

YAMA, GANDHARVA, AND GLAUCUS

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THE purpose of these notes is to review the Vedic and Avestic data relating to Yama and the Gandharva and to consider the possibility of connecting them with the Glaucus-saga. Without neglecting the works of predecessors in this field, I have re-examined to the best of my ability the Vedic and Avestic material, but have abstained from drawing to any great extent upon the later literatures.

A. THE RG-VĒDA

I. *Yama*. The main facts are well known. The father of Y. is Vivasvant (Vālah. iv. 1, IX. cxiii. 8, cxiv. 1, X. xiv. 1, xvii. 1, lviii. 1, lx. 10, clxiv. 2), an Āditya, who is also father of the Aśvins and Manu, and thus ancestor of mankind (and of gods also, in one passage, X. lxiii. 1). Vivasvant is especially connected with the rituals of fire and Sōma, and Agni is his messenger (I. lviii. 1, IV. vii. 4, VIII. xxxix. 3, X. xxi. 5). In post-Vedic times he was regarded as the sun, and this identification may have begun even before the end of the Vedic age. RV. I. lxxxiii. 4 says: "Atharvan (the mythical fire-priest) first with sacrifices laid out the ways; then was born Sūrya Vēna; Uśanā Kāvya drave home the kine; we worship Yama's immortal birth." This passage seemingly represents Sūrya Vēna, the "Watcher Sun", as Yama's father; we shall speak of Vēna again, in connexion with RV. IX. lxxxv. 9-12 and X. cxxiii. On the other hand, X. x. 4 definitely states that Yama's parents were the Gandharva in the Waters and the Water-Lady (*gandharvó apsv ápyā ca yóṣā sá nō nábhīḥ paramám jāmi tán nāu*). The Gandharva, from his association with the celestial Sōma, and perhaps for some other reasons (e.g. he travels through space, dwells in the heaven, and is "sun-skinned", *sūryatvac*, in AV. II. ii. 2), is sometimes connected with the sun (Macdonell, *Ved. Myth.*, p. 136), and perhaps may have even been provisionally identified with it by some poets. Thus the tendency to find a solar meaning for Vivasvant is perhaps Vedic. There is, however, no reason to believe that this conception goes back to Indo-Iranian times. As the Avesta shows, he was originally a godly king and teacher of primitive mankind, traditionally connected with the cult of the sun, fire, and Sōma, who in course of time was identified by Indian priests with the sun-god, and perhaps in a few cases also with the Gandharva.

Yama in RV. is chiefly worshipped as the king of the blessed dead, who led the souls of the Fathers into Paradise (for details see Macdonell, *V.M.*, pp. 167, 171), where he reigns in bliss among them, together with Varuṇa (of whom we shall speak later), Agni, and other gods, the company including Vivasvant. This paradise of Yama is the third and highest heaven, a place of unfading light and unfailing waters (I. xxxv. 6, IX. cxiii. 7-9, X. xiv. 8, etc.), which seems to be identical with the third abode of Viṣṇu "where godly men revel, for there, akin (*bāndhu*) to the Wide-Strider, is a spring of honey [the celestial Sōma] in Viṣṇu's highest realm" (I. cliv. 5; cf. X. xv. 3).¹ This localisation, however, is not primitive: originally Yama's realm lay outside heaven, though not very far, as we shall see.

The later hymns of RV. show Yama's character in course of change to his post-Vedic rôle as the horrific judge of the dead; but with this we are not now concerned.

Primarily, then, Yama was a legendary king, who by his holiness was enabled to establish a realm of immortal life and bliss for the righteous of olden time, to which good men of all generations have the right of entry. The outlines of this Indo-Iranian myth have been ably sketched by Hertel in *Die Himmelstore*; we shall return to it anon. The immortality thus won was believed to be due to the magic powers of the Sōma, according to RV. I. xci. 1, 6, VIII. xlviii. 3, IX. xcvii. 11, xcvi. 39, cvi. 8, cviii. 3, cxiii. 7 f., etc.; and this idea was probably Indo-Iranian.

II. *Gandharva*. The Gandharva in RV. is a primitive sort of Eros, a spirit of generation, *res venerea*, and fertility, and chiefly connected with waters and Sōma.² Originally there was but one Gandharva: the plural is a later development, like the Greek Erotes. He is a mighty and mysterious being (AV. II. i. 1-2). He is mated with an Apsaras, the Water-Lady or *ápyā yóṣā* (RV. X. x. 4), and they dwell in heaven with Yama and the blessed dead (AV. IV. xxxiv. 3; cf. below); once, as we saw, they are said to be the parents

¹ With this compare the phrase *bradhāśya viśvāpam* (IX. cxlii. 10) applied to Yama's realm; *bradhāś* may equally denote the sun and the Sōma; cf. Hillebrandt, *Ved. Myth.* I. pp. 322 ff., 394 ff., III. 417.

