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VON

H. LÜDERS UND J. WACKERNAGEL.

EPIC MYTHOLOGY

BY

E. WASHBURN HOPKINS.

STRASSBURG  
VERLAG VON KARL J. TRÜBNER  
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Die Herausgabe des „Grundrisses der indo-arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde“ haben nach dem Hinscheiden von Herrn Geheimrat Professor Dr. Kielhorn die Herren Professor Dr. H. Lüders in Berlin und Professor Dr. J. Wackernagel in Basel übernommen.

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The editors and the publisher find themselves under the necessity of completing the issue of the „Grundriß“ as soon as possible and will particularly take care to preserve the same brief form in every new contribution.

Therefore they consulted recently with the collaborators, and new ones were found for some parts of the sections.

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(ENCYCLOPEDIA OF INDO-ARYAN RESEARCH)

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## EPIC MYTHOLOGY

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E. WASHBURN HOPKINS.

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### I. INTRODUCTION.

§ 1. **Date of Epic Poetry.** — The mythology of the two epics of India represents in general the belief of the people of Northern India along the lower Ganges within a few centuries of the Christian era. For the Mahābhārata the time from 300 B. C. to 100 B. C. appears now to be the most probable date, though excellent authorities extend the limits from 400 B. C. to 400 A. D. The Mahābhārata as a whole is later than the Rāmāyaṇa; but R is metrically more advanced, the work of one author, a skilled metricalian, who has improved the rougher epic form of the Mahābhārata, as his work represents a life less rude than that depicted in the great popular epic, this being the work of many hands and of different times. Both epics have received long additions. The germ of the Mahābhārata has been referred to the Vedic period and the Rāmāyaṇa has been assigned to pre-Buddhistic times (its germ also recognised as Vedic), but the data, in part negative, oppose the assumption that either epic poem existed before the fourth century B. C. Discussion is futile without a careful definition of the word "germ". That the Rāmāyaṇa was the norm, according to which the Mahābhārata was built, or that the Rāmāyaṇa was completed as it is to-day (barring the first and last books) before the Mahābhārata was begun, are theses impossible to establish. The Rāmāyaṇa has two flagrant additions, books one and seven. The Mahābhārata has been increased by the late addition of the Harivaṃśa (perhaps 200 A. D.), and much of the first book is late. By the fourth century this epic was recognised as a poem of one hundred thousand verses, and it has been argued<sup>1)</sup> that this implies the existence of the Harivaṃśa at that time. Such may be the case,

<sup>1)</sup> For example, by Professor Macdonell, *Sanskrit Literature*, p. 267. The reasons for assuming an earlier date for both epics than that accepted above are set forth in this chapter of Macdonell's work. In regard to the kernel of the great epic, referred to about 1000 B. C., it may be questioned whether the war between Kurus and Pañcālas is the historical germ of the epic at all. Professor Winternitz, *Geschichte der Indischen Literatur*, p. 396, arguing from the fact that the Tipiṭaka does not know either epic, though it shows acquaintance with the story of Rāma, assumes the termini 400 B. C. to 400 A. D. for the present Mahābhārata. The Rāmāyaṇa, he thinks, was "made by Vālmīki probably in the fourth or third century B. C." (p. 439), before the Mahābhārata had its present form. Professor Jacobi in his excellent work, *Das Rāmāyaṇa*, regarding the Mbh, as due to the influence of Vālmīki (p. 78), is inclined to assign a much greater age to the Rāmāyaṇa. The germ of the Mbh. appears, however, to be older than the Rām.; it represents a ruder age as well as a ruder art.

since the (corrected) Northern version contains 84,126 verses, which, with the 16,375(526) verses of the *Harivaṃśa*, make 100,501(651) verses. But, on the other hand, it might be said, from the off-hand way the Hindus have of assigning a round number of verses to a poem, that they would be quite likely to refer to an epic even approximating one hundred thousand verses as a poem of a lakh of verses. Now the Southern recension, in so far as the recently published text represents it, has twelve thousand more verses than the Northern recension and, without the *Harivaṃśa*, contains 96,578 verses (or prose equivalents)<sup>1)</sup>, not including the circa two hundred extra verses of single manuscripts. It is therefore doubtful whether the attribution of a lakh of verses necessarily implies the existence, as part of the lakh, of the *Harivaṃśa*. Yet on the whole this is probable, owing to the fact that the expansion in S appears for the most part to be due rather to the inclusion of new material than to the retention of old passages. Important is the fact for the mythologist that the *Harivaṃśa* is more closely in touch with Purāṇic than with epic mythology. It is in fact a Purāṇa, and "epic mythology" may properly exclude it, as it may exclude the Uttara in the Rāmāyaṇa, though both are valuable here and there to complement epic material. In no case, however, may passages from either of these additions be assumed to represent epic ideas, although of course epic ideas may be contained in them. It is most probable that *Śānti* and *Anuśāsana* were books (XII and XIII) added to the original epic, but equally clear that they were included in the *Mahābhārata* containing a lakh of verses. They may be looked upon in general as later though not modern additions<sup>2)</sup>, yet as we know that one portion of *Śānti* has been enlarged in quite modern times<sup>3)</sup>, there should be no hesitation in granting that passages may have been added at any time within the last few centuries. The palpable additions made in the interest of sectarian belief in the Southern recension are merely an indication of what has probably happened in both epics. — Geographically, the *Mahābhārata* represents the western and the Rāmāyaṇa the eastern districts of Northern India, but only in a limited sense (circa Delhi to Benares). In general it may be said that middle India between the Ganges and Nerbudda was the country most familiar to the poets of both epics. North and South are fabulous but travelled lands. The Punjab is better known but lies remote.

§ 2. **The Concept Deva.** — Epic mythology, however, is fairly consistent. There is no great discrepancy between the character of any one god in Mbh. and that of the same god in R. Nor is the character of gods very different in different parts of Mbh., save for the sectarian tendency to invert the positions of the three highest gods in favor of the sect. There are of course differences, but not such as to imply that we are dealing with totally diverse conceptions or traditions. In both epics the older gods

<sup>1)</sup> In reckoning the verses of the Northern recension, account must be taken of the egregious typographical errors in the Calcutta edition, which in Vana make eleven thousand odd into seventeen thousand odd verses, in Udyoga convert six thousand one hundred into seven thousand, etc. The Bombay Vana has 11,712 verses as contrasted with 12,082 in the Southern (S) recension. The total sum 84,126 is the number for C as corrected by B. As an indication of the difference between S and B-C, *Ādi* has 11,080 verses in S, 8479 in C.

<sup>2)</sup> *Śānti* in S has 15,050 and *Anuśāsana* 11,184 verses, as contrasted with 13,943 and 7,796 in the Northern recension. Holtzmann, *Das Mahābhārata*, I, 194, argued for a modern epic throughout, but this view has not been substantiated.

<sup>3)</sup> In *Śānti*, Parv. 342 to 353, S has many more sectarian additions in honor of the Nārāyaṇa lauded in these interpolated chapters.



are reduced in estate, in so far as they represent personifications of nature; in both, new gods are throned above the old. The conception Deva, god, embraces all spiritual characters, as it is said, "the gods beginning with Brahman and ending with Piśācas" (*Brahmādayaḥ Piśācāntā yaṃ hi devā upāsate*)<sup>1)</sup>, but loosely, so that in the very clause thus specifying the host of gods, Śiva, as the greatest god, is set in antithesis to them all as the one being through devotion to whom even Kṛṣṇa-Viṣṇu pervades the universe. Nor is the world of men without close kinship with the gods, who descend to earth and are reborn as mortals. Not Viṣṇu alone but those who worship him become earthly Avatars. Kuśika is permeated with Indra, and Gādhi, son of Kuśika, is in reality son of Indra; in other words, for the purpose of having a son Gādhi, Indra becomes incorporate; Gādhi is Indra on earth (*putratvam āgamād rājaṃs tasya lokeśvareśvaraḥ, Gādhir nāmā 'bhavat putraḥ Kauśikaḥ Pākaśāsanah, 12, 49, 6*).

## II. THE LOWER MYTHOLOGY.

§ 3. **Definition.** — It is obvious that a mythology which on the one hand touches upon that of the Purāṇas and on the other reaches back to the Vedic age may best be presented chronologically, and this would be the case were it not that there is an aspect of mythology which does not fit into this scheme. This will be referred to again under the head of General Characteristics. At present it will suffice to say that at all times in India there has been under the higher mythology of gods and great demons a lower mythology of spiritualised matter less remote than the gods of sun, storm, etc., and less remote even than the recognised spirits inhabiting yet not confined to such matter, spirits that receive their proper recognition in the pantheon. Though this lower mythology has various aspects which blend it with the higher, as in the case of the Corn-mother already absorbed into a title of a high goddess, yet in part it stands aloof and may be treated separately, at least in its broad divisions of river- and mountain-mythology, the lesser traits of divine trees and pools being more conveniently discussed under the head of the divinities into whose province the lower spirits have been drawn.

§ 4. **Divine Rivers.** — Water has always had a healing (hence supernatural or divine) power. The epic recognises this, but in conjunction with the act of a god. Thus a god revives the dead with a handful of water, though a divine fiat is sufficient for this purpose, or the use of a magical plant<sup>2)</sup>. But as a self-conscious power, aiding the right, water also dries up before a sinful priest, who tries to escape by way of water (as a guard against evil influence; compare the popular notion that evil spirits cannot pass running water). Water is also a divine witness against wrong, for which reason one who curses or takes any oath touches water, as one does in accepting a gift. In fact in any solemn event a sort of bap-

<sup>1)</sup> This inclusion of Piśācas under Devas occurs in the exaltation of Śiva in 13, 14, 4 and verses added in S to 13, 45. Ordinarily the Devas exclude the demons; they are as light to darkness, but (as shown below) all spiritual beings are sons of the Father-god and so all are divine. It is rather the nature of the individual which determines whether he is "god" or "demon", than the class to which he is assigned.

