The Marriage and Recovery of the Young Goddess: Story and Structure

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The young woman, the story of whose marriage, abduction and rescue is treated in whole or in part in the *Iliad*, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*, is regarded as corresponding to a goddess who is one of a set of six young gods. It is argued that these gods have specific roles in a tenfold Indo-European pantheon and that this narrative helps to illuminate the overall mythic structure.

This study is being made in the Indo-European context exclusively and its time-depth is that which can be ascribed to common Indo-European origin as regards myth which, as I suggested in an earlier article in the *Journal of Indo-European Studies* (Lyle 2006: 107-108), may perhaps be at a more remote date than common Indo-European origin as this can be accessed through a linguistic approach. Two of the great Indo-European epics, the *Iliad* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*, concern the husband's recovery of his young wife and in this respect these epics form a pair of treatments of a single narrative. Once the young woman is identified as a goddess the door is opened to interpretation of the story-pattern as myth. M. L. West, who has recently edited the *Iliad*, has no doubt that the young female concerned can be identified as "immortal Helen", as he called her in a separate study (West 1975), and the young female in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, named Sītā ("furrow"), is identified immediately as a mythological being through her birth from the earth (Kinsley 1988: 65-70). Greek and Indian material, including the other great Indian epic, the *Mahābhārata*, will be the focus of this discussion although I shall also draw briefly upon narratives in other branches of the Indo-European tradition. The *Mahābhārata* treats the recovery of the young woman only as a sub-theme in Book 3 but has a strong representation of the preliminary winning of the woman as bride.

The young woman/goddess has a central place in the narrative that turns on her marriage and her subsequent

abduction and rescue. West regards this narrative as a story of the hero and indicates that: "There are essentially two situations in which [a woman can have a functional role in a hero's life]: when he seeks to win her as a bride, or when he seeks to win her back after an enforced separation" (2007: 432). Since West distinguishes the hero from the king in the chapter from which this quotation is taken, his comments have to be re-situated when this story pattern is understood as belonging fundamentally in a royal context. The woman is initially the princess who will be queen and the man who wins her as his bride by so doing enters the royal house. Later, the man is a king who seeks his queen.

I shall place this story-pattern within a theoretical cosmological structure where it seems to function as one of the key myths concerning the postulated group of six young gods in a pentadic system operating with a triad (cf. Dumézil's functions) plus king and female components, as in the Edinburgh reference set I have previously outlined (Lyle 2006: 100-102). The six young gods are: 1 king's brother, 3 horseman twin, 5 king, 6 dark king, 7 queen and 9 cattleman twin.[1] The four old or cosmogonic gods (2, 4, 8 and 10 in the tenfold set, three males and a female) are not present in this narrative; expressions of their core myth culminating in a birth are explored through the analogical discovery method in Lyle 2007a.

The Choice of the King and the Royal Marriage

The first motif, the winning of the bride, is not present in the *Iliad*, but it was understood to precede the events told there and it is concerned with a royal marriage. As specially noted by Margalit Finkelberg in the context of discussion of matrilineal succession (Finkelberg 2005: 68-71; cf. Lyle 2006: 104-107, West 2007: 414-416), Helen succeeded her mother, Leda, as Queen of Sparta and Menelaus became King of Sparta through his marriage to her. He was king when he took part in the war to recover her from Troy.

There are differing accounts about how Helen's husband was chosen from among the many suitors for her hand (Gantz 1993: 564-567; Cingano 2005). As West notes (2007: 434), Helen is sometimes said to be offered a free choice among the suitors and one source, Hyginus, mentions that Tyndareus, King of Sparta, arranged that she would signal her choice by

placing a coronet (*corona*) on the man she wished to marry (*Fabulae,* ed. Marshall 1993: 2.75-76, No. 78). On the other hand, in the form of the story told in the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women* (Most 2006-7: 2.218-33, Nos. 154-156), Menelaus is said to be selected by Helen's brothers, Castor and Polydeuces, because he is the wealthiest of the suitors. The choice is made either by the bride-to-be herself or by her male relatives. The suitor is selected out from a bevy of contenders and gains a position of new glory when the choice is made.

