

Aśvín- and *Nāsatya-* in the Ṛgveda and their Prehistoric Background

T. GOTO

NĀSATYA(S) IN INDO-IRANIAN

1. More than 50 hymns are dedicated to the binary deities Aśvins in the Ṛgveda [RV], i.e. the fourth rank next to Indra, Agni, and Soma. The *Aśvínā* are referred to more than 400 times in the whole RV and almost always treated as a pair, e.g. in the nominative *Aśvínā* or *°nau* and *Nāsatyā* or *°yau* in the dual. The name *Aśvín-* appears only in the Indo-Aryan texts, but *Nāsatya-* is also attested in the Akkadian documents of the Mitanni-Hittite treaty (the 1st half of fourteenth century BC) among a great number of deities who stand guarantee for the contract. We find in this list of gods the counterparts of the Ṛgvedic gods Mitra, Varuṇa, Indra, and Nāsatya, namely in the Mitanni-Hittite version (KBo I 3 rev. 41):

DINGIR.MEŠ *mi-it-ra-aš-ši-il* DINGIR.MEŠ *a-ru-na-aš-ši-il* DINGIR *in-da-ra* DINGIR.MEŠ *na-ša-at-ti-ia-an-na*,

and in the Hittite-Mitanni version (KBo I 1 rev. 55f.):

DINGIR.MEŠ *mi-it-ra-aš-ši-il* (var. *-el*) DINGIR.MEŠ *ú-ru-ua-na-aš-ši-el* DINGIR *in-tar* DINGIR.MEŠ *na-ša-a[t-ti-ia-a]n-na*.¹

Nāsatya is also known in the Avesta as *Nāŋhaⁱθiia-* in the singular:

Viḍēvdād 10,9 *pa'ti.pər²ne iṇdrəm* | *pa'ti.pər²ne sa^urum pa'ti.pər²ne nāŋhaⁱθim daēum* | *haca nmāna* | *haca vīsa* | *haca zaṇtu* | *haca da'jhu*

'I expel Indra, I expel Sa^uruua (Vedic Śarva = Rudra), I expel Nāŋhaⁱθia, the Daēuua (demon, Ungott), from the house, from the settlement, from district, from the country'.

Viḍēvdād 19, 43 . . . *daēuuanəm daēuuō iṇdrō daēuuō sa^uru daēuuō nāŋhaⁱθəm daēuuō . . .*

'the Daēuua among the Daēuuas, the Daēuua Indra, the Daēuua Sa^uruua, the Daēuua Nāŋhaⁱθiia . . .'.²

Therefore, some scholars regard *Nāsatya-* as the older designation of the pair of gods. Indra and the Nāsatyas (Aśvins), and Varuṇa-Mitra which are mentioned in the Mitanni-Hittite document, can be considered as the representatives of the Ṛgvedic pantheon. The former two represent the *devá-s* ('the heavenly ones') and the latter the *ásura-s* ('lords', Ādityas 'the sons of goddess Aditi' in the Ṛgveda³).⁴ If we exclude Agni (Fire) and Soma (in all probability: ephedra) which appear as concrete components of the rituals, the Aśvins

hold, as mentioned, the second position after Indra among the Devas in the number of dedicated hymns. The determinative ideogram DINGIR.MEŠ 'gods' and the terminal *-nna* show that the pair (or a group)⁵ of gods are meant by *na-ša-at-ti-ia*, not a single deity as in the Avesta.

ASVIN-NĀSATYA IN THE ṚGVEDA

2. On the nature and origin of the gods, there have been many interpretations proposed. Yāska (third century BC), already, informs us of many opinions in his days (Nirukta XII 1): heaven and earth, day and night, sun and moon, and, as a view of historians, two pious kings. The Interpretations of the modern scholars are not fundamentally different: saviours (GELDNER, *Vedische Studien* II [1897] 31), morning and evening stars (Venus as Hesperus and Lucifer: OLDENBERG, GÜNTERT et al., cf. below), Gemini (Castor and Pollux: WEBER *Indische Studien* V [1862] 234, 266, *Indische Streifen* III [1879] 39 [orig. 1870], 467f. [orig. 1876], *Über die Königsweihe* [1893] 100 n. 2), rain gods (VODSKOV, *Sjæle dyrkelse og Naturdyrkelse* [1890-7] 485ff.), sun and moon (LUDWIG, *Der Rigveda* III [1878] 334 with V.F. MILLER), twilights (GOLDSTÜCKER in MUIR, *Original Skt. Texts* V [1872] 255ff., HOPKINS, *JAOS* 15 [1893] 269ff.), etc.⁶ The Hesperus-Lucifer theory, represented, among others, by OLDENBERG and GÜNTERT, seems, at least in their origin, most convincing in spite of the critique presented by A. HILLEBRANDT (*Vedische Mythologie*² I 60ff., *Kl.Schr.* 266ff.).

H. OLDENBERG, *Die Religion des Veda*² (1917) 207-15 emphasizes the features of Hesperus-Lucifer in the descriptions of the binary gods. He points out remarkable correspondences among the myths of Aśvin-Nāsatya as *divó nāpātā* 'the two grandsons of the heaven', Greek *Διὸς κοῦροί* (*Diōs kouroi*) 'the sons of the Heaven' and *deeva dēli* 'the sons of the god' in Latvia, based on the studies of W. MANNHARDT (*Zeitschr. f. Ethnologie* VII [1875] 312f.) and others. The myths have also an interesting episode in common, that Venus and the moon compete for the sun's daughter (Sūryā), which the present article does not deal with. OLDENBERG assumes that the both aspects of morning and evening star have been absorbed in the morning star alone and mixed up in there. What lay behind this process is supposed to be the Weltanschauung of Vedic ritualism, which prefers the sunrise, morning, forenoon and day, to the sunset, evening, afternoon and night respectively (in the same way, the half month with waxing moon, and the half year from the winter to the summer solstice, to the other half in each case).

H. GÜNTERT, *Der arische Weltkönig und Heiland* (1923) 253-77 examines this view in detail and tries to reconstruct a Proto-Indo-European belief in the heaven's two sons who originally have represented two appearances of Venus. He cites some prehistoric drawings in northern Europe for his argument (cf. 13.).

3. The morning and evening stars never appear at the same time in the sky, for they are only two appearances of the same Venus, which also was a main argument of HILLEBRANDT (above 2.) against this theory.⁷ If the interpretation as Hesperus-Lucifer is correct, there must have originally existed two different myths of each star, some reminiscences of which might still be found in the RV hymns. We need thus to search for traces of the two separate components. As far as I know, such studies have not been made yet except my article 'Aśvin-

AŚVÍN- AND NĀSATYA- IN THE ṚGVEDA AND THEIR PREHISTORIC BACKGROUND

and *Nāsatya-*, *Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies*, 39 (1991) 982–77 (in retrograde pagination, in Japanese).⁸

As mentioned above, Aśvin and Nāsatya are treated always as a pair in the Ṛgveda, except IV 3,6 *nāsatyāya* (below 11.) and two stanzas which refer to their birth:⁹

RV V 73,4 *nānā jātāv arepāsā*

‘[the both gods] separately born, without smear’.

RV I 181,4 *ihéha jātā sám avāvaśītām¹ arepāsā tan_vā nāmahih svāih | jiṣṇúr vām anyāḥ sūmakhasya sūr¹ divó anyāḥ subhāgaḥ putrá ūhe ||*

‘The two, born here and [there] (separately),¹⁰ bleated (cried)¹¹ together (i.e. at the same moment) with a body without smear, and with their own names (each more than one). The one of you is praised as a victorious master (boss), [son] of Sumakha, the other as a fortunate son of the heaven.’

4. Examining carefully in the Ṛgveda how they traverse the universe, we can recover really two different ways in each element of their journey:¹²

(A)	::	(B)
across the sky	::	over the sea
during the day	::	through the night
by chariot	::	by ship
drawn by animals	::	led by birds
(horse, two horses, bull, ass, yoked horses)		(eagle, hawks, geese, birds)
(winged horses, crocodile)		
(bull and dolphin).		