<sup>2)</sup> See the writer's paper on Magic Observances in the Hindu Epic (*Am. Philosophical Society, vol. XLIX*). In 12, 153, 113, S has *pāṇinā* for *caḥṣuṣā*. For the other examples, see 3, 136, 9f.; 1, 74, 30; 3, 110, 32; and the cases cited, *loc. cit.*

tism of water takes place, for water is one of the "three purities". As truth is another "purity", a speaker of the truth can walk over water without sinking<sup>1</sup>). The priestly influence predominant in the epics proclaims (3, 193, 36) the sin-expelling quality of water sprinkled by the hand of a priest, and this is the idea of the Tirtha, that it has been made effective through an outer influence, priestly or divine, which imparts power to wash away ill-luck and sin or to bestow upon the bather "beauty and fortune" (3, 47, 29:82, 43 f.). But the cult of such powers, though constantly recommended by the less orthodox writers of the epic, is not in conformity with the sacred writings and is not infrequently depreciated, as a *deśātithi* or "cultivator of places" stands opposed to the view that "all rivers are Sarasvatis" (12, 264, 40), that is, all rivers are holy in themselves; though certainly the modified view, for example that "rivers are hallowed if Rāma bathes in them" (R 2, 48, 9), is normal. This example also shows that rivers and ponds are regarded as living persons, to whom the predicate *kṛtapuṇyāḥ* (blessed or hallowed) can properly apply. Especially holiness attaches to the Payoṣṇī, because of its relics; to the Cauvery, because of its nymphs; to the Godāvarī, because of its saints and contact with Rāma; to the Ganges, because of Rāma's passage over it; and to any union of river with river or with ocean, because the sacred nature of each is doubled by contact with the other (3, 85, 22 f. and R 4, 41, 15). The Cauvery is "half the Ganges" but at the same time is wife of Jahnū and daughter of Yuvanāśva (H 1421 f.), as all rivers are wives of ocean, though not always so completely anthropomorphised<sup>2</sup>). Offerings are made to rivers and they are invoked for aid as divine beings (R 2, 55, 4 f.; *ibid.* 4, 40, 9), the offerings when made by Sītā being a thousand cows and a hundred jars of brandy, perhaps intended eventually for the priests. Although over a hundred and sixty divine rivers are mentioned by name (6, 9, 14 f.; *ibid.* 11, 31 f.; 3, 188, 102 f.; *ibid.* 222, 22 f.; 13, 166, 19 f.) and the Rāmāyaṇa says that five hundred rivers furnished water for Rāma's consecration (R 6, 131, 53), yet the time-honored designation Five Rivers is still used (Indus being the sixth) to designate a group sometimes also vaguely called the Seven Rivers, this latter group including the Ganges (see below). The Five are named as the (modern) Sutlej, Beas, Ravi, Chinab, and Jhelum (8, 44, 31 f.). As the rivers are recipients of offerings, so in turn they make to Indra an offering of praise but are overawed by the presence of Śiva and, like the birds, when he appears, cease to make a sound (3, 96, 6; 5, 17, 22). Their bestowal of purification may be unconscious, owing to their divine purity, but they consciously save as well. Thus the Beas and Samaṅgā (3, 139, 9 f.; 13, 3, 13) act consciously in saving a man from drowning. All these rivers used to bear gold, but now only Ganges has that bye-product of Śiva's seed (7, 56, 6, etc.). The mental state of rivers is often alluded to as a matter of course. They are troubled in mind, run backward in fear, or cease to flow in mental distress (8, 94, 49; R 5, 16, 4, etc.). Ganges converses with Ocean and explains why huge trees but not slender reeds are carried on her waves (the trees resisting are overwhelmed, the reeds by bending

<sup>1</sup>) Both Pṛthu Vainya and Dilīpa, as "speakers of truth" pass over water without sinking, even in a battle-car (7, 61, 9 f.; 69, 9).

<sup>2</sup>) For further references, see *The Sacred Rivers of India* in (the Toy volume) *Studies in the History of Religions*, p. 215. Few rivers are masculine, though male rivers, Indus, Oxus, Lohita, Śoṇa, etc., are representatives of the masculine form (but also Śoṇā, fem.) and Ocean is "lord of rivers male and rivers female" (R 3, 35, 7, etc.).

escape destruction, 12, 113, 2f.); she also explains to Umā the habits of good women (13, 146, 17f.). The river is sometimes a reborn saint, as the Cosy (Kauṣikī) is an Avatar of Satyavatī, wife of Viśvāmitra (R 1, 34, 8), as in the Purāṇas Gaurī, wife of Prasenajit, became the river Bāhudā. On the other hand, the Nerbudda (Narmadā) became the wife of the king Purukutsa (15, 20, 13). This river fell in love with a Duryodhana, by whom she had a fair daughter, Sudarśanā, whose son in turn married Oghavatī and "half of her became a river" (13, 2, 18f.). A crooked river, hence evil, may be in effect an evil woman reborn. Thus Ambā remained in life half as a human being and half as a crooked river (5, 186, 41). Sons of rivers are human heroes. Bhīṣma is son of Ganges; Śrutāyudha is son of the river Parṇāśā, by Varuṇa (cf. § 63; 7, 92, 44f.); Duṣyanta is great-great-grandson of the Sarasvatī, whose son was Śārasvata. Śuktimatī was a river who became the mother of a son by a mountain (1, 63, 35f.; *ibid.* 95, 27; 9, 51, 17f.). As intimated apropos of Ambā, a river may represent sinful power, but the Vaitaraṇī is the only river leading to hell, under the name Puṣpodakā (Vaitaraṇī being a sacred stream of Kalinga as well as the river of hell, 3, 200, 58; 8, 77, 44). The Yamunā (Jumna) is called Kālindī from the mountain Kalinda, and its place of union with the Ganges is celebrated as holy (Bharadvāja's hermitage is there); but it is often omitted from lists where it might be expected to appear, as in 13, 146, 18f., where Ganges is the glorious last of a list of sacred rivers: Vipāśā ca Vitastā ca Candrabhāgā Irāvati, Śatadrur Devikā Sindhuḥ Kauṣikī Gautamī tathā, tathā devanadī ce 'yaṃ sarvatīrthā-bhisambhṛtā, gaganād gāṃ gatā devī Gaṅgā sarvasaridvarā. Ganges is here apparently derived from her "going" (cf. Sarasvatī and European parallels from roots meaning go or run). She is the most completely personified of all the holy rivers, not only as mother of Bhīṣma, Gāṅgeya, āpagāsuta, āpageya, nadīja, and of Kumāra (Kumārasū, H 1081) but as co-wife with Umā of Śiva, and as assuming human form, to become wife of Śāntanu (1, 98, 5). She is called "daughter of Jahnū" (*ibid.* 18), Jahnusutā and Jāhnavī, and "daughter of Bhagīratha", by adoption, though her true patronymic is not Bhāgīrathī but Haimavatī (6, 119, 97), as she is the daughter of the Himālaya mountain. Her title among the gods is Alakanandā, and as she is regarded as identified with other streams so she is identified with Puṣpodakā Vaitaraṇī (1, 170, 22). Usually she is spoken of as threefold, three-pathed, as in 6, 6, 28f., where Sarasvatī, Ganges, is said to issue from the world of Brahman and to fall like milk from Mount Meru into the lake of the moon, which her own fall has created, after being upheld for one hundred thousand years on Śiva's head. She is said to be both visible and invisible and is represented as divided into seven streams, the names of which vary but appear in the Mahābhārata as (6, 6, 50) Vasvaukasārā, Nalinī, Pāvanī, Jambūnadi, Sitā, Gaṅgā, and Sindhu. In the Rāmāyaṇa (1, 43, 12) the Hlādinī and Sucakṣu take the place of the first and fourth. She appeared first at Bindusaras (6, 6, 44f.; R 1, 43, 10), when Bhagīratha induced her to come to earth to baptise the bones of Sagara's sons, since till that was done these sons could not attain to heaven (3, 108, 18). The famous story of her descent is told in R 1, 43. As she sank when weary upon the lap of Bhagīratha, she is said to have chosen him for her father (cf. 3, 109, 18f.; and 7, 60, 6f.). The Southern recension says that she was angry at being forced to go to hell and got caught in Śiva's hair (cf. R 1, 43, 5). She is three-fold as the river of

sky, earth, and the lower regions, tripathagā, trilokagā, etc., and her titles incorporated into Tirthas called Tri-Gaṅga and Sapta-Gaṅga, Sapta-Sārasvata-Tīrtha (3, 84, 29; 13, 25, 6f.) preserve the double account. As the three-pathed Ganges she is called *veṇīkṛtajalā* (R 2, 50, 16, here "wife of Ocean"), but the post-epical Trivenī refers to the mystic union of "three-stranded" Ganges with the Yamunā and (lesser) Sarasvatī at Prayāga (Allahābād). At this place the holiness of the river exceeds all bounds. A bath at Prayāga, "the lap of earth", imparts more virtue than do all the Vedas, and Ganges is here "the one Tīrtha of the (Kali) age" (3, 85, 75 and 90). Ganges and Yamunā are invoked together by Sītā (R 2, 52, 82f.). At the entrance to the ocean (it is said, 1, 170, 19f.), Ganges divides into seven streams (cf. 6, 119, 76 and 7, 36, 13) and "one is purified from sin who drinks the waters of Ganges, Yamunā, Sarasvatī (Plakṣajātā), Rathasthā, Sarayū, Gomatī, or Gaṇḍakī." According to R 1, 43, 12f., there is a (later) division into the three Ganges of the East, namely the Hlādinī, Pāvanī, and Nalinī; those of the West, Sucakṣu (Oxus?), Sītā, and Sindhu; and, seventh, "she who became Bhagiratha's daughter". In this epic too the origin of Ganges's title Jāhnavī is explained. Jāhnu swallows Ganges because he is disturbed by her flood but lets her out through his ears on condition that she be known as his issue. The same late book of R makes Manoramā (or Menā) the mother of Ganges (R 1, 35, 16). This nymph was daughter of Mount Meru, and wife of Himavat, and bore him two daughters, Gaṅgā and Umā (a Purāṇic legend). Ganges's place of origin (Gaṅgotri), the so-called Gate, Gaṅgādvāra (Hardwar), the place of her union with Yamunā, and, fourth, the place where she "unites with Ocean" (debouches into the gulf of Bengal), have always been the most sacred spots in her course. Gaṅgādvāra (13, 166, 26) and Prayāga are the most famous in the epic. The river has stairs (ghaṭṣ), gold in her bosom, etc. As a divine being she is "destroyer of sin", identical with Pr̥ṣnī ("mother of Viṣṇu") and with Vāc, and renowned as "daughter of Himavat, wife of Śiva, and mother of Skanda". She is also called Viṣṇupadī (coming from Viṣṇu's toe? See 13, 26, a chapter devoted to her, and R 2, 50, 26; VP. 4, 4, 15.) As above, she is also "wife of Ocean" as well as wife of Śiva (3, 99, 32; 187, 19; R 2, 50, 25). Mandākinī is a name she shares with earthly rivers (5, 111, 12, etc.). Akāśagaṅgā ("of the air") is her heavenly name (3, 142, 11). On the special adoration paid by Skanda's form to Ganges, see Skanda (§ 161). Devanadī and Suranadī, "river of the gods", are common titles in both epics; Lokanadī, river of the world, is found S 1, 186, 2. She is so anthropomorphised that when her son is fighting she appears on his chariot, holding the reins for him and guarding his life, as she previously gives him advice (5, 178, 68; 182, 12f.). There is no epic authority for the belief that children were flung into the Ganges as sacrifices, though jhaṣas abound there (1, 228, 32).