² This ancient conception seems to have survived oddly in the name *Kandarpa*, a classical title of the god of love, Kāma. I would explain *Kandarpa* as a Prakrit form of *Gandharva*. In some of the vernaculars classed together by the grammarian as "Pāñcī", particularly the Drāviḍi, the word *gandharva* might either become directly *kandarpa*, or first change to *kandappa* and thence by a false etymology from *darpa* be Sanskritised into *kandarpa*.

of Yama, but this affiliation does not seem to be originally Indo-Iranian.

The Gandharva in RV. is the guardian of the Sōma in heaven (IX. lxxxiii. 4, lxxxv. 12, cxiii. 3; cf. AV. VII. lxxiii. 3, ŚBr. III. vi. 2, 9, etc.). To the ancient Aryans "heaven" was a dome or vault, *ndka*. As Hertel has shown, this *ndka* was primitively conceived as a vast mountain, within which the gods dwelt; it may be added in support of this view that *ndka* seems to have originally meant "mountain", and to be connected with *nāku* "a hill" (particularly an anthill). In classical literature it appears as Mount Mēru, the residence of the gods, *surdlaya* (Amara-k. I. i. 1, v. 45). Even in Vedic times this conception is still to some degree preserved in phrases such as *ndkasya pṛsthé*, "on the back (i.e. ridge) of heaven", and *ṛdasya sánāu* "on the ridge of holiness", i.e. of the heavenly world. Here, or close by, was the fountain of the celestial Sōma watched by the Gandharva¹; and hither came the Eagle (*śyēnd*), or in other versions Indra himself, to carry away Sōma (IV. xxvii. 3, etc.; cf. Macdonell, *V.M.*, p. 136 f., Hillebrandt, *V.M.*, I. p. 278 f.). Borrowing imagery from this legend, the poets represent Vēna, the Watcher (i.e. the sun, who as it were brings the Sōma to the earthly sacrifice: cf. *vēndh* IX. lxxxv. 10, *vēndnām* ib. 11), as a golden bird, Varuṇa's messenger, flying up to the ridge of heaven, *ṛdasya sánāu* (X. cxxiii. 1 f.), to fetch the immortal waters, i.e. the Sōma, which the Gandharva found (ib. 4.); here, in highest heaven, *paramé vyòman*, the home of Yama, *yamāsya yóniḥ*, where the Apsaras and her gallant (scil. the *āpyā yóṣā* and Gandharva) embrace, Vēna rests, a friend in a friend's home (ib. 5-6); and the Gandharva rises up on the heavenly vault, *ndka*, bearing weapons diverse of hue, etc. (ib. 7; cf. IX. lxxxv. 12).² The pith of this is that the Sōma used in daily sacrifice is

¹ It should be observed that in RV. the celestial Sōma is imagined (a) sometimes, and most commonly, as a spring or stream, on which cf. above, p. 704, and Hillebrandt, *V.M.* I. p. 319 ff., (b) sometimes as a plant of paradise, and (c) perhaps in some places of RV., and usually in later Vedic and post-Vedic writings, as being contained in a bowl or pitcher. But even in the tale of the Rape of Sōma in Mahābh. I. the ideas seem confused: Garuda is said to pluck it up, *samsutpāṣya*, as if it were a plant, xxxiii. 10 (cf. Charpentier, *Die Suparnasage*, p. 182, n. 1).

² Verse 8 refers to Sōma descending into the water in the earthly vat. "Gazing with a vulture's eye," *pāśyan gṛdhṛasya cakṣuḥ*, is a proverbial phrase for keen sight: cf. *sūparṣam cakṣuḥ* in *Suparṣādhyāya* III. 5; for the thought cf. X. xxx. 2, where the priests are bidden to come to the waters (in the Sōma-vata) upon which the ruddy Bird (the spirit of Sōma) is gazing. Hillebrandt, *Ved. Myth.* I. p. 430 ff., interprets this hymn as a Moon-psalm.

freely granted by Yama and the gods to men, and the Gandharva does not fight to retain it.

The connexion with *waters* is fundamental (RV. I. xxii. 14; *gandharvó apsu,* X. x. 4, ut sup.; *apdm g.*, IX. lxxxvi. 36, applied to Sōma; cf. X. cxxxix. 4, AV. II. i. 3). The Gandharvas are the folk of Varuṇa (ŚBr. XIII. iv. 3, 7); the relation is again obscurely indicated in Kaṭha Up. II. vi. 5, *yathāpou pariva dadṛśē tathā gandharvalōkē*. Water to the ancient Hindu represented life, animal and vegetable, fertility, health, generative power; Sōma was its quintessence, the elixir of immortal life and vigour.¹ Both the waters and the Sōma are in the highest heaven, the dwelling of Yama; and thence the waters, divine life-saps, are brought to earth by Gandharvas and Apsarases, who therewith impregnate men, animals, and vegetation.² The Gandharva was thus constantly travelling from heaven to earth (*rājasō vimānaḥ*, RV. X. cxxxix. 5) for the benefit of the world; and this trait of wandering has persisted in his tribe even into modern times.

