (cf. 3; AV. 18, 2, 54)<sup>17</sup>, being before him, and knowing the regions (*āśāḥ*) well (5). In AV. 18, 2, 53 the dual deity Agnīṣomau is requested to "send Pūṣan, who shall carry by goat-travelled roads him that goes thither (i.e. to the hereafter)". If I understand ṚV. 8, 27, 8 ab rightly, the same deity is, together with the Maruts, Viṣṇu and the Aśvins, represented as a sort of way-maker for, or forerunner of, Indra who is expected to come first: "Avancez ici, ô Marut's . . ., ô Pūṣan, par (la force de) mon propre poème! Qu'Indra arrive le premier . . ."<sup>18</sup>. At 1, 90, 4 Indra, the Maruts, Pūṣan and Bhaga are expected to select or prepare the roads for a prosperous journey. On the other hand, it is Indra who guarantees safety on all sides (2, 41, 12), and who is expected to guide man in the right way, making him overcome all difficulties (10, 133, 6). He is the good guide or leader (e.g. 6, 21, 12; 6, 45, 1; 3; 7, 32, 15; 8, 12, 21; 8, 46, 1), and likewise a god who prepares a way (6, 21, 12): see especially 6, 47, 7

<sup>15</sup> Sāyaṇa's explanation is untenable: Pūṣan = Agni, the he-goat is worthy of all the gods because Agni is of the nature of all the gods.

<sup>16</sup> Renou, E.V.P. V, p. 61; "accompagné des Viśvedevāḥ", the same, E.V.P. IV, p. 126; "der allen Göttern (Befreundete)", Geldner, Der Rig-Veda übersetzt, III, p. 292.

<sup>17</sup> For Pūṣan and the paths see also Atkins, o.c., p. 16 ff.

<sup>18</sup> Renou, E.V.P. V, p. 47.

"O Indra, look out for us like a forerunner; lead us further to increasing prosperity; conduct us safely, convey us across prosperously; be a good guide, a guide to what is good and dear". It is he who in 1, 89, 6 is implored together with Pūṣan, Tārksya and Bṛhaspati for well-being.

Pūṣan's association with Indra was discussed by Flensburg<sup>19</sup> and Atkins. The former argued that we have to do here with a symbolic union of the warrior, i.e. Indra, and a magic-producing priestly figure, represented by Pūṣan for the purpose of routing the enemy and acquiring booty. In his opinion, Pūṣan's contribution to and share in any martial enterprises undertaken by Indra are confined to purely sacerdotal functions and prerogatives. As already observed by Atkins<sup>20</sup> in his refutation of this argument, all examination of the material available will reveal the lack of evidence for Flensburg's theory. The American scholar is of the opinion that the pairing of the two gods appears to have been "a deliberate attempt to elevate the comparatively obscure sun-deity of some pastoral tribe or segment of the people to a position of greater importance in the Vedic ritual by associating him with one of the outstanding Vedic gods". Now, irrespective of the question as to whether a god who maintains relations with the sun should be stamped as a solar deity<sup>21</sup> and of the discussability of deliberateness on the part of the Vedic priests and poets it would appear to me that rather than emphasizing the undeniable difference in status and importance of the two gods we should focus attention on those traits of their characters and those functions which are, in the relevant texts, if not common to both gods, then similar or complementary. Atkins<sup>22</sup> was right in saying that the two gods were not paired by the Indian mind upon the basis of any similarity in their connection with natural phenomena, but wrong in adding that "it is hard to discern any real similarity in character at all", if at least the term character should include all qualities and peculiarities which distinguish a being from its congeners.

If I am not mistaken the poets of the above texts coupled, in these cases as well as in innumerable other passages, two gods together because one of them—in casu Pūṣan—could, in their eyes, fulfil one of his functions in definite contexts which required the presence of the other, in casu Indra. The god of the paths is resourceful like his great colleague who is called his comrade and brother. Both gods are interested in the well-being of cattle (as to Indra, compare also R̥V. 4, 19, 7; 5, 33, 4; 6, 17, 6; 8, 6, 23 etc.; attention may also be drawn to AV. 3, 14, 2 invoking Aryaman, Pūṣan, Bṛhaspati and Indra to round up cattle, the text being used in ceremonies for their prosperity and accompanying the driving

<sup>19</sup> N. Flensburg, *Bidrag till Rigvedas Mytologi. Om guden Pūṣan i Rigveda*, Lund Univ. Årsskrift, N.F. Afd. 1, 5, 4, Lund 1909, esp. p. 12 ff.

<sup>20</sup> Atkins, *o.c.*, p. 22 f.

<sup>21</sup> For my view of Pūṣan see *Die Religionen Indiens*, I, Stuttgart 1960, p. 99.

<sup>22</sup> Atkins, *o.c.*, p. 24.



of kine in the agniṣṭoma) and in the furrow, that is in agriculture. They co-operate in creating and distributing useful products. Both of them act as guides and leaders. Whereas in most cases both deities preserved their identity, they occasionally came to fuse. In the most interesting passage 1, 162, 2 this fusion is not unintelligible: both gods co-operate in guiding and protecting the sacrificial horse—Indra moreover is believed to forward, together with all the other gods, a sacrifice (3, 40, 3)—, the horse which is explicitly said to reach the realm of the gods (1, 162, 7 *devānām āśāḥ*; 21 *devām id eṣi*). Geldner<sup>23</sup> considered the phrase *priyām pāthaḥ* in st. 2 to be an equivalent of "Himmel". I would prefer the nuance: the 'sphere' or 'place' to which the victim is led under the combined guidance and protection of these two gods. It is interesting to notice that in AV. 16, 9, 2 the wish is expressed: "May Pūṣan place me in the 'world' (or 'heaven') of religious merit" (*pūṣā mā dhāt sukrāśya loké*), i.e. in "the 'celestial state' gained and achieved by a person's ritual and religious merits", or "the 'sphere' or condition of those who have earned the rewards of well-performed rites"<sup>24</sup>.

In view of some of the above facts and conclusions concerning a certain community of interests of these gods it is not surprising that in the Atharvaveda (Ś. 6, 67, 1) they should, in a military context ("for success against enemies"), be said to have gone everywhere about the roads; the poet, expressing the hope that the armies of the enemies shall be confounded obviously expects them to go, as way-makers and protectors, in front of the army of his own community<sup>25</sup>.

This function led the poet of AV. 6, 3, 1 to introduce the dual deity at the beginning of an invocation of various divinities for the benefit of those who are desirous of success in traffic (see KauśS. 50, 13): "Protect us, O Indra-and-Pūṣan; let Aditi, let the Maruts protect...". The use of this text is also prescribed in welfare-rites (KauśS. 50, 4; see also 50, 13) for those who undertake a journey<sup>26</sup>. In AVPar. 32, 1, 11 AV. 6, 3 is one of the *svastyayana* texts (which are to bring about success or auspicious progress). The texts AVŚ. 6, 3-6 are moreover to be pronounced in the agniṣṭoma by the hotar, if he follows the Atharvaveda, after the *prātaranuvāka* (VaitS. 16, 9)<sup>27</sup>.

ŚŚS. 15, 12, 3 seems to be alone in prescribing the immolation of a he-goat in honour of this dual deity as part of the *rājasūya* rites.

Describing the sacrifice of a man (*puruṣamedha*)<sup>28</sup> the author of

<sup>23</sup> Geldner, o.c., I, p. 221 n.

<sup>24</sup> I refer to J. Gonda, *The Savayajñas*, Amsterdam Acad. 1965, p. 125 etc., and *Loka*, Amsterdam Acad. 1966, p. 115 ff.; 130; 142.

<sup>25</sup> Notice also AV. 1, 9, 1 Indra, Pūṣan, Varuṇa, Mitra, Agni, which may be a slight indication of a closer relationship between Indra and Pūṣan.

<sup>26</sup> See W. Caland, *Altindisches Zauberritual*, Amsterdam Acad. 1900, p. 174.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. W. Caland and V. Henry, *L'Agniṣṭoma*, Paris 1906, p. 138.

<sup>28</sup> I refer to A. Hillebrandt, *Ritualliteratur*, Strassburg 1897, p. 153.

VaitS. 37, 21 states that at the end of the year, during which the prospective victim has to wander about, an animal sacrifice must be executed for Indra-and-Pūṣan. This detail seems to be an imitation of the ritual situation referred to in the initial stanzas of ṚV. 1, 162 (see above). Among the animals to be killed in a horse sacrifice is in the opinion of some authorities also an *aindrāpaṣṇa* (TB. 3, 8, 23, 2; VādhS., in Acta Or. Lugd. 4, p. 193 (§ 86))<sup>29</sup>.

#### D. INDRA-AND-PARVATA

Of Indra-and-Parvata Macdonell<sup>1</sup>, while stating that the Mountain is in the Ṛgveda even three times lauded with Indra in a dual compound, had the opinion that Parvata seems to be a mountain god, conceived anthropomorphically as a companion of Indra. From the three places which exhibit this dual deity it is not easy to draw conclusions with regard to its particular character. In the Vaiśvadeva hymn ṚV. 1, 122, it is exhorted to incite or stimulate those speaking (st. 3 *śiṣitām indrāparvatā yuvām naḥ*). Renou<sup>2</sup>, translating "Aiguisez-nous (par vos dons) . . .", observes<sup>3</sup> that in the group of hymns to which this text belongs the expectation of divine liberality is not uncommon. Now the poets of the Ṛgveda not infrequently conceive mountains as 'divinely animate', as 'deities', combining them, in this capacity, always with other natural objects (waters, rivers, etc.) or with some of the greater gods. Thus the poet of 4, 55, 5 says that he has invoked the aid of Parvata, the Maruts, the god Protector and Bhaga; 6, 49, 14 and 10, 158, 3 make mention of Parvata and Savitar, and the poet of 7, 37, 8, while addressing Savitar, cherishes the hope that the wealth of Parvata will come to him and his people. Since mountains were not only conceived of as the abode of gods but also considered an important source of water and, hence, of 'wealth'<sup>4</sup> and since Indra is also a treasury filled with wealth (10, 42, 2) and a bestower of riches<sup>5</sup>, Renou's view of 1, 122, 3 appears to be right. The stanza is ritually used to accompany sacrificial rites performed from special interested motives (TS. 2, 1, 11, 1; KS. 23, 11: 87, 13).

In most cases however the Mountains are invoked in the plural: 3, 54, 20; 5, 41, 9 together with Āptya ("quand il s'agit pour nous

<sup>29</sup> For BŚS. 12, 4; 15, 23; 15, 26 etc. see the Introduction.

<sup>1</sup> Macdonell, o.c., p. 154.

<sup>2</sup> Renou, E.V.P. V, p. 6.

<sup>3</sup> Renou, E.V.P. IV, p. 27.

<sup>4</sup> J. Gonda, Aspects of early Viṣṇuism, Utrecht 1954 (New Delhi 1969), p. 73 ff.

<sup>5</sup> I refer to Macdonell, o.c., p. 63.

d'implanter la descendance" <sup>6</sup>); 7, 34, 23 with Wealth or Possessions (also in the plural); 5, 46, 3; 6 (with the rivers, Bhaga and Aditi); 6, 21, 9; 6, 52, 4; 7, 35, 8 (with rivers and water, for well-being); 8, 18, 16; 8, 31, 10; 8, 54, 4; 10, 35, 2; 10, 64, 8; 4, 34, 8 the Ṛbhus are implored to revel in the soma feast together with the Ādityas, the Mountains, Savitar and the Rivers. RV. 8, 63, 12 is of special interest: here the Rudras and the Mountains are implored to be the speakers' allies in battle, and the gods in general, led by Indra, to favour them. This common interest in the worshipper's military activities is also apparent in RV. 1, 132, 6 (VS. 8, 53; KŚS. 12, 4, 13): "O Indrāparvatā (the dual deity!), ward off, as champions, him who attacks us; slay those with the vajra!" The second half of this stanza sheds light on the intimate relation of Indra, the great champion, with the divine Mountain: "To him who has fled far away it (the weapon) must seem attractive as a hiding-place...", Uvaṭa's explanation (on VS. 8, 53) is no doubt right: The weapon should destroy the enemy also when he has fled far away and reached the forest, and "forest" may also include the wooded mountains. That means that the Mountains, like the Rudras (in 8, 63, 12), representatives of unsubjected nature, are expected to assist the great conqueror Indra in destroying the enemies by refusing to shelter them. According to the Bṛhaddevatā which observes that in this stanza Indra-and-Parvata are praised together, Yāska here considered Indra to be predominant. This stanza is ritually used to accompany the slow procession of those performing a soma-sacrifice under the axle of the southern soma-cart; by so doing they free themselves from all evil, even as a snake frees itself from its skin <sup>7</sup> (ŚB. 4, 6, 9, 13 f.). Cf. also ŚSS. 10, 21, 14 (adding that they should fix their thoughts, each on his own wish); ĀsvŚS. 8, 13, 23; HŚS. 16, 5, 3; ĀpŚS. 21, 12, 9; VārŚS. 3, 2, 2, 34 ff. *upa svajā varuṇam (?) ity audumbarīm anvārabhante. vāg aitu ... ity anvārabhya vācam yacchanty ādhivṛkṣasūryād ā vā nakṣatradarśanāt, vācam visrjyāgnīdhriyam upatiṣṭhante yuvam* etc. (RV. 1, 132, 6) *iti śvo bhūta udayanīyo 'tirātraḥ*; MŚS. 7, 2, 3, 29; VaitS. 34, 1.

In RV. 3, 53, 1 (JS. 1, 35, 7) "O Indrāparvatā, bring on your solid chariot lovely refreshments duly accompanied by (consisting of) <sup>8</sup> sons" the dual deity is implored for offspring. This reminds us of 5, 41, 9 (see above), where the mountains are requested to be favourable with a view to the propagation of the family and where both Geldner and Renou <sup>9</sup> are inclined to understand the poet to regard the mountains as patrons. I would prefer recalling those places which connect mountains and fertility <sup>10</sup>. At RV. 3, 54, 20 the mountains are characterized as "vigorous

<sup>6</sup> Renou, E.V.P. V, p. 20.

<sup>7</sup> For the significance of this ritual act compare W. Caland, *Altindisches Zauberritual*, Amsterdam 1900, p. 31, n. 5.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. also Geldner, o.c., I, p. 392 and Renou, E.V.P. XVII, p. 92.

<sup>9</sup> Geldner, o.c., II, p. 41.

<sup>10</sup> I need not mention that mountains are, in post-Vedic texts, favourite resorts

or impregnating" (like bulls: *vr̥ṣaṇaḥ*). In a series of formulas to be recited with a view to successful conception the semen is said to have been collected from the mountain <sup>11</sup>, from the sky as a womb. Obviously the mountains were, as sources of water, assumed to promote various forms of fertility. In view of the fact that Indra alone is implored to give sons at 3, 36, 10; 7, 23, 6; 8, 46, 15, the question remains why the poet of 3, 53 should invoke Indra-and-Parvata to occupy himself with invitations etc. addressed to Indra alone in st. 1-6. Was Parvata his "favourite god" <sup>12</sup> or did he attach some value to an impressive beginning of his poem? According to *R̥gvidhāna*, 2, 2, 5 the sūkta *R̥V.* 3, 53 is traditionally held to be a giver of long life and property (of which mention is indeed made in st. 7; cf. st. 13). The stanza is quoted *KS.* 23, 11: 87, 11 (see above).

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of divine beings which are closely associated with fecundity (Gonda, *Aspects of early Viṣṇuism*, p. 76) or of 'Vegetationsgeister' which are closely related to the souls of the deceased (J. J. Meyer, *Trilogie altindischer Mächte und Feste der Vegetation*, Zürich-Leipzig 1937, II, p. 260; III, p. 226).

<sup>11</sup> Why should we follow W. D. Whitney-Ch. R. Lanman, *Atharvaveda Saṃhitā*, Cambridge Mass. 1905, p. 265 in translating "cloud"?

<sup>12</sup> See ch. VII, p. 266.



## CHAPTER XI

### A. SOMA-AND-PŪṢAN

RV. 2, 40 is dedicated to the divine pair Soma-and-Pūṣan. Before discussing this hymn it is worth noticing that in a sūkta addressed to various deities (1, 23) Pūṣan is represented as mediating the Soma sacrifice and the dakṣiṇā: st. 13-15: "O Pūṣan, drive hither (Soma) like cattle that had been lost...; Pūṣan found the king (Soma) who was concealed..."; and he must, by means of the soma juices, put the poet in possession of his remuneration. Here Pūṣan is, in his function as the god who retrieves what has been hidden or had strayed from the right path, brought into connection with Soma<sup>1</sup>. There are further a few places where Soma is compared to Pūṣan. At RV. 9, 101, 7 the divine draught is said to flow (like) Pūṣan, Rayi (i.e. Wealth), and Bhaga (the god and giver of fortune). The absence of a particle for "like" may suggest an identification: at the moment of flowing and clarifying itself the soma is a manifestation of these three divine powers. The poet of 9, 88, 3 describes him as a "promoter of visions or inspiration"<sup>2</sup> like Pūṣan (*pūṣēva dhījāvano 'si soma*). These places do not seem to be cogent arguments in favour of Atkins'<sup>3</sup> supposition that the alliance of these two gods was due to "an endeavour to increase the importance of the rustic solar<sup>4</sup> god (Pūṣan) by coupling him with a member of the Vedic triad of 'greats' ". Like the American scholar I am of the opinion that this pair is not dissimilar to Pūṣan's close association with Indra; unlike him, I am not convinced that so simple, and at the same time so unprovable a supposition would settle the question. Referring to my remarks made

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<sup>1</sup> On the relations between Soma and Pūṣan in general see especially S. Kramrisch, in J.A.O.S. 81, p. 110 ff., to whose interpretation (two creator-gods) I hope to revert elsewhere, — Although no special significance can be attached to VS. 8, 54, this place is worth quoting. Occurring in a series of thirty formulas for expiating any neglect or error in the sacrificial performance and identifying Soma with each of the deities and sacred objects whose names are mentioned, it states that the divine draught is Pūṣan in the Soma-purchasing cow. The relation between this god and the cow is no mere fortuity, but there is no special association with Soma in general.

<sup>2</sup> Not "inspiring the mind" or "rousing devotion" (Monier-Williams), "Gedankenerwecker" (Geldner), "stimulating worship" or "prayer-inspiring" (S. D. Atkins, Pūṣan in the Rig-Veda, Princeton 1941, p. 25; 83). See J. Gonda, The vision of the Vedic poets, The Hague 1963, p. 223.

<sup>3</sup> Atkins, o.c., p. 24.

<sup>4</sup> For Pūṣan's solar affinities see Atkins, o.c., p. 9 ff. See also Kramrisch, o.c., p. 110, whose interpretation does not seem to be beyond dispute.

in connection with Indra-Pūṣan<sup>5</sup>, I must, in order to avoid repetition, limit myself here, first to the avowal that I cannot see in ṚV. 2, 40 "a contrast of moon with sun". There is more to be said for Atkins' opinion that "the main purpose of the hymn is to commandeer the two deities for bestowal of an abundance of wealth"<sup>6</sup>. This view of the poem is in harmony with at least part of the ritual uses of its stanzas.

The poem 2, 40 is remarkable in that it on the one hand ascribes common deeds and qualities to both gods, on the other hand distinguishes between their natures and peculiar abilities. Somāpūṣaṇā are said to have created wealth, heaven and earth, to have been born as herdsmen of the universe, and to have been made by the gods the navel of immortality (st. 1)<sup>7</sup>. Now, Soma alone is constantly said to bestow wealth, food etc. (9, 45, 3; 9, 52, 1 etc.), and Pūṣan is a rich god, "lord of wealth" (6, 54, 8; 6, 55, 2 f. etc.), who is implored to bestow possessions on those praying (6, 55, 2). Creative activity is in the Ṛgveda ascribed to the former god (e.g. 9, 97, 31; 41; 9, 107, 23)<sup>8</sup>, not to the latter, who, on the other hand, is at 10, 17, 3 said to be "the herdsmen of the world (*bhūvanasya gopdḥ*)" and at 10, 139, 1 to survey all the inhabitants of the world as their herdsmen. The expression *amṛtasya nābhīḥ* is at ṚV. 4, 58, 1 unequivocally attributed to the ghee as a manifestation of Soma. In 2, 40, 2 Soma-and-Pūṣan are said to have concealed or eliminated the unpleasant darkness, an activity expected from Soma alone in 9, 9, 7. Indra has in the same stanza produced the boiled milk in the raw cows, a deed performed by the great god without any assistance in 1, 62, 9 (cf. 3, 30, 14), by Indra-and-Soma in 6, 72, 4, by the Aśvins in 1, 180, 3. As, however, Soma is as a god and as the pressed draught closely associated with milk—the sap of the soma-stalk is at 2, 13, 1 called "milk"<sup>9</sup>—and Pūṣan is the protector of cattle (6, 54, 5; 6, 10 etc.), their joint co-operation is comprehensible. I am under the impression that the statement contained in st. 3 and filling this stanza completely should attract special attention. If one joins Geldner<sup>10</sup> in rejecting Sāyaṇa's explanation (the vehicle described is the chariot of the year) and in supposing the poet to mean the vehicle of the sacred word and (or) that of the rite, Soma-and-Pūṣan are requested to promote the ritual acts which bring the human sphere in contact with the gods. Now, Soma's share in this process needs no comment and Pūṣan, who at 10, 35, 11 is in company with gods who are supposed to be favourable to man's sacrificial activity, is the one

<sup>5</sup> See chapter X C, p. 344.

<sup>6</sup> I see no reason for adding "offspring".

<sup>7</sup> For this expression see also A. Bergaigne, *La religion védique*, I, Paris 1878 (21963), p. 195.

<sup>8</sup> For ṚV. 9, 86, 28 ("der erste Schöpfer", Geldner), see J. Gonda, *The meaning of the Sanskrit term dhāman-*, Amsterdam Acad. 1957, p. 94.

<sup>9</sup> I refer to Macdonell, *Vedic mythology*, Strassburg 1897, p. 106.

<sup>10</sup> K. F. Geldner, *Der Rig-Veda übersetzt*, Cambridge Mass., I, p. 328.

who knows and guards the roads, and the god who drives a car; and at AV. 16, 9, 2; 18, 2, 53 he conducts to the world of the gods and the meritorious. If however one is inclined to yield to Lüders' <sup>11</sup> arguments and to take the stanza as describing the chariot of the sun, it may be recalled that in 9, 63, 9 Soma is said to have put the mares of the sun to the chariot.

Having successfully co-ordinated and harmonized the qualities and functions of both gods in st. 1-3 the poet proceeds, in st. 4, to distinguish one member of the duality from the other and to contrast them. Following Sāyaṇa Geldner <sup>12</sup> and Lüders <sup>13</sup> are of the opinion that the god who is seated in heavens is Pūṣan, the other who is said to reside on the earth and in the atmosphere, Soma. The latter scholar, moreover, comments: "Wenn Soma hier ausser der Erde der Luftraum zugewiesen wird, so ist vielleicht an seine Form als Regen gedacht. Der Dichter wird den Luftraum aber hauptsächlich deshalb hereingebracht haben, weil er die Dualgottheit Soma-Pūṣan als die Herrscher in der gesammten Dreiwelt hinstellen wollte". If one would emphasize the latter part of this argument and remember that Soma is (9, 86, 33) explicitly called "Lord of Heavens" and (9, 85, 9) said to have mounted that high region and that, on the other hand, whatever Pūṣan's connections with the sun may be, the main field of his activities is on the earth, the offices and departments of both gods may seem to have been delimited somewhat arbitrarily <sup>14</sup>. There is however no denying that the traditional interpretation of this hemistich is in harmony with st. 5 ab where the activities of both gods, now referred to in the reverse order, are kept somewhat more distinct one from the other. For Soma as the creator of all 'worlds' and their inhabitants (5 a) one might compare the above-mentioned places 9, 97, 31 etc., for Pūṣan surveying the world (5 b) 3, 62, 9 and 10, 139, 1. However, the same activity is ascribed to Soma in 9, 73, 8. In stanza 6 ab the distinction is continued and now the names of both gods are not omitted: Pūṣan, who urges or moves all (*viśvaminva*) <sup>15</sup>, is implored to quicken the poetical thought (*dhīyam pūṣd jinvat*) <sup>16</sup>—for his favourable attitude towards

<sup>11</sup> H. Lüders, Varuṇa, Göttingen 1951, p. 690 f.

<sup>12</sup> Geldner, l.c.

<sup>13</sup> Lüders, o.c., p. 216 f., n. 6 and 702.

<sup>14</sup> Compare also Bergaigne, o.c., II, p. 430: "(st. 3) Pūṣan . . . peut représenter dans le couple le Soma céleste opposé au Soma terrestre. Cependant, le vers 4, d'après lequel l'un des deux personnages a son séjour "bien haut dans le ciel" et l'autre "sur la terre et dans l'atmosphère", suggère plutôt une opposition du Soma caché et Soma manifesté dans l'espace visible . . . Pūṣan pourrait être aussi opposé en qualité de Soma-soleil au Soma de l'atmosphère et de la terre, au breuvage divin qui tombe du nuage".

<sup>15</sup> For this word see also Atkins, o.c., p. 44 f.

<sup>16</sup> See Gonda, The vision of the Vedic poets, p. 123; 127 f. and Renou, E.V.P. I, p. 4 "... le dieu Pūṣan-le frayer de chemins, aussi dans l'ordre intellectuel ... est appelé *dhīyamjinva* or *dhījavana*".

the poet's work compare 3, 62, 8; 6, 53, 1; 4<sup>17</sup>—and Soma is expected to bring wealth: compare the above-mentioned places 9, 45, 3 etc. In 4 cd and 5 cd both gods are again addressed conjointly. In 4 ab they are requested to give those on behalf of whom the poet speaks increase of wealth consisting of many treasures and many heads of cattle (*puruvātram purukṣūṃ rāyās pōṣam*): a wish which, in view of the functions of the gods, is very appropriate to the occasion. In 5 c they are implored to be favourable to the poem and the hope is expressed that with their assistance the poet cum suis will be victorious in all battles.

As to the repeated passages: 1 d recurs in an Agni hymn as 3, 17, 4 d<sup>18</sup>; for 2 c compare 6, 72, 4 a; for 5 a, 2, 35, 2 d; for 5 c *sómāpūṣaṇāv āvataṃ dhīyam me* cf. 6, 52, 16 a *agnīparjanyaāv āvataṃ dhīyam me*.

The hymn is in ŚŚS. 6, 11, 2 prescribed for a victim immolated to this dual deity, the first three stanzas being used as invitatory formulas, the last three as offering-stanzas for the sacrifice of the omentum, the cake and the animal offerings respectively.

The stanzas 1 and 2 are at TS. 1, 8, 22, 5 (q and r) quoted among the *puronuvākyaś* and *yājyāś* for the special sacrifices (*kāmyeṣṭis*) described in TS. 2, 2, 9 and 10. Cf. MS. 4, 11, 2: 163, 14–164, 2; KS. 8, 17: 102, 20–103, 2; ĀśvŚS. 3, 8, 1. Says TS. 2, 2, 10, 3: "If he fear, 'I shall become a leper' he should scatter an oblation to Soma-and-Pūṣan (see also HŚS. 22, 3, 8; BŚS. 13, 18 *yadi bibhīyād duścarmā bhaviṣyāmīti somāpauṣṇaṃ caruṃ nirvaped iti. tasya ete bhavataḥ somapūṣaṇemaṃ devau*). Man (that is, according to other texts, e.g. KS. 11, 5: 150, 5, a brahman) has Soma as his deity, cattle are connected with Pūṣan. Verily he makes (*karoti*) a skin by means of his own deity and cattle, (so that) he does not become a leper"<sup>19</sup>. See also TS. 2, 1, 4, 3; 2, 4, 4, 3. The same rite is mentioned in KS. 11, 5: 150, 4–6 with some modification (and likewise without mentioning the mantras): "the man who fears to become a leper should offer the *caru*, if he desires to possess (more) cattle (cf. also HŚS. 13, 3, 44); a brahman has Soma as his deity, and Pūṣan is cattle, (so that) he makes his own deity more (i.e. mightier) by means of cattle and he makes himself (*kurute*) a skin, (that means, he will not become a leper)". Similarly, MS. 2, 1, 5: 7, 9–12 and compare MŚS. 5, 1, 6, 11. It should be noticed that in the stanzas RV. 2, 40, 1 and 2 no mention whatever is made of the disease and a new or sound skin. PB. 23, 16, 4 f. dealing with the *sattras* (sacrificial 'sessions', soma-rites of more than twelve days) has after the normal he-goat, a victim immolated for this double deity, adding the comment: "The brahmin is Soma (i.e. Soma is the deity of the brahmin), Pūṣan is cattle. They strengthen (*br̥ṃhayante*) thereby their own deity through cattle (the victim) and make themselves a skin".

<sup>17</sup> See also Gonda, o.c., p. 47; 86 f.; 118; 127 f.

<sup>18</sup> See M. Bloomfield, *Rig-Veda repetitions*, I, Cambridge Mass. 1916, p. 177.

<sup>19</sup> See also W. Caland, *Altindische Zauberei*, Amsterdam Acad. 1908, p. 29 f.



See also ĀpŚS. 23, 3, 5<sup>20</sup>. The mantras to be used (RV. 8, 31, 14-18; 1, 125, 4) are not addressed to this double deity.