These factors, duly combined, reveal two kinds of travel:

(A) moving through the sky during the day in a chariot drawn by horse(s) or some other animals,

(B) moving over the sea through the night by ship led by bird(s).

5. Actually in the text, however, these two series have been merged together and undergone various modifications.

— 5.1. There are many occurrences, of course, where their chariot is drawn by horses (cf. Index to GELDNER, p. 40, further I 118,5 under 7., I 116,4 under 10.):

I 181, 2 *ā vām ásvāsaḥ payaspā¹ vātaramhaso divyāso átyāḥ | manojúvo vṛṣaṇo vītáprṣṭhā¹ éhá svarájo aśvínā váhanti ||*

‘Let your horses, [which are] pure, milk-drinking, as swift as the wind, the heavenly racehorses, as quick as the mind, the stallions with straight backs, [let them] carry both Aśvins hither, ruling themselves!’.

The following example seems to tell about the chariot traveling all over the world during the day:

VII 67,8 *ékasmin yóge bhuraṇā samāné¹ pári vām saptá sraváto rátho gāt | ná vāyanti subh_vò deváyuktā¹ yé vām dhūrśú tarāṇayo váhanti ||*

‘Your chariot goes around seven streams in one [and] the same yoking (i.e. without

change of horses), oh active ones. The good-conditioned [horses] yoked by the gods, do not disappear, which, traversing through, carry you both, [yoked] under yoke-saddles’.

However, there are places, where the flying horses (cf. I 118,5, under 7.), birds (I 46,3, under 6.), or hawks (I 118,4, see below) are yoked.

5.2. Aśvins are called with offering and praise in the evening and in the morning (in this order), though the scene at the daybreak predominates:

X 39,1 *yó vām párijmā suvṛd aśvinā rátho* | *doṣám uṣáso hávṛyo haviṣmatā* | *śaśvattamāśas tám u vām idám vayám* | *pitúr ná nāma suhávaṃ havāmahe* ||

‘Your well rolling chariot [traveling] all around the earth, both Aśvins, which is to be called by one having offering at evening [and] at dawns, we, here, call that [chariot] of you both as most persistent [callers], [which is] lovely to call, like the name of [our] father’; cf. also VIII 22,14, X 40,4.

VII 67,2–3 *ásocṃ agnīḥ samidhāno asmé* | *úpo adṛśran támasaś cid ántāḥ* | *áreti ketúr uṣásaḥ purástāc* | *chriyé divó duhitúr jáyamānaḥ* || *abhí vām nūnám aśvinā súhotā* | *stómāiḥ siṣakti nāsatyā vivakvān* | *pūrvābhir yātam pathīyābhir arvāk* | *suyarvidā vásumatā ráthena* ||

‘Agni has [just] come into shining, blazed up among us. Even the darkness’ ends, on the other hand, have been [just] looked at nearly. Luminous appearance of Uṣas, the Heaven’s daughter, has [just] been recognized in the east, as it was being born for the glory. || The good Hotar goes to meet you now, oh Aśvins, with praising songs, having expressed [his thought], oh Nāsatyas. Come driving hither through many courses, by the chariot with goods, [the chariot] which finds out the sunlight!’.

5.3. Two kinds of transference could still be traced in such examples as follows:

IV 43,5 *urú vām ráthaḥ pári nakṣati dyám* | *á yát samudrād abhi vártate vām* |

‘Your chariot attains wide around to the heaven, when it rolls from the ocean towards you both’.

I 118,4 *á vām śyenāso aśvinā vahantu* | *ráthe yuktāsa āśávaḥ patamgāḥ* | *yé aptúro diviyāso ná gṛdhrā abhi práyo nāsatyā váhanti* ||

‘Let hawks carry you both hither, oh Aśvins, the swiftly flying [hawks] yoked to the chariot, which, crossing waters¹³ like heavenly vultures, carry [you] towards pleasure, oh Nāsatyas’. (The next stanza I 118,5 is cited in 7.)

X 39,12 *á téna yātam mánaso jávīyasā* | *rāthaṃ yám vām ṛbhávaś cakrúr aśvinā* | *yásya yóge duhitā jáyate diva ubhé áhanī sudine vivásvata* ||

‘Drive hither with that chariot which is swifter than thinking, the chariot which the Ṛbhvas have made for you, Aśvins, on harnessing of which the Heaven’s daughter (Uṣas, the dawn) is born! Both the (gone and coming) days of Vivasvant (cf. footnote 22) have [thus] good daytime’.¹⁴

V 73,8 *mádḥva ū madhūyuvā* | *rúdrā siṣakti pipyúṣi* | *yát samudrāti pársataḥ* | *pakvāḥ pṛkṣo bharanta vām* ||

‘The [girl (or: whip, hymn, maybe also Sūryā or dawn)] swollen with honey, well, accompanies, you both honey loving Rudras. In order that you will carry [people (cf. I 46,6, in 6.)] across through the ocean, [they] bring cooked refreshments to you’.

VII 68,3 *prá vām rátho mánojavā iyarti* | *tiró rájāmsy aśvinā śatótīḥ* | *ásmábhyaṃ sūrīyāvasū iyānāḥ* ||

‘Your chariot with the speed of thinking [and] hundreds of aids sets the sun (?) in motion, across the regions, oh Aśvins, having been begged for us, oh both ones who have [the sun] (or: Sūryā) as your good(s) [in the chariot].’

AŚVÍN- AND NĀSATYA- IN THE ṚGVEDA AND THEIR PREHISTORIC BACKGROUND

The Milky Way in the night sky is regarded as the nocturnal route of the sun by some scholars.¹⁵ The ‘white-flowing Sindhu with golden wheel tracks’ in the following stanza might seem to support this:

VIII 26,18 *utá syá śvetayávarī* | *váhiṣṭhā vāṃ nadī_aām* | *sindhur hiranyavartaniḥ* ||

‘And this very white-flowing Sindhu with golden wheel tracks, is the best conveyer of you among the rivers’.

It is, however, much more natural to think that the Aśvins, together with the sun, traverse the ocean or river which surrounds and underlies the earth, considering the frequent mention of waters (*ápas*), river (*sínđu-*, *nadí-*), or ocean (*samudrá-*) in the Ṛgveda, as well as the myth about the rescue of the sunlight fallen down into the western ocean. For details, see 10.

6. We will examine RV I 46 from the above gained viewpoint:

1. *eṣó uṣá ápūrvyā* | *vṣ ũchati priyā diváh* | *stuṣé vāṃ aśvinā brhát* ||
2. *yá dasrá síndhumātarā* | *manotārā rayiṇ_aām* | *dhiyá devá vasuvídā* ||
3. *vacyánte vāṃ kakuhāso* | *jūrñāyām ádhi viṣṭápi* | *yád vāṃ rátho víbhiṣ pátāt* ||
4. *haviṣā jāró ap_aām* | *píparti pápurir narā* | *pitā kúṭasya carṣañiḥ* ||
5. *ādāró vāṃ matīn_aām* | *nāsatyā matavacanā* | *pātām sómasya dhṛṣṇuyā* ||
6. *yá naḥ píparad aśvinā* | *jyótiṣmatī támas tiráh* | *tām asmé rāsāthām íṣam* ||
7. *á no nāvā matīn_aām* | *yātām pārāya gántave* | *yuñjāthām aśvinā rátham* ||
8. *arítram vāṃ divás prthú* | *tírhé síndhūn_aām ráthah* | *dhiyá yuyujra índavaḥ* ||
9. *divás kaṇvāsa índavo* | *vásu síndhūn_aām padé* | *svām vavrīm kúha dhitsathaḥ* ||
10. *ábhūd u bhá u amsáve* | *hiranyam práti sūr_iyah* | *vṣ àkhyaj jihváyásitah* ||
11. *ábhūd u pārám étave* | *pánthā ṛtāsya sādhyá* | *ádarṣi vi srutír diváh* ||
12. *táttad íd aśvínor ávo* | *jaritá práti bhūṣati* | *made sómasya pípratoḥ* ||
13. *vāvasāná vivásvati* | *sómasya pīt_iyá girá* | *manuṣvác chambhū á gatam* ||
14. *yuvór uṣá ánu śriyam* | *párijmanor upácarat* | *ṛtá vanatho aktúbhiḥ* ||
15. *ubhá píbatam aśvinā* | *-o_ubhá naḥ sárma yachatam* | *avidriyábhīr ũtíbhīḥ* ||