Equally important is the association with *Sōma*. The Gandharva is the guardian of the Sōma in heaven, and vainly strove to prevent Indra or Indra's messenger-bird from carrying away Sōma. From this attitude towards Indra, the popular national god, the Gandharvas

¹ Waters are the foundations of the whole world, ŚBr. VI. viii. 2, 2, XII. v. 2, 14; Hiraṇyakēśhīrghya-s. II. iv. 10, 7; they are the elixir of immortality, ŚBr. IV. iv. 3, 15, XIII. viii. 1, 9; they are the same as *amṛta*, ib. I. ix. 3, 7, XI. v. 4, 5; the wives of Amṛta (= Sōma), *amṛtasya pātṛiṣ*, ib. III. ix. 4, 16. They are the body of Viṣṇu, in Smṛti quoted in Śrībhāṣya on Vēdāntasūtra II. i. 9; their presiding deity is Sōma, Mahābhār. XIV. xlii. 22 (Anugītā). They form the essence of vegetation, ŚBr. III. vi. 1, 7. They are the healing principle in nature, and give long life and generative power, RV. I. xxiii. 19 ff., X. ix. 1 ff. (where note 3, *janāyatā ca saḥ*, "give us generative power," and 6, an allusion to Sōma), AV. VI. xci. 3; Macdonell, *V.M.*, p. 85; Bloomfield, *Atk. Veda*, p. 62, etc.

² This is the meaning of the prayer for offspring addressed to G. and A. in Pañcav. Br. XIX. iii. 2, and the belief that every bride belonged first to Sōma, next to the G. Viśvāvasu, and next to Agni, and that in the early days of marriage the G. was a rival of the husband, RV. X. lxxxv. 22, 40 ff. (cf. AV. XIV. ii. 3 f.): Sōma is the prime spirit and source of life, the G. his minister who brings the life to earth, and Agni the ministering god by whose agency the marriage is solemnised (cf. *gandharvīṣu paṭhyāṣu*, RV. X. lxxx. 6), and each of the three gods claims a *droit de seigneur*. The Buddhists have preserved a popular belief (perhaps already hinted at in RV. X. clxxvii. 2) that every soul (or what corresponds to a soul in Buddhism) is conveyed into its mother's womb as a Gandharva: cf. La Vallée Poussin, *Deux Notes sur le Prañītyasamupāda*, *Actes du XIV^e Congrès Intern. d. Oriental.*, tom. I, p. 200, and A. Hillebrandt, *Ved. Myt.*, I. p. 426, and id. *Zur Bedeutung v. Gandharva*, *Jahresber. d. Schles. Gesellsch. f. vaterländ. Cultur*, IV. Abteil, 1906 (the latter two articles unconvincing). The G. digs up for Varuṇa an aphrodisiac plant, AV. IV. iv. 1. On the residence of G. and A. in trees see Macdonell, *V.M.*, p. 134.

began later to fall into some disrepute, and in some quarters to be classed among noxious demons (AV. IV. xxxvii. 8 ff., XII. i. 50, etc.); and this is perhaps the reason for the tales of the G. Viśvāvasu *stealing* the Sōma from Gāyatrī (TS. VI. i. 6, 5, MS. III. vii. 3, Kāth. XXIII. 10, ŚBr. III. ii. 4, 1 f., vi. 2, 2 f., etc.). In general belief, however, they became amorous and graceful demigods of no particular importance, inhabiting a world of their own, and noteworthy only because of their practice of music, a trait derived from the Vedic conception of Yama's world (RV. X. cxxxv. 7).

B. THE AVESTA

I. *Yima*. In Avesta and post-Avestic literature Yima (Yima Xšaēta, later Jam, Jamshēd) has stubbornly preserved the heroic character which he has lost in RV. He is the second or third king of the Pēšdātian dynasty, of which the first monarchs are given in Yašt XV and XIX as successively Haošyanha, Taxma Urupa, and Yima, Yašt XIII omitting Taxma Urupa.¹ His father is Vivahvant (the Vedic Vivasvant), who was the first *mortal* (*mašya*) that pressed the Haoma (= Sōma), as a reward for which a son was born to him, Yima Xšaēta, the man of goodly herds (*καγαθια*, a standing epithet of Y.), most glorious of them that are born, radiant with heavenly light (*hvarədarəsa*: cf. Hertel, *Die Arische Feuerlehre*, I, p. 32 f.), who by his rule on earth made men and cattle undying, waters and meadows undrying, so that there was unfailing food to eat, and in whose reign there was not cold or heat, nor age or death, nor envy demon-wrought, so that fathers and sons walked together as fifteen-yearlings (Yasna IX. §§ 4-5). The same idyllic picture of Yima's reign is painted in other texts. Yašt V. § 25 f. relates that he sacrificed to the goddess Arədvī Sūrā Anāhitā on Hukairya,² the peak of the mountain Harā or Haraitī from which the waters sent by her flow down into the lake Vourukaša, whence they fertilise the whole earth (cf. Yašt XII. § 24), and that he prayed that he might become sovereign lord over all countries, over *dāēvas* and men, sorcerers (*yatu*) and witches (*pairiḍē*), rulers, *kavis*, and *karapans*, and that he might take from the *dāēvas* wealth and welfare, riches and flocks, comfort and fame; and the goddess granted his request (cf. Yašt XIX. § 31 f.). Similarly