The two stanzas occur also in TS. 2, 6, 11, 4, that is in a section dealing with the mantras for the *saṃvargeṣṭi* (ĀpŚS. 19, 25, 9-13), but they actually are the *anuvākya* and *yājya* stanzas for a sacrifice consisting of a mess of beans offered to Soma-and-Pūṣan. The origin of the rite is described in TS. 2, 4, 4, which gives also an explanation of the fact that in 2, 6, 11, 4 this rite follows a sacrifice to Prajāpati: "Prajāpati created offspring<sup>21</sup>; being created this went away from him; where it stayed, the wild bean (called) *garmut* came into existence . . . Prajāpati created cattle; being created they went away from him; where they stayed, the bean (*garmut*) came into existence. He followed them together with Pūṣan (*tān pūṣā cānvavaitām*). Pūṣan said: 'With this do thou go before me; then shall cattle resort to thee'. 'Do thou go before me', said Soma, 'mine is what grows on untilled (land)'. 'Both of you shall I go before' he (Prajāpati) said. He went before them both. Then indeed did cattle resort to Prajāpati. For him who desires cattle should he offer this oblation of beans to Soma-and-Pūṣan (*somapauṣṇaṃ gārmutaṃ carum*; cf. BŚS. 13, 36: 144, 20 f.). Verily he has recourse to Soma-and-Pūṣan with their own share. Verily they produce cattle for him. Soma is the impregnator of seed (*retodhāḥ*), Pūṣan the producer (*prajanayitā*) of cattle. Verily Soma bestows seed upon him, Pūṣan produces cattle". Neither stanza contains any reference to the beans or to the cattle which is gained by the rite. In KS. 10, 11: 138, 6 ff. the story runs as follows: ". . . After having created cattle Prajāpati made Pūṣan their ruler. They went away from him. Pūṣan followed them on foot. Where they stayed the *garmut* bean (sprung up). When it had come into existence, he found it, cut it off and took it. With it he said to Prajāpati: 'Do thou go before me with it; then cattle will again submit themselves to thee'. The Soma spoke loathingly (?)<sup>22</sup>: 'Mine is what grows on untilled (land)'. He scattered an oblation of rice-milk (*caru*) to Soma-and-Pūṣan, consisting of *garmut* beans, into the water. Thereupon cattle submitted again to him. (The man) who is desirous of offspring or of cattle should scatter (i.e. offer) a *caru* to Soma-and-Pūṣan into the water. Soma, one should know, is the impregnator of seed, Pūṣan the procreator (notice the absence of the genitive "of cattle") . . .". Another variant of the same story occurs in MS. 2, 2, 4: 18, 1 ff. Both stanzas are *pratikena* quoted in TB. 2, 8, 1, 5 to accompany a sacrifice to the same dual deity for the attainment of cattle<sup>23</sup>; MS. 4, 14, 1: 214, 11; MŚS. 5, 1, 5, 74 f. (in connection with a mess of rice, half of it ground, to these two gods, to be offered by the man who is desirous of cattle).

<sup>20</sup> And compare W. Caland, *Pañcavirṣā-Brāhmaṇa*, Calcutta 1931, p. 597.

<sup>21</sup> See Caland, *Zauberei*, p. 77 f. (no. 109).

<sup>22</sup> See the critical note by L. v. Schroeder, *Kāṭhakaṃ*, Leipzig 1900, I, p. 138, n. 6.

<sup>23</sup> See Caland, *Zauberei*, p. 26 f.

Stanza 3, 4, and 6 are quoted at MS. 4, 14, 1: 215, 1-6, immediately after 214, 11 (see above). They are followed by st. 5: 14, 1: 215, 7 f. (*yājyānuvākyāḥ*). See also TB. 2, 8, 1, 5 f.

The curious stanza occurring at KS. 11, 12: 159, 15 f. in a series of *yājyānuvākyās* after some stanzas beginning with *Somārudrā*, viz. *somāpūṣaṇemau devau mahi vo mahatām avaḥ / varuṇa mitrāryamann avāṁsy avrṇīmahe* is, except for the first two words which no doubt constitute an addition, identical with RV. 8, 67, 4 which is addressed to the *Ādityas*. Cf. also TB. 2, 8, 1, 5, with the commentary: *atha somāpauṣṇyam trailam ālabheta paśukāma ity asya paśoḥ sūkte vapāsambandhiyājyāpuro'nuvākyayoḥ pratike darśayati* . . .

Another oblation is prescribed, on behalf of the one who is desirous of cattle, at MŚS. 5, 1, 9, 24. Here the author mentions, first a mess of *garmut* beans to be offered to *Bṛhaspati* and then the same oblation for *Soma-and-Pūṣan*.

For *Soma* and *Pūṣan* in connection with seed and cattle one may also read TS. 2, 1, 1, 6 "He who desires cattle should offer one (according to MS. 2, 5, 1: 46, 11 the best or greatest) of a triplet to *Somāpūṣanau*. The she-goat has two teats, two are born separately, the third with respect to strength and growth ("two of them are born for the teat(s), the third for strength", MS.). Verily he has recourse to *Somāpūṣanau* with their own share. Verily they produce cattle for him; *Soma* is the depositor of seed (*retodhāḥ*), *Pūṣan* the producer of cattle. *Soma* deposits seed<sup>24</sup> for him, *Pūṣan* produces cattle (cf. TS. 1, 7, 2, 4). The sacrificial post is of *udumbara*. The *udumbara* is strength; cattle are strength (*ūrj*); verily by strength he wins for him strength and cattle" (MS. 2, 5, 1: 46, 14 "cattle is strength"). No mention is made of mantras. In case a man should be desirous of cattle he should offer a *caru* consisting of half-ground (rice) to this double deity. Then *Soma* deposits seed for him and *Pūṣan* produces cattle (MS. 2, 1, 4: 6, 5 ff.; 2, 5, 1: 46, 11 ff.). MS. 2, 5, 1: 46, 8 f. helps to clarify the part played by *Soma*: "the plants belong to *Soma*, cattle is plants". See also MŚS. 5, 2, 10, 6 f.

At MS. 2, 5, 5: 53, 18 ff. the immolation of a neutral animal dedicated to this dual deity is recommended on behalf of an impotent man (or eunuch). "From him, when he was born the full command of his physical and psychical faculties as well as his manly power went away. He (the officiant) gains that same command of his faculties and manly power and imparts them to him. *Soma* and *Pūṣan* (. . . *ca* . . . *ca*) had bestowed these upon him when he was born. *Pūṣan*, one should know, is this (earth), *Soma* the (medicinal and edible) plants. In that (one immolates a victim) dedicated to *Soma-and-Pūṣan*, one gains and secures, on his behalf, the command of his faculties and manly power by means of their own deity.

<sup>24</sup> *retah*, not "seeds" with A. B. Keith, *The Veda of the Black Yajus School*, Cambridge Mass. 1914, p. 134.

He (the man who was impotent) prospers''. See also MŚS. 5, 2, 10, 26. Here again the dual deity owes its existence, or at least its appearance, to the joint activity or co-operation of two individual gods.

In enumerating the animals which, in the framework of the horse sacrifice are dedicated to various gods some authorities state that the white-spotted hornless <sup>25</sup> goats belong to Soma-and-Pūṣan (TS. 5, 6, 13; KS. 49, 3); VS. 24, 1 however dedicates a dark-coloured goat to them; MS. 3, 13, 2 ff. does not mention this pair of gods, whose claims do therefore not seem to be based on an ancient and generally acknowledged tradition.

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<sup>25</sup> According to TS. 2, 1, 5, 7 the hornless (serves for) prosperity.

## B. SOMA-AND-RUDRA

One single hymn of four stanzas is dedicated to the dual deity Soma-and-Rudra. In RV. 6, 74 they are exclusively addressed and invoked as such, no attempt being made to contrast them or to distinguish between their functions or characteristics. This is the more remarkable as there existed possibilities of success for the poet who would endeavour to throw light upon the points of difference in the two divine characters. The gods are enjoined to maintain their divine nature (st. 1 a, *asuryam*)<sup>1</sup> and besought to drive away disease from the house (2 ab) and to bring the seven jewels in every dwelling<sup>2</sup> (1 c), to be favourable to all two-footed and four-footed creatures (1 d), to chase away the goddess of perdition, Nirṛti (2 c), to place all remedies in the bodies of those speaking (3 ab) and to give them a good reputation (2 d), to remove from them all sin (3 cd), to free them from the fetter of Varuṇa (4 c). Wielding sharp weapons, they are besought to have mercy (4 ab).

It is impossible to say in which connection—if in any hymnal context—the much used formulaic pāda 1 d *sām no bhūtaṃ (bhava etc.) dvipāde sām cātuspāde* imploring prosperity for man and beast was first used<sup>3</sup>: it recurs as 7, 54, 1 d; 10, 85, 43 d; 44 d; etc. For 2 c cf. 1, 24, 9 c (to Varuṇa); 2 d=6, 1, 12 d (to Agni); for 4 c see 10, 85, 24 a. Referring for the Śaunakiya recension of the Atharvaveda-Saṃhitā to the next paragraph of this section attention may be drawn here to AVP. 1, 109 which consists of a stanza corresponding, with some variation, to RV. 6, 74, 2 (AVŚ. 7, 42, 1; AVP. 1, 109, 1); a stanza ~ RV. 6, 74, 4 (AVŚ. 5, 6, 5 cd–7 cd and cf. 8); a stanza ~ RV. 6, 74, 1 ab and the hemistich *yuvam no dhattam iha bheṣajāni pra yacchatam vṛṣaṇā jetvāni* “do you impart to us here remedies, grant us (faculties proving us to possess) manly power (which are) to be gained” and a final stanza which except for deviations corresponds to RV. 6, 74, 3 and AVŚ. 7, 42, 2 (AVP. 1, 109, 4). It may be remembered that also individually both gods were believed to dispense medicines: for Rudra, whose healing powers are frequently mentioned, see e.g. RV. 2, 33, 12; 5, 42, 11; 7, 46, 3; for Soma, who as the divine draught is medicine (8, 72, 17), see e.g. 8, 79, 2; 10, 25, 11. Except for 4 cd the hymn is (in the order st. 3, 1, 2, 4 ab) also found in MS. 4, 11, 2: 165, 7–13. The stanzas 2, 3, 1 are quoted for ritual use in KS. 11, 12: 159, 9–14.

The hymn enjoyed a good reputation as a means of neutralizing ‘sin’ (cf. st. 3 cd). “The man who has committed many sins becomes pure if during a month he recites the (hymn) addressed to Soma-and-Rudra

<sup>1</sup> See Lüders, Varuṇa, p. 235.

<sup>2</sup> For this proverbial expression see RV. 5, 1, 5; AV. 7, 29, 1.

<sup>3</sup> Compare the remarks made by Bloomfield, Repetitions, p. 304.



and the three stanzas (RV. 4, 2, 4-6, a hymn dedicated to Agni) beginning with Aryaman, Varuṇa, Mitra, while he bathes in a river" (Manu 11, 254). Designating it likewise as *somāraudram* RVidh. 2, 24, 1 enjoins the use of this text to the man who is either sinful or infamous, or who has performed a contemptible deed; by muttering it he dispels all sin. Pāda 2 abc, and RV. 1, 24, 9 "any committed sin remove from us" supplying the place of d, and stanza 3 constitute AV. 7, 42 which in KauśS. 32, 3 is prescribed in a remedial rite (for the contents of these pādas see above) and ibidem, 59, 19 to accompany one of the rites performed to obtain special wishes. The same combination occurs in TS. 1, 8, 22, 5 (o and p) and BŚS. 13, 17; they are *anuvākya* and *yājya* in the *kāmyeṣṭi* described and mythologically explained in TS. 2, 2, 10<sup>4</sup>: "Yonder sun did not shine; the gods were in search of an atonement (*prāyaścitti*) for him. For him they offered this oblation (that is to say a *caru*, a sort of rice-milk) to Soma-and-Rudra. Verily thereby they bestowed brightness upon him. If one desires to possess brahminical lustre (*brahmavarcasa*), he (the officiant) should offer for him this oblation to Soma-and-Rudra. Verily he has recourse to Soma and Rudra (*somaṃ caiva rudraṃ ca*) with their own portion. Verily they bestow brahminical lustre upon him; he becomes possessed of that. He should sacrifice on the full moon day of the month Tīṣya<sup>5</sup>, (because) Tīṣya is Rudra, the full moon is Soma. Verily straightway one wins brahminical lustre. He performs the sacrifice for his client on an enclosed (fire-place), to acquire brahminical lustre. The butter is churned from milk of a white (cow) with a white calf. Butter is used for sprinkling, and they purify themselves with butter. Verily one produces whatever brahminical lustre exists". The Mānavas however use as *yājyānuvākya*s the stanzas 3 and 1 (MS. 4, 11, 2: 165, 7-10; MŚS. 5, 1, 6, 9). From parallel versions (KS. 11, 5: 149, 8-150, 4; MS. 2, 1, 5: 6, 15-7, 9) of the same story it likewise appears that the "splendour" which is desired is the well-known brahminical lustre, that the sacrifice should be performed in an enclosed place in order to catch that *brahmavarcasa*<sup>6</sup>.

In connection with the dual deity MS. 2, 1, 5: 7, 6 f. makes a curious remark: "When turned to the front, i.e. to the East the herbs are connected with Soma, when turned to the back, i.e. westward they are connected with Rudra; in the former case they do not wither, in the latter they wither" (*prācīnaṃ vai saumīr oṣadhayaḥ, prācīnaṃ raudrīḥ, na hi prācīnaṃ śuṣyanti, śuṣyanti prācīnaṃ*)<sup>7</sup>. It would appear to me<sup>8</sup> that the author

<sup>4</sup> This rite is n° 40 in Caland, Zauberei, p. 27 ff.

<sup>5</sup> For Tīṣya (at TB. 3, 1, 1, 5 connected with Brhaspati) see J. F. Fleet, in J.R.A.S. 1911, p. 514 ff. and A. B. Keith, ibidem, p. 794.

<sup>6</sup> For other particulars see Caland, l.c.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. KS. 11, 5: 149, 19 f. *saumīr ataḥ prācīnaṃ oṣadhayo, raudrīḥ prācīnaṃ, śuṣyanti* (sic) *prācīnaṃ, śuṣyanti prācīnaṃ*.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Caland, o.c., p. 29, n. 103 "Die Logik dieser Stelle entgeht mir".

establishes a view of a causal connection between Soma, the East (or rather, an eastward position of the herbs) and vigorous plants on the one hand and Rudra, the West (a westward position of the herbs) and withering plants on the other. This view of vegetable life is, for him, another argument in favour of the complementary relation which is supposed to exist between the two gods. Soma, the king of plants and herbs (see e.g. RV. 9, 114, 2; ŚB. 8, 4, 3, 17), is the "Beleber und Erhalter von allem . . . Als Regen vom Himmel niederströmend und auf Erden Pflanzenwuchs erweckend, ist Soma der Saft in diesen Pflanzen, ihr Lebelement . . ." <sup>9</sup>. Rudra on the other hand is a fierce, angry and essentially malevolent god, whose destructive activity is often referred to and whose wrath is always deprecated. He is the god who pursues creatures, now with distrust, now with violence, now in striking them down (RV. 1, 114, 8; 2, 33, 1; ŚB. 2, 3, 2, 9). His hosts attack man and beast with disease and death. The waxing of the moon is often regarded, not only as a 'symbol' of regeneration (cf. also ŚB. 6, 1, 2, 4) and resurrection, but as actually promoting the growth of everything living on earth <sup>10</sup>. Children, trees, plants etc. were widely believed to owe their thriving to the influence of this luminary <sup>11</sup>. "Les idées reposent sur des faits. La lumière de la pleine lune exerce sur la croissance des algues et d'autres plantes maritimes un effet analogue, quoique moindre, à celui qu'exercent les rayons solaires sur la flore terrestre. De l'autre, certaines plantes ne croissent que nuitamment" <sup>12</sup>. As argued elsewhere <sup>13</sup> the obvious analogy between the circular course of the life-stream which is Soma and the lunar periodicity, between the life-giving functions of Soma and the fertilizing power attributed to the moon, seems to have led to the assumption of close relations between the divine juice and the satellite of the earth and, in the course of time, to their eventual identification (ŚB. 10, 4, 2, 1; cf. 1, 6, 4, 5; 7, 3, 1, 46; 8, 4, 3, 17; 10, 4, 2, 1; 11, 1, 5, 3; 11, 2, 5, 3). Now, the east is the region of the gods (cf. e.g. ŚB. 14, 2, 2, 28). In ŚB. 11, 1, 6, 21 we are informed that five gods, among whom Indra, Agni and Soma, discovered the eastern quarter and made it the eastern (front) quarter. That is why creatures here move in a forward direction. Thereupon the gods made it strength (*ūri*). In a variety of contexts the significance of the west finds its explanation in the fact that the sun when setting was supposed to go to the realms of the deceased <sup>14</sup>.

<sup>9</sup> J. Gonda, *Die Religionen Indiens*, I, Stuttgart 1960, p. 65. Compare also H. Lommel, in *Numen*, 2, p. 196.

<sup>10</sup> I refer to J. Gonda, *Change and continuity in Indian religion*, The Hague 1965, ch. II, p. 38 ff.

<sup>11</sup> See e.g. R. E. Enthoven, *The folklore of Bombay*, Oxford 1924, p. 52; W. Crooke, *Religion and folklore of Northern India*, Oxford 1926, p. 38.

<sup>12</sup> A. H. Krappe, *La genèse des mythes*, Paris 1938, p. 100. Compare also J. Varenne, in *La lune, mythes et rites, Sources orientales*, V, Paris 1962, p. 238; 250 f.

<sup>13</sup> Gonda, *Change and continuity*, p. 48, where other particulars may be found.

<sup>14</sup> See e.g. A. Bertholet, *Die Gefilde der Seligen*, Tübingen 1903.

The rite on behalf of the person who desires to possess brahminical lustre is also described in MŚS. 5, 1, 6, 1 ff.: the oblation must consist of a mess of white rice, cooked in ghee, a span in size, to Soma-and-Rudra. MŚS. 5, 1, 6, 7 prescribes the use of "six additional kindling stanzas of Manu", viz. MS. 4, 11, 2: 164, 11-165, 6, which correspond to RV. 8, 31, 14 ff.; 1, 125, 4 "Agni I honour for you . . .; swiftly goes the chariot of the worshipper . . . he who by sacrifice is fain to win the mind of the gods will prevail over those who do not sacrifice. Thou art not harmed, O sacrificer . . .". See also MŚS. 5, 1, 9, 4, prescribing stanzas for this dual deity in case a man who is desirous of *brahmavarcasa* is to offer a mess of white rice cooked in ghee to Sūrya; BŚS. 13, 17 *yo brahmavarcasakāmaḥ syāt tasmā etaṃ somaraudraṃ caruṃ tiṣyāpūrṇamāse nirvapet*; ĀpŚS. 19, 19, 7 f. After inviting attention to the beginning of the above mythical story in KS. 11, 5 and MS. 2, 1, 5: "The (demon) of asura descent Svarbhānu (who was supposed to eclipse the sun) struck the sun with darkness, so that he did not (no longer) shine", followed in MS. by "him Soma-and-Rudra healed" I make mention of ŚB. 5, 3, 2, 2—the only brāhmaṇa passage dealing with this double deity—"Now, once upon a time, Svarbhānu, of asura descent, struck the sun with darkness, and stricken with darkness he did not shine. Soma-and-Rudra removed that darkness of his, and freed from evil he burns yonder. And in like manner does that (king) thereby enter darkness, or darkness enters him, when he puts those unworthy of sacrifice in contact with the sacrifice. . . . It is Soma-and-Rudra who remove that darkness of his, and freed from evil he becomes consecrated. And as to why it is cooked in milk from a white (cow) which has a white calf, —darkness is black; that darkness he removes . . .". For Soma as a remover of darkness see RV. 9, 9, 7; 9, 66, 24; 9, 100, 8; 9, 108, 12.

This mythical story—which is not handed down in the schools of the Black Yajur-Veda—is to explain the occurrence of an offering to Soma-and-Rudra after the so-called Jewel-offerings (*ratnahavīṃsi*) in the rājasūya ceremonies. In the Black Yajur-Veda we find instead of the offering to this dual deity offerings for Indra Sutrāman and Indra Amhomuc<sup>15</sup>.

It is interesting to notice also that this iṣṭi for Soma-and-Rudra may, according to Kātyāyana's sūtra work (likewise belonging to the White Yajur-Veda), also be performed independently for the benefit of a brahman who, though being learned, has not yet gained prestige (*yaśas*), and by one who suffers from an eruption of the skin. This is the White Yajur-Veda counterpart of the rituals in connection with the person who desires to have brahmavarcasa and to get rid of leprosy. It might have been noticed that both *kāmyeṣṭis* are, in the texts, dealt with in immediate succession.

Another occasion for a *caru* is mentioned at TS. 2, 2, 10, 3 f.; KS. 11, 5:

<sup>15</sup> See J. C. Heesterman, The ancient Indian royal consecration, Thesis Utrecht 1957, p. 50; 52.

150, 21 ff.; BŚS. 13, 18<sup>16</sup>: The man who is desirous of offspring or cattle should offer a *saumāraudra caru*, because then Soma, the bestower of seed (*retas*), will bestow seed on him and Agni (=Rudra), the begetter of offspring, will beget offspring for him.

The first hemistich of RV. 6, 74, 4 "With sharp weapons, with sharp missiles, very propitious, O Soma-and-Rudra, do ye be very gracious to us here" recurs as the last line of AVŚ. 5, 6, 5-7 and of AVP. 6, 11, 7. AVŚ. 5, 6 appears in the rite, or rather a prognosticative ceremony referred to in KauśS. 15, 12 to show whether one is going to come out (probably, of a battle, or undertaking) alive; in KauśS. 18, 25 in a rite to secure prosperity; in 18, 27 on the occasion of going on a journey; in 28, 15 in a rite for the benefit of a child-bearing woman and a person who develops alarming symptoms<sup>17</sup> and in 51, 7 in a ceremony to secure the welfare of the herds. In AVPar. 32, 17 the text figures among a number of hymns collectively described as *raudra*, i.e. connected with Rudra. It may be observed that in AVŚ. 5, 6 the only other god invoked is Agni (st. 10 "make them weaponless"); Indra is mentioned in identifications. The ritual application of this text by Kauśika is on the whole in harmony with the 'character' and function of the dual deity Somārudrā.

If it is desired to perform, on behalf of a person who has been ill for a long time, a sacrifice to this dual deity<sup>18</sup>, one should observe some special rules and customs. According to the Taittiriyakas the hotar should give to the other officiants an ox which belongs to the sacrificer. Why?, and why should one offer to this pair of gods? "The sap (*rasa*) of him who is long ill goes to Soma, the body to Agni (who is Rudra; a reference to the fire of cremation). Verily from Soma he ransoms his sap, from Agni his body. Even if his life be gone, he yet lives. The hotar loosens him that is swallowed by Soma-and-Rudra and he is liable to be ruined (the gods will no doubt be angry with him because he has ransomed the patient through his powerful mantras). An ox must be given by the hotar. The ox is a carrier; the hotar is a carrier. Verily he releases himself as a carrier by means of a carrier" (TS. 2, 2, 10, 4 f.). As already observed by Caland<sup>19</sup> this explanation is more intelligible than the comment furnished by KS. 11, 5: 150, 19 f. (cf. MS. 2, 1, 6: 8, 3 f.): the hotar secures the release of Soma-and-Rudra's prisoner; he runs the risk of dying prematurely; he eats from the ox to expiate his deed. The motivation of the rite given by the same authority (150, 16 f.) is of greater interest: the man who lives is connected with Soma (this implies: rich in sap), the man who dies prematurely is connected with Agni (this

<sup>16</sup> Caland, Zauberei, p. 33 (n° 45).

<sup>17</sup> I refer to W. Caland, Altindisches Zauberritual, Amsterdam Acad. 1900, p. 90, n. 13.

<sup>18</sup> See Caland, Zauberei, p. 31 f. (n° 44).

<sup>19</sup> Caland, o.c., p. 32.



implies: without sap, dried up). A man who is ill is neither alive nor dead, so he has to be ransomed from both gods.

It may, in conclusion, be said that the picture which the texts allow us to form of this dual deity is rather homogeneous and in view of the natures and functions of the two component gods wholly intelligible. In this combination Soma and Rudra co-operate and complement each other, the latter showing his beneficent features.

However, cases are not altogether wanting in which the power and presence of both gods, though equally essential and indispensable, are necessarily contrasted. Stanzas corresponding to RV. 6, 74, 2 and 4 ("Drive away the demon . . ., remove destruction . . .; with sharp weapons, free us . . .") could also find application in rites aiming at evil appearing in the form of an inimical human being. "One who exerts (by means of a rite) noxious influence (*abhicāra*) shall offer a mess of black (sic) rice to Soma-and-Rudra. The sacrificial grass consists of reeds, the firewood of *vibhīdaka* wood" (MŚS. 5, 1, 6, 12 f.)<sup>20</sup>. As to the reed, KauśS. 47, 1 and 24 prescribes its use in rites of the *abhicāra* type (the employment of spells etc. for a malevolent purpose) instead of the grass or straw, used in other cases. The *vibhīdaka* belonged to "the trees of evil name" (ŚB. 13, 8, 1, 16)<sup>21</sup>. Moreover, KS. 11, 5: 150, 10 f. and MS. 2, 1, 6: 7, 15 ff., explaining the rite, observe that reed (*śara*) is used in order to achieve the enemy's breaking (*śirṭyai*) and the *vibhīdaka* in order to make him split (*vibhittyai*). "The rice must be black, while darkness is, so to say, black; darkness is death; he causes him (his enemy) to be captured by death" (KS. 11, 5: 150, 9 f.; MS. 2, 1, 6: 7, 14 f.). In explanation of the rite KS. 150, 7 ff. further says that Soma is the lord of "these creatures", and Agni is Rudra. A lord is master of him who should be killed and of him who should not be killed. After having solicited the lord (i.e. Soma) for him he hands over to Rudra (who, being a destructive deity, will harm him). MS. 7, 13 f. furnishes us with another explanation: The herbs are connected with Soma (that means, they are dedicated to Soma and contain juice which is identical with soma). After having solicited him (the enemy) from them (so that he can no longer enjoy them) he hands his cattle over to Rudra. According to TS. 2, 2, 10, 4 "Man has Soma as his deity and Agni is this Rudra; verily, ransoming him from his own deity he hands him over to Rudra; he will swiftly be ruined". It should be noticed that in this rite the gods do not co-operate. It is the officiant who dissociates the person against whom the rite is directed from Soma's sphere and hands him over to Rudra.

MŚS. 5, 1, 6, 15 f. continues: "The one who wishes: "May he (i.e. my rival) have another rival in his (own) domain" (see also KŚS. 22, 3, 9;

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Caland, *Zauberei*, p. 30 (n° 42).

<sup>21</sup> "Der Baum (*terminalia bellerica*) gilt als äusserst verderbenbringend" (J. J. Meyer, *Trilogie altindischer Mächte und Feste der Vegetation*, Zürich-Leipzig 1937, III, p. 56, n. 4).

BŚS. 13, 18: 130, 8), shall offer a mess of black and white rice to Soma-and-Rudra (cf. also KS. 11, 5: 150, 12). Half of the sacrificial grass consists of reeds, half of the firewood of vibhīdaka wood. He cooks it in a mixture of water and milk". This rite must be performed on the ground of the person who is to be injured (ĀpŚS. 19, 19, 9 f.). It is mainly characterized by a number of interesting divisions into complementary pairs (KS. 11, 5: 150, 12 *tasyārdham ardham sarvaṃ syāt*): "selecting a vedi he should dig up half (to wit, the southern half, ĀpŚS. 19, 19, 11), and half not, spread half the straw, and half not, pile on half the kindling-wood and half not" (TS. 2, 2, 10, 5; BŚS. 13, 18: 130, 7). According to KS. (150, 12 f.) half of the barhis should consist of reeds, the other half of the usual darbha, half of the firewood should consist of vibhīdaka, half of other wood. The significance of this is: "(performing) everything half is in order to effect the state of being a second" (KS. 150, 15). "Soma is the own deity of a brahman, (thus) he creates for him another (rival) in his own deity" (KS. 150, 16 f.). It may be supposed that the rite is half intended for Soma, half for Rudra, the god of the northern region. Soma must be propitiated because a brahman is to be injured and Rudra must be persuaded to produce a new rival.

## CHAPTER XII

### AGNI-AND-SOMA

I am not the first to notice the fact that the two great ritual deities, the god of fire and the divine representative of the power of life which circulates in the universe, should, in the *R̥gveda*, be praised as a pair in no more than one hymn and, outside that poem, which has been regarded as an appendix<sup>1</sup>, be mentioned only twice and that in the most recent addition to the corpus, viz. the 10<sup>th</sup> book<sup>2</sup>. This fact is the more noticeable as the pair Agni-Soma, "das Opferfeuer und die vornehmste Opfergabe, die beiden göttlichen Schutzpatronen des Opfers"<sup>3</sup> come much more to the fore in the later parts of the Vedic literature in which the speculations of the brahmans on the rites and sacrificial performances occupy a very prominent place.

The two figures under discussion have much in common. Both of them occupy a very significant place in the material equipments of the sacrifice but at the same time they are associated with divinity. In their case there is no difference between the cult object and its divinization, the god whose visible sign the cult object is<sup>4</sup>. They are, both of them, terrestrial gods in that the one is fire and the other is a plant and its juice. But both of them are in the speculations of priests and poets given a supermundane origin. There is a certain analogy between the processes of their production: the fire is churned from the pieces of kindling wood, and the soma juice pressed from the stalks of the plant. Both of them are instrumental in bringing the gods to the sacrifice, although Soma—in the *R̥gveda* mainly the juice, glorified to the extent of being considered a deity<sup>5</sup>—is not believed to go to the denizens of heaven to invite them to the ceremonies<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> See H. Oldenberg, *R̥gveda. Textkritische und exegetische Noten*, I, Berlin 1909, p. 92: "das Sūkta (I, 93) . . ., Schluss der Gotamagruppe bildend mag — sei es ganz, sei es von V. 4 oder 7 oder 9 an — den Anhängern zugehören". See also A. Bergaigne, *Recherches sur l'histoire de la liturgie védique*, *Journal asiatique* (8-XIII) 1889, I, p. 21; E. V. Arnold, *Vedic Metre*, Cambridge 1905, p. 42: "The combination of Agni and Soma is so strange to the *R̥gveda* proper that it is probable that the whole hymn is late".

<sup>2</sup> See A. A. Macdonell, *Vedic mythology*, Strassburg 1897, p. 129.

<sup>3</sup> H. Oldenberg, *Die Religion des Veda*, Stuttgart-Berlin, 1923, p. 95.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. also Renou, *E.V.P.* IX, p. 10. I also refer to F. D. K. Bosch, *De gouden kiem*, Amsterdam 1948 (Engl. edition: *The golden germ*, The Hague 1960), p. 60 ff., whose argument is for the sake of brevity not repeated here.

<sup>5</sup> For a brief characterization see L. Renou, in L. Renou and J. Filliozat, *L'Inde classique*, I, Paris 1947, p. 326 f.

<sup>6</sup> Compare also K. R. Potdar, *Sacrifice in the R̥gveda*, Bombay 1953, p. 53.