§ 5. **Divine Trees and Groves.** — Many trees are holy from association with the gods. Thus the Śamī is the birth-place of Agni (13, 85, 44) and the Aśvattha, representing the male element in the production of fire, is also tabu (only ascetics live on its fruit), while all the samidhas, wood for sacrificial fires, are sacrosanct, Palāśa as well as Pippala (Aśvattha), and Śamī, and perhaps the tabu-trees, pratiṣiddhāṇṇa, the "fruit of which is forbidden", have a previous religious use as the reason for the tabu. These include besides those just mentioned the Vāṭa (ficus indica), Śaṇa (cannabis sativa), Śāka (tectona grandis) and the Udumbara (ficus

glomerata)<sup>1</sup>). The *Aśvattha* is the chief of trees (it represents the life-tree) and typifies that tree of life which is rooted in God above (6, 34, 26; 39, 1 f.). To revere this tree is to worship God. *Viṣṇu* is identified with the *Nyagrodha* and *Udumbara* and *Aśvattha* (13, 126, 5 and 149, 101). The famous *Nyagrodha* of *Vṛndāvana* (mentioned only in S 2, 53, 8 f.) is called *Bhāṇḍira*. Otherwise no local tree except the *Akṣaya-Vaṭa* of *Gaya* is noticed in the texts. It is so called because it immortalises the offerings given there to the Manes, marking the spot where the *Asura* *Gaya* fell or made sacrifice. It is not interpreted to mean an undying tree<sup>2</sup>). A mound or sacred edifice makes holy the tree upon it and in a village the "one tree" which is conspicuous is said to be *caitya arcanīyaḥ supūjitaḥ*, that is, revered like a divinity (1, 151, 33, *grāma-druma*). An unholy tree is the *Vibhītaka* (entered by *Kali*; see 3, 66, 41). Trees are sentient beings, able to hear, move, see, feel, as philosophically proved in 12, 184, 10 f. The trees themselves wish to do this or that (S 7, 16, 14), as distinct from the dryads or spirits in the tree, "goddesses born in trees, to be worshipped by those desiring children" (S 3, 231, 16, has *Vṛkṣikā* as dryad; B *Vṛddhikā*). The ten *Pracetas* married a "tree-girl", *Vārṁṣī* (1, 196, 15). Such spirits of trees are revered especially in the *Karañja* tree (3, 230, 55), where dwells the tree-mother. The "daughter of the Red Sea", *Lohitāyanī*, the nurse of *Skanda*, is worshipped under a *Kadamba* tree (3, 230, 41). *Śiva* himself is not only the "tree" par excellence (S 7, 203, 32); he is formally identified with the *Bakula*, sandal-wood, and *Chada* trees (13, 17, 110). Gods, saints, and demi-gods live in and resort to trees (1, 30, 2; 13, 58, 29). It is, however, not the spirits in trees but the trees themselves that beg boons, enjoy marriage (with human beings), talk (§ 12 c), grant wishes, and, in some favored localities, go about at will.<sup>3</sup>) A lamp is offered to the *Karañjaka* tree itself, and to cut down trees on the day of the new moon is a sin equal to that of murdering a priest (13, 123, 8 and 127, 3). The moon is here the source of vegetal energy. The five trees of Paradise can be transplanted to earth, and *Kṛṣṇa* thus robs *Indra* of the *Pārijāta* tree (5, 130, 49). The *Saṃtānaka* tree is found also in the world of cows (13, 81, 23) and in the heavenly hills of the North (5, 111, 13); it is mentioned with the *Pārijāta* (3, 231, 23). The *Pārijāta* in H 7168 f., is identified with the *Mandāra* tree, another heavenly, *divya*, tree, the flowers of which are offered by the *Vidyādhara*s to the sun (3, 3, 42; all the allusions are late). The trees that grant wishes, *Kalpavṛkṣas* (1, 219, 3), are either magical or heavenly, but on occasion are to be found on earth (1, 29, 40; cf. kappa-

<sup>1</sup>) See the account in 13, 104, 92, and cf. 12, 40, 11; 13, 14, 58; the *Palāśa* is *butea frondosa* and the *Pippala* is the *figus religiosa*. One may not use *Palāśa* wood to make a seat nor *Tindukawood* for toothpicks, though sinners do so (7, 73, 38; omitted in C but found in B and S).

<sup>2</sup>) See the writer's *Great Epic of India*, p. 83, note 2, and the references 3, 84, 83; 87, 11; 95, 14; 7, 66, 20; 13, 88, 14; R 2, 107, 13. In general, all *Caitya* trees are homes of spirits (12, 69, 41 f.).

<sup>3</sup>) Compare 7, 69, 5 f.; 3, 115, 35 f. Tree-marriages are still practiced (JAOS. 22, pp. 228 and 323) to avoid the evil effect of a marriage with a third human bride (the tree is made to receive the threatened disaster). Trees going about at will (5, 100, 15, etc.) generally produce any kind of fruit or flower, i. e. they are magical trees belonging to some superior region. They are called *kāmacārin* and *kāmapuṣpaphala* in *Hiraṇyapur* (loc. cit.). The dryads are vegetal divinities that eat human flesh and have to be appeased with offerings, though the tree-mother is kind (3, 230, 35 f.), but the sentient trees are usually kindly, as all of them used to be (7, 69, 5 f.). On seeing golden trees, as a sign of death, cf. JAOS. 30, p. 351.

rukḥho). The Kālāmra tree is a mango a league high east of Meru (6, 7, 14f.). Its juice gives immortal youth. Sudarśana is the name of the Jambūvṛkṣa, which grants all desires. It is one thousand and one hundred leagues high, touching the sky, and like the preceding tree (of Bhadrāśva Dvīpa) is frequented by saints and heavenly beings. It bears red gold in its juice which makes a river flowing around Meru to the Uttara (Northern) Kurus (6, 7, 20f.). The Ganges rises from the root of the great jujube tree on Kailāsa (3, 142, 4f.; 145, 51).

These individual heavenly trees grow between earth and heaven and it is on the mountains that the divine groves are found. The grove of Deodars (13, 25, 27), the grove of Kadalīs on Mt. Gandhamādana (3, 146, 51f.) are typical of the *vanam divyam* or *devāranyāni* (5, 14, 6; 186, 27), which are sacred to the gods and in which the gods perform religious rites. Such a sacred grove is found by Yudhiṣṭhira on his journey (3, 118, 9f.), where there are altars (shrines) of saints and gods, Vasus, Maruts, (Gaṇas), Aśvins, Yama, Āditya, Kubera, Indra, Viṣṇu, Savitr, Bhava, Candra, the maker of day (Sūrya), the lord of waters (Varuṇa), the troops of Sādhyas, Dhātṛ, the Pitṛs, Rudra with his troop, Sarasvatī, the troop of Siddhas, "and whatever immortals there be". These groves are the parallel to the *nemus* and *lucus* of the Roman, Teuton, etc.

§ 6. **Divine Mountains.** — Every mountain is a potential divinity, as well as a resort of the gods, Gandharvas, etc. The mountains north of India lend themselves especially well to the notion that snow-clad hills pierce heaven, but as these mountains are invisible from the lower habitat of the epic poets, most of the particular descriptions must have been generalised from hearsay. The range south of the Ganges is treated more familiarly. Here lies, for example, the mountain referred to above, who begot a son on a river (1, 63, 35f.) and a daughter who became wife of Vasu, Girikā. This mountain, Kolāhala, is expressly "intelligent". Mountains speak (R 5, 1, 111, Maināka in human form; cf. 12, 333, 30 as echo, 334, 25); they reverence Śiva and Indra (13, 14, 399; 5, 17, 22); and they are themselves revered (1, 220, 6; 13, 166, 31f.; 14, 59, 4f.), as is one in a *mahāsasya mahāgīreḥ* or "feast in honor of the mountain", by the offerings of fruits, flowers, etc. In 2, 21, 20, a hill called Caityaka is revered as the place where a *māṃsāda ṛṣabha* (minotaur) was slain, the help of the mountain being perhaps implied. Hills bewail Sītā (R 3, 52, 39). The mountain Arisṭa wakes at dawn, opens his eyes of metal, stretches his arms of Deodars; yawns with peaks; speaks in waters (R 5, 56, 10f.). The high place especially favored by the gods as their meeting-ground as well as dwelling-place, is always a hill, the higher the better; hence a preference for the northern mountains as *tridaśānām samāgamaḥ*, "assembly of gods" (3, 39, 40), where, on the top of Himavat, they sacrificed of old (7, 54, 25), for this is the locality "beloved of gods" (3, 37, 39). "Seven Mountains" (like other sevens) designates the several ancient "doors of heaven", renowned as Kulaparvatas in 6, 9, 11. The Seven are the Orissa chain, the southern part of the Western Ghats, and the northern part (these three being called Mahendra, Malaya, and Sahya), the range called Śuktimat (in the east), the Gondwana range called Ṛkṣavat, the (Eastern) Vindhya, and the Northern and Western Vindhya called Pāriyātra; among which Mahendra (from which Hanumat leaps, R 4, 67, 43) is best known to the epic poets as a sacred place (R 5, 43, 5; Mbh. 1, 215, 13; 3, 85, 16, etc.; R 4, 42, 18f., Pāriyātra as Western). In 14, 43, 3f., seven trees and twelve

mountains are called "kings", but in calling Arjuna the "eighth mountain" (S 4, 3, 36) the epic reverts to the old phraseology<sup>1</sup>). Legends abound in regard to the mountains as holy beings as well as holy places. Like saints and gods they perform sacrifice (12, 321, 182). "Wingless" (and winged) mountains refers to the legend (R 5, 1, 125) of Indra cutting off the wings (clouds) of mountains and making earth firm (RV. 2, 12, 2; MS. 1, 10, 13), as this expression is used e. g. in 7, 26, 65 and ib. 37; also 7, 103, 6 (at the present day mountains do not move as of old); R 3, 51, 4, etc. Himavat is Śailaguru (9, 51, 34) and his son is Maināka, whose son in turn is Krauñca, who, however, is also called son of Himavat. Maināka alone escaped when Indra cut off the wings of other mountains, and this mountain appears as type of stability (7, 3, 4f.; 9, 12f.), as it stood firm against Nagāri (Indra). It lies north of Kailāsa, beyond Krauñca (R 4, 43, 31); a barrier against Asuras (R 5, 1, 93) and in it Maya deposited, near Bindu-saras, a mass of gems. It has a vinasana (cleft), where Aditi cooked food for the sake of her son of old (3, 135, 3). It escaped Indra's design and Ocean gave it refuge (1, 21, 15). Maināka's son, Krauñca (R 6, 67, 19), is the White Mountain of silver as contrasted with "golden Himavat" (3, 188, 112; 13, 166, 30f.), but also "golden" (R 6, 126, 14). Seven-headed dragons guard it and in it is a golden lake, where the mothers of (Skanda) Kumāra nursed him. Shot at by Skanda, Krauñca fled but returned and was pierced and "fell shrieking" and then again fled (3, 225, 10f.; 9, 46, 84). Though son of Himavat and Menakā it is called "Rudra's seed" (3, 229, 28), that is, it consists in the seed of the god, elsewhere described as the seed of Agni-Rudra cast into Ganges (8, 90, 68; 9, 17, 51; 44, 9; 13, 85, 68). R 7, 104, 6, however, makes all mountains from the bones of Madhu and Kaiṭabha (creation of Rāma-Viṣṇu). Maināka leaps out of ocean to hinder Hanumat (R 5, 1, 92f.; "mountains under the sea", ib. 3, 33, 6). It lies "in the West" according to 3, 89, 11.