1. Here radiates Uṣas (the dawn) wide, having no precedents, the beloved [daughter] of the Heaven (or: the member of the heaven). I highly praise¹⁶ you both, oh Aśvins,
2. who are miracle-workers having rivers (or: Sindhu) as their mother, imaginers of wealth, through insight finders of goods, the gods.
3. Your eminent (or: leading)¹⁷ [draught horses of the ship (7a)] move waving on the crumbled surface [of the ocean], so that the chariot of you both should/will fly with birds.
4. Waters’ lover (Soma), the generously giving one, carries [you both] across with the oblation, oh both men, [who is your] father, the border of kuṭa (?).¹⁸
5. [Soma is] the opening (revealer) of the thoughts (hymns) for you both. Nāsatyas, the ones who speak what they think, drink from Soma boldly!
6. Bestow on us such luminous nourishment (: the dawn) that should carry us across the darkness, you Aśvins!¹⁹
7. Drive hither by our ship of thoughts (hymns), in order to go to the opposite shore! Yoke the chariot, you Aśvins!
8. Your paddle is [so] wide [as the width of] the heaven. The chariot is on the ford of the

- river^s] [which come together]. [Soma's] drops have been yoked [to the chariot] together with the insight (prayer, hymn).
9. The drops of the heaven²⁰ are on the footstep of the rivers as your good, you Kaṇvas (: colleagues of the poet). Where do you both want to set up [your] own hiding-place?
 10. The splendour, on one hand, has [just] come into existence for the Soma-plant. The sun is equal to the gold. The black one (the fire) has [just] looked through with [its] tongue (flame).
 11. The way²¹ of the truth (cosmic order), on the other hand, has [just] become correct in order to go to the opposite shore. The track of the heaven has [just] become distinct.
 12. The singer is ready for [accepting] even each aid of the Aśvins, who carry [us/the sun] across in [their] intoxication of Soma.
 13. Come here [to us], dressed in drink of Soma [and] the song (of welcome) at home of Vivasvant,²² you beneficial [gods], like to [our ancestor] Manuṣ [in those days]!
 14. Uṣas (the dawn) approaches after both your glory, [who travel] all around the earth. You love the truths (cosmic orders) through [many rounds of] darkness [before daybreak].
 15. Drink both, oh Aśvins! Hold out protection to us, you both, through the aids not to be pierced!

The stage is before daybreak (1, 6, 10, 11, and 14). The gods' pair is just before finishing their voyage by landing on the shore at the eastern end of the earth, where they make a change to the chariot, which will fly with birds (3). They yoke the chariot (7, 8), and are going to start for the soaring journey towards the western shore (3, 7, 11). This is the main story underlying the stanzas. The poet has modified it for the ritual setting. He identifies: the ship with priests' thoughts, i.e. the hymns (7: *ā no nāvā matīnāṁ*), the chariot with the ritual, the charioteer with insight (*dhī-*), the draught animals with Soma drops (8). It is also noteworthy that the mother of the Aśvins is referred to as "Sindhu" (or, rivers: 2), and father as "waters' lover" (Soma: 4).

7. Thus, there are good reasons to suppose that the one of the Aśvins who traverses the ocean by night was originally the evening star (Hesperus), and the other one driving the heavenly road by day was the morning star (Lucifer). Each aspect of Venus plays its role as *conductor* of the sun around the sunset and the sunrise respectively. The Aśvins appear nevertheless always together in every scene:

I 112,13 *yābhiḥ sūryam pari-yāthāḥ parāvātī*

'... [with the aids *ūtībhiḥ* (repeated in the hymn)] with which you drive in the farthest place around the Sun', GELDNER 'überholen'.

The verse seems to imply that they appear after the sunset and overtake the sun in the ocean (or river) surrounding and underlying the whole world. Cf. 10., 13., 14.; as to *parāvāt-*, see footnote 45.

I 118,5 *ā vāṃ rátham yuvatís tiṣṭhad átra | juṣṭvī narā duhitā sūryasya | pári vāṃ ásvā vápuṣaḥ pataṅgā | váya vahant_{uv} aruṣā anhīke ||*

'A young woman, the Sun's daughter (Sūryā), mounts your chariot here (everyday), delighted, oh both men. Let the flying horses belonging to the amazing appearance (i.e. the sunlight, cf. footnote 46) [in the form of] the red-shining birds, convey you both around to the meeting-place!'.²³

AŚVÍN- AND NĀSATYA- IN THE ṚGVEDA AND THEIR PREHISTORIC BACKGROUND

Here is a scene at dawn at the east end of the world. The sun's daughter, who represents presumably some aspect of the morning sun, is now starting on her journey to the west in the chariot drawn by the flying horses visualized in form of red-shining birds.²⁴

8. The evening star appears after the sunset, overtakes the sun, and conducts it by ship. The morning star appears before dawn and leads the way. The Sun traverses the sky in the chariot drawn by horses or a single horse.

The designation *Aśvín-* 'characterized by horse(s), having horse(s) habitually or professionally', is quite adequate to the morning star as the horse master of the Sun. The constant dual, *Aśvínā*, *Aśvínau*, etc. is explained as elliptical morning stars', i.e. 'the morning star and evening star'.

It is inferred, then, that the evening star could have been called with the other name *Nāsatya-*. The dual *Nāsatyā*, *Nāsatyau* means 'evening stars', i.e. 'the evening star and morning star'. This assumption is confirmed by its etymology.

9. The word *nāsatya-* is in all probability a Vṛddhi-formation of the not attested substantive **nasati-* with the suffix *-ati-*²⁵ from the Proto-Indo-European root **nes* 'come home safely':

Old Indo-Aryan *nāsa-te* 'to come together happily at home', Greek *νέομαι* 'to return home', Gothic *ganisan* 'to be saved' with the causative *nasjan* 'to save, cure', German *genesen* 'recover, convalesce'.²⁶

The Old Indo-Aryan substantive *ásta-* 'home' (cf. I 116,5, under 10.) is derived from the verbal adjective (so-called past passive participle) **ṅs-tó-* 'come home' with an accent shift. *ástam eti* 'goes home' is a common expression for the setting of the sun since the Atharvaveda. An Old Indo-Aryan popular word *s_(u)vastí-* 'well-being' comes from **h₁su-ṅs-ti-*, meaning etymologically 'good uninjured-coming-home'. It reminds us of the famous poem of Sapphō to Hesperos:

"Ἐσπερε πάντα φέρων ὅσα φαίνολις ἐσκέδαο' Αὖως, φέρεις ὄιν, φέρεις αἶγα, φέρεις ἄπυ
μάτερι παῖδα²⁷

'Evening star (*Espere*), who brings all the things together, home that the shining dawn has scattered!
You bring the sheep. You bring the goat. You bring the child from the mother'.

nāsatya-, thus formed from the root **nes* 'come home safely', will mean 'being in charge of the safe return', being a suitable epithet for Hesperus which rescues the sunlight (see 10.) and makes everything go home safely.²⁸

9.1. The Buddhist canon (Digha-Nikāya, Saṃyutta-Nikāya, Itivuttaka, etc.) preserves a far echo of *Nāsatya-*. Pāli *osadhī-tārakā-* (or simply *osadhī-*) means there the morning star, or Venus, as becomes clear from the context. *osadhī-* is derived from Old Indo-Aryan *ósadhi-* in the meaning of 'medical herb'. It takes over the character of *Aśvins* as medical doctors (cf. 10.).²⁹

9.2. The word *nāsatya-* appears as 4-syllabic 66 times among its 99 occurrences. It is to be read as *nāsat_iya-*, so that there is no hindrance in the above-mentioned derivation of the word. Only once, the reading *n_aāsatya-* (*nāasatya-*) makes up a better cadence: VI 11,1c *ā no mitrávārunā nāsatyā*. Here lies perhaps an individual reinterpretation, or allusion to *ná*

asatyá- ‘not non-existent, not untrue’ by the poet, if not a pure metrical irregularity caused by three proper names in a verse line.