I do not consider it part of my task to reopen the debate on Hillebrandt's<sup>7</sup> unfounded supposition that the Vedic ritualists had borrowed the Agni-and-Soma cult "von einem Stamme, der die Tieropfer in das brahmanische Ritual mit herüber brachte"<sup>8</sup>. That these gods denote sun and moon is, as already observed, beyond acceptability; I need not repeat what I have written<sup>9</sup> elsewhere in refutation of the thesis that Soma in its (his) 'early days' was a representative of the satellite of the earth. That Agniṣomau from the beginning represented Sun-and-Moon—Hillebrandt's thesis<sup>10</sup>—is therefore in my opinion, most improbable. That the much later Sūryasiddhānta, 12, 24, regards them as these luminaries weighs as nothing in the balance, the less so as the same identification occurs already in ŚB. 1, 6, 3, 24 to which we shall have to revert. Do however equations of this type, which are very frequent in the brāhmaṇas, settle the matter, if other textual evidence combined with considerations of a general character point in another direction? Cannot this belief have arisen only in the course of time under the influence of the tendency to see the moon in Soma<sup>11</sup> (cf. e.g. also ŚB. 1, 6, 3, 17) and the frequent identifications of Agni and the sun or manifestations of fire in that luminary (e.g. ṚV. 1, 69, 10; 1, 70, 8; 1, 73, 8)? And how are we to know that ŚB. 11, 1, 6, 9 in calling the two gods "brothers" "ganz dasselbe meint"<sup>12</sup>?—leaving alone the fact that Indra here addresses the two as his brothers (and, like himself, sons of Prajāpati: 11, 1, 6, 14). It does not on the other hand seem too hazardous a supposition to connect the important part played by Agniṣomau in the later saṃhitās and brāhmaṇas in the myth of Indra and Vṛtra with the belief that Indra slew the demon by the Full moon sacrifice (ŚB. 11, 1, 3, 5), at which this dual deity receives an oblation<sup>13</sup>.

It is also difficult to demonstrate the truth of, or rather to know to what extent there are elements of truth in, Oldenberg's<sup>14</sup> view of the origin of this double deity: "Irgendwo—vielleicht (wegen ṚV. 1, 93) im Kreis der Gotamidenfamilie—geriet man auf den Gedanken, jene beiden

<sup>7</sup> A. Hillebrandt, *Vedische Mythologie*, I, 1891, p. 461; compare also the same, in *Göttingische Gel. Anzeigen* 1889, p. 401.

<sup>8</sup> For a brief refutation see Oldenberg, *Religion des Veda*, 3p. 95, n. 3.

<sup>9</sup> J. Gonda, *Change and continuity in Indian religion*, The Hague 1965, p. 46 ff. See also H. Lüders, *Varuṇa*, Göttingen 1951, p. 698 ff.

<sup>10</sup> Hillebrandt, *o.c.*, I, p. 458.

<sup>11</sup> See Oldenberg, *Religion des Veda*, 3p. 439, n. 1, followed by A. B. Keith, *The religion and philosophy of the Veda and the Upanishads*, Cambridge Mass. 1925, p. 321. It is difficult to elicit from the texts an answer to the question as to what extent this tendency may have exerted influence.

<sup>12</sup> Hillebrandt, *o.c.*, I, p. 459.

<sup>13</sup> After his victory his colleagues prepared for Indra an additional sacrifice, viz. the New moon ceremony (ŚB., l.c.), in which Indrāgni is the deity which receives a special offering.

<sup>14</sup> Oldenberg, l.c.



göttlichen Opferpatrone zu einem Paar zusammenzufassen. Der Gedanke fand Anklang und so kam es dahin, dass Agni-Soma bei den meisten oder allen Opfern eben als Patrone jedes Opfers mit angerufen wurden". Far be it from me to underrate the genius, inventiveness and influence of a gifted individual even if he lived in those archaic times, but the mere supposition of a unique historical event does not lead us much farther if we are kept in the dark about the motives of such an important innovation and the causes of its successful adoption by the ritualists. These can hardly have been other than an awareness of a certain 'co-operation' of a complementary character of the power complexes known by the names of Agni and Soma. And if the scarceness of the references to this pair in the R̥gveda really shows "that the close connection which existed in the ritual and in the later saṃhitās was not primitive"<sup>15</sup>, the questions arise as to why the ritualists could in the period previous to the introduction of Agni-and-Soma do without this divine pair and as to why, when and how the 'co-operation' of fire and soma became so increasingly important as to require a separate divine representative.

Since the Avesta informs us of the existence of an ancient Iranian Haoma (=Indian Soma) cult and a corresponding Haoma belief—the *haoma* was the most important oblation<sup>16</sup>—and since this cult and this belief were in many points not widely different from the Vedic ritual and concepts, a common Indo-Iranian 'origin' of this \**sauma* cult may be considered beyond controversy<sup>17</sup>. There cannot however be doubt that this prehistoric belief and these observances were much less systematically elaborated than the rites described in the śrautasūtras. There is, on the other hand, also considerable unanimity of opinion on the existence of an Indo-Iranian fire cult<sup>18</sup>. It is however difficult to form an exact idea of the pre-Zarathustrian fire cult in Iran, because it is not certain to what extent the great 'reformer' adopted it and to what extent he reorganized it or even introduced something new. So much is clear that the ancient pre-Zarathustrian Iranians did not, like the Indians, lay special emphasis on the purely sacrificial aspects of fire and its cosmic-symbolical significance. Whether Agni was, under this name, a great deity already in the common Indo-Iranian period and, if he was, what was his position in the pantheon and what his relations with the

<sup>15</sup> Keith, o.c., p. 221.

<sup>16</sup> For some particulars see e.g. J. Duchesne-Guillemin, *La religion de l'Iran ancien*, Paris 1962, p. 95 ff.; G. Widengren, *Die Religionen Irans*, Stuttgart 1965, p. 29 ff. etc.; R. C. Zaehner, *The dawn and twilight of Zoroastrianism*, London 1961, p. 84 ff. etc.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. V. Henry, in W. Caland and V. Henry, *L'Agnistoma*, Paris 1906, Appendice III, *Esquisse d'une liturgie indo-iranienne*, p. 469 ff.

<sup>18</sup> See e.g. H. S. Vodsikov, *Sjæledyrkelse og Naturdyrkelse*, Copenhagen 1897, ch. II; Duchesne-Guillemin, o.c., p. 77 ff.; Widengren, p. 31 ff. etc. Some divergences (see S. Wikander, *Feuerpriester in Kleinasien und Iran*, Lund 1946, *passim*) need not detain us. See also the remarks made by Keith, *Religion and philosophy*, p. 625 f.

other gods, is more difficult to say, because the Iranians, who had known the noun *agni*<sup>19</sup>, worshipped fire under another name, *Ātar*.

Scholars have however held different opinions on the point which is of special interest in connection with the divine pair which is the theme of this chapter. Henry<sup>20</sup> at the time pronounced for an ancient and inextricable syncretism: the common Indo-Iranian (prehistoric) \**sauma* cult was "déjà fort complexe et mélangée de toute sorte d'éléments hétérogènes . . . L'Agniṣtoma et le Yasna sont, à n'en pas douter, le produit du syncrétisme de deux grands cultes au moins, celui du Sauma et celui du Feu. La Perse a fait prévaloir celui-ci; l'Inde, celui-là; mais tous deux sont intimement unis dans l'une et l'autre liturgie, en telle manière qu'il nous soit impossible de les dissocier par la pensée et, par conséquent, de nous faire la moindre idée de la façon dont s'est opérée leur fusion". Lommel<sup>21</sup>, however, gave a less decided opinion: "Das Feuer steht ja im Mittelpunkt des zoroastrischen Kults; in dieser Beziehung ist Zarathustra offenbar konservativ gewesen. Er hat den Feuertempel beibehalten und selbst bestätigt. Vermutlich war dieser in Iran ursprünglich ebenso, wie wir es von Indien kennen, mit Hauma- (Soma-) Kult und Schlachtopfern verbunden; aber Zarathustra hat ihn aus dieser Verbindung herausgelöst". Widengren<sup>22</sup> limits himself to the statement that "neben dem Barsman-Bündel Haoma, Feuer und Libation als Hauptelemente beim Opfer eine grosse Rolle spielen".

In the description given by Herodotus, 1, 131 f.; 140 of the ancient Iranian religion there is no allusion to the role of the *hauma* nor to the central position of fire in the cult. On the contrary, the Persians "do not kindle a fire when about to sacrifice" (1, 132). Although Herodotus has rightly been suspected of some exaggeration in order to bring out the points of difference with the Greek institutions, in this detail his exposition will be quite true. The religion of that part of ancient Iran of which the Greek historiographer had taken cognizance and which may be assumed to conform in its broad outlines to what must have remained of the pre-Zarathustrian Indo-Iranian cult and beliefs<sup>23</sup> does not seem to have given a prominent place to sacrifices performed by means of fire and to a combination of fire and *haoma*, although its adherents regarded the fire as a deity (Her. 3, 16), to whom they paid homage (1, 131). But Herodotus does not inform us of all aspects of the ancient Iranian religion. In the post-Zarathustrian syncretism the *haoma* cult, whether it was rejected by the great 'reformer', or—what may be more probable—only

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Wikander, o.c., p. 35, and the same, *Der arische Männerbund*, Lund 1938, p. 77 ff.

<sup>20</sup> Henry, o.c., p. 469.

<sup>21</sup> H. Lommel, *Die Religion Zarathustras*, Tübingen 1930, p. 261.

<sup>22</sup> Widengren, o.c., p. 29. See also Duchesne-Guillemin, o.c., p. 98 and H. S. Nyberg, *Die Religionen des alten Iran*, Leipzig 1938, p. 287.

<sup>23</sup> See E. Benveniste, *The Persian religion according to the chief Greek texts*, Paris 1929, p. 29 ff.; W. Hinz, *Zarathustra*, Stuttgart 1961, p. 34.

condemned in some extreme form or peculiar combination with an animal sacrifice<sup>24</sup>, was re-introduced or, rather, brought into special prominence and, as appears with all clearness desirable from Yasna 9, not regarded as incompatible with a simultaneous performance of fire rites. In Y. 9, 1 f. we find Haoma addressing Zarathustra, when in the very moment of the preparation of the sacred juice, he was engaged in reciting *gāthās* and putting the ritual fire in the right condition. Haoma asks him to re-introduce his cult: "I am Haoma, go for me (take me), press me out, that (men) may drink (me); praise me . . .". Y. 11, 4 ff., moreover, gives some information on ritual details, from which it becomes clear that in this post-Zarathustrian epoch the *haoma* cult was coupled with the immolation of animals, and that Haoma himself was presented with definite portions of these<sup>25</sup>.

So whatever the real factors were which contributed towards the close association of the two gods in the later *samhitās*, *brāhmaṇas* and *śrautasūtras*, it is evident that remarks such as those made by Keith<sup>26</sup> do not solve the problem: "The two gods were naturally enough connected as sacrificial, and hence the animal victim preceding the Soma offering is given to them". By whom were they connected, in which milieu, when and why? And since there is a chance that the combination of fire and \**sauma* goes, in a certain form, back to the common Indo-Iranian period these questions may probably be re-formulated: where, when and why was the union between these two important sacrificial powers as we know it from post-Rgvedic works cemented? In any case, Oldenberg's<sup>27</sup> view: the dvandva *agnīsomā* is rare in the Rgveda and therefore 'young', was rightly doubted by Hillebrandt<sup>28</sup>.

Recently, a much more lengthy and complicated answer to these questions was implied in Schneider's<sup>29</sup> argument on the supposed development of the Vedic Soma cult and its relations with the fire cult. According to this author a sharp distinction should be made between an earlier and more simple fire cult in which Agni was only the mediator who conveyed the oblations to the invisible gods, the denizens of heaven, and a later cult, which however was already prevalent in 'Rgvedic times', presupposing the presence of the gods in the sacrificial area, to which they are invited and conducted by Agni, the messenger. In both situations, regarded as different stages of an historical development, Agni is the counterpart of the human priest. In the primitive or earlier Soma cult as assumed<sup>30</sup> by the author mainly on the strength of the Rgvedic

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Zaehner, o.c., p. 84 ff.

<sup>25</sup> See also Widengren, o.c., p. 109.

<sup>26</sup> Keith, o.c., p. 221, n. 1.

<sup>27</sup> H. Oldenberg, *Die Hymnen des Rigveda*, I, Berlin 1888, p. 267.

<sup>28</sup> A. Hillebrandt, in *Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1889, I, p. 401.

<sup>29</sup> U. Schneider, *Der Somaraub des Manu*, Wiesbaden 1971, esp. p. 72 ff.

<sup>30</sup> After others: see e.g. K. F. Geldner, *Der Rig-Veda übersetzt*, Cambridge Mass. 1951, III, p. 3.

hymns 4, 26 and 27, no mediator was needed, because in a simple 'Kultdrama' the god, Indra, appears on the scene to receive the oblation. In Schneider's<sup>31</sup> opinion this Soma ritual is, "in der Zielsetzung ein Gabenopfer, in der Art jedoch, wie die Gabe an den Gott gebracht wird, ein auf einen Mythos (viz. that of the theft of the soma) bezogener Analogiezauber in Form eines kleinen Dramas—und in all seinen Eigenheiten eine echte Alternative zum älteren Feueropfer". And it is his supposition that the desire to receive the god in the sacrificial area led, in the fire cult, to "eine Annäherung an das Soma-ritual", that means, that the later form of the fire cult was influenced by the Soma ritual. However, the Soma ceremonies did not remain unaltered either. "Deutlicher noch zeigt sich dieses Zusammenwachsen von Agni und Soma im Agnistoma ... Es ist ... im Kern zwar nicht mehr unser (i.e. the ancient, 'Rgvedic') Somaritual, aber noch immer ein Soma-opfer; d.h. Soma ist die wichtigste, wenn auch keineswegs mehr einzige Spende ... Trotzdem ist es ganz klar, dass es sich bereits um ein Feueropfer handelt ...". When—under the influence "des immer mächtiger werdenden (jüngeren) Feueropfers"—this amalgamation came about the myth which furnished the basis of the more original Soma ritual fell into oblivion, although some elements of the 'Somaraub' may be supposed to survive in the 'Somakauf'<sup>32</sup>, which in the author's opinion must be a rather recent element of the ritual. In any case, the veneration of Fire is mentioned

<sup>31</sup> Schneider, o.c., p. 75.

<sup>32</sup> That the "letzte Reminiszenz an den Raub", viz. the thrashing of the soma-seller, "sich nicht aus irgendwelchen im Ritual liegenden Gründen erhalten hat, sondern einzig und allein deshalb, weil hier die Tradition der Volksbelustigung entgegenkam" is an unacceptable contention. It no doubt was a rite as well as 'amusement', that is to say it had a 'social' as well as a religious aspect. The author has misunderstood my comment: "Fruchtbarkeitsriten" (Gonda, *Die Religionen Indiens*, I, Stuttgart 1960, p. 152). Thrashing etc., like fighting, pugilism, racing etc., may be a fertility rite — this term for the sake of brevity to be taken in a wide sense — even when the instrument is not regarded as 'eine Lebensrute' and it is not the person beaten who is to be made fertile. "In Java, when rain is wanted, two men will sometimes thrash each other till the blood (representing the rain) flows down their backs" (J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, abr. ed. I, London 1957, p. 86). Among the fertility rites of the natives of South-America and the West Indies there was (at least up to end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century) a periodical dance ceremony, "bei denen die Tänzer unter dem Klang der Flöten ... Stockschlagen austeilten" (O. Zerries, in W. Krickeberg usw., *Die Religionen des alten Amerika*, Stuttgart 1961, p. 333). In 1955 Zerries himself witnessed a ceremony of the Waika Indians (Orinoco), during which "die männlichen Teilnehmer sich gegenseitig mit der Faust oder der flachen Hand auf Brust bzw. Rücken schlugen, ein Fruchtbarkeitsritus ...". (ibidem, p. 335). Cf. also ibidem, p. 337: "Wie bei den Yurupary-Festen Nordwest-Amazoniens erweist sich das Auspeitschen bei den Mura u.a. als Fruchtbarkeitsritual, denn eine Geißelung wurde auch nach Anlegen einer Brandrodung veranstaltet, um die erwartete Maniok-Ernte zu vermehren". In India flagellation is quite common during marriage ceremonies (see e.g. W. Crooke and R. E. Enthoven, *Religion and folklore of Northern India*, Oxford 1926, p. 136 f.).



in the Gāthās and it is hardly imaginable that the haoma-offering—which constitutes the main act of Zoroastrian worship—should have been fervently denounced by Zoroaster.

What strikes us in this very constructive argument is that the author has so little taken into account the probability of co-existence of various forms of a definite ritual, a probability of which he obviously is well aware: "Auch für die älteste indische Religionsgeschichte wird man in Rechnung setzen dürfen, dass es eine grössere Anzahl mit einander konkurrierender, aber auch sich gegenseitig beeinflussender Opfersysteme gegeben hat" <sup>33</sup>. Weak points in his explanations are the implicit assumption that the Rgvedic references to the theft of the Soma presuppose a ritual which has, in the same process of development, preceded the complicated Soma ritual of the younger saṃhitās, brāhmaṇas and śrautasūtras, as well as the supposition that the two 'forms' of the fire ritual, which he is so much inclined to distinguish, are necessarily based on an older and a younger view of the part played by the gods in that ritual and the function of Agni. Another objection to his argument is the complete absence of any discussion of the ancient Iranian fire and *haoma* cults in order to form an opinion of those elements in the ritual which might have been inherited.

That is why I would for the time being prefer to suppose that the close association of Agni and Soma became a fact in those circles which performed rites consisting of a combination of fire cult and soma ceremonies. This combination and the creation of the dual deity may have taken place in a period following that in which the poems of the Rgveda came into existence; they may have been contemporaneous with them; they may even date back to an earlier period, even to prehistoric times. I do not feel sure that Agni-and-Soma's being excluded from the soma draught necessarily suggests that the Soma ritual had been fairly definitely settled before they were united as a joint deity <sup>34</sup>. There may be other reasons for their exclusion. Agni appears in the Soma sacrifice in the main as connected with Indra or as one of many other gods, and Soma himself receives nothing <sup>35</sup>. This is not surprising, because it can, in broad outline, be said that the twofold aspect of soma, viz. as the material of the sacrifice as well as the divinity, are almost inseparably mixed up. Although it is, for lack of textual evidence to the contrary, not my intention to gainsay Oldenberg <sup>36</sup> when he argues that "die Daten des Rgveda es unwahrscheinlich (machen), dass schon in ältester Zeit eins der hervortretendsten Opfern an Agni-Soma gerichtet gewesen ist", one should not exclude the possibility of rites that are left unmentioned in that oldest

<sup>33</sup> Schneider, o.c., p. 76.

<sup>34</sup> Keith, o.c., p. 221.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. also Potdar, o.c., p. 100.

<sup>36</sup> Oldenberg, Religion des Veda, p. 439, n. 2.

corpus. The hypothesis<sup>37</sup> that the insignificant place occupied by Agniṣomau in the R̥gveda points to their comparatively late origin should in any case be modified.

It would be useful in this connection to recall an interesting page in Bergaigne's *Religion védique*<sup>38</sup>. In a context which can remain undiscussed, the French savant drew attention to what he called "les éléments mâles des phénomènes célestes (figurant) . . . sous les noms d'Agni et de Soma". One of the results of Indra's conquest of the snake-demon was that "the fires, the sun and soma, the indraic juice, made their appearance" (RV. 8, 3, 20 *nīr agnāyo rurucur nīr u sūryo nīh sóma indriyó rāsah*)<sup>39</sup>. Interestingly enough Agni and Soma are, in this stanza, said to have appeared together and on the same occasion. That Indra chose for himself the soma draught after he had slain Vṛtra<sup>40</sup> is also explicitly stated in 3, 36, 8 *vṛtrām jaghanvdm avṛṇīta sómam*. See also 1, 32, 12 where the god, after his great victory, is able to conquer soma and release the rivers; 10, 138, 2; 7, 98, 5 and other places. As to Agni, Indra generated or produced (*ajanat*) him together with the sun and dawn (3, 31, 15). Without resorting to less conclusive places it may be maintained that the combination of the divine individuals Agni and Soma—it is true, together with the congenial sun and waters—and their simultaneous appearance was already an element in the (or, a) R̥gvedic version of the great myth of Indra's Vṛtra combat. As we shall see further on post-Vedic literature represents the dual deity Agniṣomau as taking a part in a remodelled version of the myth. In any case, RV. 8, 3, 20 is an argument in favour of the supposition that the origin of this joint deity must be sought in traditional and central ritual practices and mythological ideas.

There are even places where "les personnages d'Agni et de Soma semblent se confondre"<sup>41</sup>: 9, 5, 1-3 "l'épithète *samiddha* 'allumé', le nom de Tanūnapāt, et l'emploi de la racine *īd-* dans l'épithète *īlenya* ("worthy of worship"), non moins que la comparaison des autres hymnes *āpri*, identifient à Agni, tandis que l'épithète *pavamāna* suggère l'idée de Soma". "Aiguiser ses cornes" (*śṛṅge śisānaḥ*) est un image mixte Soma-Agni, qui se retrouve 9, 15, 4"<sup>42</sup>. The participle *pavamāna* "clarifying itself", which is typical of Soma, is in a similar way applied to Agni at the beginning of a triplet directed to the latter, viz. 9, 66, 19-21 in

<sup>37</sup> H. Oldenberg, *Die Hymnen des Rigveda*, I, Berlin 1888, p. 267.

<sup>38</sup> A. Bergaigne, *La religion védique d'après les hymnes du R̥g-Veda*, II, Paris 1881 (1963), p. 195.

<sup>39</sup> See also Bergaigne, *o.c.*, I, Paris 1878 (1963), p. 166.

<sup>40</sup> Renou's translation ("il se choisit le soma après qu'il eut tué Vṛtra", E.V.P. XVII, p. 79) is to be preferred to Geldner's ("da erwählte er, der den Vṛtra erschlug, für sich den Soma", *Der Rig-Veda übersetzt*, Cambridge Mass. 1951, I, p. 378).

<sup>41</sup> Bergaigne, *o.c.*, I, p. 166.

<sup>42</sup> Renou, E.V.P. VIII, p. 52.

which both divine powers are explicitly identified: (20) *agnīr ṛṣiḥ pāvamānaḥ* "Agni is the ṛṣi, (Soma) Pavamāna". In the same stanza (20) a typical Agni epithet, viz. *purohita* "domestic priest", is, moreover, applied to Soma, "to complete his identity with Agni" <sup>43</sup>.

Without regarding it as part of my task to reconsider the texts and arguments adduced by Bergaigne in favour of his views in connection with this identification <sup>44</sup>, I signify my agreement with his opinion that "l'existence d'un couple Agni-et-Soma (1, 93 etc.) . . . ne prouve rien contre cette assimilation, non plus que les vers 5, 44, 14 et 15 par exemple <sup>45</sup>, qui présentent les deux personnages comme des amis" <sup>46</sup>, although I would not subscribe to his argumentation. I would view the relation of the two gods in the light of the consideration that as soon as in Vedic thought two powers, without being, or being regarded as, identical, are associated so closely as to be, occasionally or temporarily, identified, that means, as soon as they can be conceived of as on the one hand thoroughly similar or even identical, and on the other hand, different but co-operative or, at least, achieving similar objects, they may also be regarded as a complementary pair.

As already observed, the double deity Agni-Soma is in the R̥gveda a comparatively rare occurrence. This is in harmony with the fact that —if the above-mentioned R̥V. 8, 3, 20 is left out of consideration— both gods are only in a comparatively limited number of stanzas associated or mentioned together. After R̥V. 5, 44, 14 "who is awake, to him Soma speaks . . ." st. 15 continues: "Agni is awake, to him Soma speaks, 'In your comradeship I feel comfortable' ". "Est-ce (14 cd) l'équivalent d'un *yajus*, venant après la mention des *ṛc* et des *sāman*?" <sup>47</sup>. For Agni as a wakeful or vigilant god see e.g. 1, 31, 9; 3, 24, 3; 5, 11, 1. The hotar who at 8, 72, 2 is said to sit down near the (soma) stalk is probably Agni. In 6, 16, 16 Agni is invited to fortify himself with "these soma juices". The use of the word *drona* "a wooden vessel" in connection with Agni (6, 2, 8) has rightly been considered an "image empruntée aux hymnes à Soma" <sup>48</sup>. R̥V. 1, 95, 8 has already given rise to many observations <sup>49</sup>. It is quite clear that its first hemistich "He (Agni) assumes a brilliant, eminent form, when he comes on the (sacred) seat into close contact with cows (i.e. ghee), with water" could also occur in a Soma hymn <sup>50</sup>,

<sup>43</sup> S. S. Bhawe, The Soma-hymns of the R̥gveda, III, Baroda 1962, p. 113.

<sup>44</sup> Compare e.g. Bergaigne, o.c., I, p. 166 (and Renou, E.V.P. IX, p. 111) on R̥V. 9, 98, 3.

<sup>45</sup> See further on.

<sup>46</sup> Bergaigne, o.c., I, p. 167.

<sup>47</sup> Renou, E.V.P. IV, p. 72.

<sup>48</sup> Renou, E.V.P. XIII, p. 121; cf. also Geldner, Der Rig-Veda übersetzt, II, p. 94.

<sup>49</sup> For which see M. Bloomfield, Rig-Veda repetitions, I, Cambridge 1916, p. 110.

<sup>50</sup> See Geldner, o.c., I, p. 124.

the more so as RV. 9, 71, 8 shows in its opening pāda a striking verbal similarity. As emphasized by Bloomfield<sup>51</sup> both stanzas are also otherwise related and may be regarded as assimilating Agni and Soma. Without subscribing to Bergaigne's<sup>52</sup> view that "c'est Soma qui représente le plus exactement sur la terre le feu de l'atmosphère", one may quote 9, 88, 5 in illustration of the fact that Soma could be compared to Agni. Cf. also 9, 22, 2. The latter is conversely compared to the former in 1, 65, 10 where Agni is a *vedhā* "ordonnateur" (tantôt du culte, tantôt (ce qui revient au même) du cosmos)"<sup>53</sup> like Soma; 10, 115, 3 and 10, 46, 7 where Agni's materializations, the fires, are compared to the soma juices, both of them residing in wood—places which leave no doubt about the awareness, on the part of the poets, of a certain similarity and parallelism between these two mighty divine powers<sup>53a</sup>.

RV. 1, 93<sup>54</sup> is the only Rgvedic hymn which is exclusively dedicated to Agni-and-Soma. They are addressed or named in each of the twelve stanzas, in st. 5 even twice. The form used is always *agnīṣomā(u)*; in 5 also *agnīś ca soma*. In this hymn their attention is arrested (st. 1), their joint help and protection are invoked (st. 7; 8; 12); they are invited to approach together (st. 11) and to enjoy the oblations (st. 7; 11), and they are besought to grant cattle (st. 2; 12), horses (st. 3), heroism (st. 2; 3), strength (st. 12), a long span of life (st. 3), and happiness (st. 7), as well as to guard the *vrata* (functional conduct) of those who worship them, which may also imply to keep watch over their sacrificial worship<sup>55</sup>.

<sup>51</sup> Bloomfield, l.c.

<sup>52</sup> Bergaigne, o.c., I, p. 166.

<sup>53</sup> Renou, E.V.P. VIII, p. 49.

<sup>53a</sup> Cf. Bosch, o.c., p. 60 f.: "Soma is the essence of the waters just as Agni is the fiery essence of creative breath".

<sup>54</sup> It may be useful to quote a passage from Bergaigne, *Histoire de la liturgie védique*, in *Journal asiatique*, 1889, p. 25 f.: "Le sūkta 1, 93 . . . est une collection d'anuvākyās et de yājyās comparable à celle des sūktas III, 28 et 52. Les anuṣṭubhs 1-3 sont les anuvākyās, et les triṣṭubhs 5-7 les yājyās des trois offrandes: *vapā*, *puroḍāśa*, *havis* proprement dit, dont se compose le sacrifice d'un bouc à Agni et Soma . . . Ici, à la vérité, le texte des vers n'en implique pas la destination précise. Mais si l'on songe que le sūkta 1, 93 est le seul du R̥g-Veda qui soit adressé exclusivement à Agni et Soma . . ., il paraîtra bien naturel de croire que les vers en question ont été en effet composés pour l'usage auquel ils sont restés consacrés. Parmi les autres vers du même sūkta, trois gāyatrīs, 9-11, et trois triṣṭubhs, 4, 8 et 12, un seul est employé, dans le sacrifice de la pleine lune, pour l'offrande du *puroḍāśa* à Agni et Soma (ĀśvŚS. 1, 6, 1). Mais, en général, les vers employés dans les sacrifices autres que celui du soma et ceux qui s'intercalent dans le sacrifice du soma paraissent avoir été tardivement adaptés à ces usages, et, en fait, les vers 2, 5 et 6 servent à la fois dans le sacrifice du bouc à Agni et Soma et dans l'offrande du gâteau de la pleine lune. Je crois donc que le reste de notre sūkta est composé de vers destinées pareillement au sacrifice du bouc à Agni et Soma. Peut-être remplaçaient-ils facultativement tel ou tel des premiers".

<sup>55</sup> Cf. Bergaigne, *La religion védique*, III, Paris 1878 (1963), p. 239.



They are celebrated together for having deprived Paṇi<sup>56</sup> of the cows (st. 4), overpowered the offspring of Bṛsaya (st. 4)<sup>57</sup>, found the one light for many (st. 4), set the luminaries in the sky (st. 5), released the confined streams (st. 5), made ample space (*lokam*) for sacrificial worship (*yaṇā*, st. 6). On the other hand, they are to a certain extent distinguished: "faible partage de fonctions"<sup>58</sup>. That is to say, Mātariśvan<sup>59</sup> is said to have brought the one from heaven, and the falcon to have taken away the other from the rock (st. 6)<sup>60</sup>. This hemistich, immediately preceding the statement that the dual deity, fortified by brahman (in its manifestation as the sacred word) has created ample room for the sacrifice, is of special interest because it shows that the gods, though being, it is true, of different origin, have co-operated in accomplishing a deed of the greatest importance and rendered yeoman service to mankind<sup>61</sup>.

In the other stanzas no distinction is made. In st. 10 "Whoever worships you with this (oblation), with ghee..." a ritual detail is "auf Soma mitbezogen"<sup>62</sup>, although it properly speaking belongs to the fire cult. There are on the other hand some "faibles caractéristiques sômiques"<sup>63</sup>. In 6, 51, 14 it is Soma who is invoked to strike down Paṇi (cf. st. 4), but compare 7, 9, 2 where Agni opens the doors of the Paṇis. It is Soma who (9, 4, 2; 9, 35, 1) is implored to win or create light (cf. st. 4) or is brought into connection with the lights of the heavens (9, 9, 9; 9, 21, 1; cf. st. 5). Besides, the pāda *gāvāṃ pōṣaṃ svāśvyam* (2 d) recurs as 9, 65, 17 b addressed to Soma Pavamāna. Remarkably enough BṛhDev. 3, 124 characterizes the text as being "(in) praise of Agni associated with Soma" (*agneḥ sasomasya*).