The Vindhya legend represents that home of plants and metals (13, 166, 31) as angry with the sun for refusing to walk the deasil around it (as men and gods should "walk the deasil" around a divine mountain, 1, 220, 6) and hence as growing to obstruct the sunlight despite the request of the gods to stop. Agastya persuaded it to let him pass over and not grow till he returned and the Vindhya still awaits the saint's return (3, 103, 16 and 104, 12f.). The belief in a totem-mountain obtains. Balādhi, the saint, desired an immortal son; the gods granted a son whose life should not end till the object in which his life was bound up should perish. The life of the son Medhāvin was therefore bound up in an "indestructible" mountain, but being sinful he provoked Dhanuṣākṣa, a saint who took the form of a buffalo and destroyed the mountain, and therewith Medhāvin also. Dhanuṣākṣa in S transforms himself into the buffalo; other versions make the animals the means used by the saint (S 3, 135, 52f.). Other mountains sacred if not so personally conceived as is the case with Mandara, Krauñca, Maināka, and Himavat, are the mount where the ark landed (3, 187, 50, Naubandhana); the hill Govardhana, upheld by Kṛṣṇa (5, 130,

<sup>1</sup>) The Seven Mountains, known as doors of heaven, appear in Vedic literature (TS. 3, 12, 2, 9; 6, 2, 4, 3). Viṣṇu is here the lord of hills, not Śiva (3, 4, 5, 1). In Śākadvīpa the seven remain in epic descriptions (6, 11, 13). Bhṛguṭuṅga, Agastyavaṭa and Mt. Kuñjara, "Vasiṣṭha's mountain", and other peaks show that saints as well as gods live on the hills, the sanctity of which destroys sin, as in the case of Hemakūṭa (Rṣabhakūṭa), the "divine grove of Brahman", where silence must be observed, tūṣṇīm āssva (3, 114, 16). Hariv. has Purāṇic additions (Meghagiri, 12846, etc.).

46, etc.); Mahendra, where Rāma lived after extirpating the warriors (7, 70, 21 f.); the beryl-mountain on the Narmadā where Kauśika drank Soma with the Asvins and Cyavana paralysed Indra (3, 89, 13 and 121, 19); Mandara (R 3, 47, 39), used by the gods to churn the ocean (1, 18, 13; R 1, 45 = 46, 18 f.); Gandhamādāna, home of medicinal plants and groves leading to heaven (7, 139, 86, etc.). Mandara lies east of Meru and Gandhamādāna and is the home of Kubera and his Yakṣas, hurled to its place in the east by the hand of Viṣṇu (3, 139, 5; 163, 4; 101, 15). Although placed in the north and south as well as the east (5, 111, 12 and 109, 9) and even in the west (ib 110, 9), it is more regularly an eastern hill and is probably the modern Mandaragiri near Bhagalpur. Its "western" location implies that its roots extend to the western ocean, as Himavat does also. Gandhamādāna is especially the abode of Kubera, though also of Indra; Kailāsa of Śiva; Meru of Brahman; but all the gods live on occasion on any of these. The gods seeking Śiva find him on Mandara (7, 94, 57), and Brahman receives audience on Gandhamādāna (6, 65, 42). Certain mountains, however, are formally assigned to certain gods. The demons also live where gods live. Rākṣasas live on Himavat; Guhyakas on Kailāsa; serpents and Nāgas on Niṣadha; all the gods and Asuras on the White Mountain (Śveta); Gandharvas on Niṣadha; and Brahmarṣis on Nila, "but the resort of gods is the peaked hill" (6, 6, 51 f.). As the hills are all peaked with three or a hundred peaks assigned to different hills, and only devī Śaṇḍilī, Agni's mother, is ascribed to Mt. Śrūgavat (like Meru it has three peaks), a special or general range of peaked hills may be meant.<sup>1</sup>) Mandara has two peaks, is shaped like a bow (R 4, 31, 11; R 5, 22, 27). Himavat is described as "a mine of gems of all sorts, cultivated by saints and singers, called the holy father-in-law of Śaṅkara" (Śiva, R 4, 11, 12 f.; 13, 25, 62). He is father of Ganges and Umā (above) and father of Mt. Abu (3, 82, 55). Kailāsa is the most famous range in Himavat and lies beside the upper Ganges near Mt. Maināka beyond the Northern Kurus (3, 145, 17 f.; S 1, 243, 31). Both Kailāsa and Gandhamādāna have the monster jujube; Kṛṣṇa once lived on Kailāsa (3, 12, 43, not S). Later the two are different hills. In 6, 6, 1 f., Gandhamādāna lies north of Mālyavat (the "flame-encircled" home of saints who precede Aruṇa, 6, 7, 28), which is north of Niṣadha, which in turn lies west of Kailāsa. Mt. Meru has three peaks, reaches higher than the sun, has rocks and red sides like other mountains (e. g. Citrakūṭa, R 2, 94, 4 f.), is self-luminous, the abode of gods, etc., and is thirty-three thousand leagues in extent and eighty-four thousand high. On its slopes and top sit saints and gods. It lies north of Gandhamādāna and is especially the home of Prajāpati and the spiritual sons of Brahman, and there rise and set the seven divine seers. But above its peak is the home of Viṣṇu. The sun and stars revolve around it. Yet it is like other hills, "beaten by rain", and appears to be thought of as one among many northern hills, having a vīnaśana like Maināka's (above). Sumeru in Mbh. is not an antithetic mountain but an epithet of Meru itself. Meru forms one of seven ranges running across Jambūdvīpa and is represented by the flag-staff in the gods's allegorical car. Only R Uttara knows Sumeru as the name of an independent mountain (R 7, 35, 19), the home of Kesarin. South and

<sup>1</sup>) Cf. 6, 8, 9 and 13, 123, 2 f. Śiva and Umā live by predilection in the Karṇikāra grove on Meru; Garuḍa lives on Hiraṇmaya; the Gandharvas on Mandara, Meru, etc. *Harivamśa* 6, 6, 24 f. to 12, 11.



east of Meru lie the ranges Niṣadha, Hemakūṭa (Kailāsa), and Himavat, the thousand leagues between each making a valley, varṣa; and north and west of it lie Nila, Śveta, and Śrūgavat (on the sea). Kaśyapa (Caspian?) lies farther west and Nāgadvīpa (S, Śāka-) lies south of the whole group (6, 6, 56). The oceans are four or seven (several). The original conception is that of four seas around earth, into which run four rivers from the middle mountain, and round the flanks of Meru lie the four lands Bhadrāśva, Ketumāla, Jambūdvīpa, and the Northern Kurus (Hyperboreans), ib. 12. But the peak of Himavat joins that of Meru (they clash together like Symplegades, 12, 334, 9f.). The epic knows nothing of the seven planetary spheres as such (even 13, 16, 34 and 52 do not imply them), and nothing of Meru as axis of the world.<sup>1</sup>) The addition of Maharloka, Janaloka, Tapoloka, and Satyaloka to the epic three, Bhūrloka, Svarloka, and Bhuvārloka, is Purāṇic; it names the previously (Vedic-Epic) seven bhuvanas or worlds hitherto sufficiently understood as a group. Rām. treats Meru as if one of the mountains of earth (one flying looks down upon Himavat, Vindhya, and Meru from above, R 4, 61, 9), it is "a very big hill", a range "like a snake lying in water" (ib.). Its "three peaks" may be conventional (cf. R 6, 91, 34). Later epic poets (RG 4, 44, 46; H 12853) know a hill Trisṛṅga (perhaps Himavat, cf. R 6, 69, 24). Maināka has a hundred golden peaks (R 5, 1, 105). The Sunrise and Sunset Mountains appear to be unmythological; they are merely where the sun may set and rise (udyadgiri is unique, R 7, 36, 44), unless Parvata Udyanta = Udaya (3, 84, 93) whereon the "track of Sāvitrī" is found. Himavat's "three daughters" are known only in H 940f. Their mother was Menā, spiritual daughter, of the Ṛṣis. One, Aparṇā-Umā, married Śiva (q. v.), one, Ekaparṇā, married Asita Devala, and the last, Ekapāṭalā, married Jaigīṣavya.

§ 7. **Vegetal Divinities.** — The epic poets naturally ignore as separate divinities those of whom they disapprove and those whom they do not understand. Such divinities are sometimes found hidden away in the sacred watering-places and sometimes they remain as titles of gods who have absorbed them; for the process of absorbing divinities into the name and glory of greater divinities began before history and continues to this day. In this manner are concealed both vegetal and animal gods. Of the magic of the Tirtha tales this is not the place to speak.<sup>2</sup>) They contain, however, traces of many deities lost or ignored. Thus with the Buddhist goddess Śāṅkhinī is to be compared the passage in 3, 83, 51, where a Tirtha pilgrim is strongly advised to "go to the Śāṅkhinī Tirtha and bathe in the Tirtha of the goddess", in order to acquire a beautiful form. Although it is not expressly said that the Devī is Śāṅkhinī, yet the implication is that such is the case, not that Devī is one of the higher goddesses (in masculine form the epithet śāṅkhin is a title of Viṣṇu). Then there is the Tirtha of the goddess Śākambharī (3, 84, 13), which must be the holy place of the local Corn-mother, utilised or adopted as a title of Durgā (6, 23, 9),

<sup>1</sup>) See for the details the references in JAOS. 30, 366f. Only S adds to 6, 6, 10 the words of VP. 2, 2, 8, to the effect that the apex of Meru is twice the size of its base. On plants and mountains as the fat and bones of ancient giant demons, see Rākṣasas, § 17. On gold and trees made by Agni, see § 49f. In R 6, 67, 67, Laṅkāmalaya is apparently the trikūṭa (a peak is broken off); ib. 3, 73, 32, Rṣyamūka is a mountain in the South where the dreams of the good come true; ib. 4, 37, 2f. has a list of southern hills.

<sup>2</sup>) Compare a paper on this subject in the Proc. Amer. Philosophical Society, vol. XLIX, 1910, p. 24f.

for Devī Śākambharī stands by herself as an independent<sup>1)</sup> goddess, though the narrator knows her only as a form of the great goddess into whom she was absorbed, and tells that the Tirtha was so named because Durgā lived there on śāka or vegetable produce and entertained her guests with vegetarian fare (3, 84, 16.) Sītā herself is a Corn-mother. She "rose in the field where the ploughshare brake it, rending the earth" (R 5, 16, 16 and ib. 2, 118, 28). She is represented by the ploughshare, which serves as Śalya's battle-sign and is likened to Sītā for its golden beauty sarvabījavirūḍhe 'va yathā Sītā śriyā 'vṛtā (7, 105, 20).<sup>2)</sup> To this category belongs also the youngest wife of the great fiend, whose son is Atikāya, the "giant" (R 6, 71, 30). She herself is called Dhānyamālīnī, "corn-crowned", and appears in R 5, 22, 39f., as endeavoring to divert her lord from his attention to the Furrow (Sītā). These are but faint traces of a cult of vegetal deities who may be added to the divine trees and tree-spirits already discussed. No one of them quā goddess is of epical importance, but that is not to be expected in a poem of warring men and higher gods. They are to be considered somewhat in the light of those animal gods who remain in the shadow of the great divinities. But there are no vegetal deities so important as are several independent animal gods. Compare also the bucolic god enshrined in Balarāma (q. v.). Perhaps the use of the tilaka sign may revert to the tila as holy (sesamum-oil is used for embalming the dead, R 2, 66, 14).