10. The rescue of a person named *Bhujuú*-³⁰ from the sea belongs to the heroic achievements of the *Aśvins*–*Nāsatya* in the *Ṛgveda*. It might be remarkable that the name *Nāsatya* appears with somewhat greater frequency in this story:

I 116,3-5 *túgro ha bhujuúm aśvinodameghé* | *rayīm ná kás cin mamṛvám ávāhāh* | *tám ūhathur naubhír ātmanvátibhir* | *antarikṣaprúdbhir ápodakābhiḥ* || 3 || *tisráḥ kṣápas trír áhātivrájadbhir* | *nāsatyā bhujuúm ūhathuḥ patamgáih* | *samudráśya dhánvann ādrásya pāré* | *tribhí ráthaih śatápadbhiḥ śadaśvaiḥ* || 4 || *anārambhané tād avirayethām* | *anāsthāné agrabhané samudré* | *yád aśvinā ūhathur bhujuúm ástaṃ* | *śatáritrām návam ātasthivámsam* || 5 ||

‘Tugra had abandoned (his son) *Bhujuu* in the cloud of waters (the ocean), oh *Aśvins*, as someone who has died [abandons his] property. [You both] have carried him by means of the ships equipped with the *ātman* (animated?), which leap (or: flow) in the atmosphere [and] keep the water off. || Through three nights and three times the days (i.e. three days), with over-rambling flyers, oh *Nāsatyas*, you have carried *Bhujuu* onto the dry land, the other shore of the wet ocean, with three chariots equipped with hundred(s) feet and six horses’. || [You both] demonstrated your heroism in the ocean having no support, no foothold, no handhold, in that you both, oh *Aśvins*, have carried *Bhujuu* home, who has gone abroad the ship equipped with hundred(s) rudders’.

X 143,5 *yuvám bhujuúm samudrá á* | *rájasah pārá inkhítam* | *yātám áchā patatrbhir* | *nāsatyā sātáye kṛtam* ||

‘You both drove with the flyers towards *Bhujuu* swinging in the ocean, on the other shore of the region. O *Nāsatyas*, you made [the thing] for triumph’.³¹

I 119,4 *yuvám bhujuúm* | *bhurámānaṃ víbhir gatám* | *sváyuktibhir niváhantā pitṛbhya á* | *yāsiṣṭám vartír vṛṣaṇā vijeñṣāṃ* | *dívodāśya máhi ceti vām ávah* ||

‘You both go towards *Bhujuu* struggling [in the ocean] with the birds which are yoked by themselves, bringing [him] home from the fathers (i.e. the world of the ancestors).³² [Then] you both drive the winning round,³³ you both bulls. For *Divodāsa* the great help of you both is recognized’.

This episode goes back to the common Indo-Iranian era, as OETTINGER, III 31 (1988) 299f. showed, more detailed GOTŌ, ‘*Vasiṣṭha* und *Varuṇa* in *RV VII 88*’ (Indoarisch, Iranisch und die Indogermanistik, Erlanger Tagung 1997 [2000] 147–61) 152 n. 18:

Yt 5,61–63 *tam yazata pāruuō yō vifrō nauuāzō* | *yaṭ dim usca uzduuqnaiaṭ* | *vər^o θrajā taxmō θraētaonō* | *mər^o yahe kahrpa kahrkāsahē* | *hō auuaθa vazata* | *θri.aiiarəm θri.xšaparəm* | *pa’tiṣa nmānəm yim⁺ x^vaēpa’tim* | *nōiṭ aora auuō’risiiāṭ* | *θraošta xšafnō θritiiaiiā* | *frāymaṭ ušāṣṭhəm sūriiā* | *vinnu’tim upa ušāṣṭhəm* | *upa.zabaiiaṭ ar^oduuim sūrəm anāhitam* | *ar^oduuī sūre anāhite* | *mošū mē jasa auuaṣṭhe* | *nūrəm mē bara upastam* | *hazaṣṭəm tē zaoθranəm* | *haomauuā’tinəm gaomauuā’tinəm* | *yaozdātanəm pa’riaṣṭharstanəm* | *barāni aoi āpəm yam raṣṭhəm* | *yezi jum frapaiiemi* | *aoi zqm ahuraδātqm* | *aoi nmānəm yim x^vaēpa’tim*.

‘*Pāruua*, the prophetic (lit.: quivering) navigator, worshiped her (the goddess *Ar^oduuī Sūrā Anāhitā*), after the victorious, brave *θraētaona* had made him fly high in the body of a vulture. | He flew in that way three nights and three days towards the house, which is his own. He should not turn downward. After the fulfillment of the third night, he has gone (come) towards the dawn of the brave [*Anāhitā*], towards the wide shining dawn. He addressed to the dawn [i.e.] to *Ar^oduuī Sūrā Anāhitā*: *Arduuī Sūrā Anāhitā*, go (come) quickly for me for help! Bring me now assistance! I will

AŚVÍN- AND NĀSATYA- IN THE ṚGVEDA AND THEIR PREHISTORIC BACKGROUND

bring you a thousand libations, [which are] made of Haoma, made of milk, made vigorous, strained through [a sieve], into the water which is Raṅhā, if I reach alive the earth created by the Lord, to the house, which is my own’.

We meet here with reminiscences of an old cosmic myth about the rescue of sunlight fallen down into the ocean at the western end of the earth, and bringing it back to the eastern shore. *Θραῖταονα- Ἄθβιια-* in the Avesta, with his Vedic counterpart *Tritá- Āpt,yá*,³⁴ rescues the lost sunlight in the ocean at the western end, in Young Avestan *raṅhā-* by name (Vedic *rasā-*). The main character in the Avestan story Pā^uruua appears also in Pursišñihā 32 together with Raṅhā in an obscure context. *Paurá-*³⁵ in the Ṛgveda corresponds most probably to this person, for Aśvin-Nāsatya rescue also him from water:

V 74,4 *paurāṃ cid dh,y ùdaprútam | páura pauráya jínvathah |*
‘You both invigorate even Paura, leaping/swimming in water . . .’.

This ocean Raṅhā (about Vedic Rasā, in the next paragraph) reminds us of ‘the World Ocean (or River)’ which the Nāsatyas traverse by night with the sun (cf. 5.3., at the end; 7.: I 112,13; footnote 45). According to the suggestion given by Junko SAKAMOTO-GOTŌ, the myth about the transfer of the sun was originally composed of three parts:—1. Trita (“the third one”) rescues the evening sun fallen into the western ocean (river) beyond the world,³⁶ 2. Nāsatya, the evening star, which sets down a little later than the sun, transports (or, conducts) the rescued sunlight across the ocean by ship, 3. Aśvin, the morning star, waiting on the east side of the world, leads the morning sun by chariot through the sky.—Trita should have played his role in the time lag between the setting of the sun and of the evening star.

The characterization of the chariot of Aśvins (or the Sun’s daughter) by the triple components, such as three wheels, three seats, three tires, three supports, etc. (cf. 15.)³⁷, may symbolize these three stages of the sun’s transfer or three members in charge of each stage, i.e. Aśvin, Nāsatya and Trita. Nāsatya could have taken over the Trita’s task, then in such an early stage that the role of Trita as well as of the three elements of the chariot had become mysterious, for example:

RV X 85,16 (wedding song) *d_uvé te cakré sūr,ye | brahmāṇa ṛtuthā vidhúh | atháikam cakráṃ yád gúhā | tād addhātáya íd viduh ||*

‘Your two wheels, oh Sūryā, the priest-scholars know [them] periodically (according to the right time). But only the truth-seers know the one [more] wheel that is hidden’.