The young woman is the prize sought by the men and so could be regarded as passive – simply an object of value being transferred – but there are a good many narratives that show her playing an active role, and, if it is justifiable to see the human action as applying also on the divine plane, we can discern here in the selection of the king an important function of the young goddess. Since a major difference between the pentadic structure I am proposing, and the one proposed by N. J. Allen, is that Allen gives no distinct place to a goddess (see note 1), I should stress here that the whole of this story revolves round the young female and that she has a highly visible presence that is reflected structurally in my model, which accordingly seems in this regard more representative and inclusive than Allen's.

One particularly explicit account that demonstrates both the woman's freedom of choice and the royal context in which it is made is something of a chance survival that has floated down to us through the centuries as an isolated episode that is the foundation legend of Marseilles, the former Massilia. It was told in a lost work by Aristotle, or more likely by one of his pupils (Rhodes 1984: 9-10), called the *Constitution of Massilia* and is known only in the two versions of it found in later authors: Justin, writing in Latin, and Athenaeus, writing in Greek. I give them both here in English translation.

Justin's work, perhaps of the second century AD, is an abbreviated history called the *Epitome of the Philippic History of Pompeius Trogus.* Justin's information comes from the lost history by Trogus who lived in the reign of Augustus and whose family belonged to Gaul. Trogus, towards the end of his work, turned his attention to his native place and gave an account of the founding of Massilia (*c.* 600 BC), which is assumed to be derived from the *Constitution of Massilia* of the fourth century BC. Justin's *Epitome* (43.3.5-13; Yardley and Develin 1994: 266-

267) tells how the Phocaeans from Ionia, who were exploring the possibilities for colonising in the western part of the Mediterranean, located a good site at the mouth of the Rhone and mounted an expedition with a view to settling there (43.3.8-12):

> The commanders of the fleet were Simos and Protis. These visited the king of the Segobrigii, whose name was Nannus – it was in his territory that they wished to build their city – and requested an alliance. It so happened that on that particular day the king was busy with arrangements for the wedding of his daughter Gyptis; in accordance with the tradition of his people, he was preparing to give her in marriage to a son-in-law who would be chosen at the wedding-feast. All Gyptis' suitors had been invited to the ceremony, and the Greek visitors were also summoned to the banquet. The girl was then brought in and told by her father to hand some water to whomsoever she chose as her husband. Passing by everyone else, she turned to the Greeks and handed the water to Protis who, becoming a son-in-law instead of a visitor, was given by his father-in-law a site on which to build his city. And so Massilia was founded, in a remote bay near the mouth of the River Rhone, in a sequestered nook of the sea, as it were.

Athenaeus, writing *c.* 200 AD in *The Deipnosophists,* credits Aristotle's *Constitution of Massilia* as his source and quotes it as follows (13.576a-b; Gulick 1937: 108-111):

> The people of Phocaea, in Ionia, devoted as they were to commerce, founded Massilia. Euxenus of Phocaea was a friend of the king, Nannus (for that was his name). This Nannus was celebrating his daughter's nuptials when, by chance, Euxenus arrived and was invited in to attend the festival banquet. Now the marriage was to be conducted in the following manner: after the dinner the girl was to come in and mix a cup and give it to any one of the suitors present that she desired; and he to whom she gave it was to be bridegroom. When the girl entered she gave the cup, whether by accident or for some other reason, to Euxenus; the girl's name was Petta. When this befell, the father, believing that her giving the cup had been done by divine sanction, thought it only right that Euxenus should have her, so he took her to wife and

lived with her, after changing her name to Aristoxenê. And there is a clan in Massilia to this day descended from the woman and called Protiadae; for Protis was the son of Euxenus and Aristoxenê.

Kim McCone, who has studied this Gaulish account in the light of parallel instances, sees the motif as belonging exclusively to the plane of myth, commenting that "it would be strange indeed if the all-important kingship were left literally in the gift of a mere woman" (McCone 1990: 111). It is not essential to the present discussion to determine whether or not this was a real-life scenario, but we can note, as a point which suggests that a custom of woman's choice could have been viable in a male-oriented society, that the choice was thought to have "divine sanction" in the account given above, so that men, in accepting it, acceded to the will of the gods. The woman's choice is thus comparable to a casting of lots. As we shall see below, her "choice" can also be an endorsement of the man's victory in a contest involving strength and skill, which again can be seen as an achievement that demonstrates the favor of the gods.