§ 8. **Animal Divinities.** — Animals are divinities partly by birth, partly because they are forms of demoniac or divine powers, and partly because they are the life-givers of any community. Human beings, especially saints or others potentially fearful, may also become incorporate as animals and thus make them divinely terrible. Even when no divinity is ascribed to an animal it is often looked upon as a supernatural being and as any man may be cursed to become an animal, this animal-man is looked upon with the reverence which is paid to any superhuman creature. Certain animals also have a quasi divinity or devilry in being potent to bring bad luck. As all animals talk, the gods appear as talking animals in many fables, but this is only one side of the belief that an animal anyway may incorporate a higher power. At the very beginning of the great epic two seers curse each other to become an elephant and a tortoise, respectively (1, 29, 15f.). The later Rāmāyaṇa relates that Saudāsa shot a tiger not knowing that it was a man-tiger, puruṣavyāghra, as Rākṣasa, and that its mate assumed in turn a human form to avenge it (R 7, 65, 10f., a later form of the legend; see R̥sis). This man-tiger is a spirit recognised in Vedic literature (a madman is offered to it, VS. 30, 8). All animals have divine creative powers assigned to them as their particular ancestors, but these are for the most part abstract creative energies regarded as daughters

<sup>1)</sup> Śākambharī is from śāka and bhar, "bearer of herbs" (vegetables), as the native commentators admit. There seems to be no reason for confounding this śāka with śāka in śākambhara (an epithet meaning "dung-bearer" obscurely applied to a people or clan in AV. 5, 22, 4), as is done in PW.

<sup>2)</sup> Sītā occasionally is recognised in her human role in Mbh. apart from the formal Rāmākathā. In S 3, 114, 24, an added verse cites her as an example of the faithful wife. In Vedic theology she was wife of Savitṛ or of Indra, TB. 2, 3, 10, 1, Sāvitrī; and Pār. G. 2, 17, 13 (or 9), Indrapatnī. The orthodox Sītāyajña, "sacrifice in honor of Sītā" is recognised in the Harivaṃśa as especially offered by ploughmen (H 3816) in contrast to the "sacrifice in honor of the hill" offered by cowherds (though, characteristically, Kṛṣṇa became the hill, so that the sacrifice as described was made to him, ib. 3876).

or grand-daughters of Dakṣa and wives of Kaśyapa (see § 139, Creation). Some animals are sons of higher divinities (see Garuḍa) or forms of Viṣṇu (§ 143). Of the abstract generators only Surabhi, "mother of cows", has reality, evinced by dramatic scenes and dialogues in which she appears (see Indra). Independent actors in the epics are the semi-divine apes and bears, of whom only the chief in each class is of mythological importance, the others acting like ordinary demi-god heroes and being content with divine origin. As the bear was created before the ape, he may take precedence here. Jāmbavat or Jāmbava (R) is "king of bears", ṛkṣarāja, the son of Prajāpati Brahman, in appearance like a dark cloud (R 4, 39, 27, etc.). He was born of the yawn of Brahman and hence is called son of gadgada, "stammer" (R 1, 17, 6 and 6, 30, 21). On account of his wisdom he is chief of Vidyādhara (q. v.) and at the bidding of the gods he coursed over earth twenty-one times, collecting herbs from which ambrosia was made (R 4, 66, 31). He once helped Indra, and revered Viṣṇu (q. v.) by walking the deasil around him. His brother is Parjanya-like (R 6, 27, 9) and is called Dhūmra, "smoke-colored", which, however, is a common epithet of bears. Jāmbavat is not prominent as sage or warrior in the great epic, though he leads millions of black bears with white faces into battle (3, 280, 23; ib. 283, 8; ib. 284, 26), to help Rāma. He was brought up beside the Narmadā in the Rkṣavat (bear) mountain and is stronger than his brother, but by Rāma's time had become so feeble that he could jump only ninety leagues (R 4, 65, 13 f.). Dazed by Indrajit's blow he sends Hanumat for magic healing herbs (R 6, 74, 21 f.) as soon as he revives. He is the father of Jāmbavatī in Mbh., who was wife of Kṛṣṇa and mother of Sāmba (3, 16, 12; see Viṣṇu). It is curious that he appears as an ape as well as a bear (R 5, 60, 6, harisattama, etc.). Jāmbavatī is called Kapīndraputrī, yet with v. l. Narendraputrī (13, 629 in C=B 14, 41 and S 45, 25); but Kapīndra is also Viṣṇu in 13, 149, 66 (B). The Hariv. tells how Kṛṣṇa overcame Jāmbavat, king of bears, and took away his daughter and the syamantaka jewel (H 2073). In H 6701, Jāmbavatī may be called Rohiṇī, "taking any form" (doubtful). With Jāmbavat's origin from Brahman's yawn may be compared Kṣupa's origin from the same god's sneeze (12, 122, 16 f.), and that of Prajāpati Kardama, born of his shadow (Bh. P. 3, 12, 27; Kardama also as Nāga, 1, 35, 16).

§ 8b. **Hanumat and the Divine Apes.** — The great epic recognises Hanumat as the ape perched on Arjuna's staff, who fights on the side of Kṛṣṇa-Viṣṇu. The Rām. in both versions makes him one of the efficient aiders of Rāma-Kṛṣṇa. Apart from the Rāmakathā, the Mbh. knows him as "foe of the groves of the lord of Laṅkā" (4, 39, 10, Laṅkeśavanā-riketu = Arjuna). Sitā calls him her "son", but this is (conventional) only in showing her grace: "O my son, thy life shall be commensurate with Rāma's glory; and through my grace heavenly enjoyments shall be at thy command" (3, 148, 18 and ib. 291, 45). On Arjuna's standard the ape is no mere figure; it opens its mouth and roars (7, 88, 26). "As Hanumat lifted Gandhamādana", so Bhīma lifted an elephant (7, 129, 139, 86), though the brotherhood of the pair is not here suggested; but it is explained in 3, 146, 65 f., where the Rāma-story is known. He is described here as having a tail like Indra's banner and as making a noise like the bolt of Indra, Śakradhvaja, Indrāśani, with a short thick neck, small lips, red face and ears, sharp white fangs, a moon-like face, and a mane like aśoka-flowers. He is son of Vāyu, the "life of the world" (wind as breath), by the wife

of Kesarin, his strength being so great that Bhīma cannot even move his tail (ib. 147, 24 f.). Subsequently he expands his size till he is larger than a mountain. His nature here is not that of a god but of a pious monster, "glorious as the sun" who worships Viṣṇu (as Rāma, 3, 151, 7). He is, however, also a philosopher, lecturing his brother on the character of the four ages, and present-day customs and duties. He says he is to live as long as the story of Rāma will endure (ib. 148, 17), and will roar on the Pāṇḍu's standard (ib. 151, 17). In the later Mbh. Rāma-story, Hanumat crosses the ocean by his father's aid and so burns Laṅkā (3, 282, 59 f.). His name appears as Hanūmat when metrically convenient. His mother in R is Añjanā (Puñjikasthalā, q. v.), unknown in Mbh. When new-born he sprang up to eat the rising sun supposing it to be edible. With one jump he can go a thousand times around Mt. Meru, etc. These and other extravagances of R 4, 66 and 67 seem to belong to the Nārāyaṇa period when Viṣṇu was All-god (ib. 67, 3). They are later traits than those of the Mbh., as are the statements that his death depends on his own wish (ib. 66, 28); that his left jaw was broken on a mountain-peak after he had leaped up three hundred leagues and then been prevented by Indra from seizing the sun (ib. 66, 21 f.); and that in leaping to Laṅkā he followed the "path of Svāti" (ib. 67, 29). The legend here is that Hanumat was begotten by Vāyu (Māruta) on the Apsaras who had been cursed to become the wife of the ape Kesarin after she was born on earth as daughter of the king-ape Kuñjara; while in R 1, 17, 15 Hanumat is simply one of a lot of monkeys begotten by various gods at Brahman's exhortation. The former account agrees with R 7, 35, which also makes his mother Añjanā wife of Kesarin who lived on Sumeru. As Rāhu alone is entitled to devour the sun, Vāyu here chases Hanumat and it is Rāhu who induces Indra to smite Hanumat (thus injuring his jaw). This latest account describes him as a sort of evil being, who having received a boon of safety acts like any Rākṣasa in like circumstances, till the seers curse him to lose the knowledge of his own power. He is called indifferently Vāyusuta, Māruti, Añjanāsuta, and, as a child touched by Brahman's healing hand, śiśuka, and śiśu, having in fact a resemblance to Śiśu in his leaping and roaring, and being formally likened to him, "roaring like Śiśu on his bed of reeds" (ib. 7, 35, 22; 36, 3 and 33). Owing to his ignorance, he failed to aid Sugriva against Vālin, but when released from his curse he became a distinguished scholar, astrologer, and grammarian. In leaping from Laṅkā he dashes down Mt. Ariṣṭa on his way back, as Maināka rising from the ocean to give him place to rest was also crushed by him. He takes a human form, as do the other apes, on reaching Ayodhyā (R 6, 128, 19 f.; ib. 130, 42). In RG 6, 160, where Hanumat goes to Gandhamādana to collect herbs he releases Gandhakālī, after killing Tālajaṅgha. She had been cursed to be a grahī till Hanumat's arrival, a new phase, shared with Rāma etc., showing a growing cult. He is here called Gandhavahāt-maja, Vāsavadūtasunu (son of the messenger-god, R 6, 74, 62 and 77). The other texts have merely the account of the collecting of four healing herbs at Jāmbavat's instance; but all accounts agree in saying that being unable to find the hidden plants he breaks off the hill-top and brings it with him. He is no god here, only a giant ape, under bond of friendship to execute his master's commands; and so in R 4, 41, 2 Sugriva sends Nila, Jāmbavat, and Hanumat together to search for Sitā under the command of Aṅgada, though he has particular faith in Anilāt-maja, Pavanāsuta

(Hanumat), so that Rāma entrusts to him the "recognition-ring"; but an ape he does not cease to be (*haripuṅgava*, *mahākapi*) and at most is equal to his father in gait and energy (ib. 44, 3 f.). His incidental exploits are to find the cave of Maya (ib. 51); to evade the mother of serpents by slipping into her mouth, after becoming the size of a thumb; to evade Siṃhikā's attempt to arrest his soul-shadow; and to set fire to Laṅkā (ib. 5, 1 to 57), after getting caught, by magic and having had blazing wool fastened to his tail. In his fighting he resembles Bhīma or Ghaṭotkaca who also smite legions with a club and also expand and reduce their forms. Hanumat thus slays 80,000 fiends at one stroke; kills Akṣa (Rāvaṇa's son), Dhūmrākṣa, Akampana, Nikumbha (R 4, 42 and 47; ib. 6, 52 and 57 and 77), and goes under any form, as he will (R 4, 3, 24) when appearing as an ambassador "learned in grammar". The recognition-ring "marked with the name of Rāma" is another late touch not found in the Mbh. version but found in R 4, 42, 12 and 5, 32, 44 (= C 44, 12 and 36, 2). Hanumat disappears from the scene in Uttara with a necklace given him by Rāma (R 7, 40, 24), as at the end of the real epic Sītā gave him a necklace from her own neck (R 6, 131, 76). Hanumat is likened to Garuḍa (R 4, 66, 4), but he is not distinguished for divinity. He is inviolable because he has received a boon of the gods. He is exhorted to leap as "hero-son of Kesarin and Vāyu, by grace of the seers and Gurus and consent of the elder apes" (R 4, 67, 34). He is like Garuḍa in swiftness, like wind in strength, like a bull, a Nāga, an elephant, the moon (R 4, 67, 28 and ib. 5, 1, 2 f.). He is huge as a mountain or small as a cat or as four fingers (ib. 196 and 2, 49). His father killed Śamba, a demon appearing as an elephant (hereditary antagonism, R 5, 35, 81; ib. 6, 27, 25). All the great apes boast a divine paternity. Suśeṇa was son of Dharma; Sugrīva's uncle, Dadhimukha, of the Moon; Vālin and Sugrīva, of Rkṣarajas (son of Viṣṇu), or they were respectively sons of Indra and Sūrya; Nīla was son of Agni; Dvivida and Mainda, of the Aśvins, etc., though different writers give different fathers (Dharma or Varuṇa as father of Suśeṇa). In all this there does not seem to be sufficient ground for the ingenious suggestion put forward by Professor Jacobi (*Rāmāyaṇa*, p. 132) that Hanumat was a village reduction of Indra śipravat. Hanumat has no peculiar Indra-traits, for such as he has he shares with other apes, giants, and fiends. No one knows certainly what śipravat means, but if hanumat means "big-jaw-beat" it is appropriate enough to the ape. Hanumat appears to be merely the typical strong and clever beast in demi-apotheosis standing in this regard with Jāmbavat, Sampāti, Śeṣa, etc. He is not descending but ascending the scale of epic religious beings and appears to have lost nothing. He is not particularly drunken, does not use a bolt, does not reflect Indra in any striking way. He simply skips and throttles (Akṣa) and throws things, and gradually becoming cleverer ends as a priestly grammarian (RS 7, 36, 46 adds: so 'yaṃ navavyākaraṇārthavettā brahmā bhaviṣyaty api). His intelligence is primarily craftiness and cunning, as belongs to an ape, and his village-popularity seems to point to his original habitat as bordering on the forest where apes live. The Mbh. recognises as the great ape (Kapi) Sūrya (q. v. and other sun-gods), which probably reverts to the Vedic Vṛṣākapi.<sup>1)</sup>