Rasā is, in the Veda, the river, which the she-dog Saramā crossed for finding out the cows hidden by the Paṅis in their Vala (defence wall). In this Vedic story a cosmic legend and an earthly affair (release of cattle from the Vala, i.e. raid on a hostile rich tribe) overlap each other, and the heroic achievement is attributed to Indra. Thus, Rasā is rather a river, on the riverbar or island of which Vala is located, and not the western ocean anymore.³⁸

One can postulate a story of salvaging the sunlight, which explains the character of both Aśvins and Greek Dioscuri as the deities of sea rescue. L. VON SCHROEDER WZKM 9 (1895) 131f. pointed out some important factors in this respect, here also, considering Latvian folk songs. One should note here once more the etymology of the name *Nāsatya-* (9.), and his (their) important character as the healer, which we could only shortly refer to (9.1.).

In the hymn of Aśvamedha (sacrificial horse), the Sun is compared to the horse, which is born from the ocean:

I 163,1 *yád ákrandaḥ prathamám jāyamāna | udyán samudrād utá vā púriṣāt | syenásya pakṣā hariṇásya bāhū | upastútyam máhi jātám te arvan ||*

‘When you neighed being born just now while rising from the ocean or rather from the spring (outlet of the underground water), [your] wings were [those] of the eagle, arms were [those] of the gazelle. Your great birth is praiseworthy, you racehorse’.³⁹

It is worth asking, if not also in the Odyssey, the story of *νέομαι*, one could find some elements from the legend of rescuing the fallen sunlight.

11. Ṛgveda IV 3,6 is the sole place where the name Nāsatya appears in the singular,⁴⁰ as in the Avesta: *brávaḥ kád . . . agne | kád . . . | párijmane nāsatyāya kṣé | brávaḥ . . .* The line c has only 9 or 10 syllables, and is metrically irregular. HOFFMANN in SCHINDLER, Diss. (1972) 15 tries to recover the missing syllable by conjecturing *nāsat,yāya +yakṣé*. He assumes an infinitive *+yakṣé* of the root *yakṣ* ‘to appear (monstrously)’ and translates: ‘damit der herumfahrende Nāsatya erscheint’. This restoration of the line is convincing, but the translation does not fit in context. We had better consider *+yakṣé* as the dative of noun *yákṣ* (otherwise *yakṣá-*) ‘wonder, monstrousness’: ‘Agni, what will you say (*kád . . . agne . . . brávas*) to Nāsatya who [travels] all around the earth, to the wonder’, or as the locative of *yakṣá-* ‘in the case of the wonder (the sunlight in the night)’. Cf. *vápuṣ-* ‘amazing appearance’, said of sunlight (see footnote 46).

We have here a relic of the myth about the evening star alone, not joined to that of the morning star. **yāyayakṣé* has been corrupted to **yāyakṣé*, not simply by the haplology, but mainly on the ground of the otherwise constant dual use of the gods in the Ṛgveda. Thus **nāsat,yāya yakṣé** to *nāsat,yā* in the dual, and *yakṣé*, then analysed or codified in the Padapāṭha as *nāsat,yāya kṣé* whatever the implication may have been.

The “wonder” of the sun, more precisely of the sunlight, in the night, was treated in my article “Vasiṣṭha und Varuṇa” (see footnote 3). Vasiṣṭha and his family were priests specialized in the task, among others, of raising the Sun and leading it to its right course on the strength of their prayer songs. The family had a close relation to Varuṇa and other Āditya gods.

SEARCH FOR THEIR PREHISTORIC BACKGROUND: COLLATION WITH THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL FINDINGS

12. We can identify some elements found in the Ṛgveda hymns to Varuṇa, Mitra, and Ādityas with some symbols or figures in Miθra worship. There are also remainders of Hesperus (Nāsatya) and Lucifer (Aśvin) among them: **Figure I (1–6)**.

13. In the Indo-Iranian period, at the latest, there was a myth of the Evening Star who rescues the fallen sunlight from the sea and takes it aboard a ship, as well as that of the Morning Star who conducts the chariot of the Sun god. The Sun changes before daybreak from ship to chariot. In the Ṛgveda, the sun does not come to the surface any more in this respect, we can find their relics rather in the Aśvin hymns.

ÁSVÍN- AND NĀSATYA- IN THE ṚGVEDA AND THEIR PREHISTORIC BACKGROUND

The very scene, in which the Sun is changing to his vehicle (symbolized by a horse), is found engraved in a rock in Tanum, south Sweden (**Figure II-1**). GÜNTERT cites this figure together with some bronze razors from Denmark showing pictures of the twins rescuing the burst sunlight on board (**Figure II-2**). He does not succeed, however, in its full interpretation, since he treats two stars without distinction. Although he points to St. Elmo's fire found in the sea rescue myth about Dioskuri, he does not recognize that the ship travels in the night. He assumes that the ship traverses the sky in the daytime like the Egyptian sun ship and that the Sun and Venus are both represented in the form of a horse.⁴¹

It is worth while to notice that the 'sunlight' as material⁴² and the personified 'Sun' are distinguished in the Veda, which may be difficult to understand for non-Vedic philologists. The word for 'the sun' (or 'the sun-god') derives in each Indo-European language separately from the material substantive for 'sunlight' through any personifying method.⁴³ An exception is Iranian, where the word for 'sunlight' is used in the meaning of 'the sun' even today.⁴⁴

14. In the figures on the bronze razor, we can recognize the sea-surface, a boat (ship), and the burst sunlight. In **Figure II-2 C**, we might identify a bird guiding the ship in an upside-down position, though this "goose" seems to show a development of s-figure variations (fragments of the burst sunlight?) observed clearly in the corresponding part of the razors in **Figure III-1** and -2. If the interpretation is correct, we can regard the boy above standing on the head in the Swedish rock drawing (**Figure II-1**) as Hesperus.⁴⁵

15. Figures of combined spirals, as we have met in south Sweden (13., **Figure II-1**), are reported mainly from Europe since *ca.* 3000 BC. Some of them could have some relation to the myth around the sun in the night and in the day: **Figures IV–XI**.

Archaeological findings, especially from Europe, sometimes show elements that remind us of some data in the Ṛgveda. The chariot of Ásvins or the Sun is characterized by the triplet such as 3 wheels, 3 seats, 3 parts, 3 tires, and 3 supports, golden, with honey-whip, etc. (see 10., with footnote 37). The famous sun-carriage from Trundholm (fourteenth century BC, **Figure XII-1**) has 3 axes (6 wheels); a clay carriage from Dupljaja has 3 wheels (**Figure XII-2**), also so the chariot's figure from Potsdam-Eiche (**XIII-1**). The number 3 originated seemingly in some allegory related to the movement of the sun. We have the opportunity to understand historical reality more precisely through the verification of archaeological and philological factors in mutual collation. In case of the idea about the sun, we must take into consideration also Nāsatya–Ásvin or Hesperus–Lucifer, Trita, Uṣas (the dawn[s]), etc. The double spiral (**Figure II-1, IV–XI**) can be compared with the two wheels of the Asvins' chariot (cf. 7., with footnote 24, 10.: RV X 85,16):

V 73,3 *irmānyád vápuṣe vápuṣ ḥ | cakráṃ ráthasya yemathuḥ | páry anyā nāhuṣā yugā ḥ | mahnā rájāmsi dīyathah ||*

'You both keep the one amazing figure, [i.e.] the chariot's wheel, motionless, for the [other] amazing figure (the sunlight in the night). You fly around [with the one] over the other lineages of Nahuṣ, with [your] greatness over the regions'.⁴⁶

I 30,19 *ny ághnyásya mūrdhni ḥ | cakráṃ ráthasya yemathuḥ | pári dyām anyád iyate ||*

'You both keep [the one] wheel of the chariot on top [of head] of the elite bull. The other moves around the heaven'.