¹ Tradition has been very tenacious of this succession, which is preserved even in Firdausī and subsequent literature. Cf. Windischmann, *Zoroastriische Studien* (Berlin, 1863), pp. 32 ff., 190, 197.

² *Hukairyaḡ pairi barəzərəhaḡ*, lit. "from the mountain H.": Y. stood on or beside the mountain and invoked the goddess within it.

Yašt IX. 8 f. tells that he sacrificed on Hukairyra to Drvāspā with the prayer that he might bring prosperity, wealth of cattle, and freedom from death into the world, and remove thence hunger and thirst, age and death, hot and cold winds, for a thousand years; and his prayer was fulfilled (cf. Yašt XIII. § 130). The same prayer was offered by him to Aši Vānuhi, Yašt XVII. 28 f. Yašt XV. § 15 f. (modelled apparently on Yasna IX) records his prayer to Vayu that he might become most glorious and make men and cattle undying, waters and plants undrying, and food unfailing, with the same result as in Yasna IX.

It may here be remarked that the mountain Harā or Haraiti, from whose peak Hukairyra the heavenly river descends into the lake Vourukaša,¹ seems to correspond to the celestial "mountain", *nāka*, of the Vēda, beside or upon which the poets locate the realm of Yama, with its abounding streams of water and its fountain of Sōma. Yašt VIII. § 32, which speaks of a "mountain beyond India" (or perhaps "north of India"), *ushandavat paīti garōiḡ*, as lying in the midst of Vourukaša, suggests that popular imagination assigned to it a southerly location; but originally both lake and mountain were probably mythical.²

Yasna X, after referring in §§ 3-4 to the earthly Haoma that grows on the mountains, states that the God originally placed it on or beside Mount Haraiti, *bayō nidabaḡ haraiḡyō paīti barzayā* (§ 10), and thence sacred birds taught for the purpose carried it to various mountains of the earth (§ 11). This version seemingly regards the celestial Haoma placed on Mount Haraiti as a *plant*; but we may perhaps see a trace of an earlier conception of it as a *fountain* in the words of § 4, "and verily thou art a fountain of holiness," *haiḡimca aśahe xšā ahi*. This phrase is too striking to be merely figurative: in origin at any rate it may well have been meant to be taken literally, if, as I believe, the celestial Haoma was in the first instance regarded as a fountain. Exactly the same phrase occurs in RV. II. xxviii. 5, which prays to Varuṇa for pardon of sin and attainment of length of life, and in this connexion says *rdhyāma tē varuṇa khām ṛtāsya* "may we succeed in winning³ thy fount of holiness, O Varuṇa!" We may most

¹ The attempts to identify this lake with the Sea of Aral or the Caspian seem to be futile.

² The sun, moon, and stars are said to circle around Haraiti (Yašt XII. § 25; cf. Vend. XXI. § 5 ff.). Yašt XIX. § 1 wildly describes it as surrounding both the western and the eastern lands (like the *Jabal Kāf* of the Arabs).

³ For this sense of *rdā* cf. ŚBr. I. ix. 1, 16, *tad aśyāt tad rdhāt*.

naturally explain this *khá rtásya* of Varuṇa as the Sōma, and primarily the celestial Sōma, the fount of life, comparing passages like RV. IX. viii. 9 and xviii. 12. For as god of the cosmic waters Varuṇa also is connected with the Sōma: its heavenly fount is, as we saw, in the Paradise where he dwells with Yama (X. xiv. 7; cf. X. cxxiii. 6), and it was he who "placed it on (or in) the Mountain", *adhāt sōmam ādrāu* (V. lxxxv. 2), precisely as the Avesta tells us that "the God", *baγō*, placed it on Mount Haraitī. In this last passage of RV. the context ("Varuṇa hath spread the air amidst the trees, placed speed in horses, milk in kine, wisdom in hearts, fire in the waters, the sun in the heaven, Sōma . . .") suggests that the poet here conceived the Sōma rather as a spring than as a plant, while on the other hand the statement of Yasna X. § 11 that sacred birds carried away the Haoma from Haraitī to the mountains of the earth looks like a rather dull modification of the old Indo-Iranian myth of the Rape of the Sōma by Garuḍa. We may then tentatively conjecture that the latter legend in its oldest form ran somewhat as follows: The Great God created a fount of Sōma, the Water of Immortal Life, for his own use, on or beside the Heavenly Mountain, and a Good Spirit—the Vedic Viṣṇu, the Spirit of Sacrifice¹—wishing to get a share thereof for other gods and mankind, sent thither his eagle, who carried away some of the Sōma in a jar, and by this celestial liquor were fertilised plants on divers mountains of the earth, which thus became the Sōma-plants used by men in their rites.