Athenaeus gives a parallel story just before the one about Massilia, derived in this case from the tenth book of the lost *Histories of Alexander* by Alexander the Great's contemporary, Chares of Mytilene (13.575; Gulick 1937: 104-109). This romantic narrative concerns Homartes, king of the Marathi, and his daughter, Odatis, who was "the most beautiful woman in Asia" and who was sought in marriage by Zariadres, king of the land above the Caspian Gates. This account specifically mentions that King Homartes lacked a son and was concerned about the succession when he considered his daughter's marriage-partner (13.575b-d):

> So Zariadres sent to Homartes in his eager desire to marry the woman, but Homartes would not agree to the match, because he lacked male children and wanted to give her to a male of his own household. After a brief interval Homartes gathered the princes of the kingdom together with his friends and relatives, and proceeded to celebrate the nuptials without announcing to whom he intended to give his daughter. Well, when the drinking was at its height the father summoned Odatis to the symposium, and in the hearing of the guests he said: "My daughter Odatis, to-day we are celebrating your nuptials.

> Look around, therefore, and after inspecting all the men take a gold cup, fill it with wine, and give it to the man to whom you wish to be married; for his wife you shall be called."

The young woman turned away in tears and was deferring her choice by taking her time over the mixing of the cup of wine and water at a sideboard, when Zariadres, whom she had seen in a dream and fallen in love with, suddenly arrived at her side, and she gave the cup to him. He immediately carried her off in his chariot and so this account does not show the king's promise being fulfilled.

In the *Rāmāyaṇa*, an account of the test by which the young woman, Sītā, was won in marriage is put into the mouth of Sītā herself. She tells how, when she reached marriageable age, King Janaka, who had taken her up from the earth and so become her father, arranged that she would be won by the man capable of stringing a mighty bow that he possessed: "'I will hold the self-choice rite for my daughter,' the wise king decided. … 'The man who can raise this bow and string it shall have my daughter for his wife.'" Many suitors made the attempt in vain but when Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa visited Janaka's court and the bow was brought out: "In the twinkling of an eye mighty Rāma bent it, and all at once the mighty prince strung and drew it" (Goldman 1984–: 2.321-322; Ayodhyākāṇḍa, sarga 110, vs. 37, 41, 46). And Janaka bestowed Sītā on Rāma.

An archery contest is present both in the well known climactic episode in the *Odyssey* when Odysseus re-wins his wife, Penelope, and in the *svayaṁvara* (self choice) of Draupadī in the *Mahābhārata*, which will be considered in some detail here. The king, Drupada, had set the test hoping that it would be won by Arjuna, who was famed as a mighty archer. He announced: "The man who can string this bow and, when he has strung it, can shoot arrows through the contraption into the mark will have my daughter" (van Buitenen 1973–: 1.348; 1[12]176.10). When the challenge was proclaimed, a great multitude flocked to be present at the bridegroom choice. On the sixteenth day, Draupadī appeared dressed in new clothes and: "[c]arrying the champion's goblet, which was made of gold and finely wrought, she descended into the arena" (1[12]176.30). Draupadī's brother, Dhṛṣṭadyumna, then entered the arena and announced the terms of the contest (1[12]176.30-35). He directed the attention of the contestants

to the bow, the five arrows and the target, and proclaimed that whoever "of lineage, beauty and might" could shoot the five arrows through a particular hole in the wheel that served as the target would obtain his sister as his wife. He then addressed Draupadī, telling her the names, lineages and feats of arms of many of the challengers who were to shoot at the target to win her, and concluding (1[12]177.20): "And you, beautiful princess, will choose the one who hits it." The contestants stepped forward one after the other but none of them could even string the bow until Arjuna arose and effortlessly strung it and sent the five arrows through the hole (1[12]178.15, 179.15). Draupadī then indicated her choice of Arjuna by approaching him with a garland of flowers, which she placed on his shoulders in the customary fashion (Insler 1989). Since she made her ceremonial entrance into the arena bearing "the champion's goblet", the expectation was set up that she would offer it to the winner of the contest but this does not feature in the narrative. When Arjuna left the arena, he was followed by Draupadī, who is referred to as his wife. Complications arose, and Draupadī was later declared the joint wife of Arjuna and his four brothers, but this pattern is unique to the *Mahābhārata* and generally in these narratives the marriage of the young woman is straightforwardly to the man who has been chosen.