16. The region beyond the ocean drawing the western boundary of the earth is associated with the world of the dead.⁴⁷ Apropos of the direction west, stanza 6-7 in the Ṛgveda hymn 'A boy and a chariot' (X 135) are remarkable. The cool poet regards the Yama's paradise simply as the tomb having an exit in the west. The same hymn refers to chariot and ship, which seem to carry the dead to the beyond:

1. *yásmin vṛkṣé supalāśé* | *deváih sampíbate yamáḥ* |
átrā no viśpátih pitā | *purāṇám ánu venati* ||
2. *purāṇám anuvénantaṃ* | *cárantam pāpáyāmuyá* ||
asūyánn abhy àcākaśaṃ | *tásmā asprḥayam púnah* ||
3. *yám kumāra návam rátham* | *acakráṃ mánasákṛṇoh* |
ékeṣaṃ viśvátaḥ práñcam | *ápaśyann ádhi tiṣṭhasi* ||
4. *yám kumāra právartayo* | *rátham víprebh,yas pári* |
tám sámānu právartata | *sám itó nāv,y áhitam* ||
5. *káh kumārám ajanayad* | *rátham kó nír avartayat* ||
káh svit tád adyá no brūyād | *anudéyī yáthābhavat* ||
6. *yáthābhavad anudeyī* | *táto ágram ajāyata* |
purástād budhná átataḥ | *paścān niráyaṇam kṛtám* ||
7. *idám yamáśya sādanaṃ* | *devamānám yád ucyate* ||
*iyám asya*⁴⁸ *dhamyate nādír* | *ayám gīrbhiḥ páriṣkṛtaḥ* ||

1. [boy:] Under the tree in full leaf, where Yama is drinking together with the gods, there the chief of our tribe, [my] father, follows the tracks of the antecedents.
2. I gazed, feeling pain, at him following the tracks of the antecedents, wandering miserably in bad manner. I had a yearning for him [to get] back.
3. [some voice:] On the new chariot without wheels, oh boy, which you made by thinking, you stand on [it], without seeing [it], which has [only] one shaft [but turn] to every directions.⁴⁹
4. The chariot, oh boy, which you made rotate forward from among the trembling (inspired) ones (priests, at the funeral rites?), after it melody (of the hymns) rotated forward, set from here together in the ship.⁵⁰
5. Who begot the boy? Who made the chariot roll out? Who ever can tell us today, how the nurse became?
6. As [his] nurse became, [so] the apex came into being. In the east (front), the bottom is put up. In the west (behind) an exit is made.
7. This is the residence of Yama, which is called the palace of the gods. Here his reed is blown. He (Yama) is made up (adorned) with songs.

There are tumuli in Japan decorated with drawings or paintings, in which one observes some or almost all of the above-mentioned components (sea, ship, horse, person, bird, spiral . . .). They date back between the fourth and seventh century AD. Some of them will be presented here from three books in Japanese: **Figures XIV–XVI**.

Ship, horse, and man's figure are found, e.g. in XIV-1 (= XV-2), XIV-2, XIV-5 (= XV-1) :: II-1, in addition, bird(s), and perhaps the sunlight: XIV-1 (= XV-2), XIV-6; cf. ship with bird's bow in XIX, figures of the sunlight in II-1, II-2, III, IV–XI :: XIV-4, XV-4, XVI. As

ÁSVÍN- AND NĀSATYA- IN THE ṚGVEDA AND THEIR PREHISTORIC BACKGROUND

for jointed spirals, compare XV-3 with II-1, IV–XI. What symmetric circinate figures (“bracken”-patterns) mean, is to my information as yet unclear: XIV-1 (= XV-2), XVI-1, XVI-2 :: II-2 B, XVIII, and also their duplex variation: XIV-3 :: XVII.

The sun comes back every morning from the western oversea region, whether over the night sky, or more likely through some underground channel. This fact evokes the hope or prayer for recovery of the dead, which we can see in the drawings or paintings in tumuli, graves, or on stelae. Nordic bronze razors, too, are probably destined for the passed away. Their journey is associated with the travel of the fallen sun, so that they may return. The question is, whether such correspondences broadly observed in the world are ubiquitous phenomena, or some cognate relationship exists in their contents and forms, in a sense such as M. WITZEL’s Laurasian mythos. We hope that further investigations will elucidate the origins, historical developments and mutual relations of the myths and figures all over the world.

NOTES

1. DINGIR is the ideogram for ‘god’, and DINGIR.MEŠ for its plural. *-(a)ššil* is most likely an attempt to express the Vedic dual-compound (*Mitrá-Váruṇā*) by Hurrian means, cf. MAYRHOFER, *Die Indo-Arier im alten Vorderasien* (1966) 95: 1943C (FRIEDRICH, *Orientalia*, Nova Series 12, 311–17). In *-na* the plural form of the Hurrian article *-nni* is to be understood: MAYRHOFER, op. cit. 15 n. 1 (SPEISER, *Introduction to Hurrian*, 1941, 101f.). He cites **Inda-r[a]* and **Na[š]šattia-[n]na* as the Hurrian forms of *in-da-ralin-tar* and *na-ša-at-ti-ja-an-na* respectively (*Die Arier im vorderen Orient—Ein Mythos?*, 1974, Index p. 83).
2. *sauru* (v.l. *saurū*, *saōru*) instead of the nom. sg. *sa^uruuō*, and *nāḡhaiθem* (v.l. *nāiḡhaiθem*) instead of *nāḡhaⁱθiō*.
3. 1. *Váruṇa-* (deification of the king’s right), 2. *Mitrá-* (contract), 3. *Aryamán-* (tribal common law, custom), 4. *Bhága-* (distribution, allotment), 5. *Ámśa-* (portion), 6.—(not fixed), and 7. *Dákṣa-* (competence); and in addition 8. *Mārtāṇḍá-* as the ancestor of mankind (and the death). Cf. J.P. BRERETON, *The Ṛgvedic Ādityas* (1981), T. GOTŌ, ‘Vasiṣṭha und Varuṇa in RV VII 88’ (*Indoarisch, Iranisch und die Indogermanistik*, Erlanger Tagung 1997 [2000] 147–61) 159ff.
4. P. THIEME, “The ‘Aryan’ gods of the Mitanni treaties” *JAOS* 80 (1960) 301–17 (Kl. Schr. 396–412) tries to prove that all these are enumerated as “treaty-protecting gods”. But the passage in the document itself points to the interpretation of the five deities as representatives of the *devá-s* (“heavenly ones”) and the *ásura-s/Ādityá-s* (the judicial, binding gods): “May the gods of the secret (A. GOETZE conjectures ‘gods of assembly’) and the gods whom we call lords of the oath, whom we are herewith calling, stand by, may they hear and may they be witnesses” (loc. cit. 305 = 400).
5. Junko SAKAMOTO-GOTŌ points out a possibility that a group of deities in charge of the sun’s movement may be referred to by ^{DINGIR. MEŠ}*na-ša-a[t-ti-ja-a]n-na* with plural sign (see footnote 1), i.e. Nāsatya, Ásvín and Trita Āptya, as is discussed below 10.
6. About various interpretations, see HILLEBRANDT, *Vedische Mythologie*² I (1927) 56ff., J. GONDA, *The dual deities* (1974) 48ff.; further, G. ZELLER, *Die vedischen Zwillingsgötter*, 1990 (History of research 6–15), É. PIRART, *Les Nāsatya*, I–II (1995, 2001), Th. OBERLIES, *Die Religion des Ṛgveda I* (1998) 178–83, K.P. JOG, *Ásvins. The Gods in Indian Mythology*, Literature & Art (2005), each with bibliography.
7. The remark of OLDENBERG, *Rel. d. Veda*² 213 n. 1 against V. WILLAMOWITZ is worth notice.
8. The present contribution is based on this Japañese sketch. I am indebted to Junko SAKAMOTO-GOTŌ for suggestions, corrections and discussions, which brought great benefits to this English version.
9. According to RV X 17,2, however, Saraṇyū bore them twins (*utáśvínāv abharad . . . dvá mithuná*). Separate births are also reported in Yaska XII 1–2, Taittirīya-Āraṇyaka I 10,2; cf. OLDENBERG, *Rel.Ved.*²