The hymn has some phrases in common with other hymns addressed to a dual deity: for 6 d compare 7, 99, 4 a (Indra-and-Viṣṇu, its original context?); for 8 d, 7, 82, 1 b (Indra-and-Varuṇa)<sup>64</sup>.

No less than five stanzas of this text (in the order 9, 5, 1, 6, 7) are used by the Taittirīyakas as yāgyānuvākyaś (see TS. 2, 3, 14, 1 ff.) to consecrate rites for special wishes (described TS. 2, 3, 3, 3 f.). "He whose

<sup>56</sup> A demon; the word usually occurs in the plural.

<sup>57</sup> A 'sorcerer' or enemy of the gods (cf. RV. 6, 61, 3).

<sup>58</sup> Renou, E.V.P. IX, p. 126.

<sup>59</sup> See e.g. A. A. Macdonell, Vedic mythology, Strassburg 1897, p. 71 f. and J. Charpentier, Kleine Beiträge zur indoiranischen Mythologie, Upsala 1911.

<sup>60</sup> For Bergaigne's view of this stanza see o.c., I, p. 173 f. Schneider, Der Somaraub des Manu, p. 6, n. 13 rightly rejects the interpretation proposed by H. Lüders, Varuṇa, Göttingen 1951-1959, p. 332 "... den andern quirlte der Adler aus dem Felsen". As a translation "quirlen" is incorrect; I would even avoid "durch eine Drehbewegung ausreissen"; see J. Narten, Das vedische Verbum *math-*, in Indo-Ir. Journal 4 (1960), p. 121 ff.

<sup>61</sup> This point was recently emphasized also by Schneider, o.c., p. 77.

<sup>62</sup> Geldner, o.c., I, p. 120.

<sup>63</sup> Renou, E.V.P. IX, p. 126.

<sup>64</sup> For 3 d see Bloomfield, o.c., I, p. 108.

desire is not fulfilled should offer on eleven potsherds to Agni-and-Soma. A brahman is connected with Agni, he drinks soma. Verily he has recourse to his own deity with his own share (viz. the sacrificial cake which is dedicated to the dual deity). Verily he (the deity) unites him with his desire; his desire is fulfilled". The stanzas 9 and 5 are the yājyānuvākyās. In a description of the same rite KS. 10, 2: 126, 11 ff. states that Agniṣomau is the own deity (*devatā*, in the singular) of the brahman; to them he has recourse with (their) share (*tā eva bhāgadēyenopadhāvati*); they (will) comply with all his wishes. MS. 2, 1, 4: 5, 6-8 prefers to say that the brahmin is in respect of his deity connected with Agni-and-Soma (*agnīṣomīyo . . . devatayā*). See also MŚS. 5, 1, 5, 69 f., adding that stanzas are prescribed according to the wish (see also 5, 1, 5, 26 and 5, 1, 2, 5 quoting st. 9 and 5). A similar sacrifice (requiring eight potsherds) leads to the acquisition of brahminical lustre (*brahmavarcasa*). According to BŚS. 13, 26 st. 1 and 7 are used, according to others st. 6 is the yājyā<sup>65</sup>. "In that it is on eight potsherds, it is connected with Agni (*āgneya*); in that it is of panic seeds, it is connected with Soma (*yac chyāmākas tena saumyaḥ*; cf. ŚB. 5, 3, 3, 4). Verily, it leads to prosperity (*saṃṛddhyai*)" (TS. 2, 3, 3, 3 f.). "Thus it does not depart from both gods" (*tenobhayasmān naiti*, KS. 10, 2: 126, 19). This sacrifice should take place in spring because this is the season of the brahmans (KS. 126, 16 f.). *Brahmavarcasa* is so to say of the same colour (brown, yellow) as the panic seed (KS. 126, 17 f.). "The yājyānuvākyās are dedicated to Agni-and-Soma, the two saṃyājyās<sup>66</sup> to Soma-and-Agni. Agni is brilliant energy (*tejas*), Soma is the full command of one's physical and psychical faculties (*indriyam*); with *tejas* and *indriya* one (the person performing the rite) should take hold of the *brahmavarcasa* from both sides (Agni and Soma) and incorporate (assimilate: *saṃdhatte*) it" (KS. 126, 19 ff.). MS. 2, 1, 4: 5, 17-6, 5 (for the yājyānuvākyās see MS. 4, 10, 1: 144, 12-15) agrees with KS. See also MŚS. 5, 1, 5, 72 f. The saṃyājyās are also in the Maitrayaṇīya tradition verses addressed to Soma-and-Agni; the stanzas accompanying the *ājya* oblations are RV. 6, 16, 34 (addressed to Agni) and 1, 91, 5 (addressed to Soma).

See also ĀśvŚ. 3, 81: the *ṛcas agniṣomāv imāṃ sū me* (1) and *yuvām . . .* (5) head a list of mantras belonging to the paśukarmavidhāna.

For a sacrifice to this dual deity offered with inaudible prayers ĀśvŚS. 1, 6, 1 prescribes the use of RV. 1, 93, 2 and 6 as yājyānuvākyās, in other cases the stanzas 9 and 5 (cf. MS. 4, 10, 1: 144, 12-15). See also TB. 3, 5, 7, 2. The same stanzas are in ŚŚS. 1, 8, 10 mentioned as the yājyānuvākyās for the cake destined for Agni-and-Soma which is to be offered as part of the rites of Full and New Moon. For 9, 5 and 3 see KauśS. 5, 1.

<sup>65</sup> For particulars see Caland, *Altindische Zauberei*, Amsterdam Acad. 1908, p. 25 f.

<sup>66</sup> The anuvākyā and yājyā formulas accompanying the oblation to Agni Svīṣṭakṛt and varying with the rites.

AiB. 2, 10 dealing with the recitation for the oblation which is cut off for Manotā states that first a hymn dedicated to Agni is recited (RV. 6, 1), although the victim is intended for other deities also. This is possible because Agni is the *manotā* of the gods<sup>67</sup>. As offering stanza one should use RV. 1, 93, 7 "O Agni-and-Soma partake eagerly of the oblation which stands before (you)" (2, 10, 5). "In 'of the oblation' and in 'stands before' it is perfect in form (*rūpasamṛddhā*). Made perfect with all perfections the oblation of that man goes to the gods who knows thus". Apparently the purport of these words in its entirety prevails over the deity invoked which may, like Agni in the preceding paragraph, represent all the gods.

In contradistinction to TS. 2, 3, 14, 1 f. KS. 4, 16: 42, 18-43, 4 quotes RV. 1, 93, 1; 9; 5; 6; MS. 4, 11, 2: 163, 10, RV. 1, 93, 1; 2; 4; 7; 9; 5. For st. 9 see also TB. 3, 5, 7, 2. The stanzas 10 and 11 are not ritually used; 12 only in ŚSS. 5, 19, 8.

There are only two detached occurrences of Agniṣomā in the Rgveda. In 10, 19, 1, a text intended to recover cows which had lost their way, this joint deity is requested to enable those speaking to retain their wealth. The gods are called *punarvasū*, which here must mean "die Schätze wiederbringend"<sup>68</sup>. Indra and Agni are the other gods invoked in this text. The stanza is at MŚS. 9, 4, 1, 22 appropriately used in a three day rite to be performed by one desirous of everything. As is well known Soma is very often implored to bring wealth, and Agni is a helper of man (RV. 1, 1, 6; 1, 36, 2; 13).

In the decidedly 'enumerative'<sup>69</sup> hymn dedicated to the Viśve Devāḥ RV. 10, 66 st. 7 addresses Agni-and-Soma, calling them a pair of "bulls" (*vṛṣaṇā*) praised by many, whom the bulls (in all probability, the gods) have worshipped with a sacrifice of the gods. The adjective *puruprasasta* qualifies Agni in 1, 73, 2; 8, 103, 12; *vṛṣaṇ* is used in connection with both gods (Agni e.g. 3, 27, 15; Soma e.g. 9, 51, 4).

I now turn to the (śrauta) ritual texts in which this double deity is much more prominent than in the Rgveda. Here Agni-and-Soma are, generally speaking, a sort of patrons of the sacrifice and as such invoked. In those sacrificial ceremonies in which a cake is offered they obtain two portions of clarified butter (*ājyabhāga*). On the occasion of a Soma sacrifice the victim which is immolated before the main portion of the

<sup>67</sup> RV. 6, 1, 1 begins *tvām hy agne prathamó manótā* "C'est bien toi, ô Agni. qui fus le premier inspireur" (Renou, E.V.P. XIII, p. 35; see p. 119). See also J. Schwab, *Das altindische Tieropfer*, Erlangen 1886, p. 137.

<sup>68</sup> Geldner, o.c., III, p. 154. It is however very doubtful if the word denotes also ("zugleich") the nakṣatra of that name.

<sup>69</sup> Renou, E.V.P. IV, p. 122.

rite or in the rite itself is offered to them. As already observed, they do not receive a share in the soma.

As is well known one of the component parts of the Full moon and New moon sacrifices—which form the model for all sacrifices of the type called *iṣṭi*, i.e. non-animal and non-soma sacrifices—is the offering of portions of butter (*ājyabhāga*) for Agni and Soma, which at the new moon must be accompanied by mantras containing the word “grow” (*vr̥dh-*), and at the full moon by verses referring to the slaying of *Vṛtra* <sup>70</sup>. What interests us most and throws some light on the views of the relations between the two gods is the option, explicitly given to the sacrificer in pronouncing the *anumantraṇa*, between one formula addressed to the dual deity or two formulas addressing both gods individually. In the former case he has to say: “By the sacrifice to the gods Agni-and-Soma may I be possessed of sight” (*agnīśomayor ahām devayaṣṭyāyā cākṣuṣmān bhūyāsam*, TS. 1, 6, 2, 3 q; ĀpŚS. 4, 9, 9; cf. BhŚS. 4, 14). The author of the *brāhmaṇa* explains: “The sacrifice is possessed of sight through Agni-and-Soma. Verily by means of them he confers sight upon himself” (TS. 1, 6, 11, 5). In the latter case the sacrificer recites two parallel formulas which run as follows: “Through Agni (Soma) the sacrifice is possessed of sight; by means of a sacrifice to the god Agni (Soma) may I be possessed of sight” (ĀpŚS. 4, 9, 11; with some variation BhŚS. 4, 13, 4 f.; BŚS. 3, 18: 90, 4; MŚS. 1, 4, 2, 1; etc. and for Agni-and-Soma as the sight of the sacrifice, and its being possessed of sight through this dual deity see KS. 32, 1: 18, 13 f.). Whereas MŚS. does not mention the formula directed to the dual deity, BhŚS. 4, 14, 2 says that some teachers prescribed a combined (*samasta*) *anumantraṇa* with the formula containing the name *agnīśomā*. The conclusion may be warranted that in some milieus the dual deity simply was a temporary combination of the two gods, or even that two formulas required on the occasion of a double offering might also be reduced to one by using the name of the double deity.

A relation between the dual deity and the eyes or sight is also supposed to exist in TS. 6, 1, 5, 2 “He offers to *Pathyā Svasti*; verily he distinguishes the eastern quarter. Having offered to her, he offers to Agni-and-Soma. Agni-and-Soma indeed are the eyes of the sacrifice <sup>71</sup>. Verily, he sees (discovers) with them”. See also MS. 3, 7, 1: 75, 12 *cākṣuṣi vā agnīśomanu*; KS. 23, 8: 83, 20 f. *etā evaṃ devatā iṣyante diśāṃ kṛtyai svargasya lokasya prajñātyai. pathyayā vai svastyā devāḥ prāciṃ diśaṃ prājānann, āgnīśomā anrusamapaśyatām*; AiB. 1, 8, 14.

As to the significance of this equation, Hillebrandt <sup>72</sup> was convinced

<sup>70</sup> See A. Hillebrandt, *Das altindische Neu- und Vollmondsopfer*, Jena 1880, p. 102; Keith, o.c., p. 319; J. Gonda, *Die Religionen Indiens*, I, Stuttgart 1960, p. 145.

<sup>71</sup> Not “of the sacrificer” (A. B. Keith, *The Veda of the Black Yajus School*, Cambridge Mass. 1914, p. 491).

<sup>72</sup> Hillebrandt, *Vedische Mythologie*, Breslau 1891, I, p. 459.



that it points to the identity of the dual deity and sun and moon. It may be true that in ŚB. 7, 1, 2, 7 these two luminaries are Prajāpati's eyes<sup>73</sup> and that with various peoples the moon, like the sun, is called an eye<sup>74</sup>, but he obviously failed to notice that there are references to a pair of eyes which have nothing to do with sun and moon (e.g. AV. 9, 5, 21; PB. 10, 4, 2) and that among these there are several where the butter oblations are identified with the eyes<sup>75</sup>: ŚB. 11, 2, 6, 4 "the two butter portions (*ājyabhāga*) are the eyes of the sacrifice (*yajña*, here to be understood as the abstract representation of the victim as well as of the *puruṣa*, i.e. Prajāpati, and the sacrificer)"; 11, 1, 6, 29; 11, 7, 4, 2. At 1, 6, 3, 38 it reads: "These two butter portions (to Agniṣomau) are the eyes of the sacrifice; he therefore offers them before (*purastāt*) (the havis; cf. 39), for the eyes are in the front (of the head, *purastāt*)" and at 41 "Those two (qualities) are related to (connected with) the natures of Agni and Soma (*agnīṣomayor eva rūpam anvāyatte*), the white to Agni, the black to Soma"<sup>76</sup>. The same relation between this pair of oblations, the eyes and the two gods is evidenced at TS. 2, 6, 2, 1: "... In that one offers the two portions of the oblation, one inserts the two eyes of the sacrifice ... By Agni the sacrificer discerns the world of the gods, by Soma the world of the Fathers. ... Agni and Soma are the kings of the gods ...". It would appear to me that the identification of Agni-and-Soma with a pair of eyes can hardly be disconnected from these homologations, or that its explanation should at least be sought in the sacrificial sphere. Like the eyes, this pair of gods is in several respects "in front".

It may parenthetically be added that TS. 2, 6, 2, 1 ff. gives some other interesting information in connection with the dual deity and the *ājyabhāgas*: "In the north part he offers to the former (Agni; cf. ŚB. 1, 7, 3, 20; 4, 4, 2, 16; 9, 1, 1, 10), in the south to the latter (Soma; cf. ŚB. 2, 6, 1, 9; 5, 5, 1, 1; 14, 2, 2, 35), for these (earthly) 'worlds' (*loka*) are thus, as it were, to reveal these worlds (of the gods and the Fathers). ... Agni-and-Soma are sacrificed to between the deities<sup>77</sup>, to separate the deities".

Afterwards—that is, after the offerings of *ājya*<sup>78</sup>—an oblation (a portion of a *caru*) is offered to the dual deity under consideration, the mantra being "By the sacrifice to the gods Agni-and-Soma may I be a slayer of enemies" (*agnīṣomayor ahaṃ devayajyayā vṛtrahā bhūyāsam*: TS. 1, 6,

<sup>73</sup> Cf. also ŚB. 4, 2, 1, 1 f.; 19.

<sup>74</sup> See e.g. R. Pettazzoni, *The all-knowing god*, London 1956, p. 7.

<sup>75</sup> For a homologation of the Aśvin cups with the eyes see ŚB. 12, 9, 1, 5; for the *rauhiṇa* cakes, 14, 2, 1, 5.

<sup>76</sup> Cf. the commentary: *āgneyasaumyayor ājyabhāgayor yajñacakṣuṣṭvaṃ laukīkacakṣuṣāmyena samarthayati*.

<sup>77</sup> Compare Hillebrandt, *Neu- und Vollmondsopfer*, p. 94–116; Gonda, l.c.

<sup>78</sup> For particulars and technicalities see Hillebrandt, o.c., p. 111 f. (with the notes); W. Caland, *Das Śrautasūtra des Āpastamba*, I, Göttingen–Leipzig 1921, p. 73 f.

2, 4 t; ĀpŚS. 4, 9, 13 c; notice the parallelism with the formula ... *cakṣuṣmān bhūyāsam*; cf. MŚS. 1, 4, 2, 5). The brāhmaṇa explains: "By means of Agni-and-Soma Indra slew Vṛtra; verily by means of them he (the sacrificer) lays low his rival".

The performance of the third anuyāja (subsequent sacrifice), destined for Agni Sviṣṭakṛt <sup>79</sup> requires a series of parallel formulas: "May I be victorious after (as a consequence of) the victory of Agni (Soma, Agni, Agni-and-Soma, Indra-and-Agni, Indra, Mahendra, Agni Sviṣṭakṛt)"; see TS. 1, 6, 4, 1-2 d-l. These formulas are recited when the sacrifice has been seized by the fire. The sacrifice to Agni Sviṣṭakṛt is to attain security and a long life through the sacrifice; with the victory of the Full and New moon sacrifices the gods conquered and drove away the asuras, and through this rite the sacrificer becomes victorious (TS. 1, 7, 4, 1 f.).

Agni-and-Soma are indeed "killers of Vṛtra", that is why after stating this the wish is expressed to become a killer of Vṛtra, that is a destroyer of enemies after (and by) sacrificing to them (KS. 5, 1: 44, 7). It may be noticed that according to ĀpŚS. 2, 19, 14 and 2, 20, 1 the man who wishes to become prosperous has to worship with the so-called low voice (*upāṃśu*) <sup>80</sup> ritual act Viṣṇu, but the man who has a rival whom he desires to forestall, Agni-and-Soma.

Dealing with the *sūktavāka* <sup>81</sup>—one of the next episodes of the ceremony concluding with an invocation of prosperity for the sacrificer and a prayer—ŚB. 1, 8, 3, 1 f. quotes and explains VS. 2, 15 a "May I be victorious after the victory of Agni-and-Soma" (cf. also KŚS. 3, 5, 18; 22; ŚŚS. 4, 9, 5) <sup>82</sup> and 2, 15 b "May Agni-and-Soma drive him away who hates us, and whom we hate". If the adhvaryu pronounces the formulas on behalf of the sacrificer he should say: "May Agni-and-Soma <sup>83</sup> drive him away whom this sacrificer hates, and who hates him" (ŚB. 1, 8, 3, 2; VS. 2, 15 c). According to ŚB. 1, 8, 3, 2 these formulas are to be pronounced at the Full moon sacrifice, because this belongs to this dual deity.

Now, the Ṛgveda knows nothing of any assistance lent by this pair of gods to Indra when he was about to combat his great adversary. He is described as slaying the demon by his own power (e.g. RV. 7, 21, 6) or in the company of the Maruts (1, 80, 11), and it is Viṣṇu with whom he is frequently allied in the fight <sup>84</sup>. However, it should on the other hand

<sup>79</sup> Hillebrandt, o.c., p. 138 ff.

<sup>80</sup> For *upāṃśu* compare e.g. Manu 2, 85, distinguishing a muttered prayer or formula (*japa*), a formula pronounced so as to be inaudible to others (*upāṃśu*), and a mental recitation, and Renou's instructive article La valeur du silence dans le culte védique, J. Am. Or. Soc. 69 (1949), p. 11 ff.

<sup>81</sup> Hillebrandt, o.c., p. 142 ff.

<sup>82</sup> Comm. KŚS. 3, 5, 18: *atrāgniṣomagrahaṇaṃ mantre nyāyaprāptapradhāna-devatāmātropalakṣaṇārtham*.

<sup>83</sup> *agniṣomau pradhānahavirbhājau* (Uvaṭa on VS. 2, 15) and see also the comm. on KŚS. 3, 5, 18 and 19.

<sup>84</sup> For other particulars see e.g. Macdonell, o.c., p. 40; 60.

be noticed that Indra is in that corpus also said to be associated either with Agni (e.g. 4, 28, 3; 5, 2, 8)<sup>85</sup> or with Soma<sup>86</sup>—his fondness for the divine draught, which exhilarates him to accomplish his warlike deeds, is proverbial—and that both gods sometimes associate themselves with him in fighting Vṛtra (cf. ṚV. 6, 60, 3; 9, 61, 22). We know that, like Indra, Agni and Soma receive the epithet *vṛtrahan* “slayer of Vṛtra” (see e.g. 1, 74, 3; 3, 20, 4 for Agni, and 9, 1, 3; 10, 25, 9 for Soma). We have also seen that the pair Indra-and-Agni are believed to have accomplished heroic deeds (1, 108, 5) and that these gods released the imprisoned rivers together (8, 48, 8), and also that Indra-and-Soma are likewise credited with successes in warlike undertakings which are elsewhere characteristic of Indra alone (4, 28, 1; 2; 6, 72, 3). So the question arises as to whether the frequent intimate association of Indra with these two other gods has not contributed to the genesis and rise of a new pair, Agni-and-Soma. Could not the two mighty sacrificial deities—who both of them lent assistance to the great champion of men and gods, equally interested in the continuance of an inhabitable world—have entered into an engagement for the sake of peace and quiet, for victory over the demon?

Hillebrandt<sup>87</sup> at the time observed that the references in the post-Rgvedic texts to the part played by this double deity in the Vṛtra combat may be classified in three groups<sup>88</sup>. In ŚB. 1, 6, 3, 13 they are with Vṛtra and are requested by Indra not to support the demon but to come to him (“Ye belong to me and I belong to you. That one is nothing to you . . .”). In TS. 2, 5, 2 Agni-and-Soma ask Indra not to hurl his weapon (because) they are within (the demon: *āvam antaḥ svah*). Elsewhere it reads that with Agni-and-Soma Indra slew Vṛtra (AiB. 2, 3, 12 etc.). In an attempt at discovering the origin of this mythological feature Hillebrandt draws attention to ṚV. 10, 124, 6 where Indra calls upon Soma to come out (*nirehi*), but it is not stated what it is that Soma should go away from or cease to reside in<sup>89</sup>. “Es kann sein, dass diesem Verse eine Sage, wie sie ŚB. 1, 6, 3, 1 enthält, zugrunde liegt, aber ganz gleiche Verhältnisse haben wir auch hier noch nicht, weil Agni fehlt . . .”. Yet, I am strongly inclined to subscribe to his conclusion: “Darum liegt in unsern drei Parallelversionen eine von dem ṚV. unabhängige Tradition vor oder eine mythologische Entwicklung, die verschiedene Fäden weiter- und zusammengesponnen hat”. I am however rather sceptical about Hillebrandt’s explanation: “Was der Mythos bedeutet, ist klar. Er zeigt wieder den Übergang vom Pitṛyāna zum Devayāna, von der opfer- und

<sup>85</sup> I refer to chapter VIII.

<sup>86</sup> See chapter X B.

<sup>87</sup> A. Hillebrandt, *Vedische Mythologie*, II, Breslau 1929, p. 211.

<sup>88</sup> For a general synopsis of the different versions of this myth see A. Hillebrandt, *Vedische Mythologie*, III, Breslau 1902, p. 229 ff.

<sup>89</sup> Sāyaṇa’s explanation is *niṣkramyāgaccha*.

lichtlosen Zeit zu der des Uttārayana" <sup>90</sup>. I do not see why in all these versions of the myth Indra should have lost his original nature because "in den alten Kampf zwischen beiden (Indra and Vṛtra) die Agni-Soma-Episode hineingewoben ist". We had better study the pertinent texts more closely and try to explain the differences between the versions of the story as presented in post-Ṛgvedic literature.

It is true that in the story of the Vṛtra combat as referred to in AiB. 2, 3 Agni-and-Soma seem to have played a decisive part: "One should not eat of the victim (immolated) for Agni-and-Soma. . . . This is an oblation connected with the slaying of Vṛtra (*vārtraghnām*) <sup>91</sup>. By means of Agni-and-Soma Indra slew Vṛtra (*agnīṣomābhyām vā indro vṛtram ahan*). They said to him: 'Through us two thou hast slain Vṛtra; let us choose a boon from thee'. 'Choose' (he said). They chose this boon, the victim . . . This is regularly performed for those two, for it is chosen as a boon for them . . .". The story does not however show that Indra has become untrue to his nature, because in the Ṛgveda also there are references to allies with whom he defeated the antagonist (2, 22, 1; 6, 20, 2; 8, 101, 2: Viṣṇu; 2, 23, 18: Brhaspati) and it was Tvaṣṭar who had fashioned his weapon (1, 85, 9) and Viṣṇu who was asked to make room for him (4, 18, 11) <sup>92</sup>. The main point is that in the younger version of the story it is the two great sacrificial gods, each of whom was already closely associated with Indra in the Ṛgveda, who have replaced other assistants. One may compare also TB. 1, 6, 1, 6 *agnīṣomābhyām vā indro vṛtram ahann iti. yad agnīṣomīyam ekādaśakapālām nirvapati, vārtraghnām eva vijityai*, and MS. 2, 1, 3: 4, 17 *agnīṣomābhyām vai vīryeṇdro vṛtram ahan. vṛtram khalu vā eṣa hanti yaḥ . . .*, from which it likewise appears that Indra had slain his antagonist through the help of the pair of gods or by means of them—we are left in the dark about particulars—and that by offering the usual oblation to them a sacrificer becomes able to conquer his enemy <sup>93</sup>.

Other references to the part played by the dual deity in the Vṛtra combat are to demonstrate that the sacrificer who offers the oblation due to Agni-and-Soma repeats Indra's act of power and will succeed in overcoming his antagonist: ŚB. 2, 4, 4, 15 "And . . . when, at full moon,

<sup>90</sup> In Hillebrandt's opinion Vṛtra originally represented the coldness of winter which retains the rivers in the mountains; see his article Indra and Vṛtra, in *Zs. d. deutschen morg. Ges.* 50 (1896), p. 665 f. and *Vedische Mythologie* (o.c.) <sup>2</sup>II, p. 154 ff. For criticism see e.g. R. N. Dandekar, *Vṛtrahā Indra*, in *Annals Bhandarkar Or. Res. Inst.* 31 (1951), p. 13 ff.

<sup>91</sup> For this term see e.g. also MS. 4, 3, 1: 40, 7 *agnīṣomābhyām vai vīryeṇdro vṛtram ahan. vṛtram khalu vā eṣa hanti yo rājasūyenābhiṣiñcate. tad vārtraghnām evaitad hiraṇyām dakṣiṇā*.

<sup>92</sup> See also J. Gonda, *Aspects of early Viṣṇuism*, Utrecht 1954 (<sup>2</sup>Delhi, 1969), p. 28 ff.

<sup>93</sup> One might compare also the formula handed down at KS. 1, 12: 7, 3 (KKS. 1, 12: 9, 3): *saṃ jyotiṣā jyotir vājasyāhaṃ prasavenāgnīṣomābhyām devatayojjayāmi. vājasyāhaṃ prasavenāgnīṣomābhyām devatayāmum pratīnude* (cf. KS. 31, 11: 14, 3).



he offers the Agni-and-Soma (cake), it was by that offering that Indra slew Vṛtra; thereby he gained that conquering authority he now wields (*vyajayata yāsyeyam vijitis tām*), and so does he (the sacrificer) thereby slay his wicked spiteful enemy and gain the superiority". Remarkably enough, Indra is here and, similarly at 1, 6, 4, 12, drawn into the sacrificial sphere: it was the knowledge and correct performance of a rite in honour of Agni-and-Soma which enabled him to perform his great deed. It is not so much the double deity as the sacrifice which—in harmony with the genius of this literature—was decisive in winning the combat. The same thought is unequivocally expressed at 6, 2, 2, 19, without however a reference to the pair of sacrificial gods: "Indra, having driven away Vṛtra, evil, by means of the full-moon offering, thus freed from evil, entered upon this sacrificial performance" and the sacrificer here again repeats the god's exemplary deed<sup>94</sup>.

Now there is another mythical tale, likewise handed down in more than one version, according to which Agni-and-Soma are in or with Vṛtra.

The mythical tale of Tvaṣṭar who did not invite Indra to a Soma sacrifice because his son was slain by the latter (TS. 2, 4, 12, 1 ff.; 2, 5, 2, 1 ff.) gives a 'ritualistic' account of the origin of Vṛtra, which however is not clear in every respect. Indra disturbed the sacrifice and Tvaṣṭar threw the remains of the offering (*tasya yad atyasiṣyata tat . . .*) upon the fire<sup>95</sup>. These remains "arose (or developed, sprang up alive) and came into existence into (towards or, so as to prevail over) Agni-and-Soma" (*sa sambhavann agniṣomāu abhi samabhavat*). The subject must be the remains of the oblation, but it obviously is tacitly understood that these transformed themselves into a male being. The difficulty resides in *abhi samabhavat*, which was translated by "came into union with"<sup>96</sup> or by "bemächtigte"<sup>97</sup>, whereas the Petersburg Dictionary rendered *abhisambhū-* by "Etwas erreichen, in den Besitz von Etwas erlangen, eingehen in, teilhaft werden". In view of TS. 2, 5, 2, 3 f. (see further on) a translation of the parallel version MS. 2, 4, 3: 40, 7 f. "to attain the shape of, to be changed in" (Monier-Williams) is at first sight hardly acceptable: "the soma which he (Tvaṣṭar) had poured (into the fire) and the fire upon which he had thrown it, these (being) Agni-and-Soma became (transformed themselves into) 'exhalation and inhalation' "<sup>98</sup>, viz. of the being which comes into

<sup>94</sup> See also S. Rodhe, *Deliver us from evil*, Lund-Copenhagen 1946, p. 57.

<sup>95</sup> I refer to Keith, *The Veda of the Black Yajus School*, p. 185, n. 3.

<sup>96</sup> Keith, o.c., p. 185; 190. It must be conceded that the verb can in itself also express the idea of "uniting oneself with, coming together". See also Caland, in *Acta Or.* (Leyden), 2 p. 25 f., and in *Festgabe-H. Jacobi*, Bonn 1926, p. 241 ("er verschluckte, er schnappte hinein").

<sup>97</sup> Caland, *Altindische Zauberei*, p. 127. For other translations see below (p. 328 f., n. 103).

<sup>98</sup> Cf. SB. 7, 3, 1, 45 *retah siktam prāṇam abhisambhavati* "seed infused develops into breath", not, with Eggeling, "becomes possessed of breath"; 10, 6, 3, 2 *etam ātmānam pretyābhisambhaviṣyāmi*.

existence (*yam somaṃ prāvartayad yasmimś cāgnā upaprāvartayat tā agniṣomau devate prāṇāpānā abhisamabhavatām*)<sup>99</sup>. But the clumsy version of TS. may mean that the being which arises from the fire developed the Agni-Soma component to which it owed its origin. The author of TS. 2, 4, 12, 1 ff. continues: "He grew on all sides . . .; he enveloped these worlds. Because he enveloped (*avr̥not*) these worlds, therefore is Vṛtra Vṛtra . . .".