The perfect choice has been made. The king and queen can enter into the harmonious marriage which, together with the king's justice, will ensure the prosperity of the realm. But it seems that they are not to enjoy their happy marriage unchallenged. There is a time of testing when the king has to call on the support of others to regain his wife after she has been wrested from him by a rival king. All this can be stated on the human level but, as myth, it can be seen as a recurrent struggle between divine opponents. We owe it to Stig Wikander, and the elaboration of his ideas by Dumézil, that it is as easy as it is to see that frequently mythic patterns lie behind the epics (Littleton 1982: 157, Belier 1991: 198-201, 217). Arjuna and Rāma are epic heroes in the works mentioned here but both have parallels in the god Indra (on Arjuna, see below, and on Rāma see Brockington 1985: 323-325). Similarly Draupadī and Sītā, though having divine aspects themselves, correspond to the divine wife of Indra, Śri-Lakṣmī (Kinsley 1988: 19-20, 23-25).

The focus in the first part of the narrative that has been discussed above is on the pair consisting of the young

woman/goddess and the young man/god who is the chosen king, but the story as a whole involves a complete set of protagonists who are defined through various family relationships and their roles in the plot. Although the other characters in addition to the queen and king are not required in the main action of the first part of the narrative, they exist throughout and may take some part in the action, as when Castor (horseman twin) and Polydeuces (cattleman twin) select Helen's bridegroom.

The Set of Young Gods

It should prove helpful, in advancing the study of Indo-European myth, to link the results of quite different approaches whenever possible and an opportunity presents itself here. West has not found Dumézil's theoretical taxonomy useful (2007: 4), and I imagine his disinclination to accept the value of structural models would extend to my own attempts in this direction, and yet his quite different researches have led to the postulation of a small number of gods for which there is wide Indo-European evidence that is quite in keeping with my proposal. Of my postulated six young gods, four correspond to gods identified by West in *Indo-European Poetry and Myth* as having a recognisable Indo-European spread. One of them, "The God of Thunder" (West 2007: 238-255), whose Indian representative is Indra, I take to be the king. Three of the others have a close structural relationship which is sometimes expressed in terms of a sibling bond; they are "The Divine Twins" and a sun goddess (West 2007: 186-191, 227-237) and, in Greek terms, they are the Dioskouroi and their sister, Helen of Troy. These four deities are: 3 horseman twin, 5 king, 7 queen and 9 cattleman twin. There remain only two others. The abductor who carries off the queen is 6 dark king, and I think this king of the dead, perhaps best known in the figure of Hades who carries off Persephone, can be said to have an Indo-European spread also (Lyle 1990: 105-115). Probably most elusive at present as a god is 1 king's brother, the representative of Dumézil's first function at the young-god level, but his hero equivalents can be identified without difficulty.

A group of young gods, when seen as a family, could potentially be linked together through being the offspring of one father and one mother, but the distinctions being made among the children can also be made at the earlier generation

level if one parent is different in some or all cases. For example, in the Indian story of Gālava studied by Dumézil, Mādhavī bears a son to each of four kings and each son inherits the characteristic virtue of his father: truthfulness, skill as a sacrificer, valor and generosity (Dumézil 1973: 29, 44-45; Lyle 1990: 17-18). However, in the polygamous society in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, it is very easy and natural to express the differences at the parent level through a treatment of a husband with several wives, and King Daśaratha has three main wives: Kausalyā, the mother of Rāma, Sumitrā, the mother of the twins Lakṣmaṇa and Śatrughna, and Kaikeyī, the mother of Bharata.

Fortunately, there does not seem to be much question how the sons fit into the cosmological scheme. Rāma is in the slot of king. Since Lakṣmaṇa and Śatrughna are twins, they fit into the slots where the Dioskouroi are placed, leaving the king's brother slot for Bharata. One twin has the role that can be defined as the warrior horseman (Frame 1978: 143), and the outstanding warrior of the pair in the *Rāmāyaṇa* is Lakṣmaṇa. The other twin can be defined as the intelligent cattleman, and it is worth observing that Śatrughna is referred to as quick-witted while Saumitri (Lakṣmaṇa) is referred to as trustworthy in the same verse (Goldman 1984–: 2.298; Ayodhyākāṇḍa, sarga 99, v. 19).