- 211, HILLEBRANDT, *Ved. Myth.*² I 66, K.F. GELDNER, *Vedismus und Brahmanismus* (1928) 23. Dioscuri (Castor and Pollux) in Greek myth have a similar story, as GÜNTERT, *Ar. Weltkönig* 261, 263 and others point out. The Names *Nāsatya-* and *Dasra-* in the Mahābhārata are due to a secondary invention.
10. *ihéha* 'here and here' (distributive *āmreḍita* with words of Ich-Deixis) in the meaning of 'here and there' is a normal expression in Indo-Aryan, cf. the famous formula for *idappaccayatā* 'casual relationship [depending on this and this]' in Pāli *imasmim sati idaṃ hoti. imass' uppādā idaṃ uppajjati* 'when this (: A) exists, this (: B) arises; on the ground of this (: A), this (: B) comes into existence'.
 11. About *sām avāvaśītām* cf. Ch. SCHAEFER, *Das Intensivum im Vedischen* (1994) 181f., M.J. KÜMMEL *Das Perfekt im Indoiranischen* (2000) 487f. The active flexion may have some relevance. I interpret *arepāsā* here as instr. sg. (so SCHAEFER, too) against nom. du. in V 73,4, assuming that I 181,4 is remodelled on the base of the wording in V 73,4; GELDNER and KÜMMEL take it as du. in both cases.
 12. Cf., for instance, GELDNER, *Der Rig-Veda IV, Register von J. NOBEL* (1957) 38ff.
 13. Cf. V 75,2 *sindhu-vāhasā* 'both stream-driver!'. Their ship is *āpodaka-* 'apart from water' and *ātmavātī-* 'having ātman, animated (?)', both in I 116,3, cited in 10.
 14. About *sudīne* 'having good daytime' see GOTŌ, 'Vasiṣṭha und Varuṇa' 154 n. 23.
 15. Cf. M. WITZEL, *BEI* 2 (1984) 213–79, especially 230. This interpretation, which may have really existed as an individual view in those days, has a weak point, that the Milky Way does not always lie east to west, but changes seasonally its direction.
 16. *stuṣé* may be (still) infinitive: 'it is to be praised about you both', cf. P. SGALL, *Die Infinitive im Rgveda, Acta Universitatis Carolinae—Philologica* 2 (1958) 182.
 17. LÜDERS, *Varuṇa I* (1951) 87 concludes that *kakūha-* as well as *trikakūd-* mean "das in der Mitte [der drei Pferde] gehende Spitzenpferd" (the leading horse set in the middle of the draught horses' team). *kakhāso* (3a) should be then considered as a elliptic plural 'a leading horse and the other (two)'.
 18. Pāda c is not clear, *carṣaṇi-* in the sg. only here, cf. THIEME, *Kl.Schr.* 250; as to Pāda ab cf. NARTEN, *Kl. Schr.* 109.
 19. Or: 'You both bestow on us . . .' in the interpretation of *rāsāthām* as injunctive, cf. footnote 31.
 20. Or: 'The drops [of Soma] are [on the footstep] of the heaven, on the footstep of the rivers', cf. LUDWIG, *OLDENBERG Noten*, GELDNER ad loc.
 21. *srutī-* 'way, road', obviously 'river, river-bed, channel' in its origin (from *srav/sru* 'to flow'), must have reflected an old custom, where riverbeds were used for the travel in dry seasons; differently LIEBERT, *Das Nominalsuffix -ti-* (1949) 39 (: by way of "Seeweg"). The word was remodeled into *sṛtī-* (: *sarlsr* 'to run'), apparently according to the change of life, cf. RV VI 24,4 *gāvām iva srutāyaḥ saṃcāraṇiḥ* 'like paths of cows to walk together' (GELDNER "die gangbaren Wege" ~ BÄU IV 2,3 *sṛtīḥ sātī saṃcāraṇī* 'the right passage to walk together (for Puruṣa and his wife)').
 22. "radiating one, dawning": the name of an ancestor (Yama's father), used also in the sense of 'the human, human being', cf. GELDNER ad X 17,2a. Another possibility may be Agni. GELDNER 'bei dem Opferer'.
 23. I thank Dr. Eijirō DŌYAMA for suggesting this stanza. The preceding stanza I 118,4 is cited above, 5.3.
 24. Cf. X 37,3, of the Sun: *prācīnam anyād ānu vārtate rāja¹ úd anyéna jyótiṣā yāsi sūrya* 'The one, the darkness, rolls eastward gradually. You rise driving with the other, the light, oh Sun', or: 'The one [wheel, i.e.] the darkness, . . . with the other [wheel, i.e.] the light . . .'. About two wheels see below, 15. For this place, cf. also E. SIEG, *Kl.Schr.* 332 ("Der Nachtweg" 9).
 25. GÜNTERT, *Der arische Weltkönig* 259 assumes **nasati-* in the meaning of "Rettung durch Herbeieilen (rescue)", and compares *vasati-* 'stay, nest, passing the night' and *amhati-* 'affliction, distress' (further examples in WACKERNAGEL–DEBRUNNER, *Altindische Grammatik II-2* [1954] 628, 642), *Nāsatyā* thus 'die beiden Nothelfer, die Retter und Heilande (vgl. got. *nasjands* 'σωτήρ' "Heiland")'.
 26. Cf. T. GOTŌ, *Die 'I. Präsensklasse' im Vedischen* (1987, 21996) 200ff., RIX, KÜMMEL et al., *Lexikon der indogermanischen Verben* (2001) 454f. (by Th. ZEHNDER).
 27. After E. TZAMALI, *Syntax und Stil bei Sappho* (1996) 387. The sheep in masculine, goat in feminine, are also the case with OIAr: *Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā* I 8,1:116,2f. (prose) *āvīḥ* 'he-sheep' and *ajā* 'she-goat'