A question now arises: was the immunity from death which was gained by Yima and his subjects conceived in the original version of the legend as being directly due to Haoma as elixir of immortality? The Avesta does not say so much; but its references to the White Haoma distinctly suggest this belief. It distinguishes the yellow Haoma known on earth from the celestial H. or *gaokərma*, a tree which, according to Mazdayasnian tradition, gives immortality; the *gaokərma* grows at the source of the waters of Arədvī Sūrā, on an island in lake Vourukaša, amidst myriads of healing plants (Vend. XX. § 4, Bundahišn XXVII. § 4: SBE. IV. p. 227, V. p. 100), and when the world is renewed it will be used to make the elixir which is to give eternal life to living beings (Bund. XXIV. § 27, XXVII. § 4, XXX. 25, Zāδ-sparam VIII. § 5, Dāδistān-i Dīnīk XXXVII. § 101; SBE. V. p. 100,

¹ I have touched on this fundamental feature of Viṣṇu's character in *Hindu Gods and Heroes*, p. 37 ff., and must refrain from enlarging on the point here.

126, 176 f., VIII, p. 112).¹ Here we see the operation of the same mythopœic fancy which in India has planted in heaven the earthly vegetable Sōma, and forgotten its old tradition of the celestial fountain. Zarathustrianism similarly gives us instead of the celestial fountain a celestial tree, the glorified *παράδειγμα ἐν οὐρανῷ* of the earthly Sōma-plant, and places it in the midst of the lake Vourukaša.* True, Zarathustrianism did not directly associate the *gaokərəna* with Yima; but it had its reasons for leaving him out of the picture, of which we shall speak anon; and it is significant that the Shāhnāmah, representing popular tradition, makes Jamshēd (i.e. Yima Xšaēta) boast: "By medicines and remedies I have saved the world, so that sickness and death have fallen upon none; except me, who of all kings that be on earth could remove death from any?" (I. xxi., ed. Vullers).

بدارو ودرمان جهان گشت راست که بیماری و مرگ کسرا نکاست
 جز از من که برداشت مرگ از کسی و گر بر زمین شاه باشد بسی

As Haoma is said to be pre-eminently medicinal, *baēšazyā* (Yaśna IX. § 16, etc.), and the White Haoma is said to give immortality, it may be inferred that in popular legend it was by means of Haoma that Yima freed himself and others from death—for a time.

The next feature in the saga is the legend of Yima's Close, the *Vara*, narrated in Vend. II. §§ 1-43. It may be thus summarised.

Yima, the man of goodly herds (*huzθwa*), Vīvahvant's son, was the first mortal with whom Ahura Mazdāh held converse. Ahura urged Yima to bear in mind and support the Faith (*marətō borataca daēnayāi*); but he declined, saying that he was not made or trained for that part. Ahura then bade him make his world thrive by his rule over it. Yima assented, promising that under his rule there should be no cold or hot winds, no sickness, and no death. Ahura gave him as tokens a golden *suwərə* (arrow?) and a gold-inlaid *aštrā* (whip or goad). For 300 winters Yima reigned, and the earth grew full, and Ahura warned him that there was no more room to move about (*gātu*) on it. Then Yima stepped forward, radiant, towards the south (lit. towards midday, *ā upa rapīθwəm*) on the way of the sun (*hū paīti aδwənm*); he

¹ Cf. Windischmann, *Zor. Stud.*, pp. 166, 171 f. It is possible that the "Eagle's Tree" of Yašt XII. § 17 is the *gaokərəna*.

* It may be suspected that the Babylonian Tree of Life (on which see A. Wünsche, *Die Sagen vom Lebensbaum u. Lebenswasser*, Leipzig, 1906) had a considerable influence on the evolution of the idea of the White Haoma tree.

pressed the *suwā* on the earth and pierced it with the *astrā*, and bade it open so as to give room for flocks and herds and men. The earth thereupon grew one-third larger. Six hundred winters passed, and again the earth grew full; advised by Ahura, he again made it open, and it increased by two-thirds. So nine hundred winters went by, and again the earth became full, and Yima widened it by three-thirds.¹

Ahura Mazdāh summoned the gods, and Yima summoned the best of mankind in Airyana Vaējah. Ahura warned Yima that cold deadly winters were about to come, so he must make a Close, *vāra*, and put into it the best specimens of mankind, beasts, fires, plants, etc., with houses and streets. It was to be sealed with the golden *suwā*, and was to have a door and window. The sun, moon, and stars were not to shine in it: it was to have its own light.² And Yima did so, and they dwelt in the Close; thither the religion of Ahura was brought by the bird Karšiptar, and there they still dwell, under the rule of Urvatānara and Zaratūstra. But Yima, according to other legends, was expelled from it.