Returning in 2, 5, 2, 2 to the same story the author of the Taittiriya-Brāhmaṇa adds that Agni-and-Soma prevented Indra from slaying Vṛtra because they were within (*mā pra hār āvam antaḥ svaḥ*). "Ye are mine", Indra replied, "come to me". They asked for a share and he gave them this oblation for Agni-and-Soma at the full moon (*etam agniṣomiyam . . . paur̥ṇamāse*). As they said that they were unable to come Indra produced fever by means of which he brought them near. "As he (Vṛtra) gaped, Agni-and-Soma went forth from him. Then exhalation and inhalation deserted him . . ." (*tasmāḥ jañjabhyamānād agniṣomau nirakrāmatām. prāṇāpanau vā enaṃ tad ajahitām*)<sup>100</sup>. It is difficult to decide whether those who devised this story intended to give an account, not only of the origin of Vṛtra, but also of that of the dual deity. It would appear to me that the probabilities are in favour of the second supposition: Tvaṣṭar's deed meant the combination of the two deities which obviously had hitherto existed separately. They no doubt represent the combined power or essence of the sacrificial fire and the sacred draught, because the remains of the offering were thrown upon the fire. This is however not to contend that those who reproduced the story did not regard the fire and the soma as manifestations of a pre-existent joint deity Agniṣomau.

The version of the story contained in ŚB. 1, 6, 3, 1 ff. is perhaps somewhat clearer on this point: (8) Tvaṣṭar was furious because Indra had consumed his soma uninvited, but he himself desecrated the sacrifice because he let the remains of the pure soma flow into the fire, saying 'Grow thou, having Indra for thy foe'<sup>101</sup>. The moment it reached the fire, it developed (into a definite<sup>102</sup> shape: *so 'gnim eva prāpya sambabhūva*, or "it came together (with Agni)"). Or, according to others, it developed whilst on its way (to the fire). It developed<sup>103</sup> towards Agni-and-Soma (*agniṣomāv*

<sup>99</sup> Caland, o.c., p. 127, n. 344: "Nach MS. treten sie (Agni-and-Soma) als Aus- und Einhauch in das neugeschaffene Wesen ein", but how did he construe the sentence? As to *prāṇa* and *apāna* see also KS. 23, 8: 84, 4 *prāṇāpānā evāgni-ṣomābhyāṃ saṃ bharati prasavāyaiva savitā* and AiB. 1, 8, 12.

<sup>100</sup> I cannot read in this passage that Vṛtra "sie (Agni-and-Soma) verschluckt hatte" (Caland, l.c.).

<sup>101</sup> For these words which need not detain us see ŚB. 1, 6, 3, 10 and Caland, o.c., p. 126, n. 341 and Keith, o.c., p. 185, n. 3.

<sup>102</sup> Why a "human shape" (Sāyaṇa and Eggeling, The Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa translated, I, Oxford 1882 (Delhi 1963), p. 166)?

<sup>103</sup> For other translations ("to become possessed of", "in sich schliessen") see A. Minard, *Trois énigmes sur les Cent Chemins*, I, Paris 1949, p. 54. For the verb

*evābhi sambabhūva*, “united itself to become Agni-and-Soma”?), all sciences, all prestige, all nourishment, all prosperity<sup>104</sup>. And since it so developed while rolling onwards (*vṛt-*), it (became) *Vṛtra*. Here the process of development has begun before the dual deity comes to play a part in the process, and the dual deity is like the sciences etc. in all probability already in existence. This text continues (13): Indra, moving on in pursuit of *Vṛtra*, succeeded, by offering them a special cake, in persuading Agni-and-Soma to leave *Vṛtra* and to come over to them. They were followed by the sciences etc.—and also by all the gods—which were in *Vṛtra*. “By offering that cake to the dual deity Indra became what he now is (see also 2, 4, 4, 15). Such then is the mystical significance of the Full moon sacrifice”. Afterwards (18) the deities then said: “Ye, Agni-and-Soma, whom we have followed hither, take the best part (of the sacrificial food). Do let us share along with you in what ye have”. (19) They both said: “What (share) shall then be ours?”. They replied: “For whatever deity they shall take out sacrificial food, they shall in the first place offer to you some sacrificial butter”. It is worth observing that according to ŚB. 1, 6, 3, 17 *Vṛtra*, left by Agni-and-Soma, and lying contracted like a leather bottle was, on his request, cut asunder by Indra. The two parts of his body are not, as might perhaps be expected, of Soma and Agni nature, but imbued with Soma (*saumyaṃ nyaktam*) and demoniacal (*asurya*). This may mean that this authority does not assign to Agni a share in composing the demon<sup>105</sup>.

A close parallel occurring in JB. 2, 155<sup>106</sup> differs from this version in an interesting point: When Indra turned the dregs of the soma (into the fire) it became *Vṛtra* (*taṃ yat prāvartayat sa eva vṛtro 'bhavat*). Just as it was being turned (into the fire) it developed towards<sup>107</sup> Agni-and-Soma (*sa vartamāna evāgnīṣomāv abhisambabhūva*). Therefore people say “Agni-and-Soma are asura-like (*asuryau*)”. The continuation of the story, which diverges from the above versions, inter alia by introducing Soma

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*abhisambhū* see AVŚ. 3, 28, 5 *yātrā suhārdaḥ sukṛto mādanti . . . / tāṃ lokāṃ yamīny abhi sām babhūva* “where the benevolent, those who have earned religious merit revel — into that ‘world has the twinning one come into being (or developed)’”; 5, 28, 8 (= AVP. 2, 59, 6) *trāyaḥ suparṇāś trivṛtā yād āyann ekākṣarām abhisambhūya śakrāḥ . . .* “when the three eagles went with the triple one, becoming, mighty ones, a single syllable . . .” (Whitney-Lanman); AVP. 16, 72, 1 *yad vā vatsaram ca . . . parama vyoman / nākena nākam abhi sambhavaudana sādhyā nayantu mukhataḥ . . .*

<sup>104</sup> Sāyaṇa: *sa ca sambhavann agnīṣomāv evābhi vyāpnuvan bhakṣayan sambabhūva, na kevalaṃ jagatkāraṇabhūtau tāv eva kiṃ tu loke yā vidyā . . . tāni sarvāṇy abhīlakṣya bhakṣayan sambabhūva*.

<sup>105</sup> For Indra, *Vṛtra* and the Full moon sacrifice the chief oblation of which belongs to Agni-and-Soma see also ŚB. 11, 1, 3.

<sup>106</sup> JB. 2, 153–157 were translated and annotated by H. Oertel, in Trans. Connecticut Acad. of arts and sciences, 15 (1909), p. 180 ff.

<sup>107</sup> To adopt this literal translation again. Oertel, p. 185: “it became possessed of”.

and Agni as individual gods, can be left undiscussed<sup>108</sup>, but the clear statement "it became Vṛtra" and the distinction made between the demon and Agniśomau are worth noticing.

In another, shorter version of the story Indra was unable to slay the Vṛtra, obviously because the dual deity was in him, but we are left in the dark about particulars. Treating of the *marutvatiya śastra*<sup>109</sup> and arguing that it is a hymn connected with the slaying of Vṛtra—by it Indra slew Vṛtra—, the author of KB. 15, 2 (15, 3, 4 ff.) states that the stanzas RV. 3, 20, 4 and 1, 91, 2 are used on that occasion<sup>110</sup>, to continue: "Agni-and-Soma were within Vṛtra. Indra was unable to hurl his bolt against them. They went out for this share and for that which is theirs in the Full moon sacrifice". Similarly, KB. 3, 6 (3, 7, 18 ff.), where an explication is added of the low tone and distinct tone in which the accompanying formulas are pronounced: by the former one pleases Soma, by the latter Agni. The motivation is interesting: "to prevent uniformity" (*ajāmitāyai*): the two gods, though forming a dualité unitée, are not indistinguishable like identical twins.

The compiler to whom we owe the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa devoted a long section to the two butter portions (1, 6, 1, 20–1, 6, 3, 41). In 1, 6, 3, 18 ff.<sup>111</sup> it reads: After Agni-and-Soma had left Vṛtra, the gods offered to this dual deity the best part of the sacrificial food, viz. two butter portions. Whenever sacrificial food is taken out for any deity two butter portions for this dual deity are offered in the first place. "Agni then said 'In me people shall sacrifice for all of you, and thus I give you a share in me'. For this reason they sacrifice in Agni (i.e. in the fire) to all the gods, and hence they say that Agni is all the deities (cf. KKS. 37, 8: 202, 13). Soma then said: 'Me people shall offer up to all of you, and thus I give you a share in me'. For this reason they offer up Soma to all the gods, and hence they say that Soma is all the deities". This mythical story, dealing with the introduction of a new sacrificial procedure, does not allude to the origin of the double deity. Though being, each of them, "all the deities" and though given a common oblation, they are represented as two different individuals.

After this attempt at providing a satisfactory explanation for the important part played by the dual deity the brāhmaṇa proceeds to expatiate upon the complementary character of its components. ŚB. 1, 6, 3, 23 "Twofold is this, there is no third, viz. the moist and the dry (*dvayam vā idaṃ na tṛtīyam asti, ārdraṃ caiva śukraṃ ca*<sup>112</sup>). The dry relates to Agni and the moist to Soma. . . . (24; cf. 1, 6, 3, 41). The sun,

<sup>108</sup> For a version dealing with Tvāṣṭar, his son, Indra and Soma, but omitting Vṛtra and Agni-and-Soma see MS. 2, 4, 1; KS. 12, 10; ŚB. 5, 5, 4.

<sup>109</sup> See Caland-Henry, o.c., p. 299 ff.

<sup>110</sup> Caland-Henry, o.c., p. 300 f.

<sup>111</sup> See above, p. 383.

<sup>112</sup> For the . . . *ca* . . . *ca* construction see J. Gonda, in Vāk 5 (Poona 1957), p. 1 ff.



indeed, relates to Agni (*āgneyam*), and the moon to Soma (*saumyam*); the day relates to Agni, and the night to Soma; the waxing half-moon relates to Agni, and the waning one to Soma". For the last homologization see also ĀpŚS. 6, 16, 5; MŚS. 1, 6, 2, 4; BŚS. 1, 5: 8, 4; 1, 16: 25, 9. These correspondences lead the author to a discussion: It may be objected that if this is twofold only, why then this manifold performance, viz. the two butter-portions, the low-voiced offering, the rice-cake, every time for Agni-and-Soma? The answer is: so manifold is the manifestation of their might (*vibhūtiḥ*), the generative force (*prajātiḥ*; cf. also ŚB. 1, 6, 3, 30) of Agni-and-Soma (ŚB. 1, 6, 3, 23). By means of these three ritual acts one obtains sun and moon, day and night and the two half-moons respectively (*ibid.* 24) <sup>113</sup>.

Always in connection with the moon sacrifices TS. 2, 5, 2, 6 f. narrates that the gods having slain Vṛtra said to Agni-and-Soma "Bear our offering (*havyam*, lit. "what is to be offered") for us". They answered, "We two have lost our brilliant energy (*tejas*), it is in Vṛtra". They said, "Who is there to go for it?". "The cow; the cow is the friend (*mitram* <sup>114</sup>) of all". The cow wanted to choose a boon: "Ye shall feed (plur.) off both when it is in me". She fetched (brought) that (brilliant energy); therefore they feed off both things of that which is in the cow; ghee indeed is the brilliant energy of Agni, milk the brilliant energy of Soma. He who knows thus the brilliant energy of Agni and Soma becomes possessed of brilliant energy". This narrative accounting for the close association of the dual deity views their relation as similar to that between ghee and milk, notwithstanding the fact that ghee is derived from milk. In reading this version one cannot avoid concluding that Agniṣomau, suffering a loss during their stay in the demon, were a pre-existent combination.

Another view of the relation between the two gods is—in a discussion of the Soma sacrifice, and more precisely, in an excursus dealing with the Agniṣomiya animal offering which precedes the pressings of the soma <sup>115</sup>—presented by the author of TS. 6, 1, 11, 6: "They bring forward the Soma, it rests with Agni. In developing (into a definite shape, or, in uniting) they (dual) develop (unite) towards the sacrificer" <sup>116</sup> (*ā somam vahanṭy agninā prati tiṣṭhate. tau sambhavantau yajamānam abhi sam bhavataḥ*). "Now, indeed, the consecrated (sacrificer) has for long been holding himself ready for sacrifice <sup>117</sup>. In that he offers an animal to Agni-and-Soma, that is a buying-off of himself. Therefore one should not

<sup>113</sup> It may be noticed that authorities held different opinions on the performance of the low-voiced offering. See ĀpŚS. 2, 19, 12 ff. and Caland's notes (*Das Śrautasūtra des Āpastamba*, I, Göttingen-Leipzig 1921, p. 73 f.).

<sup>114</sup> See J. Gonda, *Mitra and mitra*, p. 85.

<sup>115</sup> Hillebrandt, *Ritualliteratur*, p. 128.

<sup>116</sup> Keith, *Veda of the Black Yajus School*, p. 500 translated: "... they in uniting overpower the sacrificer".

<sup>117</sup> One should remember that the animal sacrifice was supposed to be a substitute for the human sacrifice (S. Lévi, *La doctrine du sacrifice*, Paris 1898, p. 132 f.).

eat of it . . . Or rather they say, 'Through Agni-and-Soma('s help) Indra slew Vṛtra'. In that one offers an animal to Agni-and-Soma, it slays hostilities (*vārtraghna*, i.e. *vairighātī*, comm.)<sup>118</sup> for him. Therefore one should eat of it". Compare also AiB. 2, 3, 9 "The one who undertakes the consecration offers himself to all the deities, all the deities are Agni; all the deities are Soma. In that he offers a victim to Agni-and-Soma, he redeems himself from all the deities". See also KS. 24, 7: 97, 12 ff.; KKS. 37, 8: 292, 14 ff.

I wind up with a translation of MS. 3, 7, 8: 87, 7 ff.: The sacred fire must be greatly provided with fuel. Agni, one should know, is all the deities. With all the deities he now is firmly established with regard to the sacrifice when it comes. Agni-and-Soma come here together (unite). They must come together towards the sacrificer or to the cattle (sacrificial animals) of the sacrificer. In that this sacrificial animal is employed, towards it as (their) portion they unite. The deities, one should know, did not move towards this sacrificial animal when it was employed. This one other than that which announces itself on account of this sacrifice, Agni-and-Soma moved to it. That is why this (victim) belongs to Agni-and-Soma. For Agni-and-Soma one should know that one holds himself ready for sacrifice who consecrates himself.

The dual deity plays also a part in a section of the Agniṣṭoma which is called after them, viz. the so-called procession of Agni and Soma (*agnīṣomapraṇayana*; see e.g. ŚŚS. 5, 14, 1 ff.; ĀpŚS. 11, 17, 1 ff.; MŚS. 2, 2, 4, 20 ff.), the bringing out of the fire and the soma. Referring the reader for a detailed description to Caland-Henry<sup>119</sup> I recall to mind that after the *adhvaryu* and the two other officiants have proceeded to make preparations for the animal sacrifice<sup>120</sup>, the sacrificer takes hold of the *adhvaryu*, his wife of him, their sons of her, of them the grandchildren, and of these the relatives. In so doing they establish a community between themselves as well as an uninterrupted contact with the sacred act and material. Then the whole body set themselves in procession to the *āgnīdhriya* fire-place to the recitation of stanzas for the bringing forward of Agni and Soma. The brahman priest bears the soma, the *adhvaryu* the fire<sup>121</sup>, the *hotar* recites, first eight stanzas, the first of which is addressed to *Brhaspati*, the last to Soma, the others to Agni, and at a

<sup>118</sup> Cf. also TB. 1, 6, 1, 6 f. *yad agnīṣomīyam ekādaśakapālaṃ nirvapati vārtraghnam eva vijityai*.

<sup>119</sup> Caland and Henry, L'Agniṣṭoma, p. 109 ff.

<sup>120</sup> See Schwab, Das altindische Tieropfer, p. 53 ff.

<sup>121</sup> According to ĀpŚS. 11, 17, 3 either the fire or the soma is borne first, but 14, 19, 2 it is taught that the fire should precede, the soma follow immediately (cf. e.g. also MŚS. 2, 2, 4, 26; 5, 2, 16, 8).

later moment other stanzas, which, except for the last, are dedicated either to Agni or to Soma, and afterwards, two addressed to Soma, and one to Varuṇa. He is followed by the prastotar who sings the sāmān called *agner vratam* (RV. 8, 44, 16: Agni) and the *somavratam* (RV. 1, 91, 18: Soma). The victim, the agniṣomīya he-goat, goes with the procession. The fire is placed on the āgnīdhriya, the soma conveyed to the chariot. After other acts, among which words directed to Soma and Agni individually (see e.g. MŚS. 2, 2, 4, 36 ff.), they proceed to immolate the he-goat. Among the stanzas required in performing this animal sacrifice as described in ŚŚS. 5, 15–20 (*agniṣomīyapaśu*) is RV. 1, 93, 1 "... hear my call" used as the anuvākya and 1, 93, 5, praising two of the gods' great deeds, used as the yājyā for the sacrifice of the omentum, the 'prompting' (*praiśa*) being RVKh. 7, 2 d<sup>122</sup> "Let the hotar worship Agniṣomau; let them enjoy the fat of the omentum of the he-goat..." (ŚŚS. 5, 18, 9 ff.). At a later moment the invitatory stanza for the oblation of the 'victimal cake'<sup>123</sup> (the *paśupuroḍāśa*, a cake of rice) which follows the sacrifice of the omentum is RV. 1, 93, 2 ("bring us 'heroism'..."), the offering stanza 1, 93, 12 ("help us and answer our prayers") (ŚŚS. 5, 19, 6 and 8). The yājyānuvākya for the oblation of the victim which is to follow are RV. 1, 93, 3 ("the one who worships you will obtain 'heroism' and a complete duration of life")—not recorded in any other sūtra—and 1, 93, 7 (ŚŚS. 5, 19, 14 and 16: "enjoy the oblations, bring us happiness and welfare").

From a chapter in the Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa (1, 30, 8 ff.) which is relevant to this ritual custom it may be learned that once the asuras and the rakṣases sought to slay Soma the king when he was led forward between the sadas and the oblation holders, but that Agni by his cunning led him past. That is why Agni is carried in front of him. On this occasion one recites RV. 1, 1, 7–9 (dedicated to Agni) and 9, 67, 29 (dedicated to Soma), because "these two (gods), coming together, are liable to injure the sacrificer... In that he recites three (stanzas) and one (stanza), verily thus he unites them in unison (*saṃjānānau*); he establishes them on a firm and secure foundation (*pratiṣṭhāyām*), to prevent injury to himself or the sacrificer". That means that the combination Agni-and-Soma, united in unison and established on a firm foundation, is believed to be devoid of the malevolent sides of the characters of the two individual gods.

The use of RV. 1, 93, 5 as a yājyā for the omentum is explained in AiB. 2, 9, 5 f. "By all these deities is he seized who becomes consecrated... In that he says as offering stanza for the omentum 'O Agni-and-Soma, ye set free when held fast' (5 d), verily thus he sets the sacrificer free from all the deities. Therefore they say 'One should eat when the omentum

<sup>122</sup> J. Scheftelowitz, *Die Apokryphen des Rgveda*, Breslau 1906, p. 143.

<sup>123</sup> Thus W. Caland, *Śāṅkhāyana-Śrautasūtra*, Nagpur 1953, p. 135.

has been offered, for he then becomes the sacrificer' ". The offering stanza for the cake is, according to AiB. 2, 9, 7 f., RV. 1, 93, 6, "for from the mountain (cf. 6 b "the eagle snatched away the other from the mountain") as it were the 'sap' or 'essence' of the offering (*medha*) is gathered". The commentator furnishes us with a useful explanation: the *medha* has been collected from the man, the horse, the bovine animal etc. which successively were substituted for each other as the victim, the rice being the last substitute in the series in which the essence which had entered the earth is believed to be present (AiB. 2, 8; cf. KB. 10, 5 = 10, 8, 23 "The cake is the 'essence' of the animals"). That is why this yājyā stanza which deals with Agni-and-Soma is "on the strength of the identity of the fetching hence and thence" fit for use in this place.

The comment made in KB. 10, 5 (= 10, 8), 15 ff. is not identical: In that the invitatory verses of the victim for Agni-and-Soma are anuṣṭubh stanzas, (it is because) the anuṣṭubh is the gāyatrī and the metre of Agni is the gāyatrī. In that the offering stanzas are triṣṭubh stanzas, (it is because) the triṣṭubh is the metre of lordly power (*kṣatram*) and Soma is lordly power. Thus he delights the two deities according to the metres.

In this connection it is however worth recalling that according to the Kauṣītakins "he (i.e. a sacrificer) who is consecrated enters the jaws or mouth (*āsyam*) of Agni-and-Soma", and that he buys himself off by offering a victim to this dual deity on the fast day (KB. 10, 3 = 10, 5, 1 ff.).

Mention may parenthetically be made of ŚB. 3, 3, 4, 22, a section dealing with the subrahmanyā litany by which the sacrifice is announced to the gods, when king Soma enters the sacrificial place and one of the officiants leads the victim for Agni-and-Soma to the front of the hall. The following statement must be viewed in the light of the preceding paragraph informing us that the one who consecrates himself is seized by the double deity, and that one redeems oneself by the victim: "Some take a firebrand from the āhavanīya, saying 'Here is Agni, and here is Soma. With these two thus being together we will redeem ourselves'. But let him not do this, for wheresoever these two are, there they are indeed together" (*yatra vā etau kva ca tat sahaiva*). If I am not mistaken these words attest to the conviction on the part of the author that no special ritual acts are required to secure the presence or help of the joint deity Agni-and-Soma, because they are "together" wherever they are.

According to KB. 10, 3 (10, 5, 10 ff.) this dual deity is identical with Day-and-Night (*ahorātre*). "In that by day they proceed with the offering of the omentum, thereby Day, which is connected with Agni, is pleased. In that (the sacrifice) is carried out during the night, thereby Night, connected with Soma, is pleased. That is the final setting free of Day-and-Night . . . They (Day-and-Night) do not take possession of him who knowing thus offers the victim.

In connection with the *agnīṣomaprāṇayana* the author of the Kauṣītaki-



Brāhmaṇa provides his readers also with the well-known identification of the two components of the divine duality with the two highest social classes. "Agni", he says (9, 5 = 9, 5, 1 ff.) "is *brahman*, Soma *kṣatram*. In that on the fast day they lead forward Agni-and-Soma, verily thus by *brahman* and *kṣatram* they smite away the evil of the sacrificer".

ŚB. 12, 1, 3, 7 states that those who perform, in the framework of a Soma sacrifice—which is dealt with in the books three and four—, an animal sacrifice to Agni-and-Soma, become these deities and acquire fellowship and co-existence with them (*sāyujyaṃ salokatām jayanti*)<sup>124</sup>. For a parallel see GB. 1, 4, 8.

Agni-and-Soma play also a part in the *agniyupasthāna* ritual, i.e. the 'attendance' or worship of the sacred fires. According to KS. 7, 5: 66, 13, which is obviously followed by ĀpŚS. 6, 16, 5, one should perform this ritual act, in the first half of the month with a stanza addressed to Agni-and-Soma, because the Full Moon sacrifice belongs to them (ĀpŚS. 1, 18, 1)<sup>125</sup>; one invokes the protection of this deity who now will not fail him. In the second half of the month one has to invoke Indra-and-Agni<sup>126</sup>. Accordingly, ĀpŚS. 6, 16, 5 prescribes the use of RV. 1, 93, 1 = TS. 2, 3, 14, 2 i after six other stanzas<sup>127</sup>. On the same occasion MŚS. 1, 6, 2, 4; 6 uses RV. 1, 93, 5 and 1, and stanzas addressed to Agni alone. See also ĀpŚS. 6, 22, 1. The inviting-stanza (*anuvākyā*) for the whispered offering destined for Agni-and-Soma is, according to ŚŚS. 1, 8, 6 describing the Full and New Moon rites, RV. 1, 93, 1.

In a collection of six stanzas addressed to the waters and occurring TS. 5, 6, 1, 2-4 e-k; MS. 2, 13, 1: 152, 7 ff.; KS. 39, 2: 118, 19 ff. (cf. also 35, 3: 52, 5 f.); AVŚ. 3, 13; AVP. 3, 4<sup>128</sup> the waters are said to have been ghee and to bear Agni-and-Soma (AVŚ. 3, 13, 5 etc.). In the texts of the Yajur-Veda these stanzas accompany the rite for the *kumbheṣṭakas* (in the framework of the piling of the great fire-place: cf. ĀpŚS. 16, 32, 5 ff.) and are pronounced when these bricks are deposited. AV. 3, 13 is used by Kauśika in a ceremony for directing water into a certain course (40, 1 ff.). In neither application has the dual deity some special function. However, TS. 5, 6, 2 containing the brāhmaṇa for the above mantras explains the function of the twelve so-called pot bricks which have the

<sup>124</sup> For these concepts see e.g. P. Oltramare, *L'histoire des idées théosophiques dans l'Inde*, I, Paris 1906, p. 31.

<sup>125</sup> Cf. KS. 7, 5: 66, 18 "In the first half of the month one should worship with (a formula) dedicated to Agniṣomau, because what relates to the full moon is their portion. To them he entrusts him. They do not leave him and protect him" and also MS. 3, 6, 10 *yad agniṣomīyaṃ pūrṇamāse havir āsīt tam agniṣomīyaṃ pūrvedyuh paśum ālabhanta*.

<sup>126</sup> See chapter VIII, p. 299 ff.

<sup>127</sup> See also Caland, *Das Śrautasūtra des Āpastamba*, I, p. 198.

<sup>128</sup> For details see A. B. Keith, *Veda of the Black Yajus School*, p. 453 ff.; W. D. Whitney-Ch. R. Lanman, *Atharvaveda Samhitā*, Cambridge Mass. 1905, p. 107 ff.

shape of pots filled with water: the waters are *amṛta*, which is identical to Soma: ŚB. 9, 4, 4, 8 etc.; they are food and cattle which is food: and at ŚB. 6, 3, 1, 22 Agni is declared to be cattle. The combination of the elements fire (light) and water is indeed beneficial<sup>129</sup>.

In discussing the significance of ritual details authorities are not sparing of arguments adduced to convince their readers of the importance of this dual deity. In a chapter dealing with optional and occasional offerings TS. 3, 4, 3 introduces a sacrifice to Agni-and-Soma by relating that when Vāyu blew heaven and earth went apart; they conceived a child, which was generated by Soma and swallowed by Agni. That is why the offering under discussion is also connected with this dual deity. "To Agni-and-Soma should he offer who desires 'May I be possessed of food, an eater of food'. By Agni he secures food, by Soma the eating of food. Verily he becomes possessed of food, an eater of food" (3, 4, 3, 3). Notice the complementary relation of the two gods. In ŚB. 11, 1, 6, 19 it is told that Agni became the eater of food (*annāda*), Soma food (*anna*), and, the text adds, "the eater of food, and food indeed are everything here" (cf. also 11, 4, 1, 10 where Soma is identified with 'sacrificial food' (*havis*)). This reminds us of ŚB. 10, 3, 4, 4: "The great one is Agni (fire), and the great (object, thing) of that great one are the plants and trees, for they are his food", and we know that Soma is the ruler of the vegetable kingdom (RV. 9, 114, 2). According to 2, 2, 4, 1 ff. Prajāpati first created Agni from his mouth, and therefore Agni is a consumer of food, and afterwards the plants, because if there were neither plants nor trees Agni would have nothing to eat. One might compare also TUp. 3, 7 ff. where 'breath', water and the earth are said to be food and body, light and space the corresponding eaters of food<sup>130</sup>. Since speculations about the nature of fire and the vegetable kingdom probably date back to the prehistoric period<sup>131</sup>, the hypothesis that this relation between Agni and Soma may have contributed also to their joint appearance and functions seems legitimate. The above TS. passage is quoted by the commentator (Sāyaṇa) on TB. 2, 8, 7, 9 f. in explanation of the statement in the brāhmaṇa that RV. 1, 93, 2; 8; 3; 4; 1; 7 should, in this order, be used as yājyānuvākyās for the omentum, the cake and the substance of the victim's (a barren he-goat) body at this animal sacrifice (I, p. 899 ff.)<sup>132</sup>. In the same connection MS. 4, 14, 18: 248, 1 ff. prescribes the stanzas 1; 5; 2; 6; 3; 7<sup>133</sup>.

<sup>129</sup> See e.g. TB. 3, 10, 9, 1 f. where they appear as lightning and rain to co-operate in releasing the sacrificer from evil.

<sup>130</sup> See e.g. W. Ruben, *Die Philosophen der Upanishaden*, Bern 1947, p. 162 f.

<sup>131</sup> For Iran see Duchesne-Guillemin, *o.c.*, p. 93.

<sup>132</sup> See P. E. Dumont, *The kāmīya animal sacrifices in the Taittiriya-Brāhmaṇa*, Proc. Am. Philos. Soc. 113 (1969), p. 59.

<sup>133</sup> The importance of the *agnīṣomīya* as an element of the ritual may appear also from the fact that the acts that precede it are to be performed with inaudible recitation, and that one has to utter audible words *etad agnīṣomīyaṃ prati* (MS. 3, 8, 2: 93, 12).

Another account of the close association of these two gods occurs in KS. 10, 2: 126, 3 ff. and MS. 2, 1, 4: 5, 8-17<sup>134</sup>: "Once the gods, viz. Agni, Soma and Indra, being desirous of renown (*yaśas*), performed a long soma sacrifice (*sattram*). They said, 'The renown which will reach us we (must have) in common'. Of them Soma was (the first, MS.) to whom renown came. Therefore he is renowned. (Soma desired to keep the renown for himself, MS.). He went to the mountain. That is why he (soma) is (found) on the mountain. Agni followed him. Then Agni-and-Soma were together (on the mountain, MS.). (That is why Agni usually burns on the mountain and Soma is found on the mountain, MS.). Indra however felt unquiet and weak. He followed Agni and Soma and approached them with a request. They performed this *iṣṭi* for him, to wit the cake on eleven potsherds for Agni-and-Soma. Agni, one should know, is brilliant energy (*tejas*), Soma *indriya*. Because the cake is dedicated to both gods Indra obtained both, *tejas* and *indriya*. He became prosperous (so '*bhavat*'). Because of the last sentence this rite may also serve the man who is desirous of prosperity (*bhūti*: MŚS. 5, 1, 5, 71). I cannot agree with Hillebrandt<sup>135</sup> in identifying the mountain with the "Aufgangsberg". It may suffice to refer to some R̥gvedic places where soma is explicitly described as being or growing in the mountains: 3, 48, 2; 5, 36, 2; 5, 43, 4 etc. As to Agni's burning on the mountain it may be observed that part of the forests burnt by fire (cf. e.g. R̥V. 1, 66, 2; 1, 143, 5) were situated in higher places.