The four brothers are tightly bound together and yet sharply distinguished from each other in the account of their being born simultaneously after the three wives have eaten portions of a dish of porridge containing the substance of Viṣṇu[2] which was given to King Daśaratha by a messenger of the gods after he had made sacrifice for children (Goldman 1984–: 1.155, 159; Bālakāṇḍa, sarga 15, vs. 8-28, sarga 17, vs. 6-12, and notes).

In myth, it would be quite appropriate for all six of the young gods to be siblings but, unless brother-sister marriage is culturally acceptable, the young queen will not be represented as the sister of her husband, the young king, when the story is told on the human plane and it is not surprising that Rāma and his wife Sītā do not originate in the same family in the epic. Also, although the two kings may be represented as brothers (Lyle 1990: 105-115), the opposition between the king and his supportive brothers on the one hand and the dark king on the other makes it quite comprehensible that the king of darkness should sometimes be represented as unrelated to the others, as

is the case with the Asura king Rāvaṇa who carries off Sītā (Dubuisson 1989: 49-59).

In the *Mahābhārata* all the young males are related through a family of origin, though a most unusual one, while the young female, Draupadī, is unrelated to them and was born from Drupada's sacrificial fire. The mothers of the Pāṇḍavas, the five young heroes, and their opponent, Karṇa, are the two wives of Pāṇḍu, Kuntī and Mādrī. When Pāṇḍu, who was under a curse which meant he would die if he had intercourse, told his wife Kuntī that he would like her to bear him sons by another man, she informed him about a boon she received before her marriage that allowed her to call on any god she chose and he would beget a child with her. Pāṇḍu chose the god Dharma and Kuntī gave birth to Yudhiṣṭhira who would be the greatest of the upholders of the Law. He then desired a son of triumphant strength and Kuntī conceived by the god Vāyu and gave birth to Bhīma. Next Pāṇḍu practised austerities seeking to win the assent of Indra, thinking "Indra is the king" and "[t]he son that he will give me shall be my choicest" (van Buitenen 1973–: 1.256; 1[7]114.16-18). Indra assented and Kuntī gave birth to Arjuna. When Kuntī declined to have more children, Pāṇḍu persuaded her to use her boon on behalf of his secondary wife, Madrī. Kuntī did this and expected her to have one child but Mādrī called on the Aśvins and had twins sons, Nakula and Sahadeva.

The negatively perceived male also had a place in the family as brother of the Pāṇḍavas for, before her marriage, Kuntī had made the first use of her boon and had conceived the great swordsman Karṇa by the god Sūrya. To conceal the birth of her illegitimate child, Kuntī laid him in a basket which she left to float down a river and the boy was rescued and fostered by Adhiratha and Rādhā so that he was brought up separately from his brothers (van Buitenen 1973–: 1.240-241; 1[7]104.5-10). He was the opponent of Arjuna in single combat and was killed by him (Allen 1999: 415). It should be noted that, typically for the king's dark brother, he was born before the king (Lyle 1990: 106-111).

I interpret Arjuna, the embodiment of Indra, as 5 king and Karṇa as 6 dark king. Yudhiṣṭhira has been recognised to be a first-function figure and would be 1 king's brother in my terms. The twins Nakula and Sahadeva are distinguished clearly as respectively the horseman and cattleman of the pair (slots 3

and 9). My only question concerns Bhīma, a mighty warrior, and my suggestion is that the more martial of the myth twins can be seen as Bhīma, when his prowess is stressed, or as Nakula, when his relationship with his twin is stressed. The comparison with the *Rāmāyaṇa* is suggestive here since Lakṣmaṇa, although one of a pair of twins, is a dominant figure in the narrative, whereas Śatrughna has a relatively slight presence. I suggest that the martial twin has two different identities in epic and would tentatively interpret Bhīma as having a complementary role as a duplication of the warrior member of the twin pair.