This story has been well studied by Hertel in *Die Himmelstore*. In its main features it is certainly Indo-Iranian, though it has been modified and abridged. Yima's Close is the same as the Vedic realm of Yama, the land of the Blessed Fathers; and the myth was primarily designed to explain how and why this realm was first established. The Close is conceived as a great town cut off on all sides from the outer world; the details as to door and window, however, are possibly borrowed from the Semitic (or Sumerian?) Deluge-saga, and the motive assigned for constructing it, the coming of deadly winter, may also be a later addition. It has its own light: the sun, moon, and stars do not shine in it. As we shall see, this is a primitive trait, of which perhaps we may trace a distant echo in *Kaṭha Upaniṣad* V. 15, which says the same of the world of Brahma. The mention of Yima as stepping *southwards* suggests a possibility that the Close also was imagined to lie in the south; if it be so, it will be parallel to the later Hindu belief

¹ According to later tradition, Yima made the world enjoy immortality for 1,000 years, viz. 900 as above and 100 spent in the Close.

² The Close had a door "luminous, self-luminous on the inner side", *deerānu rocānānu zrōturozānānu antərə-nozēmāt* (§ ii. 30). Reichelt is probably right in saying that this door "is to be understood as the heaven with sun, moon, and stars" (*Av. Reader*, p. 141), i.e. as serving to give light to the Close in lieu of the natural sky with sun, etc.; the connected passage (39-41) is obscure, and may be a later addition.

that Yama's world lies in the south.¹ The story was put into its present form by a writer who was conscious of some opposition between the Yima-legend and Zarathustrian orthodoxy; for he assigns as motive for Yima's blessed reign on earth his refusal to support the Mazdayasnian religion, which is absurd, and as he relates that the religion was brought into the Close by the bird Karšiptar, he implies that the dwellers in the Close were previously pagans.

Zarathustrianism, then, regarded Yima as a relic of Magian-dævic paganism, and deprived him of his former rank. It openly charged him with heathenism. Yašt XIX. § 28 f., relates that the divine kingly glory (*hvarənah*) which had belonged to his brother Taxma Urupa passed away from the latter, who was killed and devoured by the Evil Spirit, Anra Mainyu, and descended upon Yima, who reigned blessedly (his reign is described in terms almost identical with Yašt V. § 25 f.) until he began to delight in evil and untrue words, *draoyəm vācim aəhəiθīm*, and then the glory departed from him thrice, in the form of a bird, and was seized successively by Miθra, Θraētaona, and Kərəsāspa. Then the Good Spirit and the Evil Spirit contended for it, and the Evil Spirit sent messengers to claim it, among them being the dragon Aži Dahāka and Spityura, Yima's brother, who cut Yima in twain (*Yimō-kərəntəm*).² A more specific charge was laid against him: it was said that he supported the Daēvas and gave men the flesh of kine to eat (Yasna XXXII. § 8; cf. Windischmann, *Zor. Stud.* p. 27). Through sin he lost his immortality (SBE. IV, p. 262). Elsewhere we read that after preserving the world for many years from age and death he at last died (SBE. IV, pp. 263 f., 384). The meaning of all this is clear. The primitive legend represented Yima as ruling for ever over the Blessed Dead, and therefore as being himself in a sense one of the dead; and then orthodox Zarathustrianism, disliking him because of his dævic connexions and his association with the Haomacult, to which the Gāθās never refer except in terms of hostility (Yasna XXXII. 10, 12, 14, 32, XLVIII. 10), seized upon the latter idea and made capital out of it: Yima died—and he died because of his sins of paganism in word, thought, and deed. The tradition of his blessed reign was too deeply rooted in the heart of the people to be extirpated; but as far as possible his legendary glories were belittled, his whilom

¹ It is from the south that the fragrant breeze blows which greets the soul bound for Paradise (*Haðōxt Naak* ii. 7). The ancient Iranians oriented themselves from the south.

² See further SBE. XXIII. p. 60, n. 2, p. 252, n. 1.

association with Haoma almost effaced, and he himself ejected from his paradise.¹ The Magian reaction that took possession of the Church after Zoroaster's death and revived the Haoma-cult, with many other pagan practices, endeavoured to rehabilitate him, but achieved only a partial success; an example of this is to be seen in Vend. II. § i ff., which we have discussed.