Of the ghee in the *juhū* (a wooden ladle with a long handle) one first offers one half to Agni-and-Soma. Thereupon one pours the ghee from the *upabhr̥t* (a wooden sacrificial ladle) into the *juhū* and offers it to Viṣṇu. This ritual use induced the author of ŚB. 3, 4, 4, 9 to say that Agni-and-Soma are yoke-fellows (*sayujau*) among the gods, because for these two ghee is taken in common, for Viṣṇu, however, singly.

In other attempts at accounting for the divine pair and their ritual significance also it is their co-operation and complementary nature and function which are emphasized. According to ŚB. 5, 2, 5, 10 the cake on eleven dishes for this dual deity owes its existence to the fact that Agni is the giver, and Soma prestige (*varcas*). Thus Agni, the giver, gives him prestige. Cf. also *ibidem*, 11.

From TB. 2, 7, 3, 1 it may be inferred that the combination of two gods whose nature and function are in some relevant respect similar was, naturally enough, regarded as an intensification of their power and influence. Here a brahmin is said to belong to Agni (*āgneya*) as well as Soma (*saumya*). When however these two unite he becomes to a higher degree possessed of virile power (*vīryāvattaro bhavati*), the commentary adding: "by double brahmanhood" (*dviguṇabrāhmaṇyena vīryātīśayo bhavati*).

<sup>134</sup> Cf. Caland, *Zauberei*, p. 25 (n. 35).

<sup>135</sup> A. Hillebrandt, *Vedische Mythologie*, I, Breslau 1891, p. 459.

That a combination of ritual acts relating to Agni and Soma individually may result in a manifestation and utilization of the combined power of both gods is apparent from ŚB. 12, 8, 3, 19: "He consecrates him between the oblation to Vanaspati (cf. 3, 8, 3, 33; 4, 5, 2, 11) and the Sviṣṭakṛt ("the maker of good offering"), for Vanaspati ("the lord of the forest") is Soma, and the Sviṣṭakṛt is Agni. He thus consecrates him after encompassing him by Agni-and-Soma".

The belief in the generative force of a productive pair is not absent. Says ŚB. 2, 4, 4, 7 "Now, as to why, at full moon, he offers a (cake) to Agni-and-Soma on the first day, —these are two deities (*dve devate*)<sup>136</sup> and two means a pair (*mithunam*), so that a productive (*prajananam*) pair is thereby obtained". It may be recalled that not only in 9 and 10 the same argument is repeated with regard to Indra-and-Agni and Mitra-and-Varuṇa, but also in 8 with reference to Agni's cake and Indra's *sāmnāyā*<sup>137</sup>.

As to Agni-and-Soma's special position<sup>138</sup> KS. 8, 10: 94, 6 ff. and KKS. 7, 6: 77, 9 ff. impart to us the following information. "The sacrifice did not turn towards the gods. They laboured in vain: 'the sacrifice does not turn towards us'. To Agni-and-Soma among them the sacrifice turned first. They knew 'To Agni-and-Soma among (of) us the sacrifice has turned first. Let us desire the inclination of the sacrifice for them'. They said 'Towards you among us the sacrifice has turned first. The sacrifice must turn from you near us'. They said 'Let us choose a boon. Let them worship us in the beginning with two portions of clarified butter'. That is why they worship Agni-and-Soma in the beginning with two portions of clarified butter: it had been chosen by them as a boon. That they take out for scattering subsequently for Agni-and-Soma's oblation is in order to secure the inclination of the sacrifice . . . Agni and Soma (. . . *ca* . . . *ca*) are a pair (*mithunam*). Soma is an impregnator, Agni a generator. Agni is this All (*idaṃ sarvam*). Soma is the waters, herbs, trees. They are, one should know, of the gods what is nearest to us. For we see these two . . .".

In a discussion of the four-monthly sacrifices, and in particular in connection with the *vaiśvadeva*, KB. 5, 2 (5, 2, 1 ff.) states that one sacrifices to Agni-and-Soma first of the deities, because these are the

<sup>136</sup> Elsewhere, e.g. KS. 1, 12: 7, 4 the word *devatā* occurs in the singular after *agnīṣomau*.

<sup>137</sup> A libation of sweet and sour milk; see J. Eggeling, *The Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa*, I, Oxford 1882 (Benares 1963), p. 178 f.

<sup>138</sup> An exceptive clause in ŚŚS. 6, 1, 21 states that the offering for this double deity does not begin, as is usual, with the leading forward of the fire etc. See ŚB. 3, 8, 5, 11. Compare also ĀpŚS. 12, 3, 2 b and statements such as ĀśvŚS. 3, 4, 9 *teṣv agnīṣomayoh sthāne yā yā paśudevatā*, i.e. *teṣv pradānapraīṣeṣu paśvantareṣu atideśāt prāpteṣu yās tāsu vikṛtiṣu devatās tāsām ekaikām evāgnīṣomasthāne nirdiśya yaṣṭavyaṃ na sarvadevatāḥ sakṛd eva nirdeṣavyāḥ*.



deities of the Full and New moon ceremonies. It may be recalled that the śrautasūtras of the R̥gveda, like other works of this category, begin by treating these rites. They were, moreover, according to a mythical account (ŚB. 11, 1, 6, 16) the first sacrifice instituted and performed. See also GB. 2, 1, 20: "... Agni-and-Soma are the head of the gods. Therefore, from the head (from the beginning) he delights the gods".

There is sometimes also a tendency to introduce this dual deity by substituting Soma for another deity. Says ŚB. 3, 3, 4, 21 "Agni-and-Soma have seized him, who undertakes the consecration, between their jaws, for that consecration offering belongs to Agni-and-Viṣṇu (*agnāvaiṣṇavam*), and Viṣṇu is no other than Soma...". Similarly, 3, 6, 3, 19.

In connection with the requirement that the victim belonging to two deities should be two-coloured, ŚB. 3, 3, 4, 23 cites anonymous authorities who held that for the sake of concord between the two deities it should be a black-spotted animal, "for that is most like (*rūpatamam*) those two gods". This no doubt means that this irregular combination of many white and black spots as it naturally presents itself on the skin of an animal was considered most suited to symbolize the nature of divine duality. The author of ŚB. 1, 6, 3, 41 informs us that the white is connected with Agni, the black with Soma. See also AiB. 2, 3, 10 and MS. 3, 19, 9 *dvirūpā agnīsomīyāh*.

There is some evidence that the duality Agni-and-Soma was not necessarily conceived of as an indecomposable unit. According to the mythical story handed down at TB. 1, 3, 1, 1 f. the gods, having come into conflict with the asuras and striving to gain the victory deposited their bodies consisting of brilliant energy on (in) Agni-and-Soma in order to have them at their disposal if they would be defeated. Agni-and-Soma went away with the deposit. After having conquered their enemies the gods sought for them. They discovered Agni who had vanished in the seasons. Gaining him over by means of the *vibhaktis*<sup>139</sup> they obtained their bodies consisting of brilliant energy. They discovered Soma, and slew him. Each of them recognizing his own body took it...".

Some addenda may find a place here. Among the formulas for the Soma sacrifice are also, to accompany the binding of the victim to the stake, VS. 6, 9 "I bind thee welcome to Agni-and-Soma" and "I sprinkle thee welcome to Agni-and-Soma", as well as TS. 1, 1, 4, 2 m "I offer thee dear to Agni, to Agni-and-Soma"; also 1, 1, 5, 1 e. The oblations prescribed for the Full moon sacrifice are a cake on eight potsherds for Agni and one on eleven potsherds for Agni-and-Soma (cf. VS. 1, 10; 13; 22; ŚB. 1, 2, 2, 4; 11, 1, 3, 2; and see KS. 7, 5: 66, 13; KKS. 5, 4; and compare also TS. 1, 8, 1, 1; 1, 8, 8, 1; 2, 3, 3, 1; 3, 2, 2, 3 etc.; ŚB. 1, 6, 3, 14). In enumerations Agni-and-Soma not infrequently appear

<sup>139</sup> i.e. the four cases of the noun *agni* occurring in the yāgyā formulas: *agne*, *agnau*, *agninā*, *agnim*; cf. TS. 1, 5, 2, 2; ĀpŚS. 5, 28, 6.

between single deities: VS. 24, 23; 25, 4; 6; MS. 3, 15, 4; TS. 1, 6, 9, 2; PB. 1, 8, 6; ŚB. 12, 1, 2, 1; 12, 1, 3, 7; GB. 1, 4, 7; AVPaipp. 10, 2, 9 *agnīṣomā pavamāno virūd devi payasvatī / atandram sarve rakṣantu rāṣṭram te.*

In the Atharvaveda occasional references to Agni-and-Soma are more numerous than in the Ṛgveda. This seems to point to a certain popularity in those circles which had a certain influence upon the genesis of this corpus. In a text used for the discovery of sorcerers and others forms of exorcism AV. (=AVŚ.) 1, 8 Agni Jātavedas is invoked in st. 4—and he is, with Indra, also the god of AV. 1, 7 which is combined with 1, 8 in KauśS. 8, 25—, but the deity Agnīṣomā is in st. 2 requested “to pierce (him) through”. The fact that such an imprecation is addressed to the god of fire needs no comment<sup>140</sup>. Soma however is in the Ṛgveda believed to ward off demons, contemners, malevolent adversaries (9, 56, 1; 9, 61, 25; 9, 71, 1), but in so doing he does not seem to behave with great violence. In AVPaipp. 4, 4, 10 the dual deity is requested to pierce inimical sorcerers in co-operation with Bṛhaspati.

From AV. 12, 4, 26 it appears that Agni-and-Soma together with Varuṇa-and-Mitra are the gods for whom the brahmans ask the cow and who will be angry if she is not given. In the case of the other pair of gods, well-known as upholders of ṛta, this statement is clear and it may be guessed that Agni-and-Soma, gaining in popularity, have joined them.

In AV. 6, 93, 3 Agni-and-Soma are among other gods invoked for protection (the Maruts, Varuṇa, Yama etc.). AV. 9, 6, 6 puts a gratification offered to guests on a par with an animal bound (to be immolated) for Agni-and-Soma. This is no doubt a reminiscence of the important part played by the divine pair in animal sacrifices. In 6, 61, 3 (“prayer and boasts”) the person speaking says that he has enjoyed them as companions. The text is prescribed in a rite for rain and good fortune (KauśS. 41, 14); st. 3 accompanies in the rites connected with the moon, two offerings of butter to the dual deity (VaitS. 2, 17). In view of the parallel passages TS. 4, 3, 11, 2 etc. *catuṣṭomó abhavad yā turīyā* etc. AV. 8, 9, 14 *agnīṣomāv adadhur yā turīyāsit* “She that was fourth placed (?) Agni-and-Soma” is no doubt secondary and corrupt. It is not possible to draw any conclusion from it, other than that the deity must have been well-known to the author.

The stanza AV. 6, 54, 2 “For him, O Agni-and-Soma, maintain ye dominion, for him wealth; in the sphere of royalty make him superior to his fellow” forms part of a small text intended to secure and increase

<sup>140</sup> See e.g. M. Bloomfield, *The Atharva-Veda and the Gopatha-Bṛāhmaṇa*, Strassburg 1899, p. 67; V. Henry, *La magie dans l'Inde antique*, Paris 1904, p. 31 f. etc.

some one's superiority (see also KauśS. 48, 27). It appears in KauśS. 4, 19 in the parvan sacrifice (Full and New moon rites) with an offering to the dual deity and in VaitS. 3, 4, on the occasion of the full moon, with an inaudible offering to the same divinity. The words of the text attest to a certain interest, on the gods' side, in the weal and woe of royal persons. One is reminded also of AVPaipp. 10, 2, 9 *agniṣomā pavamāno . . . rakṣantu rāṣṭram te*. This is worth noticing because Soma alone does not, in contradistinction to Agni, Indra and the Ādityas, confer royalty and the prerogatives connected with it upon a man, the term *kṣatram* "nobility, supremacy, royal dominion" and its relatives do not occur in connection with Soma<sup>141</sup>, and a "Beziehungslosigkeit von Somas Königtum zu irdischen Herrschaftsverhältnissen" has rightly been ascertained<sup>142</sup>. The question arises why in AV. 6, 54, 2 it should be the double deity, not Agni who is invoked. Could the interest of royal persons in those rites which required offerings to this divine pair have induced them to accept the two as patron saints?

There can be no doubt that also outside the circles of those who discussed and performed definite Śrauta sacrifices the dual deity was, at least in certain ritual connections, credited with considerable influence and authority. Among the funeral stanzas of the Atharva-Veda is 18, 2, 53. "O Agni-and-Soma, makers of roads, you have prepared for (assigned to) the gods a pleasant treasure, a 'world' (*lokam*); send ye unto (us) Pūṣan, who shall carry . . . him (the deceased) thither". The term *pathikṛt* "maker of a road" is in RV. 9, 106, 5 applied to Soma, but there the divine draught is besought to clarify itself for Indra, the addition "on a thousand paths" making its use more intelligible. In RV. 10, 14, 15, directed to Yama, the ṛṣis of yore are said to have prepared the ways (leading from this world to the heavenly regions). In the plural the words *lokakṛtaḥ pathikṛtaḥ* occur in the refrains AV. 18, 3, 25-35 and 4, 16-25, likewise funeral stanzas: "To the 'world'-makers (i.e. those who provide the deceased with a 'safe place' to exist in), to the path-makers, do we sacrifice, whoever of you are here, sharing in the oblations of the gods". The paths are the roads leading the oblations and the deceased sacrificer (who is supposed to follow the sacrificial gifts—notice that in RV. 10, 14, 13 he is quite intelligibly stated to be the messenger of the oblations—, the merit accruing from them awaiting him in 'heaven', i.e. in the *loka*) to the 'worlds' of religious merit (*puṇyaloka*)<sup>143</sup>. Was Agni-and-Soma in the poet's conception the most prominent of the road-makers meant in the refrains?

In the grhyasūtras the double deity is, on the whole, less important. Dealing with the oblations of cooked food to be offered on the days of

<sup>141</sup> See B. Schlerath, *Das Königtum im Rig- und Atharvaveda*, Wiesbaden 1960, p. 122 ff.

<sup>142</sup> H. Lommel, in *Numen*, 2, p. 203; Schlerath, *o.c.*, p. 124.

<sup>143</sup> For this passage see J. Gonda, *Loka*, Amsterdam Acad. 1966, p. 132 f.

full and new moon—the domestic rites of which agree closely with those of the śrauta ceremonies—, ĀśvGS. 1, 10, 12 ff. states inter alia that two oblations of clarified butter (*ājya*) should be poured out to the accompaniment of the formulas “To Agni svāha!” and “To Soma svāhā!”, the northern oblation belonging to Agni, the southern to Soma (similarly, ŚGS. 1, 9, 7; JGS. 1, 3: 4, 1). The author refers to the śruti: The *ājya* portions are the two eyes of the sacrifice. These oblations as well as their significance have already been commented upon <sup>144</sup>. According to ĀśvGS. 1, 3, 5 the two *ājya* portions may optionally be sacrificed in the *pākayajñas*. Whereas some grhyasūtras deal succinctly with this subject (see also PGS. 1, 5, 3; KhGS. 1, 2, 14), others describe it at greater length (see e.g. HGS. 1, 2, 16). JGS. 1, 3 (*pākayajñatantra*): 4, 17 is one of the texts prescribing that the chief oblations of the carus should be offered between the two portions of ghee and be accompanied on the day of full moon by “To Agni; to Agni-and-Soma”. Compare also KauśS. 73, 11 *agniśomābhyām darśana indrāgnibhyām adarśane, āgneyam tu pūrvam nityam anvāhāryam prajāpateḥ* (in a discussion of the evening and morning oblations).

The mantra “The consecration (*dīkṣā*), asceticism of (my) mind, Mātariśvan, Bṛhaspati, the origin (womb, *yonī*) of this word, possessions, knowledge must be in me, the esteemed ones. Agni-and-Soma must place renown in me (give me renown)” occurs ĀpŚS. 6, 23, 1 in connection with the worship of the sacred fires, and BhGS. 2, 20: 53, 1 ff. in the section dealing with the *snāna*, i.e. the ablutions performed by an absolved Veda student.

Using the term *āghāra* “the sprinkling of melted clarified butter upon the fire” as a denotation of the introductory rite preceding each sacrifice the author of the late (3<sup>rd</sup> cent. A.D.?) VaikhGS. 1, 9 ff. states that no less than twenty-one offerings should be made to the same considerable number of deities, among whom Agni, Soma, Agni-and-Soma heading the list. The same author in treating the *vāstusavana* (the rite performed on the occasion of laying the foundation of a house etc.) mentions a long series of oblations to a large number of gods (3, 17): among these are three to Agni-and-Soma which should be consecrated by the stanzas TS. 2, 3, 14 h, i and k = RV. 1, 93, 5; 1; 6.

In describing the *bali*-offerings <sup>145</sup> the ancient grhyasūtras differ in particulars and between these sources on the one hand and medieval and modern practice on the other there is also some divergence. The only point which should detain us is the gods for whom these offerings are intended. Whereas KGS. 54, 1 mentions Agni, Soma, Prajāpati and others and other texts, viz. VGS. 17, 4 and BhGS. 3, 12 likewise distinguish two gods, Agni and Soma, MGS. 2, 12—though quoting, in 3, two formulas!—speaks in 2 of Agni-and-Soma (*agniśomau*).

<sup>144</sup> See above, p. 376 f.

<sup>145</sup> For these see e.g. E. Arbman, Rudra, Uppsala 1922, p. 188 ff.



In epic times the varied activities of the god of fire led to the belief in various Agnis or manifestations of this god, exploited as genealogical and historical characters in Mbh. 3, 207 ff.<sup>146</sup>. Among the personages figuring in these genealogies are Nisā, the wife of the fire Bhānu, and her eight children (3, 211, 15)<sup>147</sup>, viz. a daughter, Agniṣomau and five others: it is clear that here two figures, Agni and Soma, are meant. However, the double deity was not completely unknown to the authors of the Mahābhārata. In 13, 100, 9 it is stated that to that pair, the Viśve Devāḥ, Dhanvantari and Prajāpati separate oblations are offered in the fire. In 3, 221, 15 Bo. (3, 211, 15 cr. ed. where *niśām*) Nisā ("Night"), the wife of the fire Bhānu, is said to have produced a daughter and both Agni-and-Soma (*kanyāṃ vakṣyamāṇāṃ rohiṇīm agniṃ somam anyān pañcety astāv apatyāni suṣuve*, Nilakaṇṭha). In a likewise mythological passage, viz. the description of Indra's palace, they figure among a number of deities together with Indrāgnī, Mitra, Savitar and Aryaman (2, 7, 31 Bo.).

Sometimes—e.g. KS. 10, 2: 126, 20<sup>148</sup>; AVAnukr. 3, 15—the names of the components of this joint deity occur in the reverse order. In this connection it may be noticed that in the rites concerning the deceased the normal order of the individual gods—Agni first—is changed<sup>149</sup>. Cf. ĀśvŚS. 2, 6, 12 f.: while wearing the sacred cord over the right shoulder (as at a *śrāddha*) one should adopt the order of the formulas *somāya . . . agnaye . . .*; while wearing it over the left shoulder Agni should precede: the well-known reverse order in ceremonies for the benefit of the dead<sup>150</sup>.

<sup>146</sup> E. W. Hopkins, *Epic mythology*, Strassburg 1915, p. 100 ff. For other post-Vedic occurrences of the double divinity see ch. I, p. 89 ff.

<sup>147</sup> Cf. RV. 1, 164, 1 d.

<sup>148</sup> See above, p. 374; 391.

<sup>149</sup> W. Caland, *Altindischer Ahnencult*, Leiden 1893, p. 141.

<sup>150</sup> Oldenberg, *Religion des Veda*, p. 553.

## GENERAL INDEX

- abhisambhū-*, 381 ff.  
 adhvaryu and hotar, 62  
 Aditi, 79, 97, 103, 145, 173, 183, 184,  
 185, 186, 206, 216, 239, 285, 320, 323  
 Āditya, 220  
 Ādityas, 103, 113, 114, 122, 138, 145,  
 148, 149, 150, 153, 163, 179, 182, 183,  
 187, 213, 231, 239, 284, 347, 354  
 Ādityās and Aṅgirasas, 71 f.  
*afringan*, 127  
 Agastya(s), 86, 279  
 Agni, 16 f., 27, 44, 53, 54, 56, 57, 61,  
 67, 69, 73, 74, 81 f., 84, 86, 89, 90,  
 92, 94, 98, 104, 110, 113, 115, 125 f.,  
 127, 128 f., 133, 134, 135, 136, 140,  
 141, 142, 143, 148, 149, 151, 152, 158,  
 167, 172, 176, 177, 184, 189, 190, 191,  
 207, 211, 213, 220, 221, 230, 233, 240,  
 251, 252, 254, 255, 257, 259, 260, 265,  
 271 ff., 317, 318 ff., 328, 341, 361,  
 363 ff.  
 Agni and Annam, 60  
 Agni Draviṇodas, 141  
 Agni-and-Indra, 80  
 Agni-and-Maruts, 86  
 Agni-and-Parjanya, 82  
 Agni-and-Soma, 64, 72, 75, 77, 83, 89 ff.,  
 278, 285 f., 300, 339, 343, 363 ff.  
 Agni Sviṣṭakṛt, 378, 392  
 Agni-and-Viṣṇu, 77, 80 ff.  
 agnicayana, 275 f., 291, 294  
 agnihotra, 130, 134, 295, 301  
*āgnimāruta*, 86  
 Agnīndra, 306 ff.  
*agnīṣomapraṇayana*, 386 ff.  
 agniṣṭoma, 305, 366, 386 ff.  
 Agni-Varuṇa, 84, 85  
*agniyupasthāna*, 389  
*āgrahāyaṇī*, 105  
 āgrayaṇa, 299, 306  
*ahorātre* (see also day and night), 132,  
 137 f., 388  
 Ahura, 164, 165, 167, 170  
 Ahura Mazdā, 40, 160, 162, 163, 164,  
 165, 166, 169  
*aindrāmaruta*, 86  
*aindrārbhava*, 87  
*aindrāsūra*, 80  
*aindravāyava*, 209, 217  
 ājyabhāga, 284, 289, 375 ff.  
 ājyastotra(s), 298 f.  
 alliance, 78  
 ambivalence, 15 ff.  
 Ameretāt, 41  
*aṃhas*, 163, 178, 186  
 amplification, 105  
 androgyny, 59, 106 f.  
 Aṅgiras(es), 114, 311  
 Angra Mainyu, 40  
 animal(s), 196, 227, 354 f.  
 animal sacrifice, 287, 297, 299, 302, 386,  
 394  
 Antarikṣa (*antarikṣa*), 105, 117  
*anūbandhyā* cow, 173, 176, 195 f.  
 anus, 190  
 anuvākya, 60, 63, 119 f., 176, 253 f.,  
 262, 284, 287, 323, 326, 352, 353, 357,  
 387, 389  
 āprī hymns, 56 f., 124 ff., 129, 135 f.,  
 138 ff., 143 f., 199  
*āpriṇāti*, 128  
*āpyam*, 265, 267  
 arm(s), 189, 198  
 Ārmaiti, 42  
 Aruna, 160  
 Aryaman, 149, 150, 151, 155, 163, 164,  
 179, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 231, 239,  
 262, 264, 265  
*aśa*, 161, 165  
 aspects (*ugra* and *śānta*) of gods, 154  
 Asura, 148, 162, 185, 186, 233, 241, 250  
 Aśvins, 9 f., 12, 13, 31, 34, 41, 42 ff.,  
 46, 48 ff., 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 63,  
 76, 77, 79, 80, 91, 92, 100, 132, 133,  
 136 f., 150, 158, 175, 180, 182, 187,  
 191, 198, 209, 210, 211, 213, 214, 215,  
 218, 224, 228, 234, 244, 257, 259, 265,  
 270, 276, 278, 281 ff., 305, 309, 331,  
 334  
 Aśvinī, 49  
 Atar, 366  
*atigrāhyas*, 221  
*atimokṣa* formulas, 190  
 Atkins, S. D., 344, 349 f.  
 attributes (transfer of), 278  
 Aupamanyava, 284

- avakāśa* mantras, 197  
 Avesta, 127, 147, 157, 160, 162 f., 164, 167, 176, 222, 365  
*āyatana*, 251, 332
- bali offerings, 396  
 barhis, 126, 129, 138  
 beginning and end, 276  
 Benveniste, E., 272  
 Bergaigne, A., 11, 14, 49, 53, 54, 181, 235, 319, 370, 371, 372  
 Bhaga, 79, 185, 234, 308  
 Bhavāśarvā (Bhava and Śarva), 31, 77  
*bhid-*, 321  
 bifurcate, 66, 275  
 bipartite universe, 117  
 bisexuality, 107  
 biunity (of conjoint principles), 15 f., 75, 86, 99, 116  
 biunity, second element of . . . , of secondary importance, 58  
 Bloomfield, M., 14, 45, 56, 112, 114, 173, 179, 213, 235, 236 ff., 245, 269, 279, 337, 372  
 body (human), 189 f.  
 Brahmā, 88  
 brahman, 173, 201, 228, 290 ff., 311, 319, 323  
*brahman* and *kṣatram*, 284, 290 ff., 293, 389  
 Brahmanaspati (see also Brhaspati), 231, 262, 264, 310, 321, 322  
 breath, 76, 196, 203, 205, 215, 217, 219, 225, 226, 291, 295 f., 297  
 Brhaspati (see also Brahmanaspati), 13, 61, 78, 79, 98, 113, 158, 159, 195, 210, 211, 233, 250, 252, 272, 282, 305, 309, 310 ff., 336  
 Brhaspati-and-Indra, 60, 344  
*br̥hat*, *br̥hant*, 117, 139, 170  
*br̥hat-rathantara*, 67  
 Brown, W. Norman, 235, 245 f.
- Caland, W., 228, 254, 261, 307, 360, 386  
 chariot (of the Aśvins), 44, 46, (of Varuṇa), 147, 198  
 cohabitation, 60  
 collective(s), 25, 44  
 colour(s), 141 ff., 151 f., 154, 173, 329, 393  
 combination of local or tribal deities, 30
- companionship, 229, 232  
 complementary connection, 19  
 complementary group(s), 23 ff., 250  
 complementary half, 337  
 complementary opposition, 154  
 complementary pair (relations), 17 ff., 22, 28, 100, 156, 157, 206, 229, 231, 253, 263, 264, 265, 291, 298, 361, 365, 371  
 complementary presentation of facts, 44  
 completeness, 62 f.  
 consecration, 202  
 contrast, 361  
 co-operation, 62, 79, 82, 84, 154, 156, 229 f., 248, 253, 264, 265, 274, 292, 307, 315, 320 f., 331, 341, 342, 344 f., 350, 355, 361, 365, 371  
 cosmic pair, 76  
 couple, 75  
 couple (married), 96  
 cow, 141, 301, 306, 385  
 creation, 334  
 cults (two combined), 70  
 curds, 195, 201, 204 f.  
 Cyavāna, 44, 48
- Dakṣa, 183  
*dākṣāyaṇa*, 184, 303  
*dakṣiṇā*, 276  
 dancer, 46  
*darśa*, 121  
 Dasra, 42, 43  
 dasyu, 125  
 dawn, 49  
 Dawn, see Uṣas  
 Dawn-and-Night (Dusk), 124 ff., 135, 388  
 day, 109, 152, 194  
 day and night, 48, 56, 77, 190, 195  
 Death, 230  
 demons, pairs of, 26, 51  
 deva, 126  
 devas and asuras, 26 f.  
 devatādvandva, 5, 80, 86, 93, 116, 254, 308, 336  
*dhāman*, 99 f., 173, 286  
 dharma, 189  
*dharmān*, 188 f.  
 Dhātar, 118, 159, 309  
 Dhiṣṇā, 97  
*dhṛtavrata*, 149, 188, 260  
 Dhūrtasvāmin, 307  
 dichotomy, 59, 72, 74 f.  
 Dioseuri, 34, 45, 46, 48, 49

- directions (see also: quarters of the universe), 61  
 disease, 282  
*divā naktam*, 132  
 diversity (mundane, phenomenal), 206 f.  
 divine brothers, 51  
 division (into two complementary classes), 71  
*doṣā vāstoḥ*, 133  
 double, 66, 69, 72, 75  
 double (inferior in rank), 298, 332  
 double nature, 59, 68, 69  
 double representation, 154, 156  
*dṛ-*, 320  
 dual (grammatical) 42 ff., 94, 236, 250, 257  
 dual deities, essence of, 14 ff.  
 dual deities, function of, 11, 16  
 dual deities, origin of the, 7 ff.  
 dual deities, the problem of the, 5 ff.  
 dual deities, ritual rôle of, 11, 14  
 dual deities, as single persons, 11 ff.  
 dual deities, as against twins, 52  
 dual social organization, 31 f.  
 dualism, religious, 27  
 dualité-unité, 10, 17 ff., 28 ff., 146, 153 f., 160, 216, 273, 315  
 duality, 17 ff., 33, 59, 71 f., 75, 108, 206, 235, 265, 290  
 Dumézil, G., 10, 14, 41, 47, 154, 155, 161, 216, 222, 225, 263, 265  
 Dumont, P. E., 342  
 dung-smoke, 138  
 duplicate myths, 329  
 duplicate nature, 43, 100  
 duplication, 280 f.  
 duplication of divine personality, 295, 326  
 dusk, 135, 140  
 dvandva, 5, 9, 11, 12, 16, 19, 63, 79, 80, 84, 85, 92, 99, 101, 111, 146, 151, 162, 206, 215, 266, 277, 283, 308, 322  
*dvaya*, 73  
*dvedhā*, 28, 33, 73  
*dvidevata*, *dvidevatya*, 5, 79  
*dvidevatagraha*, 55, 196, 197, 215, 216  
 Dyaks, 28 ff.  
 Dyaus, 46 f., 93, 94, 95, 105, 115  
 Dyāvābhūmī, 92, 187  
 Dyāvākṣamā, 94, 116  
 Dyāvāprthivī (see also Heaven and Earth), 7 f., 9, 15, 77, 92, 93, 95 ff., 106, 137, 329 f.  
 Dyāvāprthivisūkta, 95  
 earth (Earth), 105, 113  
 Eggeling, J., 60, 251, 297, 299  
 Elizarenkova, T. Ja., 145, 146  
 elliptic dual, 94, 132  
 epithets, 43, 56, 57 f., 102, 224, 257, 290, 312 ff., 315, 320, 337  
 etymology (of Varuṇa), 168  
 evening, 134  
 exorcism, 339, 394  
 expiatory rites, 305  
 expiration, see breath  
 eye, 146, 169, 170, 203 f., 376 f.  
 father, 52, 94, 95, 97  
 favourite deity, 266, 316  
 feminine forms, 97  
 fertility, 45, 52  
 fetters, see *pāsa*  
 fire (light) and water, 390  
 fire (sacred), see ritual fires  
 fire cult, 365 ff.  
 firmament, 50  
 flagellation, 368  
 Flensburg, N., 344  
 food, 61, 390  
 four, 63  
 friend, friendship, 157, 178, 195, 207, 331  
 Full and New Moon sacrifices, 59, 300 f., 303, 376, 393, 395  
 function(s), 240, 269, 274, 277, 290, 295, 315, 319, 320, 344  
 fusion, 345  
 Gadgil, V. A., 49  
 Gaṅgā-Yamunā, 52  
 Gārgya Nārāyaṇa, 324  
*gāyatrī* and *triṣṭubh*, 67  
 Geldner, K. F., 20, 25, 48, 57, 83, 98, 101, 106, 130, 134, 136, 139, 140, 141, 142, 148, 175, 178, 180, 187, 219, 235, 239 ff., 264, 266, 270, 278, 314, 318, 319, 325, 326, 327 f., 343, 345, 347, 350, 351  
 German mythology, 58  
 Gershevitch, I., 162, 164  
 Ghosh, E. N., 49, 158  
 gods, pairs of, 51  
 gods, two kinds of, 27 f.  
 Götterdvandva, 5, 10 f., 14, 80  
 Grassmann, H., 178, 310, 327  
 Greek mythology, 45, 58, 94