<sup>1)</sup> In JRAS. April, 1913, p. 398, Mr. F. E. Pargiter proposes to derive Hanumat from āṇ-mandi (Dravidian) = Vṛṣākapi.

§ 9. **The Cow.** — The divinity of the cow rests on the element in totemism which consists in the deification of that class of animals which provides a livelihood. A pastoral people naturally recognises its herds as its means of life and hence as in the case of the classic troglodytes regards them as its "sacred parents", or, as in the case of the Todas, as its divinity. This is brought out very clearly in the speech of the herder who says (H 3808 f.): "We are herdsmen, living in the wood and living on wealth got from cows, we recognise as our divinity cows and hills and woods. The object of one's closest knowledge (with whatever knowledge one is united) that becomes his divinity, supreme, to be revered and worshipped, for that (skill) alone assists him. We herdsmen make sacrifice to the mountain, for it is worthy of sacrifice. We will sacrifice sanctified cattle at a tree or a hill on a holy altar . . the cows shall walk the deasil around this best of hills". Here the hill is an object of worship because the herdsmen live upon it, and the cows themselves are their divinity because the cow-herders live on the wealth which comes from their cattle (*vayam godhanajivinaḥ, gāvo 'smaddaivataṃ viddhi*). Thus as early as the *Ṛgveda* the cow (less often the bull) is *aghnyā*, "not to be killed". By the time of the epics to kill a cow was worse than murder, excusable only when to do so was to obey a higher law. Such a higher law, says *Rāma*, is filial obedience, and for this reason, because *Kaṇḍu* obeyed his father in killing a cow he did not sin (R 2, 21, 30). Doubtless the sage objected to killing a cow even for sacrificial purposes, as the vegetarian substitutes for animal sacrifice were already part of the *Viṣṇu* cult; for the universal orthodox rule is that cows may be slain only for sacrifice and the epic doubts even this (*paśutvād vinirmuktā gāvaḥ*, 13, 66, 43). No Brahman may eat beef, cow-flesh being usually implied, though a formal tabu specifies as forbidden food fish, swans, frogs, etc., and *anaḍvān* (*mṛttikā cai 'va*, 12, 36, 21 f.; S, *anuṣṇā*), or bull's flesh. Especially sanctity attaches to a "blue bull", *nīlaśaṇḍa*, which is sacred to the Manes (13, 125, 73 f.), though also sacred to *Śiva* (9. v.). To set loose a *nīla vṛṣabha* and to sacrifice a horse are equally meritorious (3, 84, 97). Despite the compassion for the suffering of the mother of cows, *Surabhi*, no blame or remorse is expressed for killing thousands of cows in sacrifice, whose flesh presumably is eaten (only S speaks of the cow as "mother of the world", 3, 131, 6); but the offer of the *arghya* cow is purely conventional hospitality (3, 295, 6, etc.), and cows are said now to be only for giving (13, 66, 43) to priests. *Surabhi* lives under earth (earth as cow is a common synonym), but the *goloka* or world of cows is *Viṣṇu*'s heaven above the three worlds (5, 102, 1 f.; 13, 83, 37). To slay a priest or a cow is equally sinful (12, 145, 9); they are *avadhyāḥ*, "not to be slain" (5, 36, 66). The later epic has a *gomatī vidyā*, inculcating the doctrine of giving cows to priests for the sake of certain worlds (see § 23) to be gained by the giver hereafter. Cows had at first no horns but got them from Brahman; *Śiva* clove the hoofs of the bull; the river *Carmanvatī* is made of the blood of sacrificed cows (8, 34, 104 f.; 13, 66, 38 f.; ib. 78, 22 and 80, 1 f.; ib. 81, 13 and 44). As goddesses, cows are a source of good luck and are not to be struck or kicked; but bullocks may be goaded, for gods use a goad. A sonless man is rescued from his evil state by the gift of three cows (13, 22, 30 f.; ib. 67, 7 f.). Such gifts are to be made especially on the holy eighth day of the moon, when wish-getting ceremonies are performed (*Kāmyāṣṭamī*, 13, 71, 49). In lieu of the real thing,

one may give cow-cakes made of sesamum or even a water-cow (jala-dhenu, 13, 71, 41). Cow-dung is used to smear the house, but it is also to be worshipped as an emblem of the discus of Viṣṇu, as is the yellow pigment from the cow (ib. 146, 48 and ib. 126, 3 f.). Śiva has the bull-standard because he approves of cows, which are the root of prosperity, the food of gods, the support of sacrifice, revered in heaven (13, 51, 27 f.; ib. 126, 38 f.; cf. 3, 133, 6 and ib. 130, 31, on the gift of a kapilā cow).

Though severity is permitted in handling bulls (5, 4, 5), they are not to be castrated nor to have their nostrils pierced (12, 263, 37 and 45 f.). It is not regarded as cruel to kill animals for sacrifice, since it ensures their going to heaven (12, 34, 28). Even a worm is induced by Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana to die for the attainment of bliss (13, 117, 7 f.). Besides the mythical mother-cow, the kāmādhug dhenu Nandini is extolled as the wonder-cow whose possession by Vasiṣṭha (§ 124) caused a war of caste resulting in Viśvāmitra becoming a priest. Anything desirable, from milk to militia, can be milked out of her. She has all the female beauties and "the six flavors of ambrosia"; her milk rejuvenates for ten thousand years (1, 99, 20 f.). On the magical effect of bull's urine, see Magic Observances in the Hindu epic (op. cit.). On Surabhi and the cow-guardians of space, see § 92, § 139. On cows as born of the Sun, see § 36.

§ 10. **The Elephant.** — There is no myth of a world-upholding elephant. Divine elephants are mythological guardians of the quarters. They were originally four, afterwards, when the quarters became subdivided, they too appear as eight, to embrace the districts between East and South, etc. They are called diggajas, diśāgajas (R 5, 37, 65), diśnāgas, digva-ṛaṇas; the word nāga, meaning also the serpent, causes confusion between the two sets of beings. The chief elephant is Airāvata, belonging to Indra (§ 66). The four chiefs are called (6, 64, 57 f.) Airāvata (Airāvaṇa), Vāmana, Añjana (cf. R 4, 37, 5 and 20), and Supratika (also the name of Bhagadatta's elephant), or Sārvabhauma (R 4, 43, 36, etc., ridden by Kubera). But Mahāpadma is also named among these magical "three-fold rutting", four-tusked steeds, which are ridden by demons (6, 64, 57). Supratika is mentioned in 6, 12, 34; he is especially known as the ancestor of "king Airāvaṇa and of Vāmana, Kumuda, and Añjana" (5, 99, 15). S 4, 3, 26 calls him best of gajendras or chief elephants (as elephant of the North, see Indra). In 7, 121, 25, Añjana, Vāmana, Supratika, Mahāpadma, and Airāvata appear as progenitors of earthly elephants, though the theory of creation (1, 66, 60 f.) assigns them to Mātāṅgī, Śvetā, and similar powers, Śveta as son of Śvetā being particularly mentioned as guardian of the quarters. Elsewhere Śveta is a name of a Nāga, a demon, etc., but as appellative it describes the white elephant of Indra. Kumuda is known to the epic only as mentioned above; Añjana and his (western) progeny are praised in 7, 112, 23. The name of the elephant later known as guardian of the North-West, namely Puṣpadanta, appears only as a title of Śiva (R 7, 23, pr. 4, 49) and as the name of one of that god's followers (Mbh. 7, 202, 73). Śiva is "elephant-eared" (12, 285, 77). Both this and Puṇḍarika are Nāga names (5, 36, 29; cf. Airāvata). R recognises the usual four and Sārvabhauma; but also gives a later technical list (R 1, 6, 25, bhadrair mandrair mṛgaiś cai 'va), and another list, viz. Virūpākṣa in the East, Mahāpadma in the South, Saumanasa in the West, and Bhadra in the North (ib. 24 and 40, 12 f.). The late grouping of the eight is not recognised in either epic, but for convenience may be given here: East, Airāvata; SE., Puṇḍarika;

South, Vāmana; SW., Kumuda; West, Añjana; NW., Puṣpadanta; North, Sārvabhauma. The space-elephants carry the (§ 91) Lokapālas and are divine; they blow the winds out of their trunks (7, 94, 47; 6, 12, 36); they are described as living in Samā(-land, Sumeria? 6, 12, 32), in Himavat (3, 108, 10), where they have rubbed the mountains bare with their tusks (ib.); and elsewhere on occasion. Morally the protective elephants are always good, fighting against evil demons. In 8, 82, 25, a battle is likened to one between the lord of Daityas and the lords of directions, Digīśvaras (may be gods). Demons take the form of elephants, such as the one whom Indra killed at Benares (3, 173, 50), and there are Dānavanāgas, "demoniac elephants" (8, 18, 6). Elephants weep in battle and show three temporal streams, but Airāvata and Bhagadatta's Supratika show seven (6, 95, 24 and 33). Other than the divine elephants have four tusks, but they live in Lañkā (R 5, 9, 5) or in the mythological North (3, 158, 90). Ordinary elephants spurt water in war, throw weapons with the hand (7, 26, 50; 1, 81, 13, but for dvipahastaiḥ S has dvipastaiḥ), and even sing verses (R 6, 16, 6). See also § 51, § 93.