II. *Gandarōwa*. In India the mythical resistance of the Gandharva to the attempt of a popular god to seize the Sōma under his charge, as we have seen, caused his tribe to be regarded in some quarters as demons; in Iran the same cause, strengthened by the anti-dævic preaching of Zarathustrianism, produced similar but far more radical effects. The Avestic Gandarōwa is simply a demon dwelling beneath the waters of Vourukaša, "sole lord of the depths," who was slain by Kərəsāspa (Yašt V. § 38, XV. § 28; cf. Windischmann, *Zor. Stud.*, p. 40 f.) when he sought to destroy the "bodied beings of Righteousness" (XIX. § 41). Kərəsāspa's victory over him is an echo of the same myth that meets us in the Vedic Rape of Sōma, and his residence in the waters recalls the Vedic "Gandharva in the Waters". Later tradition had a dim memory of his primitive connexion with Yima, as a Pahlavi text (SBE. XVIII. p. 419; cf. Windischmann, *Zor. Stud.*, p. 31) represents him as son of Yima by a witch. On the other hand, Yašt XV. § 28 calls him the son of Ahura, and the litany in Yašt XIII worships the *fravaši* of Gandarōwa's son the holy Paršanta, two facts which look like survivals from an earlier time, before he had become a devil.

His standing epithet *zairipāšna* is obscure. It may mean "having yellow or golden-coloured heels", which recalls the epithet *sāryatvac* in AV. II. ii. 2. But *zairi* in Avestic, and its analogue *hari* in Sanskrit, both mean also *green*.² Hence we may with some probability translate *zairipāšna* as "green-heeled", and see in it an allusion, albeit obscure, to Gandarōwa's aquatic connexions, or to his germane quality as spirit of vegetable fertility.

We may then venture to draw the conclusion that the early Indo-Iranians believed that from the Mountain of Heaven a stream descended which debouched into a great lake, whence fertilising waters spread

¹ On the legends of Yima's fall cf. Windischmann, *Zor. Stud.*, p. 31 f.

² Cf. *zairigaona* "green-hued"; see Bartholomae, *Wörterbuch*, s.v., and on the confusion of colours L. Geiger, *Contributions to the History of the Development of the Human Race* (London, 1880), p. 56 f. The point is overlooked by Hillebrandt, *Ved. Myth.* I. p. 25 f.

over the whole earth ; that near this lake lay the Spring of Immortality, the divine Sōma-fount ; that the Gandharva, the guardian of the Spring, dwelt in this region of waters ; and that Yama's realm, the land of the Blessed Fathers, lay some distance beyond it.¹

B. THE GLAUCUS-SAGA

A series of popular legends floating in Hellenistic lands and the Near East, which for convenience we may call the *Glaucus-saga*, has been ably collected and examined by my lamented friend Israel Friedlaender in his *Die Chadhirlegende und der Alexanderroman* (Leipzig, 1913). They consist primarily of the narrative of Pseudo-Callisthenes, and secondarily of germane legends from Semitic and Persian sources. The chief materials contained in them which bear upon our subject may be thus summarised :—

Ps.-Call. relates (p. 7 ff.) that (a) Alexander in his expedition to find the Spring of Immortality marched through a land of darkness, and arrived at a region very full of water. Here, in a spot where the air was sweetly scented, was a fountain with brightly shining water, and this was the Spring which he was seeking, but he did not know it. His cook, Andreas, recognising it because a dried fish which he washed in it was restored by its water to life, bathed himself in it and thus became immortal ; but he concealed this from Alexander ; (b) Andreas debauched Alexander's daughter, and for this crime was cast into the sea, where he became a sea-dæmon from whom the Adriatic Sea took

¹ To these hypotheses I venture to add a small epicycle of speculations on the so-called *caitya*-symbol found on many Indian coins from the earliest times.

As is now generally admitted, this symbol represents not a *caitya* but a mountain. At its base is normally a waved pattern which is most naturally to be interpreted as signifying a river or lake. This at once suggests the Mountain of Heaven—the Mount Mēru of classical literature—and the divine Lake at its base. The mountain is associated on coins with other symbols—sun, moon, a tree, and on punch-marked coins also a bird and a beast, possibly an antelope. The sun and moon are obvious. The tree, however, demands explanation. Sometimes it stands on the ground at the side of the mountain, sometimes upon the mountain, and sometimes it is absent. Either then it originally formed an integral part of the design, or else it was added later to the mountain, which is equally possible: the separate and solitary tree enclosed in a square palling is a common device on coins. On either view the tree may be compared to the Iranian White Haoma of which we have spoken, and may conceivably be meant for the *Kalpa-drums* of Indian legend. The bird I take to be Garuda alighting on the Mountain of Heaven to carry away Indra's Sōma (cf. especially *Suparaddhāyā* xiii. 5, p. 263 in Charpentier's edition). On other punch-marked coins we find a huge bird on a tree, which reminds us of Garuda on the tree Rauhiṇa, a well-known mythic trait, on which see Charpentier, *Die Suparṇasage*, pp. 176, 368. The Rauhiṇa may be the "Eagle's Tree" of Yašt XII. § 17, which may possibly be the same as the Gaokorona.

its name; (c) from the region of the Spring Alexander marched onwards 30 *schoinoi* to the boundary of the Land of the Blest, *μακάρων χώρα*, upon which shines a light that is not that of the sun or the moon (cf. *ibid.* p. 203); but he did not enter here, for two birds with human faces and voices bade him retire, and he obeyed.

