

D.D. KOSAMBI

**Combined Methods in
Indology and Other
Writings**

Compiled, edited and introduced by
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D. D.Kosambi (1907-66)

Editorial Preface and Acknowledgements

In explaining several choices that I have had to make in preparing this collection, as a compiler and editor, I would like first to refer to the fact that no complete and accurate list of Kosambi's writings—in the forms of essays, notes and reviews—exists. I started with the lists available in the volumes published in his memory,¹ which do include most writings, but, unfortunately, not all. I cannot therefore be sure whether I have been able to trace all his writings which needed to be considered for inclusion in the anthology. It is this uncertainty—and therefore the urge to utilize the opportunity to make the anthology comprehensive—which has prompted me to put together in this collection all the writings which could be traced and copied. There are however exceptions, and they ought to be explained. Two collections of Kosambi's essays, *Myth and Reality* and *Exasperating Essays: Exercises in Dialectical Method*² appeared during his lifetime and are easily available. With the exception of "The Quality of Renunciation in Bhatrhari's Poetry" which was included in *Exasperating Essays*, no other essay from these collections figures in the present anthology. 'Quality' and sections from Kosambi's long introduction to *Subhasitaratnakosa*,³ jointly edited by him and V.V. Gokhale, have been included here as extraordinary samples of writings of what Kosambi called the genre of literary criticism.⁴ Despite the existence of a separate collection of his articles on numismatics,⁵ 'Scientific Numismatics' is likewise included here also for making the collection representative.

When working on a theme, such as on *gotra* system or on the *Bhaga-vad-Gita*, Kosambi would produce several articles, including sometimes popular ones, which would deal with different aspects of the theme. Obviously, there would be repetitions of points earlier made and of sources used, but even in his popular writings and reviews, Kosambi never failed to make new points or offer suggestions which could be starting points for new kinds of research. Apart from the pressing need to gather and publish all of Kosambi's writings much of which remain beyond easy access, this is my justification for not trying to be selective,⁶ or to modify the lengths of the original versions.

The arrangement of the articles in the volume is self-explanatory. It would have been pointless to arrange them in the strict chronological order of their publication. However, within each section some sort of chronological order has been maintained, but not always. For example, in section III, articles on archaeology or epigraphy have been put together, irrespective of whether they were published earlier or later than other articles in the section. It should be understood that the thematic division of the articles is only for the convenience of arrangement; there has been no intention at all to imply that they should be read as contained within the confines of their themes. Essays put under 'Concerning Method' can easily merge with those under 'Themes in History' or 'Archaeology, Epigraphy, etc.' The other sections may be somewhat separate, but Kosambi's reviews of Dange or Antonova would surely have to be read along with his other writings on the problems of social formation and periodization in Indian history.

So far as editorial intervention is concerned, it has been kept to the minimum. Since the articles appeared in a variety of publications—research journals, magazines, annual numbers, and dailies, different systems of spelling, use or absence of diacritical marks, etc. are some of the main variations which characterize them. Those originally published without diacritical marks or with a system of diacritical markings different from the current practice have been left unchanged. The only changes that have been made are in the direction of making the spellings follow one system and removal of diacritical marks from personal and place names. Whenever it has been found necessary to add a short comment or a reference, it has been done by putting the additional matter within third brackets; this too has been kept to the minimum.

Many of Kosambi's writings had illustrations in the forms of sketches and photographs. Tracing the originals would have been an arduous and perhaps an impossible task. Where illustrations appear, they are vital for the elucidation of the text. It was therefore thought necessary to include the illustrations by using photocopies. This experiment has not been altogether successful, and some really important illustrations, such as those in his article 'Dhenukakata' (No. 27), had to be excluded as even in the original publications the illustrations had come out poor. By and large, my task, as I see it, has been to ensure, as correctly as possible, reproduction of the writings as they were originally published.

While it has been for me a singular honour to be associated with this work, the task has by no means been easy. The debts acquired, in the course of the work, have been many, and all I can do is to say 'thank you' to all the individuals whose encouragement and support have been spontaneous and generous.

Professor Meera Kosambi and Mr B.B. Sarkar were prompt with copyright permission and enthusiastic towards the project. In tracing various publications in which the articles were originally published but which all are not traceable easily, I had to depend on many individuals. I would, in particular, like to name Dr Visva Mohan Jha, Dr B.P. Sahu, Dr R.K. Chattopadhyaya, Sri Ashok Shettar, Sri Agni Kumar Hota and Sri P.K. Basant. When I was despairing about the translation of the Russian essay on 'nose index' Professor Sanjay Chandra, my colleague at the Centre for the Study of Regional Development, JNU, not only translated it promptly but also removed another source of despair by securing a photocopy, through Sri Ashok Mukherjee and Sri Arun Ghosh, of Kosambi's ISCUS article from Calcutta's Bhavani Sen Pathagar. Ms. Amol Kahlon too translated two long extracts from German in one essay. The Indian Historical Research Institute, Mumbai, and The Times of India have supplied photocopies of articles which appeared in their publications. Mrs. Vijay Joshi, teacher of Marathi at the Centre for Historical Studies, JNU, most kindly prepared a useful summary of Kosambi's Marathi biography by Chintamani Deshmukh for me. Even though at a somewhat late stage, I was extremely lucky to have been able to establish contact with Dr D.S. Chavda who was, in his very young days, a close associate and an enthusiastic partner in his archaeological expeditions of Kosambi. Despite his busy schedule, Dr Chavda has been generous with his time, discussing Kosambi with me, on his own made contact with people who could be of help, lent me his copy of Kosambi's biography and made suggestions for inclusion of pieces which were not originally listed for inclusion in the anthology.