§ 11. **Demoniac Animals.** — Animals "possessed" by demons are common and are to be distinguished from animals which are merely temporary forms of demons, though to make the distinction is not always possible. In 12, 114, 17, manuṣyasālāvṛka is a human jackal but apparently only in a metaphorical sense, a mean man. In 3, 269, 7 f., sālāvṛka = gomāyu, announcing disaster because appearing on the left; ib. 173, 48, sālāvṛkas are demoniac forms in battle, but as these include apes, elephants, and bears, as well as Śarabhas, Bhūruṇḍas, and ghosts, they may be animals. Only in 12, 33, 29 they appear as forms of Brāhmaṇas called Sālāvṛkas because they fought, eighty-eight thousand in number, against the gods. The demons killing Kaca in 1, 76, 29 "gave him to the sālāvṛkas", but here, as in the earlier tale of Indra giving the ascetics to the same beasts, there is no reason to suppose that the animals were other than those in 6, 59, 127; 7, 30, 19 (etc., etc.) or in 10, 9, 5, i. e. real jackals or jackal-forms of demons<sup>1</sup>).

The Śarabha: This animal is represented as one whose roar, garjita, frightens other animals in the forest. In similes, it appears as a fighter and combatants "fight like tigers, hawks, and śarabhas" (7, 127, 41 and 132, 11). The Rām. knows a monkey-chief of that name, easily overthrown by Kumbhakarna (R 6, 67). Śarabha is a proper name but also a monster in Mbh., with eight feet, and slays lions (aṣṭapādaḥ śarabhaḥ siṃha-ghāti, 3, 134, 15; 7, 1, 28, etc.). Yet it is found on Mt. Krauñca (9, 46, 87), but not as a monster; and on Gandhamādana, with lions, tigers, etc. (5, 158, 40), as if one of the ordinary animals of the wood and mountain. The later epic increases its monstrosity; it has both eight legs and one eye above, ūrdhvanayanaḥ, and eats raw flesh (12, 117, 13 f.), where it has part in the fable of the dog turned into a śarabha. It is, however, listed among edible animals as belonging to mṛgajātis which a gentleman offers his guest for dinner (antelope, śarabha, hare, bear, ruru-deer,

<sup>1</sup>) On the conception of the sālāvṛka as wehrwolf, cf. RV. 10, 95, 15; Brunnhofer, *Arische Urzeit*, 284 f. (Hyrcanians); and Oertel, *JAOS.* 19, 123 f., on the Vedic legend concerning Indra and the ascetics. S ed. has s, the Bombay ed. ś. Demons may be born beasts as well as assume temporarily beast-forms. So Bali is reborn as the son of an ass (12, 224, 6). Conversely, horses and cows become gods (3, 181, 13). For the divine horse, see sub Indra (§ 68).



eṇi, prṣata, nyaṅku, śambara, gayal, boar, and buffalo meat, 3, 267, 13). Besides being a personal name of heroes (not uncommon), it is one of the names of Viṣṇu (§ 143 f.), as of honored apes, demons, and Nāgas (cf. śarabha as title of Buddha). As an Asura the name said to be equivalent to uṣṭra, also an Asura, may be dialectic for karabha, camel (which suggests Zarathustra). A camel's roar would frighten any beast and on first appearance so queer an animal would be apt to breed queer stories. H 2651 has Uṣṭra as Asura; Śarabha is a Dānava 1, 65, 26, and a Daiteya, reborn as Paurava, in 1, 67, 27. The intimate relation between man, beast, and gods, may be illustrated by the story of Sārameya, son of Saramā, the devaśunī, who herself has a place in Brahman's heaven (2, 11, 40). When the sons of Janamejaya beat Sārameya, he induces his mother to curse the seer and the latter chooses as priest to allay the pāpakṛtyā a young sage whose mother was a snake (sarpī = Nāgī? 1, 3, 1 f.). The mythology of other real animals, except as regards their creation (§ 139 f.) through mediate powers, has to do with them as omens and cause of good luck. To touch a bull brings good fortune. The skin and teeth of others avert demons, Pramathas, etc. The tortoise, cat, and goat, and the skin and teeth of a hyena guard from such evil ("smiting") influence. The color is of importance: "He (say the evil Pramathas) is free from our influence who harbors in his house as rakṣoghnāni a cat or goat, black or brown-yellow" (13, 131, 10 f.). The destruction of the crab by its young, the destruction of the silkworm by its own coils, the rising of the spider from its destroyed web to a new home (life), and the fresh growth of horns in deer and skin in snake, are all genuine or erroneous epic (and pre-epic) observations of natural history utilised for philosophical reflection rather than mythological data, and need not be illustrated here.

§ 12. **Divine and Demoniac Birds.** — a) Many birds can talk, but the effect on the parrot of the curse of Agni (§ 49 f.) introduces myth. Religiously and mythologically the goose, haṃsa, is the most exalted bird, its high flight, loneliness (above other birds), and white color making it an emblem of the pure soul and of God, the supreme bird of a thousand wings (5, 46, 14 f.); yet because of RV. 10, 123, 6 the soul-bird is golden-winged (12, 47, 17 and 45), so geese that talk, qua spiritual beings, are golden (3, 53, 19), but usually the haṃsa is white (3, 304, 17; 7, 132, 29 f.). The goose goes to Meru, lives at lake Mānasa; its form is assumed by Varuṇa (§ 59 f.), etc. It flies high (R 2, 9, 44) and represents the sun (hence golden). The haṃsa separates milk from water (1, 74, 91 and passim), but so do other birds (VS. 19, 73). Not every goose is godly; the kalahaṃsa lacks this distinction (it is grey not white). The haṃsa is the vehicle of Viṣṇu, but also of Kubera (§ 22); its flight is exceeded only by Garuḍa (R 4, 58, 28). Luck in omens is indicated by position and sex of the observer (right side lucky for men), yet in a house, turtle-doves, parrots, sārikās, and cockroaches bring luck; but vultures, pigeons, fire-flies, and bees are unlucky (13, 104, 114 f.). A red-brown owl with green eyes attacking crows (cf. R 6, 17, 26) portends misfortune (10, 1, 37). Yet unlucky birds are used as standard-figures, apparently without thought of danger. Some of Garuḍa's sons are birds (by name), Sārasa, Kapota (5, 101, 11 f.). The first is auspicious, the second inauspicious, for vultures, crows (v. l. cranes), hawks (and especially pigeons) are unlucky, while peacocks, geese, sārāsas, cātakas, and jīvamjīvakas are very auspicious

(5, 143, 18f.); as are cāṣas, śatapatras, and krauñcas. Herons, hawks, vultures, cranes, crows, though inauspicious, are auspicious (nimittāni dhanyāni) if they precede a warrior into battle (8, 72, 11f.), as these affect not the warrior behind, but the enemy who are advancing against him from the opposite direction. When one starts into battle, the rear is the auspicious position as is the left side. Before starting, the right is the auspicious side; omens which in general are favorable (good birds and agreeable sounds) are better in the rear, because from there they urge the troops on to victory, while in front they obstruct success (12, 102, 10f.). Red-footed birds and pigeons are particularly inauspicious (5, 143, 18f. and R 7, 6, 56). In R 6, 108, 21, a ḡḍhracakram circles over the doomed man and follows wherever he goes (also ḡḍhrakulam, "flock of vultures"). The pigeon is most feared, which made Śibi especially courageous in harboring this (Vedic) death-messenger, for it is a "horrible portent" if a pigeon alights on one (ghoraṃ kapotasya nipātaṃ āhuḥ, 3, 197, 5; cf. R 2, 12, 43; ib. 14, 4, etc.; the tale is told in four different forms in the epic). Other birds are typical rather than ominous, cātakas typifying thirst; cakravākas the longing of love; the peacock, shameless, dances in joy of rain, etc. There is a tabu against eating the flesh of goats, parrots, and peacocks (13, 104, 93; on the indecency of the peacock, see 5, 73, 10 and 12, 114, 10), but peacocks, deer, goats, and boars are provided as a feast for Rāma (which shocks the scholiast, R 2, 91, 69, who says that they were not for Rāma to eat personally, but for the low-caste men, Niṣādas). The later interpretation of the cakora as a betrayer of blood is not mentioned by epic writers, who regard it as a red-eyed but pleasant singing bird (7, 126, 40; cf. 3, 158, 86 and 13, 54, 11). The curlew inspires Vālmiki (R 1, 2, 29f.). See also bird-forms assumed by the gods (Indra, etc.), and on Viṣṇu as sun-bird see § 143.

b) Of quite different character is the Bhāruṇḍa bird. It is the function of this bird to bury the Hyperboreans, when these near-immortals die (like Rāma they live ten thousand and ten hundred years, 6, 7, 12). Bhāruṇḍas have strong beaks and bodies and take up the corpses of the Northern Kurus and "bury them in caves". But along with the sālāvṛkas, etc., which appear with ghosts and demons in the tumult of battle, are certain Bhuruṇḍas (3, 173, 48) and probably these are the same as the Bhāruṇḍas, as soul-seizers, sirens or harpies (cf. 3, 207, 36, bheruṇḍa). The ruṇḍa is a mangled headless corpse, a late equivalent of the epic kabandha, a torso which dances on the battle-field. Like sirens, the Bhāruṇḍas sing (in the western and northern wilds) and have human faces, their songs being described as "exceedingly pleasant". They are here associated with the Bhūliṅga-bird, which cries "beware" while picking the lion's teeth (2, 41, 18; ib. 44, 28; 12, 169, 10). S omits Bhūliṅgas (in Śānti), thus ascribing human traits and sweet song only to the Bhāruṇḍas. Birds that talk are not mythological, as parrots, crows, sārīkās, jīvajīvakas, etc. are kept in cages and mimic all sounds and talk. Compare in Mbh. the story of Pūjanī (12, 139, 4f.), and in R the tale of the talking crow (R 2, 95, pra. 13), for late exaggerations of the theme (R 2, 35, 18). Demons take bird-forms (Śuka, etc.), to act as spies (R 6, 20, 35, etc.). The birds tell a saint all that is going on (vāyasi vidyā, 12, 92, 7f.). The talkative vulture who lived a thousand years belongs to fable rather than to myth (12, 153, 54).