Yudhiṣṭhira has the role of king in the epic, but he seems to correspond to the brother who takes Rāma's place and holds the kingdom on his behalf (Bharata), and there is general agreement that Arjuna is "really" the king, so to speak, although Yudhiṣṭhira has the name of king. This creates an aporia in the system which could be immensely fruitful since it means we are forced to operate on two levels. Allen recognised this in the course of a study which unravels with great care and thoroughness the relationships of the brothers to his four-function system which has a good deal in common with the system offered here. He normally works exclusively with "a synchronic formulation" which deals with the epics and such things as the Indian placement of the gods in space just as the texts present them, but in this case he begins to look at how the observed anomalies could have arisen, saying, "Although the historical details are obviously inaccessible, and much further comparative work is needed, it may be worth offering a preliminary abstract model" (Allen 1999: 416-417). And he goes on to make the crucial statement: "I assume that the Indo-European ideology once formed a framework with five compartments or slots, and that the original figure who became Arjuna belonged unambiguously to the highest valued compartment [i.e. the centre]." He also posits the idea that changes occurred "in the course of the developments that lie behind the Indian epic" to bring about the situation that we can witness. This is a move in the direction of the general statement I would argue for, that we cannot hope to understand certain elements of our heritage of narratives and customs without positing starting points for the diachronic changes that could have led to the different results that we have direct knowledge of. The Indian texts Allen has used do not, so

far as I am aware, locate a goddess in any of the directions of space but, given the importance of the young woman in this epic narrative, it could be worth looking more widely for possible traces in spatio-temporal structures of a distinct (and not simply a subsumed-in-the-male) female presence in an overall system. In Dumézilian terms, the young queen would be an instance of the trifunctional goddess.

Within the epic tradition itself, I would say that the group of six young protagonists can be quite clearly made out and this grouping is in itself a structure which requires the binding of the plot. It is quite remarkable to have the insistence on a set of brothers that we find in both the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata.* This connects the four "friendly" brothers in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and even links the "friendly" brothers with an "enemy" brother in the *Mahābhārata.* It is especially interesting to see that the birth stories differ considerably. This suggests that a structured relationship is the main message, and that family (which necessarily involves relationship) is a metaphor to express it.

The Epic/Myth of the Marriage and Recovery
The main narratives we have are epics, although there are also non-epic stories relating various episodes from the sequence. How can we move from the human level of heroes and heroines to the divine level of gods and goddesses? Many students of epic prefer not to make the move. The existence of the epics is certain and the heroes in them are not gods although they may display superhuman qualities, and so a divine level of discourse including them is rejected as too speculative. One can easily grant the value of this position – for scholars studying epics. The case is quite different for scholars studying myths. One step, and a big one, was taken by Wikander and Dumézil, when they recognised that the Pāṇḍavas actually represented the gods that were said to be their fathers, and could usefully be interpreted in terms of trifunctional theory, and the expanded structure with six slots that I offer additionally provides places for the opponent (6 dark king) and for the wife (7 queen).

Of the three epics, it is only the *Rāmāyaṇa* which includes the whole mythic pattern within its bounds, with the king's marriage to the queen and her later abduction and rescue, and I think it provides a particularly useful base for exploring this

mythic theme. I am not aware of a study that interprets Rāma and his three brothers plus Sītā and Rāvaṇa as corresponding to the set of Indo-European young gods, and I suggest that we are enabled to look at the characters in this way by privileging narrative.

Although the story has been treated here mainly in terms of Greek and Indian sources, it can also be traced elsewhere. The marriage of the goddess, Saule (the sun) or her daughter, is strongly represented in Baltic tradition (West 2007: 228-229), and Celtic tradition has a number of cases of an abduction and rescue theme, including the Celtic Orpheus story known in lay and ballad in which King Orpheus succeeds in rescuing his queen from fairyland (West 2007: 237, Lyle 2007b: 61-81).

I argue that we can take our understanding back into prehistory through the structures that have come down to us in stories, and think that we may possibly be at a break-through point in the study of the Indo-European pantheon and its myths, able to draw on linguistic studies but without deferring to them where the relevant information comes from other sources.

Notes

1   In Allen's system of the four functions (1996, 1998, 2000: 105-106, 130), there is no separate place for the female and so no equivalent to No. 7. Gods 1, 3 and 9 in the Edinburgh reference set correspond (as light halves) to the first three of Allen's functions, which are the same as Dumézil's, and 5 and 6 (king and dark king) correspond to the positive and negative aspects of his fourth function. For the terms "horseman twin" and "cattleman twin", see Frame 1978: 143 and cf. Littleton 1982: 209.

2   Later Rāma came to be considered the seventh avatar of Viṣṇu (cf. Brockington 1985: 325-326).

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