- Grep, 35, 58  
 Griswold, 93  
 guru, 103
- Haoma, 365 ff.  
 Harihara, 87  
 Harris, R., 37  
 Haurvatāt, 41  
*havis*, 136  
 heaven and earth, Heaven-and-Earth  
   (see also Dyāvapṛthivī), 20, 48, 53,  
   54, 55, 76, 93 ff., 102, 108, 145, 180,  
   184, 190, 210, 229, 244, 259, 283, 299,  
   307, 329 f.  
 Henry, V., 366, 386  
 Herodotus, 366  
 heroic pair, 50  
 Hertel, J., 124 f., 135  
 Highest Being conceived of as a duality,  
   28 ff., 88  
 Hillebrandt, A., 14 f., 31, 45, 80, 95,  
   130, 271, 285, 364, 367, 376, 379, 391  
 Homer, 137  
 homologation, 293, 296  
 honey, 45  
 Hopkins, E. W., 94, 310  
 horse, 46, 48  
 horse sacrifice, 13, 293, 329, 342  
 Horus and Set, 31  
 hotar, 198, 199 f., 204  
 hotars (divine), 56 ff., 126, 199  
 hotrakas, 73, 174, 181, 186, 198, 203,  
   252 f., 262, 267, 325, 326
- Idā, 192  
 identification, 99, 233, 273, 349, 370,  
   371  
 identification of gods, 6 f., 76, 233, 291,  
   314, 315, 317, 319, 320  
 illness, 360  
 Indo-European mythology and religion,  
   34 ff., 45, 49, 50, 94, 95 f.  
 Indo-Iranian period, 51, 160 f., 169, 170,  
   222, 365 ff., 390  
 Indra, 44, 53, 54, 61, 79, 86, 92, 96, 98,  
   101, 102, 103, 114, 133, 135, 142, 143,  
   148, 176, 177, 178, 202, 208, 209 ff.,  
   217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 224,  
   229 ff., 271 ff., 301, 310 ff., 331 ff.,  
   335 ff., 340, 364, 370, 378 ff.  
 Indra-and-Agni, 52 f., 55, 64, 76, 92,  
   113, 199, 248, 249, 258, 260, 271 ff.,  
   340, 389  
 Indra-and-Bṛhaspati, 77, 79, 92, 213,  
   248 f., 252 f., 259, 260, 261, 277, 310 ff.  
 Indra-and-Pūṣan, 77, 78, 92, 283, 340 ff.  
 Indra-and-Soma, 77, 78, 92, 182, 277,  
   283, 335 ff., 340  
 Indra-and-Sūrya, 80  
 Indrābrahmaṇaspatī, 326  
 Indrāgni (Indra-and-Agni), 77, 78, 110,  
   158, 159, 182, 213, 338  
 Indrākutsā, 85 f.  
 Indrāmarutaḥ (Indra and the Maruts),  
   53, 86, 210  
 Indranāsatyā, 53, 80  
 Indra-and-Parvata, 92, 265, 346  
 Indra-and-Varuṇa, 31, 62, 78, 79, 84,  
   85, 92, 174, 183, 229 ff., 278, 283,  
   340, 373  
 Indra-and-Vāyu, 76, 82, 92, 191, 203,  
   204, 209 ff.  
 Indra-and-Viṣṇu, 77, 79, 80, 92, 97, 249,  
   252, 260, 261, 331, 373  
*indriya*, 255  
*indriyaṃ vīryam*, 22, 284 f., 291, 293,  
   295, 302, 304  
 inspiration, see breath  
 interchangeability of names, 319  
 invocation, 102  
 Iran, Iranians, 40 ff., 160 f., 165 ff.,  
   176, 222 f., 225 f., 273  
 Irish legends etc., 58  
 Īśāna, 176  
*iṣṭi*, 110, 198, 376
- Janert, K. L., 141, 314  
*jātavedas*, 57  
*janyāvasu*, 53  
 Johansson, K. F., 247  
 juxtaposition, 79
- Kaegi, A., 8, 272, 324  
*kāmyeṣṭi*, 81, 254 f., 322, 323, 352, 357  
*kāru*, 57  
*kavi*, *kāvya*, 242, 258, 281  
 Keith, A. B., 7, 93, 203, 224, 367  
 Keśava, 112, 121  
 king, kingship, 147, 152, 159, 169, 172,  
   186, 188, 191, 197, 198, 246 f., 263,  
   267, 308  
 Kramrisch, S., 349  
*kratu*, 260  
*krūra*, 195  
*kṣatram*, 201, 389, 395  
*kṣatriya*, 254, 290 ff.  
 Kṣetrapati, Kṣetrasya pati, 288, 313

- Kuhn, A., 6  
 Kuiper, F. B. J., 163, 168, 169  
*kumbheṣṭakas*, 389  
 Kutsa, 86
- Lakṣmī, 90 f.  
 Langlois, A., 310  
 Lanman, Ch. R., 236, 240  
 leper, 352  
 Letts (mythology of the), 45  
 light, 151  
 lightning, 271  
*loka*, 121, 268, 339, 345  
 Lommel, H., 161 f., 235, 240, 243, 246 f., 366  
 Lüders, 139, 162, 164, 175, 311, 351  
 Ludwig, A., 243, 264
- Macdonell, A. A., 7, 47, 53, 93, 124, 136, 147, 215, 271, 272, 310, 318, 337, 346  
 Machek, V., 49  
 Mādhava, 267  
 Mahābhārata, 47  
*mahāvratā*, 280  
 Mahidhara, 137, 308  
*mahivratā*, 260  
*maitrāvaruṇa*, 62, 149, 151, 153, 171, 174, 175, 181, 182, 186, 196, 197 ff., 204 f., 248 ff., 261, 268, 286  
*manas*, 200, 204  
 Manu, 192 f.  
 Manyu, 230  
 marriage, 292, (of heaven and earth), 96  
 Mārtaṇḍa-Bhairava, 88  
 Maruts, 77, 83, 86, 116, 117, 151, 158, 210 f., 218, 230, 234, 315, 316, 320, 322, 325  
*marutvant*, 86  
*mātarau*, 101  
*māyā*, 89, 120, 148, 172, 177, 230, 232, 233  
*mazdā*, 162  
 Mead, M., 26  
 medicine, 356  
 metaphor, 99, 131  
 metres, 192  
 milk, 141, 174, 193, 232, 301 f., 350  
 Minard, A., 308  
 miracles, 48, 50  
 Mitanni, 160, 167, 170  
 Mithra, 147, 160, 163, 164, 165 f., 169, 170  
 Mithras, 158  
*mithuna*, 19, 62, 63, 64, 65  
 Mitra, 56, 78, 103, 113, 145 ff., 176, 177 f., 231, 233, 234, 239, 254, 255, 262, 264, 265, 320, 342  
*mitra*, 157, 187, 385  
 Mitra-and-Bṛhaspati, 78 f., 155  
 Mitṛa-Varuṇā, 5 ff., 8, 9 ff., 15 f., 31, 54, 55, 56, 60, 61, 62, 66, 75, 77, 82, 85, 91, 92, 98, 100, 145 ff., 209 ff., 249, 254 ff., 258, 259, 262, 263, 264, 271, 275, 276, 278 ff., 286, 292, 298, 309, 315, 325, 329 f., 392  
 mixing, 74, 304  
 mixta persona, 154  
 monarch, see ruler  
 months, 59  
 moon, 358  
 morning, 135  
 morning ritual, 211, 212, 217  
 morning-wind, 226 f.  
 mother, 37, 47, 52, 101, 272  
 Mother Earth, 95  
 mountain(s), 346 ff., 391  
*mṛgāra* hymns, 112, 159  
 Mr̥tyu, 60, 221  
 Müller, F. Max, 310, 319  
 mythical narratives, 50
- Nāhaiḍya, 41  
 nakṣatras, 275  
*nakt*, 130 f., 135, 136  
*naktā uṣasā*, 134  
*nāktosāśā*, 124  
 Nakula, 47  
 name(s), 35 f., 312 f.  
 Namuci, 137  
 Narāsaṃsa, 128, 129  
 Nāsatiya, 41, 42, 43, 51, 53  
 natural duality, 68  
 natural pairs, 17, 19, 56, 68, 75 f.  
 natural phenomena, 50, 83  
 natural substratum, 97, 99, 106  
 new moon, 121  
 New Year's ritual, 124  
 night, 134, 140 f., 151, 194  
 Nisā, 397  
 nivid, 95, 96 f., 183  
*niyut(vat)*, 210 f.  
 nobility, noblemen, 157, 189, 290 ff., 296, 323  
 nocturnal heaven, 152  
 non-Aryans, 51

- officiants, (two), 61 f.  
 offspring, 288, 289, 290, 339  
*ojas*, 262, 288, 293 ff.  
 Oldenberg, H., 6, 7 f., 42, 49, 80, 91 f.,  
     136, 153, 169, 170, 178, 235, 237, 239,  
     243, 311, 319, 364, 367  
 omnipresence, 227  
 omniscience, 161, 170  
 One, the, 32  
 oneness of twins, 35  
 Order, see *Ṛta*  
 Otto, R., 177
- pair (concept or system), 17 ff., 22, 50,  
     52, 58, 59, 63, 64, 65, 66, 68, 71, 76,  
     96, 99, 112, 205, 252, 274, 290  
 pairing, 60, 62, 63, 64, 65, 75  
*Pāñcarātra*, 89 ff.  
 parents, 94, 102, 106, 108, 115  
*Parjanya*, 77, 82, 83, 97, 151, 271  
*Parjanya-and-Vāta*, 82  
*Parjanya*agni, 82  
*Parvata*, 346  
*pāśa*, 149, 155  
*Paśupati*, 176  
*pati* (names of deities ending in), 311 ff.  
*pavamāna* (see *Soma pavamāna*)  
 Pettazzoni, R., 170  
 physical basis (of mythological figures),  
     44 f., 50  
 physicians, 48, 52  
 physiological pair, 76  
*pitarā*, 94  
*pitaras*, 64, 77, 94, 114, 121  
 plants, 169 f., 354, 357 f.  
 ploughing, 105, 342  
 poetic inventiveness, 50  
 polarity, 156  
 Potdar, K. R., 57, 126, 127, 139  
*pra*, 111  
*praiṣa*, 134, 139, 143, 199, 200, 204, 206,  
     214, 219  
*Prajāpati*, 23, 32 f., 58, 63, 67, 128,  
     129, 175, 197, 204, 208, 216, 227, 298,  
     302, 303, 313, 353, 377  
*prāṇa*, *apāna*, *udāna*, 99  
*praśāstar*, 198 f.  
*pratiṣṭhā*, 102 f., 108, 251, 332  
*praiṣga* (*śāstra*), 171, 172, 182, 185, 187,  
     209, 210  
*pravargya*, 99, 118 f., 220  
*prayāja*, 126  
 precedence or preponderance (of *Indra*  
     over *Agni*), 277, 290, 296, 308, (of  
     *Indra* over *Viṣṇu*), 332, also 340, 347  
 pressing-stones, 142  
 priest(s), 76, 311, 319, 325, 329, 344  
 primeval being, 107  
 priority (of *Vāyu*), 218, 219, 224, 226  
*priyaṇ dhāma*, 99 f., 145, 180, 190, 227  
 productive pair or union, 60, 62, 63,  
     64, 65, 75, 101, 205, 252, 274, 291,  
     303, 392  
 prosperity, 63, 66, 69, 259  
*prṣātaka*, 175, 184  
*Prthivi*, 93, 94, 105, 115 f.  
*Puraṇḍhi*, 158  
*pūriṣāṇi*, 82  
*purohita*, 292, 310, 311, 315, 319, 330,  
     371  
*purorucas*, 219  
*Puruṣa*, 60, 90, 225  
*Puruṣa* and *prakṛti*, 89  
*Pūṣan*, 44, 77, 79, 105, 210 f., 214, 218,  
     231, 288, 305, 340 ff.  
*puṣṭi*, 144
- qualities proper to one of the members  
     of a pair, 62, 102 f.  
 quarters of the universe, 60 f., 191 f.,  
     230, 252, 324, 357 f.
- Raikva*, 225  
 rain, 151, 157, 169, 177, 183, 192, 205,  
     232, 254, 262, 307, 339  
 rain and wind, 83  
*rājanya*, 323  
*rājasūya*, 191, 246 f., 359  
*Rāma-Lakṣmaṇa*, 52  
*rathantara*, 205  
*rātrī* (*Rātrī*), 130 ff.  
*Ṛbhus*, 58, 173, 231, 259, 321, 325, 347  
*Renel*, Ch., 49  
*Renou*, L., 9 f., 15, 20, 25, 28, 43, 54,  
     83, 98, 101, 103, 130, 137, 139, 142,  
     152, 158, 159, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180,  
     184, 185, 186, 187, 210, 219, 226,  
     236 ff., 258, 260, 261, 263, 265, 269,  
     270, 272, 277, 279, 280, 282, 317,  
     318 ff., 326, 332, 340, 346, 347  
 rest, 178 f.  
*retas*, 106  
 rice-dish, 121  
*Richter*, O., 314  
*riśādas*, 171, 181 f.  
 ritual, 14, 59, 197, 253 f., 274, 365, 369,  
     390, 391

- ritual fires, 194, 273  
 ritual pairs, 68, 76  
 rivalry, 233, 235 f., 250  
 rivers, 98  
*rodas*, 116  
*Rodasi*, 54, 94, 101, 102, 111, 116 f., 180 f.  
 royal consecration, 246, 248, 274  
 Roth, R., 310  
*Rta*, 97 f., 121, 139, 148, 149, 151, 158, 161, 169, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 183, 185, 186, 188, 190, 193, 198, 206, 207, 229, 238 f.  
*rta* and *satya*, 73  
*Rudra* (*rudra*), 14, 15, 60, 87, 89, 116, 176, 180 f., 208, 223, 231, 275, 356 ff.  
 ruler, 148, 260, 229, 234, 263, 292  
*rūpa*, 173, 203  
  
 sacrifice, 69, 195 f., 205, 273, 363, 377, 378  
 sacrificial essence, 102  
 sacrificial ladles, 68  
 sacrificial post, 200 f.  
*Ṣaḍguruśiṣya*, 234, 267  
*Sahadeva*, 47  
*sakhā*, 149, 328  
*Śakti*, 89 f., 155  
*sāmans*, 192  
*sāmnāyā*, 301  
*saṃrāj*, 229, 234, 260, 262 f., 329  
*Saranyū*, 42, 46  
*Sarasvat* and *Sarasvatī*, 65 f.  
*Sarasvatī*, 79, 98, 113, 115, 159, 209, 210, 230, 264, 308, 315  
*sarva*, 41  
*sarvamedha*, 213  
*sat* and *asat*, 32  
*satyadharman*, 200  
*Śaunaka*, 42  
*sautrāmaṇi*, 202, 228, 234, 302  
*Savitar*, 79, 111, 113, 140, 141, 152, 185, 198, 208, 234, 265, 282, 303, 346  
*Sāyana*, 25, 47, 54, 82, 101, 103, 134, 137, 178, 188, 234, 236, 242, 244, 280, 314, 317, 350, 351, 390  
*Schlerath*, B., 247, 260, 263  
*Schmidt*, H. P., 311 ff.  
*Schneider*, U., 367 f.  
*Schroeder*, L. v., 6, 235  
 seasons, 151, 191 f.  
*śeṣa*, 178 f.  
 sex, 94  
 sexual ambivalence, 59  
 sexual union, 62, 202, 274  
 Sieg, E., 243  
 simultaneity, 70, 79  
 sin, 149, 356 f.  
 single and dual deities combined, 77  
 single god and group of deities, 86  
 singular (grammatical), 43, 44  
 singular instead of a dual, 35, cf. 43  
*Śiva*, 88  
 sky, 105  
 sky god, 95  
*Soma* (*soma*), 47, 54, 77, 89, 90, 92, 98, 115, 151, 158, 174, 193, 194, 196, 197, 200, 204, 211, 215, 216, 218, 223, 230, 248, 249, 257, 260, 265, 271, 272, 277, 298, 304, 305, 321, 328, 335 ff., 349 ff., 356 ff., 363 ff.  
*Soma-and-Indra*, 80  
*Soma pavamāna*, 136, 142, 179, 370, 373  
*Soma-and-Pūṣan*, 77, 92, 349 ff.  
*Soma-and-Rudra*, 60, 61, 92, 192, 330, 356 ff.  
*Soma sacrifice*, 55, 349  
*somapā*, 224  
 sovereignty, 156, 191, 229  
 speckled goats, 208  
 speech, 219  
*Spenta Mainyu*, 166, 167  
 spies, 147  
*śraddhā*, 155  
 staff, 200  
 stars, 49  
*subrahmaṇyā*, 388  
*sudina*, 130  
*sūktavāka*, 378  
 sun (*Sun*), 146, 148, 152, 164, 177, 183, 220, 233  
 sun and moon (*Sun-and-Moon*), 48, 60, 77, 118 ff., 192, 377, 384 f.  
*śunāsīrya*, 69  
*Suparṇi* and *Kadrū*, 79  
 supplementary activity, 253  
 Supreme Being, 207  
*Sūrya*, 34, 44, 47, 51, 88, 111, 113, 118, 183, 184, 185, 186, 190, 220, 221, 302  
*Sūrya-Brahmā*, 88  
*Sūrya-Nārāyaṇa*, 88  
*Sūrya-and-Viṣṇu*, 88  
*Sūrya-and-Yama*, 80  
*Sūryācandramasau* (see also) *Sun and Moon*, 77, 118, 120, 122  
*Sūryamās*, 92, 118  
*svarāj*, 263



- syllepsis, 94  
 symbolism, 50  
  
*tanū*, 189  
*tapas*, 120  
*tarpana*, 103 f., 220  
 teeth, 60  
 theriomorphic representation, 46  
 theriomorphic twins, 46  
 Thieme, P., 161, 162 f., 167, 178, 327  
 thrashing, 368  
 three, 44, 220  
 triads (holy), 58, 220  
*triṣaṃyuktaṃ havis*, 77  
 Tryambaka, 176  
 Tvaṣṭar, 129, 237 f., 336, 380 ff.  
 twelve, 59  
 twice, 66  
 twin concept, 54  
 twins, 33 ff., 50, 51, 54, 100, 272, 278  
 twins, divine or heroic, 36 ff., 45, 54, 209  
 two, 66 f., 68, 73 f., 75, 205  
 two classes, division into, 26, 75  
 twofold act, 334  
 twofold (nature, universe), 21, 22 f., 32 f., 68, 69, 74, 75, 181, 190, 207, 238  
 two-sided unity, 236  
  
*ubhau*, 18 ff.  
*ubhaya*, 18 ff., 62, 69, 71, 73, 74  
 Ukhya Agni, 142  
*uktha* (*ukthya*), 248 ff., 261, 267, 268, 325, 332  
 union, 78  
 universe, 195, 220, 237, 238, 252, 296  
 upāṃśugraha, 215, 217  
 upanayana, 303  
*uru loka*, 268  
 Uruna (Aruna), 160, 167  
 Uṣas, 46, 47, 79, 80, 98, 131, 132, 136, 137, 141  
 Uśāsānaktā, 92, 93, 103, 124 ff., 136, 137 f.  
 Uvaṭa, 347  
  
 Vāc, 276, 281, 286  
 Vader, V. H., 49  
 Vaiśvadeva hymn, 108  
 vaiśvadeva (śāstra), 95, 392 f.  
 Vaiśvānara, 190  
*vāja*, 209, 241, 283, 285, 287 f., 342  
 Vala, 310 f., 320 f., 329, 331  
 Varuṇa, 16, 44, 56, 69, 82, 83, 84, 98, 103, 110, 113, 145 f., 177 f., 211, 223, 229 ff., 275, 342, 387  
 Varuṇa-and-Manyu, 230  
 Varuṇapraghāsa, 232, 277, 287  
 Vastoṣpati, 313  
 Vāta, 77, 209  
 Vātaparjanya, 82, 83  
 Vātāpavamānau, 77  
 Vāyu, 61, 77, 83, 113, 166, 184, 190, 209, 260, 279  
 Vāyu-and-Savitar, 85  
 Vāyu-and-Vṛṣṭi, 60  
*vedhas*, 242  
 vegetable kingdom, 390  
 Verəṭrayna, 225, 272  
 victim, 76 f.  
 Viśākhā, 275  
 Viṣṇu, 77, 81 f., 84, 88, 89, 114, 218, 234, 250, 252, 273, 331, 341, 343, 378, 393  
 Viṣṇu and Śiva, 15, 87, 89  
 Viṣṇūvaruṇā, 84, 230  
 Viśve devāḥ, 82 f., 103, 114, 118, 124, 141, 143, 146, 158, 175, 184, 186, 192, 195, 209, 210, 213, 231, 259, 265, 271, 273, 282 f., 294, 299, 305, 307, 326, 330  
 vital powers, 76  
*vrata*, 149, 158, 186, 230, 233, 266, 327  
*vṛṣan*, 260 f.  
 Vṛtra, 102, 174, 193 f., 216, 242 f., 258, 269, 272 f., 288, 329, 331, 334, 336 f., 364, 370, 376, 378, 379 ff.  
 Vṛtrahan, 272 f., 278, 379  
  
 Wagner, G., 30  
 Waters (water), 103, 151, 157, 169, 192, 230, 238, 247, 281  
 Water and plants, 75  
 Weber, A., 49, 310  
 white and black, 25, 80  
 Whitney, W. D., 233  
 Widengren, G., 41, 161, 224, 366  
 Wikander, S., 222  
 Wilson, H. H., 310  
 Wind (see also Vātā and Vāyu), 98, 113, 221, 224 ff.  
  
 Yājñavalkya, 225  
 yājyā, 60, 63, 119, 125, 175, 176, 182, 184, 253 f., 261, 262, 284, 287, 323, 326, 332, 352, 353, 357, 387

- yājyānuvākyā (see also anuvākyā), 64,  
     109, 110, 119, 150, 173, 174, 175, 183,  
     253 f., 288, 340, 354, 357, 373 f.  
 Yama, 103, 110  
 Yama and Mrtyu, 60, 61, 192  
 Yama and Yami, 43, 66  
 Yāska, 44, 48, 56  
 yat-, 178  
 yātayajjana, 158, 182  
 year, 109  
 yoke-fellows (*sayujau*), 320, 391  
 yuj-, 327 ff.  
 yūpa, 66, 127  
 Zaehner, R. C., 166  
 Zarathustra, 27, 40, 41, 125, 160, 162,  
     163, 165, 166, 167, 225, 366, 367, 369  
 Zeus, 94  
 Zimmer, H., 311

# INDEX OF TEXT-PLACES

AV. 1, 8, 2	394	AV. 10, 2, 16	132
AV. 1, 16, 2	230	AV. 10, 4, 16	83
AV. 1, 20, 2	158	AV. 10, 7, 6	138
AV. 1, 35, 4	308	AV. 10, 13	122
AV. 2, 10	111	AV. 11, 1, 34	107
AV. 2, 12	114	AV. 11, 3, 2	121
AV. 2, 16, 1 f.	76	AV. 11, 3, 34	121
AV. 2, 24	51	AV. 11, 6	122
AV. 2, 28, 1	163	AV. 12, 4, 26	394
AV. 2, 29	115	AV. 14, 1, 54	13
AV. 3, 4, 5	113	AV. 14, 2, 45	115
AV. 3, 5, 4	230	AV. 16, 4, 6	133
AV. 3, 11	282	AV. 16, 7, 9	131
AV. 3, 13, 2	230	AV. 18, 2, 53	395
AV. 3, 14, 2	344 f.	AV. 19, 27, 1	228
AV. 3, 29	121	AV. 19, 47-50	131
AV. 4, 26	112	AVP. 1, 40, 1	329
AV. 4, 35, 4	132	AVP. 2, 3, 1	111
AV. 5, 1, 7	122	AVP. 3, 4	389
AV. 5, 3	283	AVP. 4, 4, 10	394
AV. 5, 14, 12	112	AVP. 5, 26, 6	122
AV. 5, 23	113	AVP. 9, 23	121
AV. 5, 24	114	AVP. 10, 13	77
AV. 5, 27	143 f.	AVP. 13, 14, 17	121
AV. 6, 3, 1	345	AVP. 16, 57, 3	121
AV. 6, 3, 2	115	AVPar. 4, 4, 10	113
AV. 6, 3, 3	144	AthPrāy. 3, 3	276
AV. 6, 40	114	ĀpŚS. 4, 10, 1	105 f.
AV. 6, 54, 2	394 f.	ĀpŚS. 6, 29, 10	306
AV. 6, 62, 1	113	ĀpŚS. 7, 14, 5	249
AV. 6, 67, 1	345	ĀpŚS. 12, 21, 1	228
AV. 6, 85, 2	231	ĀpŚS. 16, 7, 9	129
AV. 6, 93, 3	83; 394	ĀpŚS. 17, 17, 8	81
AV. 6, 104	308	ĀpŚS. 18, 11, 12 ff.	79
AV. 6, 128, 3	120	ĀpŚS. 20, 20, 8	129
AV. 7, 30	113	ĀpŚS. 20, 23, 11	13
AV. 7, 44	333	ĀpŚS. 24, 3, 42 f.	300
AV. 7, 58	261	ĀśvGS. 1, 10, 12 ff.	396
AV. 7, 69, 1	132	ĀśvGS. 2, 9, 5	178
AV. 7, 81, 1	121	ĀśvGS. 3, 4, 1	103
AV. 7, 102	112	ĀśvGS. 3, 12, 12	187
AV. 7, 112, 1	115	ĀśvŚS. 2, 1, 27	284
AV. 8, 1, 2	309	ĀśvŚS. 2, 11, 18 f.	324
AV. 8, 2	114	ĀśvŚS. 4, 12, 1	191
AV. 8, 2, 15	122	ĀśvŚS. 5, 10, 4	219
AV. 9, 1	309	RV. 1, 2	209
AV. 9, 4, 3	107	RV. 1, 2, 7-9	171
AV. 9, 4, 10	225	RV. 1, 10, 4	19

RV. 1, 14	213	RV. 1, 152	172 f.
RV. 1, 17	256	RV. 1, 152, 4	145
RV. 1, 17, 1	229	RV. 1, 153	173 f.
RV. 1, 18, 1-5	321	RV. 1, 155	333 f.
RV. 1, 21	277	RV. 1, 159	97; 108
RV. 1, 22, 13	108; 110	RV. 1, 159, 1	106
RV. 1, 23	210	RV. 1, 160	95
RV. 1, 23, 1 f.	215	RV. 1, 160, 1	97 f.
RV. 1, 23, 4	203	RV. 1, 160, 3	106
RV. 1, 23, 4-6	171	RV. 1, 161, 6	321
RV. 1, 23, 5	152	RV. 1, 162	342
RV. 1, 24, 14	162	RV. 1, 162, 2	345
RV. 1, 25, 5 f.	153	RV. 1, 164	173
RV. 1, 35, 9	111	RV. 1, 164, 33	95; 96
RV. 1, 38, 13	319 f.	RV. 1, 167, 8	150
RV. 1, 40, 5	231	RV. 1, 169, 4	219
RV. 1, 44, 2	79	RV. 1, 173, 2	61
RV. 1, 46, 2	43	RV. 1, 176, 3	16
RV. 1, 46, 9	44	RV. 1, 181, 4	52
RV. 1, 52, 14	98	RV. 1, 185	109
RV. 1, 62, 3	320	RV. 1, 185, 1	102
RV. 1, 63, 1	115	RV. 1, 185, 5	106
RV. 1, 73, 7	134	RV. 1, 186, 4	141
RV. 1, 76, 2	117	RV. 1, 189, 7	16
RV. 1, 83, 3	62	RV. 2, 2, 7	100 f.
RV. 1, 84, 18	271	RV. 2, 2, 12	62
RV. 1, 90, 7	137	RV. 2, 3, 6	139
RV. 1, 93	372 ff.; 387 f.	RV. 2, 8, 3	133
RV. 1, 93, 7	375	RV. 2, 11, 3	218 f.
RV. 1, 95, 8	371 f.	RV. 2, 11, 14	218
RV. 1, 96, 5	151	RV. 2, 23-26	326
RV. 1, 101, 3	98; 233	RV. 2, 24, 12	326 ff.
RV. 1, 102, 2	116; 118; 120	RV. 2, 30	339
RV. 1, 109	287	RV. 2, 30, 4; 9	315
RV. 1, 109, 4	53	RV. 2, 36, 6	199
RV. 1, 112, 1	98	RV. 2, 39	43
RV. 1, 113, 3	142	RV. 2, 40	349; 350 ff.
RV. 1, 115, 1	111	RV. 2, 41	174; 210
RV. 1, 115, 5	151 f.; 154	RV. 2, 41, 20	97
RV. 1, 122	346	RV. 2, 43, 1	67
RV. 1, 122, 2	141	RV. 3, 5, 9; 10	318
RV. 1, 122, 3	226	RV. 3, 6, 2 ff.	117
RV. 1, 122, 9	149	RV. 3, 12	286 f.
RV. 1, 132, 6	347	RV. 3, 12, 6	288
RV. 1, 134, 4	227	RV. 3, 25, 3	101
RV. 1, 135	210	RV. 3, 25, 4	307
RV. 1, 136	171 f.	RV. 3, 26, 2	318 f.
RV. 1, 137	172	RV. 3, 30, 4	101
RV. 1, 137, 1	210	RV. 3, 38, 7	107
RV. 1, 139	210; 282	RV. 3, 51, 1-3	250
RV. 1, 142, 12	218	RV. 3, 52, 7	341
RV. 1, 151	172	RV. 3, 53, 1	347 f.
		RV. 3, 56, 3	107
		RV. 3, 57	282 f.