c) The lord of the feathered race is the mythological "fair bird", called Garutmat Suparṇa, the form Garuḍa being, however, the common one in the epics. "Garutmat carries off the ambrosia" (R 3, 30, 5) and, at the conclusion of the same rape of ambrosia in Mbh. 1, 33, 16, taṃ vavre vāhanaṃ Viṣṇu Garutmantaṃ mahābalaṃ. Compare 3, 12, 90, Vainateyo yathā pakṣi Garutmān patatāṃ varaḥ (also 5, 105, 19). In such passages Garuḍa is formally identified with the (Vedic) Garutmat. He is brother of Aruṇa, the foregoer of the Sun-god (§ 38), and may have been originally a form of the sun (as bird), but the epic shows no other distinguishing solar traits in the character of Garuḍa. He is the egg-born son of Vinatā, hatched after a thousand years, the younger brother of Aruṇa, created, according to a late tradition, because the Vāḷakhilya saints, angry with Indra for insulting them, wished a rival "king of birds" to humiliate the god. Garuḍa is always son of Kaśyapa, and an Āditya, though called Vainateya from his mother (1, 16, 24; R 3, 14, 31), swift as wind or thought (1, 31, 13f.; 3, 155, 19; R 6, 34, 4, etc.), and especially distinguished as a rending, tearing, snake-devouring monster (1, 102, 46, etc.). The fulsome hymn in Ādi, in which he is called the sun, tapanāḥ sūryaḥ (1, 23, 9f. and 16), calls him also creator, destroyer, fire, Dakṣa, Brahman, Viṣṇu, etc. and is no index of the usual epic conception, which it marvellously exaggerates. This conception is that of a giant bird, whose most persistent traits are those expressed by the epithets bhujagāri, pannagāśana, etc., and suparṇa, that is, "a bird of beautiful feathers that eats snakes" (2, 24, 24, Garutmān pannagāśanaḥ; 1, 16, 24, pannagabhajanaḥ). The peacock is the only bird recognised by the epic as bhujagāśana (12, 120, 4, yathā barhāṇi citrāṇi bibharti bhujagāśanaḥ; N. mayūraḥ), and sarpāśana (sarpabhuj) is a later name for peacock<sup>1</sup>). The peacock is Garuḍa's gift to Skanda, "his dear son, the fair-feathered peacock" (the fighting cock being Aruṇa's gift, 9, 46, 51). Garuḍa may mean "devourer". But the epic makes a typical roc out of him. He frightens all, as he falls out of the sky, with claws extended, and the rush of his "double wings", which are like double gates of a city (1, 207, 32; 22, 227, 21), beats down forests (8, 76, 37; R 3, 25, 28), and even the sea is stirred by him (Tārksya, 7, 14, 60). His shape gives a name to a weapon, an army-formation, a fire-altar, etc. (R 6, 193, 21; ib. 1, 14, 27; Mbh. 6, 25, 2f.). He is best of birds or "the bird" (2, 19, 8; 5, 113, 2; vihaṅgama, pataga, also the sun, 1, 173, 23; 6, 12, 45). The eyes of the race of Vinatā are remarked upon by Sampāti, who says he can see a hundred leagues because he comes from that stock (R 4, 58, 29). Epic etymology connects his name with guru, "load", because (1, 30, 7) he carries a branch of the talking tree, heavy as earth, and an elephant and tortoise as big as mountains. In H 10775f., he fights with Mayūra diptatejas. His great feat was to carry off ambrosia, of which however he did not eat, so that he remains mortal, but he won Viṣṇu's favor, who made him his vehicle (1, 23, 5f.; R 3, 35, 27f.). He is here called Tārksya as well as Vainateya (Aruṇa also has the last title, R 4, 58, 28). The epic formally distinguishes as

<sup>1</sup>) On Garuḍa and Viṣṇu, see § 143. The peacock as sun-bird (cf. Johansson, Sol-fågeln i Indien, p. 77f., referring to Jāt. 2, 33 and 4, 332f.) is the connecting link between the sun-bird, reflected in Garutmat-Garuḍa, and the epic roc that devours (Nāgas and other) snakes. The theft of Soma by Garuḍa is thus the oldest epic trait, parallel to that of the eagle (sun) Viṣṇu (Johansson).

Vainateyas, "Tārksya, Ariṣṭanemi, Garuḍa, Aruṇa, Āruṇi, and Vāruṇi" (1, 65, 40; cf. 5, 71, 5; H 12468), yet distinction is lost when Garuḍa-dhvaja = Tārksya-ketana (2, 45, 61), and "Tārksya" is the vehicle of Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa (13, 14, 43), as is Garuḍa (2, 24, 23). "As the ass cannot equal the speed of the horse, so no bird can equal the speed of Tārksya" (R 2, 105, 6; S 12, 117, 24 says that gāruḍam balam may be given to other birds by divine power). Also in 5, 105, 18f. Garutmat = Tārksya, and so generally. The tārksyas are birds (as a race "Tārksyas" in 2, 52, 15, with Persians, may be Turks; it is a late insertion, not in S). Only S has the proverb preserved in Pañc. 1, 474: "Men honor not Tārksya, who kills snakes, but the snakes" (S 3, 28, 16; see Ind. Spr. 39), that is, they honor those they fear; but it brings out the chief function of Garuḍa (Tārksya). Tārksya as "antidote to poison" (in later use) suggests garuḍa as for garāda = viṣād. The emerald is elsewhere a "foe of poison" and "stone of Garuḍa" (garalāri, garuḍāśman), the first reminding one of bhu-jagāri as Vainateya (S 5, 94, 16). Garuḍa becomes the vehicle of Viṣṇu only after a struggle, in which the greater god showed that the great bird could not even move his arm (5, 105, 10f.), though in Ādi this happens as the result of Garuḍa's complaisance (1, 33). Garuḍa helps Viṣṇu by carrying him and even by fighting for him (R 7, 8, 19f.). Garuḍa makes friends with Indra by respecting the bones of his bolt (1, 33, 17f.). He shares with Hanumat the glory of sitting on a flag-staff of Kṛṣṇa (2, 24, 23). In Rām. he is not active except as the "vehicle of Viṣṇu" and type of speed and robber of ambrosia, save that he frightens away the snake-arrows of Indrajit and cures Rāma and his brother (R 6, 50, 33f.). Brahman's shaft is feathered with his lovely feathers (R 6, 111, 12). The blessing at Mbh. 1, 28, 14 is referred to in R 2, 25, 33, and Vainateya is said to have told Sagara how his sons might be revived, as he was the brother of Sagara's second wife Sumati (R 1, 38, 14). The Mbh. gives a series of his adventures, on the journey with Gālava (5, 107, 16f.), in which Garuḍa loses his wings, owing to his evil designs on Śaṇḍilī (ib. 113, 1f.). In the later epic he brings Uparicara to heaven at Viṣṇu's command (12, 333, 32f.). Already in 7, 143, 48, Kṛṣṇa bids Bhūriśravas go to heaven on the back of Garuḍa, but the warrior does not seem to have availed himself of the bird as psychopomp. Viṣṇu having kicked on to Garuḍa's breast the Nāga Sumukha, whom Garuḍa was going to eat, "since then Garuḍa lives at peace with Sumukha" (5, 104—5). In 6, 6, 14, Sumukha is a son of Garuḍa, the eldest of six (5, 101, 2), sires of all snake-eating birds: Sumukha, Sunāman, Sunetra, Suvarcas, Suruc, and Subala; though in the line, vaṃśa, of Kapila, and family, kula, of Vinatā there are thousands, all with the śrīvatsa sign, and all worshippers of Viṣṇu; all are Kṣatriyas also, but, because they destroy their "kindred" (by eating snakes), they cannot become Brahmins. The names are partly sun-, fire-, and Viṣṇu-names with many others, Vālmiki, Niśākara, Divākara, etc. The plural Garuḍas and Garutmats are demoniac forms of battle (3, 173, 48), or birds of prey (R 6, 131, 51; ib. 105, 22). Garuḍī = Suparṇī = Svāhā (3, 225, 9f.; see § 161f.). The Vainateyas live either in the sixth (upper) world (R 4, 58, 28) or, usually, in Pātāla (5, 101, 6f.) or south of the Niśadhas in the Golden Valley (varṣa, 6, 8, 6), or on Himavat (12, 328, 7, "which Garuḍa regularly occupies"). In R 4, 40, 38, however, Viśvakarman builds "the house of Vainateya" beside the Red Sea. Both Mbh. 1, 66, 69; 3, 279, 1, and R 3, 14, 31 derive Jaṭāyus and Sampāti from

Aruṇa and Śyeni, which makes the two brothers solar birds, nephews of Garuḍa. Sampāti, the elder, protects the younger when flying to the sun, but the sun burns him and he falls wingless upon Malaya (3, 282, 47f.) or Vindhya (R 4, 58, 1f.). This happened "after Vṛtra's death". The two are "vultures" (R 4, 60, 19), but monstrous, changing shape at will. In R 7, 5, 44, Sampāti is a demon. Those fleeing with Vibhiṣaṇa include Sampāti, seven in all, appearing as men or birds in battle (R 3, 37, 7f.). Sampāti's son, who brought him food, is Supārśva (R 4, 59, 8f.). The wings of these monster birds, who are all like rocs, are red, and two or more in number (ib. 63, 8f.). Jaṭāyus, who helps Sitā, converses learnedly on genealogy (R 3, 14), contends with Rāvaṇa (ib. 51), tells his own story and then dies (ib. 67f.). The brothers, Sampāti and Jaṭāyus, seem like under-studies of Garuḍa and Aruṇa (next generation, sons of Aruṇa), but the generalised birds called "warriors", Garuḍas and Tārksyas may conceivably have been human chieftains of the western coast, though mythologically they are all ātmajas of Garuḍa and scarcely present as strong a claim to euhemeristic interpretation as do their natural foes the Nāgas. The remaining members of the direct family of Vinatā, Ariṣṭanemi, Vāruṇi, and Āruṇi, are reckoned conventionally as belonging to the same bird-race, but each of them is a well-known seer of the epic, or rather, a well-known seer is called Āruṇi, etc. Ariṣṭanemi alone, however, is (Vedic) Tārksya (3, 184, 3f.; ib. 186, 1f.; 12, 289, 2f.) and may be equivalent to Garuḍa in RG 5, 2, 10; but the v. l. putro for bhrātā (R 4, 66, 4, and B) makes the exact bearing of this passage uncertain. In R 1, 38, 4 and 14, he is father of Sumati, "sister of Suparṇa", and appears also in Jaṭāyus' genealogy (R 3, 14) as a Prajāpati. He is the brother of Pṛthu in Hariv. 1921. Garuḍa is also name of a son of Kṛṣṇa by the same late authority (H 9196).

§ 13. **Serpents.** — All serpents are of divine extraction, since one of Kaśyapa's eight wives was Tāmrā, whose daughter Śukī was mother of Natā and thus grandmother of Vinatā, and Vinatā was mother of Surasā, who bore the Nāgas, and of Kadrū, who bore serpents (pannagas; R 3, 14, 28f., Mbh. 1, 66, 70). The distinction between Nāgas and serpents here indicated is lost, however, when Kadrū herself, as sister of Vinatā, is called the mother of the Nāga or Nāgas and Vinatā is mother of Garuḍa and Aruṇa (§ 12). The general abode of these divine serpents is below earth; and here is usually to be found Śeṣa, the Nāga of a thousand mouths, who "supports earth from beneath" (5, 103, 2f.; 7, 94, 48, *adhastād dharaṇim... sadā dhārayate*). He is here conceived as an inhabitant of Bhogavatī, where he is "best of serpents", pannagas, rather than as upholding or entwining Viṣṇu. It is the "endless serpent lying upon the waters" that gets the name Ananta (*bhogavat*) and is regarded by later writers (R 7, 104, 5) as a creation of Viṣṇu's illusion, *udakeśaya*, "lying on the water", like Viṣṇu himself as Nārāyaṇa. In R 3, 14, 7, he is said to be one of the Prajāpatis. But this Nāga Śeṣa is called also an inferior Deva, moon-faced, of a thousand heads, who encircles the world and eventually curls himself over Viṣṇu; one of his titles being *dharaṇīdhara* (R 4, 40, 49; H 3027). He is described also as lying in the eastern district of the northern world on the top of Mt. Jātarūpa (thirteen leagues from Jaloda, where the Vaḍavāmukha is found), beneath a three-headed golden palm-tree; he has eyes as large as a lotus-leaf and is worshipped by all beings. The name Ananta (endless) is explained in particular as anan-