ĀŚVÍN- AND NĀSATYA- IN THE ṚGVEDA AND THEIR PREHISTORIC BACKGROUND

- in the enumeration of seven domesticated sacrificial offerings (*saptá grāmāḥ paśávah*: man, horse, cow, sheep, goat, barley, rice).
28. About other proposals, e.g., from ‘nose’: WEBER, Ind. Streifen III 428 (‘die beiden aus dem nächtlichen Dunkel hervortretenden Lichtnasen, Lichtinseln’, i.e. Gemini), LOMMEL, Fs. Schubring 29ff., THIEME, Fs. Risch 173 n. 25, cf. MAYRHOFER, Kurzgefaßt. etym. Wb. II (1963) s.v. with bibliography.
 29. H. LÜDERS, Beobachtungen über die Sprache des buddhist. Urkanons (1954) 72–4: §83, derives *pāli osadhī-* from an unattested OIA **ausarī-* with alleged meaning ‘dawn-coloured’, with an acrobatic and unintelligible arguments; CPD II s.v. (by K.R. NORMAN) follows regrettably this view. *osadhī* (-*tārakā*-) is called in the commentaries also *sukkā- tārakā-* ‘white, bright star’.
 30. *Bhujyú-* means seemingly ‘paying for his sin, penitent’, thus a scapegoat of the gods. For such meaning (“büßen”) of the verb *bhuj*, see K. HOFFMANN, Der Injunktiv im Veda (1967) 96. This meaning, not attested, e.g. in the Dharma-literature, may have been survived still in Meghadūta I 1 *kāntavirahaguṇā . . . sāpena . . . varṣabhogyena bhartuḥ* ‘through the curse of [his] master with the weight (assessment of the case) of separation from [his] beloved, which is to be paid for one year’. *Bhujyú-* is referred to in the Ṛgveda also in X 40,7, X 65,12 besides the cited occurrences. Cf. footnote 35.
 31. Or, with the imperative: ‘Drive, you both . . . ! Make, oh N° . . . !’ About the exceptionality of injunctives in the homonymic forms with imperatives (among them *-tam*), see HOFFMANN, Inj. 111. Cf. footnote 19.
 32. *pitṛbhyaḥ* is to be considered as an ablative; differently OLDENBERG, Noten z. St., GELDNER “ihn zu seinen Eltern heimbringend” (bringing him home to his fathers). This place suggests together with “the race of Yama” (RV I 116,2cd) that the set sunlight travels through the world of the dead. See below 16.
 33. *viḥyāṃ* probably to *vi-jay/ji* ‘conquer definitely’ (cf. MAYRHOFER EWAia, s.v. *jeṇya-*); GELDNER ‘(die Umfahrt) in die Fremde(?)’, from *janī* ‘to generate’.
 34. K. HOFFMANN (in a lecture) supposes that *Āθβīia-* is derived from *(*h*₂)**ātu-* in the meaning of ‘circuit [of the sun]’ (cf. Lat. *annus*, Goth. *aþn* ‘year’), and **Ātūijá-* was changed in Vedic to *Āptiyá-* by popular etymology (then, naturally after *āp-* ‘water’). *Tritá-* is ‘the third one’, *Orāētaona-* ‘descendent of “the third one”’, cf. MAYRHOFER, EWAia s.v. *tritá-*. Thus, the name makes probably an allusion to a certain (“third”) stage of the course the sun takes.
 35. The Proto-Indo-Iranian form would be **Pāura-*. A development **-ur-* > *-ru-* could be assumed for YAv. *Pāuruua-* (thus *Pāruua-*), just like **ruuata- ~ vratá-* in the word-initial (HOFFMANN-FORSSMAN 87:§52g). Ṛgvedic *Bhujyú-* might well be an Indic innovation, see footnote 30.
 36. Cf. RV I 105 (grieves of Trita), where the gods’ scapegoat Trita watches the nocturnal sky in the water, most probably fallen into the well.
 37. Cf. RV I 34,2.5.9; 47,2; 118,1–3; 157,3; 183,1, IV 36,1, VII 69,2; 71,4, VIII 22,5; 58,3.
 38. The theme is discussed in full detail and width by WITZEL, “Vala and Iwato: The Myth of the Hidden Sun in India, Japan, and beyond”, Electric Journal of Vedic Studies 12-1 (2005).
 39. Cf. a metaphoric description of the Brahmacāriṇ in AV XI 5,26 (the last stanza in the Brahmacāriṇ hymn).
 40. In the hymn for Āśvín VIII 26,8 *índranāsatyā gatam* appears with the vocative of dual dvandva and the imperative dual of the aorist, GELDNER “Kommet, Indra und die Nāsatya’s”, cf. also THIEME, KI.Schr. 410 (see above, footnote 4).
 41. There are, to be sure, also such cases, cf. I 163,1 (cited 7., at the end), or VII 77,3: *devānāṃ cákṣuḥ subhágā váhanāṁ* | *śvetāṃ náyantī sudṛśīkam áśvam* | *uṣá adarśi raśmibhir vyàktā* | *citrāmaghā víśvam ánu prábhūtā* |] ‘Conveying the eyesight of the gods, conducting the white, good-looking horse (: the sun), the fortunate Uṣas (the dawn) has [just] become seen, adorned with rays (=reins) of the [sun], with colourful (various) ability, become outstanding along everything’.
 42. A **-l/n-*heteroclitical neuter substantive: nom. (A) **sáh₂uē* (> Proto-Celtic **sāmal* > **hōmal* > **hōml* > MBreton. *heol*), reformed to (B) **sáh₂uēl*, or (C) **sh₂uēl* (> OIAr. *svār-*, *súvar-*, OAv. *huvar*³); gen. **sh₂(u)uēn-s* (> OAv. **huuēng^h* > *x^vəng*, YAv. *hū*). *S₄vār-bhānu-* (RV V 40) is the demon ‘having the sunlight (corona) as his luminous appearance, banner’, thus the personified solar eclipse, cf. GOTÖ, ‘Vasiṣṭhá und Varuṇa’ 158f. with n. 37.

43. OIAr. *sūr̥ya-* m. < **suur̥ija-* < **sh₂uul̥ijō-* (: C + *-ih₂o-), Gk. (Hom-Ion.) *ēēlios*, Att. *hēlios* m. < **sāuēlijō-* < **sāh₂uēlijō-* (: B + *-ih₂o-), Lat. *sol* m. < **sāuōl* < **sah₂uōl* (: changed into masculine from B), Got. *sauil sāuēlo* < **sāh₂uēl-o-* (: B + *-o-, originally a neuter, because of *guf* ‘god’ n. < **ǵ^hu-tō* OIAr. *hutá-* ‘offered as libation’).
44. This emphasizes the Indo-Aryan character of *Šu-ri-ia-ás* ‘*Šamaś*, the Sun god’ in the Kassitic glossary, cf. MAYRHOFER, *Die Indo-Arier im alten Vorderasien* (1966) 15, *Die Arier im vorderen Orient—Ein Mythos?* (1974) 13.
45. The upside-down position the “goose” and Hesperus show, may symbolize that the ocean through which the ship travels, is the night sky (cf. footnote 15). More natural is, however, to assume the underground ocean or stream surrounding the earth, cf. 5.1. — *parāvāt-* (cf. I 112,13, above 7., translated ‘the farthest place’) could mean the other side of the sphere, the upper half of which is the world of human beings. Cf. Junko SAKAMOTO-GOTŌ, “Das Jenseits und *iṣṭā-pūrtā-*” (Indoarisch, Iranisch und die Indogermanistik, 2000, 475–90) 480 n. 26, H.W. BODEWITZ, “Distance and Death in the Veda” (AsS 54, 2000, 103–17) 105f., F.B.J. KUIPER, “An Indian Prometheus?” (AsS 25, 1971, 85–98) 93f. (= Ancient Indian Cosmogony, 1983, 224f.). Cf. Kāthaka-Saṁhitā VI 1P:50,3f. *yāt sāyām juhōti tēna bhrātr̥vyāya pārācīm vīvāsayati. yāt prātās tēnātmāne pratīcīm* ‘In that he offers [the Agnihotra] in the evening, he thereby makes [the dawn] shine out away (in the opposite direction) for [his] rivals. In that [he offers] at daybreak, [he] thereby [makes the dawn shine out] in the facing direction for himself’. As to *pūriṣāt* ‘from the spring (outlet of the underground water/channel?)’, cf. I 163,1 in 10.
46. Cf. also VIII 22,4, VI 62,10. Dr. Eijirō DŌYAMA pointed out this and the next example with his interpretation, to which the presented translation owes much (and, differs from the usual ones). About *vāpuṣ-* ‘amazing appearance, Wundergestalt’, indicating the sun in the night (more exactly: the sunlight, as is shown here and in I 118,5, see above, 7.), cf. GOTŌ, “Vasiṣṭha und Varuṇa” 151f. with n. 16. Because of *yakṣá-* “wonder, monstrousness”, see above, 11.
47. ‘Ehni (1896: 28 [J. EHNI, *Die ursprüngliche Gottheit des vedischen Yama*, Leipzig]) draws attention to the parallelism of the sun which sets or goes down and the dying human beings in connection with the verb *parā-i-*’ (BODEWITZ, AsS 54, 105 n. 9, see footnote 45).
48. *iyām* is metrically to be read as *‘yām* so that *yām-asya* stands in a word play with *yamāsya (nādīḥ)*.
49. Our thinking turns only to one object at a time, but it can turn to everything. The chariot might allude to the tomb having a wheel-shaped ground plan, cf. A. PARPOLA “Pre-Proto-Iranians of Afghanistan as Initiators of Śākta Tantrism: On the Scythian/Saka Affiliation of the Dāsas, Nuristanis and Magadhans” (Iranica Antiqua, 37, 2002, 233–324) 310–12.
50. *sām itō nāv̥y āhitam* ‘set (from) here together in the ship’: said of the chariot or the melody (also possible: ‘united in the ship’). The travel by ship reminds us, in this context, also of Vaitaraṇī in later literature, the river the deceased has to cross.