RV. 3, 57, 2	342	RV. 6, 17, 1	341
RV. 3, 58, 2	43	RV. 6, 24, 5	231; 342
RV. 3, 59	153	RV. 6, 28, 5	79
RV. 3, 59, 1	163; 176	RV. 6, 37, 3	214
RV. 3, 59, 2	163; 178	RV. 6, 47, 20	315
RV. 3, 62, 16	150; 175	RV. 6, 49, 6	82
RV. 3, 62, 16-18	174 f.	RV. 6, 52, 16	82
RV. 4, 2, 8	133	RV. 6, 57	340
RV. 4, 12, 2	133	RV. 6, 59	278
RV. 4, 18, 11	334	RV. 6, 59, 2	52; 53; 272
RV. 4, 21, 4	219	RV. 6, 60	287 f.
RV. 4, 26 f.	368	RV. 6, 60, 13	273
RV. 4, 28	335 f.	RV. 6, 60, 14	55
RV. 4, 38, 1	243 f.	RV. 6, 67	182 f.
RV. 4, 41	236; 244; 257	RV. 6, 68	257 f.
RV. 4, 42	233; 234 ff.	RV. 6, 68, 10	251
RV. 4, 46	212	RV. 6, 69	331 ff.
RV. 4, 47	212	RV. 6, 70, 1	110
RV. 4, 49	322 ff.	RV. 6, 70, 5	100
RV. 4, 50	324 f.	RV. 6, 72	335 ff.
RV. 4, 55, 3	19; 137	RV. 6, 74	356 f.
RV. 4, 56, 1-4	109	RV. 7, 2	138
RV. 4, 57	341	RV. 7, 2, 1	130
RV. 5, 5, 6	136	RV. 7, 3, 5	133
RV. 5, 27	282	RV. 7, 6, 3	272
RV. 5, 32, 11	133	RV. 7, 12, 3	7
RV. 5, 38, 3	229	RV. 7, 28, 4	230
RV. 5, 41, 1	150	RV. 7, 33	266 f.
RV. 5, 41, 7	140	RV. 7, 34, 24	229
RV. 5, 42	316	RV. 7, 35	78
RV. 5, 42, 14	82	RV. 7, 35, 1	283
RV. 5, 44, 14 f.	371	RV. 7, 35, 5	103
RV. 5, 45, 4	283	RV. 7, 40, 2	231
RV. 5, 46	283	RV. 7, 44, 1	103
RV. 5, 47, 5	53; 54	RV. 7, 50, 1	183
RV. 5, 49, 5	98	RV. 7, 53	111
RV. 5, 51	213	RV. 7, 53, 2	106
RV. 5, 57, 4	54 f.	RV. 7, 60	183
RV. 5, 62	176	RV. 7, 61	183
RV. 5, 62-72	176	RV. 7, 62	183 f.
RV. 5, 63	151; 177	RV. 7, 62, 5	175
RV. 5, 64	177	RV. 7, 63	185
RV. 5, 65	177 ff.	RV. 7, 64	185
RV. 5, 66	179	RV. 7, 65	185
RV. 5, 67	179	RV. 7, 66	185 f.
RV. 5, 68	180	RV. 7, 66, 2	154
RV. 5, 70	180 f.	RV. 7, 67, 10	45
RV. 5, 71	181 f.	RV. 7, 71, 1	131
RV. 5, 72	182	RV. 7, 82	250; 261 ff.
RV. 5, 73, 4	47	RV. 7, 82, 1	251
RV. 5, 78, 1 ff.	43	RV. 7, 82, 1 f.	255
RV. 5, 81, 4	152	RV. 7, 82, 8	229
RV. 6, 1	375	RV. 7, 82, 9	232
		RV. 7, 83	266 f.

RV. 7, 84	250; 267 f.	RV. 10, 70	138 f.
RV. 7, 85	268 f.	RV. 10, 70, 1	130
RV. 7, 90	211	RV. 10, 85, 3-6	121
RV. 7, 91	211	RV. 10, 85, 14	44
RV. 7, 92	212	RV. 10, 85, 18	120
RV. 7, 92, 4	218	RV. 10, 85, 19	121
RV. 7, 93, 1	287 ff.	RV. 10, 90, 10	60
RV. 7, 94, 1-3	289	RV. 10, 92, 12	118
RV. 7, 94, 10	286	RV. 10, 108, 6; 11	317
RV. 7, 95 and 96	65	RV. 10, 110, 7	57
RV. 7, 97	322; 325 ff.	RV. 10, 110, 9	101
RV. 7, 99	334	RV. 10, 113, 1	98
RV. 7, 103	339	RV. 10, 114, 8	99
RV. 7, 104	337 f.	RV. 10, 116	282
RV. 8, 3, 20	370	RV. 10, 124, 5	233
RV. 8, 26, 8	53	RV. 10, 124, 6	379 f.
RV. 8, 27, 8	343	RV. 10, 125, 1	54; 276; 281
RV. 8, 35, 1	232	RV. 10, 127	131
RV. 8, 38, 1	279; 304	RV. 10, 127, 3	132
RV. 8, 38, 7	286	RV. 10, 128	283 f.
RV. 8, 38, 10	286	RV. 10, 129, 1	32
RV. 8, 40	280 f.	RV. 10, 129, 2	131
RV. 8, 42, 1	162; 251	RV. 10, 132	187 f.
RV. 8, 42, 1-3	250	RV. 10, 145, 5	62
RV. 8, 59	269 f.	RV. 10, 147, 5	232
RV. 8, 59, 1-5	267	RV. 10, 161	282
RV. 8, 64, 6	132	RV. 10, 190	120
RV. 8, 72	281 f.	RV. 10, 190, 2	137 f.
RV. 8, 73, 14	55	RV. 10, 190, 3	118
RV. 8, 73, 17	44	RVKh. 3, 22	118 f.
RV. 8, 94, 2	118	RVKh. 5, 7, 1	139
RV. 8, 96, 15	328	RVKh. 5, 7, 4	214; 219
RV. 8, 97, 14	117	RVKh. 7, 2	387
RV. 8, 101, 1 ff.	187	Rgvidhāna 2, 30, 3 f.	338
RV. 9, 5	125; 136	AiĀ. 1, 5, 1	276
RV. 9, 5, 1-3	370	AiĀ. 1, 5, 1, 8	280
RV. 9, 5, 6	139; 143	AiB. 1, 16, 6	99
RV. 9, 64, 22	110	AiB. 1, 26, 5	99
RV. 9, 68, 3	54	AiB. 1, 30, 8 ff.	387
RV. 9, 71, 8	372	AiB. 2, 3	379 f.
RV. 9, 81, 5	103	AiB. 2, 3, 9	386
RV. 9, 97, 37	61	AiB. 2, 4	128
RV. 10, 1, 7	101	AiB. 2, 5, 8 ff.	204
RV. 10, 4, 1; 5	291	AiB. 2, 9, 5 ff.	387 f.
RV. 10, 5, 7	107	AiB. 2, 10	375
RV. 10, 8, 4	54	AiB. 2, 26, 1	203
RV. 10, 13, 2	55	AiB. 2, 37, 12 f.	307
RV. 10, 19, 1	375	AiB. 3, 4, 5	189
RV. 10, 36, 1	103; 140	AiB. 3, 4, 6	156; 233
RV. 10, 42, 11	314	AiB. 3, 38, 3	84
RV. 10, 64, 14	101	AiB. 3, 40, 9	175
RV. 10, 65, 1	283	AiB. 3, 49 f.	250
RV. 10, 66	97	AiB. 5, 2, 9	110
RV. 10, 66, 7	375		

AiB. 5, 13, 10	109	KS. 10, 11	353
AiB. 5, 25, 17	227	KS. 11, 4	323
AiB. 6, 4, 1	199; 202	KS. 11, 5	352; 359;
AiB. 6, 15, 11	333		361
AiB. 6, 27, 14	203	KS. 11, 12	354
AiB. 6, 36, 14	328	KS. 12, 1	206 f.
AiB. 7, 13 ff.	231	KS. 13, 8	78
KKS. 42, 3	217	KS. 15, 8	198
KKS. 42, 4	194	KS. 20, 15	143
KKS. 45, 5	196	KS. 27, 3	217
KKS. 46, 6	196	KS. 27, 5	76
KGS. 47, 11	11; 300	KS. 29, 1	205
KB. 1, 5	17	KS. 29, 4	196
KB. 3, 2, 11 ff.	277	KS. 34, 5	69
KB. 3, 6	384	KS. 34, 15	276
KB. 4, 14	102; 299	KS. 39, 7	192
KB. 5, 2	392 f.	KSÁsv. 5, 19	104
KB. 5, 4	232	KSÁsv. 7, 10	100
KB. 9, 5	389	KaušS. 23, 7	144
KB. 10, 3	128; 388	KaušS. 27, 7	111 f.
KB. 10, 5	388	KaušS. 27, 9 ff.	115
KB. 11, 8	226	KaušS. 50, 13	120 f.
KB. 13, 2	203	KaušS. 54, 6	113
KB. 15, 2	384	KaušS. 58, 14	122
KB. 16, 9	276	KaušS. 59, 9	115
KB. 16, 11	249 f.	KaušS. 96, 3	305
KB. 17, 5	75	KaušS. 99, 2	306
KB. 18, 10	84	KaušS. 114	306
KB. 18, 13	184	KaušS. 138, 8	121
KB. 19, 7	202	GGs. 3, 8, 2	176
KB. 19, 9	109	GB. 1, 4, 8; 10	153
KB. 20, 1	66	GB. 2, 1, 16	304
KB. 20, 2	108	GB. 2, 1, 17	299
KB. 22, 9	111	GB. 2, 1, 20	103
KB. 23, 3	109	GB. 2, 1, 22	232; 293
KB. 23, 8	109	GB. 2, 2, 22	251
KB. 24, 1	296	GB. 2, 3, 12 f.	197
KB. 24, 9	249	GB. 2, 3, 13	62; 150;
KB. 28, 1	199		153; 186
KB. 28, 3	203	GB. 2, 3, 15	287
KB. 28, 9	76; 203	GB. 2, 4, 17	332
KŠS. 12, 4, 21	220	GB. 2, 6, 6	62; 252
KŠS. 16, 5, 3	142	GB. 2, 6, 7	325
KŠS. 20, 8, 30	191	GB. 2, 6, 16	328
KS. 1, 12	81	GB. 2, 15-17	261
KS. 6, 5	64	ChU. 7, 4, 2	99
KS. 6, 8	133 f.	ChU. 8, 1, 3	99
KS. 7, 3	194	JUB. 1, 1, 5, 5	99
KS. 7, 5	389	JUB. 1, 16, 1, 2 ff.	100
KS. 7, 11	195	JUB. 1, 53, 1	73
KS. 8, 10	392	JUB. 4, 8, 4, 4	225
KS. 9, 3	69	JUB. 4, 10, 4, 2	228
KS. 10, 2	11; 374;	JB. 1, 105 f.	208; 298
	391; 397	JB. 1, 108 f.	299

JB. 1, 127	72 f.	TB. 3, 9, 16, 3 f.	293
JB. 1, 138	198	TB. 3, 11, 3	81
JB. 1, 158 f.	73	TB. 3, 12, 5, 12	202
JB. 1, 179 f.	250	TS. 1, 1, 4	105
JB. 1, 181	79	TS. 1, 1, 11, 2	191
JB. 1, 247	221	TS. 1, 1, 12, 1	81
JB. 1, 283 f.	298	TS. 1, 1, 14	287
JB. 1, 294 f.	67	TS. 1, 3, 1	201
JB. 2, 81	67	TS. 1, 5, 2, 5	84
JB. 2, 98	122	TS. 1, 6, 2, 3	376
JB. 2, 132 f.	292	TS. 1, 6, 2, 4	377 f.
JB. 2, 155	383 f.	TS. 1, 6, 4, 4	65
JB. 2, 242 f.	334	TS. 1, 6, 8, 2	64
JB. 3, 152	234	TS. 1, 6, 9, 3 f.	59
JB. 3, 271	99	TS. 1, 6, 11, 5	376
TĀ. 3, 9, 2	155	TS. 1, 7, 4, 1 f.	300
TĀ. 10, 1, 14	120	TS. 1, 8, 9, 1 f.	78
TUp. 3, 7 ff.	390	TS. 1, 8, 14, 1 f.	191
TB. 1, 1, 1, 5	233	TS. 1, 8, 15, 1	198
TB. 1, 1, 3, 2	96; 102	TS. 2, 1, 1, 6	354
TB. 1, 1, 6, 4 ff.	284 f.	TS. 2, 1, 7, 3	190; 192;
TB. 1, 3, 1, 1 f.	393		205
TB. 1, 4, 1, 1	204	TS. 2, 1, 9, 3 f.	63 f.; 66
TB. 1, 5, 4, 1 f.	197	TS. 2, 2, 1, 1 ff.	288
TB. 1, 5, 9, 7	77	TS. 2, 2, 10	357
TB. 1, 6, 1, 6	380	TS. 2, 2, 10, 3	352; 359 f.
TB. 1, 6, 1, 10	299	TS. 2, 2, 10, 4 f.	360
TB. 1, 6, 3, 9	221	TS. 2, 3, 13	255 f.
TB. 1, 6, 6, 2	99	TS. 2, 4, 4	353
TB. 1, 7, 2, 3	339	TS. 2, 4, 6, 1 f.	66
TB. 1, 7, 4, 16	301	TS. 2, 4, 6, 2	65
TB. 1, 7, 9, 1	199	TS. 2, 4, 12,	
TB. 1, 8, 2, 5	248	1 ff.	381 f.
TB. 2, 1, 3, 2 f.	69	TS. 2, 4, 13	323
TB. 2, 4, 7, 8	113	TS. 2, 5, 2	379
TB. 2, 4, 8, 3	289	TS. 2, 5, 2, 1 ff.	381
TB. 2, 4, 8, 6	99	TS. 2, 5, 2, 6 f.	385
TB. 2, 5, 6, 1	112	TS. 2, 5, 2, 7	75
TB. 2, 6, 17, 4	143	TS. 2, 5, 4, 1	301
TB. 2, 7, 3, 1	391	TS. 2, 6, 1, 4	63
TB. 2, 7, 3, 2	102	TS. 2, 6, 2, 1 ff.	377
TB. 2, 7, 15, 6	184	TS. 2, 6, 6, 4	64
TB. 2, 8, 6, 7	184	TS. 2, 6, 7, 1	193
TB. 2, 8, 9, 1	119	TS. 2, 6, 11, 4	353
TB. 3, 1, 1, 11	275	TS. 3, 2, 10	228
TB. 3, 1, 4, 14	292	TS. 3, 2, 10, 2	191
TB. 3, 1, 6, 2	69	TS. 3, 4, 3	390
TB. 3, 2, 1, 3	227	TS. 3, 5, 2, 3	64
TB. 3, 6, 1, 3	157	TS. 3, 5, 2, 5	64
TB. 3, 6, 13, 1	140	TS. 4, 1, 10, 4	142
TB. 3, 7, 1, 7	72	TS. 4, 7, 1, 1	81
TB. 3, 7, 9, 6 f.	234	TS. 5, 1, 5, 8	251
TB. 3, 7, 9, 9	105	TS. 5, 1, 8, 4	64
TB. 3, 7, 14, 2	305	TS. 5, 1, 10, 4	137



TS. 5, 1, 11, 2	190	Bṛhaddevatā 1, 61	221
TS. 5, 2, 3, 3	96	Bṛhaddevatā 1, 68 f.	221 f.
TS. 5, 2, 8, 6	70	Bṛhaddevatā 3, 11	56
TS. 5, 4, 8, 5	64	Bṛhaddevatā 4, 17	172; 173
TS. 5, 5, 4, 1	68	Bṛhaddevatā 4, 81	326
TS. 5, 6, 1, 2 ff.	389	Bṛhaddevatā 5, 38 f.	82
TS. 5, 6, 2, 3	65	Bṛhaddevatā 6, 4	183
TS. 5, 6, 11 ff.	12	Bṛhaddevatā 6, 4 f.	185
TS. 5, 6, 13, 1	208	Bṛhaddevatā 6, 18	212
TS. 5, 6, 18	80	Bṛhaddevatā 6, 25	322
TS. 5, 6, 20	80	Bṛhaddevatā 6, 65 f.	186
TS. 5, 6, 21	295	Bṛhaddevatā 6, 124	187
TS. 5, 7, 3, 2	81	Bṛhaddevatā 7, 6	42
TS. 5, 7, 6, 5	184	Bṛhaddevatā 8, 47	187
TS. 5, 7, 15	61	BŚS. 2, 19 ff.	284
TS. 6, 1, 1, 2	68	BŚS. 13, 2; 7	289
TS. 6, 1, 5, 2	376	BŚS. 13, 26, 1; 7	374
TS. 6, 1, 8, 5	69	BŚS. 13, 33 f.	256
TS. 6, 1, 11, 2	16	BŚS. 13, 42	324
TS. 6, 1, 11, 6	385 f.	BŚS. 14, 27	196
TS. 6, 4, 1, 5	64	BŚS. 18, 35	292
TS. 6, 4, 7	215	BŚS. 18, 47	79
TS. 6, 4, 8	193 f.	BŚS. 18, 53	123
TS. 6, 4, 9, 4	203	BŚS. 24, 5	299 f.
TS. 6, 5, 11, 3	63	Bhasmajābāla	
TS. 6, 6, 3, 3	85	Up. 2, 29	305
TS. 6, 6, 8	221	BhŚS. 4, 14, 2	376
TS. 7, 3, 9, 1	70 f.	BhŚS. 6, 15, 9	300
TS. 7, 5, 4, 2	64	BhŚS. 6, 16, 13 f.	307
TS. 7, 5, 22, 1	104	BhŚS. 10, 8, 18	200
PGS. 2, 2, 21	103	Manu 11, 254	356 f.
PGS. 2, 6, 21	329	MGS. 1, 9, 27	329
PGS. 2, 10, 3 ff.	220	MGS. 1, 22, 5	303
PGS. 2, 16, 1 ff.	176	MB. 1, 5, 12	304
PB. 1, 3, 2	221	MB. 2, 4, 14	295
PB. 1, 5, 11	214	Mbh. 2, 7, 19	91
PB. 2, 15, 3	73	Mbh. 3, 207 ff.	397
PB. 7, 2, 2	153; 299	Mbh. 13, 211, 15	397
PB. 7, 10, 1	96	MŚS. 1, 4, 2, 6	302
PB. 8, 8, 1 ff.	251	MŚS. 1, 6, 3, 15	194
PB. 9, 8, 16	196	MŚS. 1, 6, 18	130
PB. 12, 4, 9	73	MŚS. 1, 7, 4, 40	85
PB. 14, 2, 4	180; 190	MŚS. 1, 8, 1, 1	302
PB. 15, 4, 8	96	MŚS. 2, 4, 1, 36	203
PB. 15, 8, 2	128	MŚS. 5, 1, 5, 68	110
PB. 16, 5, 22 f.	128	MŚS. 5, 1, 5, 79	336
PB. 20, 1, 3	249	MŚS. 5, 1, 6, 1 ff.	359
PB. 20, 15, 6 ff.	334	MŚS. 5, 1, 6,	
PB. 24, 12, 4	252	12 f.; 15 f.	361 f.
PB. 25, 10, 9	194	MŚS. 5, 1, 7, 48 ff.	324
BĀU. 1, 4, 1 ff.	33	MŚS. 5, 2, 1, 3	255
BĀU. 1, 4, 11	63	MŚS. 5, 2, 1, 6	255; 26
BĀU. 1, 5, 22	227	MŚS. 5, 2, 10, 25	304
BĀU. 3, 7, 2	225	MŚS. 5, 2, 11, 18	58

MŚS. 8, 11, 5	184	VS. 7, 23	13; 201
MS. 1, 5, 14	194	VS. 8, 37	230; 234
MS. 1, 9, 6	63	VS. 8, 54	349
MS. 2, 1, 3	380	VS. 10, 1	191
MS. 2, 1, 4	84; 374;	VS. 10, 4	202
	391	VS. 10, 9	188
MS. 2, 1, 5	357	VS. 10, 28	232
MS. 2, 1, 6	361	VS. 11, 17	99
MS. 2, 1, 7	63	VS. 12, 2	142
MS. 2, 1, 12	323	VS. 12, 54	299
MS. 2, 3, 1	189; 206;	VS. 12, 63	66
	255	VS. 14, 30	96
MS. 2, 5, 5	63; 354 f.	VS. 17, 70	142
MS. 2, 6, 3	191	VS. 19, 10	19
MS. 3, 4, 10	65	VS. 20, 14 ff.	228
MS. 3, 7, 8	386	VS. 20, 26	214
MS. 3, 11, 3	136	VS. 20, 41	135; 143
MS. 3, 14, 15	100	VS. 20, 47 ff.	176
MS. 3, 15, 11	104	VS. 20, 61	136
MS. 3, 16, 2	190	VS. 20, 70	234
MS. 4, 2, 13	193	VS. 24	100
MS. 4, 3, 4	275	VS. 24, 1 ff.	12
MS. 4, 3, 9	248	VS. 25, 1 ff.	76 f.
MS. 4, 4, 1	65	VS. 27, 11 f.	129
MS. 4, 5, 2	205	VS. 27, 17	143
MS. 4, 5, 8	194; 217;	VS. 28, 14	137; 140
	228	VS. 28, 19	13; 188
MS. 4, 8, 5	85	VS. 29, 6	190
MS. 4, 9, 1	13	VS. 29, 58 f.	12
MS. 4, 14, 10	173	VS. 32, 15	214
Yāska, Nir. 3, 22	102	VS. 33, 86	213
Yāska, Nir. 7, 5	209; 220	VS. 39, 9	155
Yāska, Nir. 8, 11	56	VS. 40, 11	70
Yāska, Nir. 8, 21	127	ŚGS. 4, 9, 3	103
Yāska, Nir. 12, 1	44; 48	ŚGS. 4, 13, 2 f.	105
Lakṣmītantra,		ŚB. 1, 1, 1, 4	74
passim	89 ff.	ŚB. 1, 1, 1, 8	60
LŚS. 5, 7, 4	104	ŚB. 1, 1, 2, 22	105
Varāhamihira,		ŚB. 1, 1, 3, 4	96
BS. 8, 23; 8, 45;		ŚB. 1, 2, 1, 1 f.	70
98, 4	91	ŚB. 1, 2, 2, 2	75
VādhS. p. 197	204	ŚB. 1, 2, 2, 4	72
VādhS. p. 199	198	ŚB. 1, 2, 2, 5	70
Viṣṇu-Smṛti 67, 3	91	ŚB. 1, 5, 4, 6 ff.	71
VaikhGS. 1, 9 ff.	396	ŚB. 1, 6, 1, 20 ff.	384
VaitS. 8, 13	114	ŚB. 1, 6, 3, 1 ff.	382 f.
VaitS. 10, 5	113	ŚB. 1, 6, 3, 13	379
VaitS. 25, 2	261	ŚB. 1, 6, 3, 23	384 f.
VS. 1, 11	105	ŚB. 1, 6, 3, 24	364
VS. 2, 15	300; 378	ŚB. 1, 6, 3, 25	122
VS. 2, 16	97; 192	ŚB. 1, 6, 3, 30	60
VS. 5, 27	188	ŚB. 1, 6, 3, 41	377
VS. 6, 9	393	ŚB. 1, 6, 4, 3	274
VS. 7, 10	245	ŚB. 1, 8, 1, 7 ff.	192

ŠB. 1, 8, 1, 27	193	ŠB. 5, 3, 2, 2	359
ŠB. 1, 8, 3, 2	378	ŠB. 5, 3, 2, 3	330
ŠB. 1, 8, 3, 12	97	ŠB. 5, 3, 3, 8	169
ŠB. 1, 9, 1, 4	68	ŠB. 5, 3, 4, 28	202
ŠB. 1, 9, 1, 4 ff.	104	ŠB. 5, 4, 1, 6	191
ŠB. 1, 9, 2, 6	63	ŠB. 5, 4, 3, 5	156; 198; 296
ŠB. 2, 1, 3, 1	72	ŠB. 5, 5, 1, 1	191
ŠB. 2, 2, 4, 18	220	ŠB. 5, 5, 1, 11	204
ŠB. 2, 3, 1, 9	135	ŠB. 5, 5, 4	336
ŠB. 2, 3, 1, 23	64	ŠB. 6, 1, 1, 2	222
ŠB. 2, 3, 1, 24	75	ŠB. 6, 2, 1, 8	74
ŠB. 2, 3, 4, 12	273	ŠB. 6, 2, 1, 28 ff.	128 f.
ŠB. 2, 4, 4, 5	70	ŠB. 6, 2, 2, 39	202
ŠB. 2, 4, 4, 6	64	ŠB. 6, 3, 3, 6	99
ŠB. 2, 4, 4, 7	392	ŠB. 6, 4, 1, 3	74
ŠB. 2, 4, 4, 10	205	ŠB. 6, 4, 4, 10	73
ŠB. 2, 4, 4, 15	380 f.	ŠB. 6, 5, 3, 7	67
ŠB. 2, 5, 1, 1 f.	59	ŠB. 6, 6, 1, 4	58
ŠB. 2, 5, 1, 11	65	ŠB. 6, 7, 2, 3	137
ŠB. 2, 5, 2, 8	291	ŠB. 7, 1, 2, 7	122; 377
ŠB. 2, 5, 4, 8	291; 293	ŠB. 7, 1, 2, 18	68
ŠB. 2, 6, 3, 2	69 f.	ŠB. 7, 4, 2, 16	275
ŠB. 2, 6, 4, 8	233	ŠB. 8, 2, 3, 2	227
ŠB. 3, 2, 4, 18	154; 156	ŠB. 8, 2, 3, 5	61
ŠB. 3, 3, 4, 21	393	ŠB. 8, 4, 1, 6	227
ŠB. 3, 3, 4, 22	388	ŠB. 8, 6, 1, 17	227
ŠB. 3, 3, 4, 23	393	ŠB. 9, 1, 2, 38	225
ŠB. 3, 4, 4, 9	391	ŠB. 9, 2, 3, 20	274
ŠB. 3, 6, 1, 7	75	ŠB. 9, 5, 1, 54	201 f.
ŠB. 3, 6, 1, 21	97	ŠB. 9, 5, 1, 56	204
ŠB. 3, 6, 2, 12 f.	286	ŠB. 10, 4, 1, 9	284
ŠB. 3, 7, 18	294	ŠB. 11, 1, 4, 4	298
ŠB. 3, 8, 4, 7	75	ŠB. 11, 5, 2, 10	251
ŠB. 3, 9, 1, 19	291	ŠB. 11, 5, 3, 5	295
ŠB. 4, 1, 3	216	ŠB. 11, 5, 3, 11	225
ŠB. 4, 1, 4, 1	197	ŠB. 11, 8, 3, 1 ff.	302
ŠB. 4, 1, 4, 4	197; 201	ŠB. 11, 8, 3, 5	129
ŠB. 4, 1, 4, 7 ff.	193	ŠB. 12, 1, 3, 7	389
ŠB. 4, 1, 5, 16	100	ŠB. 12, 3, 4, 8	220
ŠB. 4, 2, 3, 12	198	ŠB. 12, 7, 1, 12	137
ŠB. 4, 2, 5, 14	249	ŠB. 12, 8, 2, 23	204
ŠB. 4, 3, 1, 1 ff.	286	ŠB. 12, 8, 3, 19	392
ŠB. 4, 3, 1, 3	274	ŠB. 12, 8, 3, 22	99
ŠB. 4, 3, 2, 12	108	ŠB. 12, 9, 2, 12	204 f.
ŠB. 4, 4, 1, 15	227	ŠB. 13, 1, 2, 5 ff.	12 f.
ŠB. 4, 4, 5, 19	84	ŠB. 13, 3, 4, 1	99
ŠB. 4, 5, 1, 6	156; 195	ŠB. 13, 5, 4, 28	191
ŠB. 4, 5, 1, 8	195	ŠB. 14, 1, 3, 1	63 f.
ŠB. 4, 5, 6, 2	197	ŠB. 14, 2, 1, 16	99
ŠB. 4, 6, 3, 2	297	ŠŠS. 1, 6, 10 f.	104
ŠB. 4, 6, 6, 8	198	ŠŠS. 2, 3, 3 ff.	284
ŠB. 5, 1, 3 f.	110	ŠŠS. 3, 9, 4	303
ŠB. 5, 2, 4, 11	271; 274	ŠŠS. 3, 12, 3	307
ŠB. 5, 2, 5, 7	340		

ŚŚS. 5, 15, 10	200	ŚŚS. 12, 11, 7	267
ŚŚS. 6, 3, 1 ff.	60	ŚŚS. 14, 29	275
ŚŚS. 6, 11, 7	109	ŚŚS. 14, 35	282
ŚŚS. 7, 11, 3	180	ŚŚS. 14, 37, 1	335
ŚŚS. 8, 19	104	ŚŚS. 15, 14, 4	247
ŚŚS. 9, 2 ff.	250; 251; 253	ŚŚS. 16, 9, 30	191
ŚŚS. 10, 1, 13	306	SV. 1, 472	110
ŚŚS. 10, 5, 23	111	SVidhB. 1, 7, 11	110
ŚŚS. 12, 2, 14	149	HGS. 1, 6, 5	103
ŚŚS. 12, 2, 22	280	HGS. 1, 18, 1	305
ŚŚS. 12, 10, 9 f.	257	HGS. 2, 13, 10 ff.	112
		HŚS. 4, 1	302