To these outlines the other versions, chiefly from Muslim sources, make some important additions. Firstly, (d) we find the cook who became a sea-dæmon identified with *Khidr*, or, as the name should be grammatically spelt, *Khadir*, "Green Man," one of the most popular figures of Oriental legend, and (e) *Khadir* is identical with the Greek sea-god *Glaucus* (pp. 108 f., 242, 253, etc.). Further, (f) they definitively locate the Spring either beside a rock at the junction of two seas (p. 88; cf. pp. 78, 81, 85, 112), or by a rock on the seashore (p. 95), or on the top of a white rock (p. 198).¹ They also assert (g) that its waters issue from Paradise (pp. 39, 45 ff., 112, 135, 150, 198, 205, 301).

Khadir, who belongs to the Wandering Jew type, appears in a host of legends as (1) a mysterious helper and counsellor of mankind in all kinds of trouble and difficulty, a messenger of God by sea and land; sometimes he is said to have been an angel of God in human form, even the fourth archangel (p. 274). (2) He is constantly roaming about over the Muslim world, but (3) he is especially associated with seas, lakes, and underground waters (pp. 123, 184, 305, etc.). (4) The reason for his name *Khadir* or *Khidr*, "Green," is variously explained: in 'Umārah's version he is so called because the earth becomes green wherever his feet touch it (p. 145; cf. p. 111). *Au fond* he is the same as *Glaucus* of Anthedon. Both obtain immortality by chance; to both it becomes a weary burden, and they find comfort in helping mankind; both are wanderers, associated with the sea; and both have the same name, for *Khadir* practically = *γλαυκός*. We may add that both have erotic associations, since in (a) we find Andreas seducing a princess, and the amours of *Glaucus* were many and notorious.

Now in these stories we may see some main points agreeing with those of the Gandharva-saga. In (a) we have as *motif*: a great king seeks the Water of Life, but is forestalled and baulked by a servant, who appears in (b) in an erotic rôle and again in (d) as a wandering divine benefactor of mankind, especially connected with waters and lakes and named "Green Man". This is surely an echo of the legend

¹ So in the Arabian Nights the Water of Life is on a mountain; cf. A. Wünche. *Die Sagen vom Lebensbaum und Lebenswasser*, p. 100 f.

of the Gandharva, on the one hand as guarding the Sōma against the God, and on the other hand as a generally benevolent but erotic spirit of fertility associated with waters and travelling to and fro for the welfare of the world. It may be objected that there is a wide gulf between the story of the servant appropriating the Water of Life, as told in the Glaucus-saga, and the Vedic legend, which makes the Gandharva the *keeper* of the Sōma; but, as we have seen, the chasm was already crossed in India by the authors of the later Samhitās and ŚBr., who represent the Gandharva as *stealing* Sōma. Perhaps also we may connect the green colour indicated in the name *Khāḍir* with the epithet *zairipāśna*, "green-heeled," given in the Avesta to Gandarōwa, of which we have spoken above. It is even conceivable that the "green heel" may be the fish-tail with which Glaucus is sometimes represented in art.

But there are more points of contact. The Spring lies in a well-watered spot or by the sea, beside a rock (*a, f*), not far from the Land of the Blest, where there is a light that is not of the sun or moon (*c*). All these traits we have found, with slight variations, in the Vedic and Avestic pictures of the site of the celestial Sōma and Yama's realm. Finally, we may see in (*g*) a late form of statement for the old doctrine that the Sōma is from Heaven, and its fount is in Heaven.

It is obvious that the group of legends which I call the Glaucus-saga is, in the form in which it has reached us, removed *longo intervallo* from the primitive Indo-Iranian story. But between the two cycles there are so many points of likeness that it seems necessary to conclude that they were originally identical. Folktales strangely change; characters assume new colours and are moved by new motives; a wide difference lies between the classical Indian Gandharva and the Avestic Gandarōwa, between the debauched Andreas and the saintly Khāḍir. It may well be that in the Glaucus-saga the *motif* of the weariness of immortality is an adventitious trait, which was borrowed by it from the Wandering Jew legend, and by which it has been profoundly modified. It is, moreover, fairly certain that around the personality of Khāḍir there have gathered many legends of help in distress and *al-faraj ba'd al-shiddah* which previously had been floating throughout the eastern world, and of which we have early examples in the Vedic tales of Indra and the Aśvins. Making therefore due deduction for such probably adventitious elements, we must recognise the fundamental likeness between the two cycles, and admit that they may have sprung from a common source.