At the Oxford University Press, Rukun Advani's ready endorsement of my hesitant proposal to undertake compilation of Kosambi's writings was a stimulating go-ahead. Later, Bela Malik has been a source of great help by being both patient and firm.

I am thankful to Professor S. Settar, and to Dr G. Racine of Maison des Sciences de L'Homme, Paris, for providing me with the leisure to write the Introduction. My wife Archana has, as usual, had to endure long silences.

If this important work is unsatisfactorily done, the fault is entirely mine alone.

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NOTES

1. (a) *Science and Human Progress*: (b) R.S. Sharma and V. Jha, eds. *Indian Society: Historical Probing*s. Another memorial volume is: (c) L. Gopal et al., *D.D. Kosambi Commemoration Volume* (D.D. Kosambi Commemoration Committee, Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi, 1977).
2. Another collection of his essays posthumously published is: *Science, Society and Peace* (Pane, 1986).
3. D.D. Kosambi and V.V. Gokhale, eds., *The Subhasitaratnakosa compiled by Vidyakara*.
4. *Bhartrhari*, 1946, p. 12.
5. D.D. Kosambi, *Indian Numismatics*, with an introduction by B.D. Chattopadhyaya (Orient Longman, Hyderabad, 1981; reprinted in 1992).
6. A useful selection of Kosambi's essays appeared as: A.J. Syed, ed., *D.D. Kosambi on History and Society: Problems of Interpretation* (Department of History, Bombay University, Bombay, 1985).

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Introduction

More than thirty years have passed since the untimely death, at the age of less than fifty-nine, of Professor Damodar Dharmanand Kosambi. Over the later years of his life, but more after his death, Kosambi has gradually emerged as an icon, with his name and work often, and on disparate occasions, invoked by social scientists, journalists and even sometimes by practitioners of contending political ideologies. The image is that of a pioneer of genuine Marxist scholarship of the Indian past, that of the ‘father of Scientific Indian History’¹ who effected a ‘paradigm shift’² in Indian historical studies; at the same time, he is also viewed as a nasty iconoclast with a ‘predeterministic’ approach, imposing an alien framework and an inappropriate prospective on Indian cultural heritage, as an excuse for rationality. His writings are only selectively read and cited; in historiographical assessments when Marxist departure is highlighted as a point of significant contrast with imperialist and nationalist modes of thought, the discourse usually begins with him. And yet, curiously, after so many years since his death, no sustained debates on his works and the intellectual position that he represented are available.³ One reason for this may be that despite the ready availability of some of his writings, many of his important essays remain housed in a select number of libraries, in *Journals* which vary greatly in their contents. In addition, an integrated view of Kosambi who was by university education, profession and professional research a mathematician, and at the same time, an indefatigable Indological researcher, perhaps can never be satisfactorily achieved. A review of his work on Mathematics, Statistics and Genetics in combination with what his Indological contribution amounted to would be indeed a tall order even for someone with genuine admiration for Kosambi. For the present, we have to direct our query only towards the genesis, range and significance of his Indological interests alone.

Was Kosambi an ‘amateur Indologist’⁴ a dilettante with superficial expertise and interest, making generalizations on India’s past, often irreverent, by fitting inadequate data into the straitjacket of Marxist theory? Kosambi himself would have us believe that his entry into Indology was fortuitous, a ‘descent through the roof’.

Study of the records meant knowledge of Sanskrit, of which I had absorbed a little through the pores. Other preoccupations made it impossible to learn the classical idiom like any other beginner. So, the same method was adopted as for the study of statistics: to take up a specific work, of which the simplest was Bhartrhari’s epigrams (*subhasitas*). The supposed philosophy of Bhartrhari, as glorified by commentators, was at variance with his poetry of frustration and escape. By pointing this out in an essay which caused every godfearing Sanskritist to shudder, I fell into Indology, as it were, through the roof.⁵

And yet, going beyond what Kosambi himself says, it may be possible to trace the genesis of Kosambi’s serious interests in Indology, History and a variety of other disciplines through the growth pattern of his intellectual makeup. Kosambi was educated mostly in the United States, both during the tenure of his father on Harvard Faculty, and after, and his training both in Harvard Law School and, as a mathematics student in Harvard University, helped him develop an amazing skill with languages. Some evidence of this skill can be seen in the references cited by him, but what one gathers from his biography and reminiscences of his friends and contemporaries, the languages that he knew well included Sanskrit, Pali, Greek, Latin, Hebrew, Arabic, German, French, Italian, Portuguese and Russian in addition to, of course, English and Marathi.⁶ He had an easy access therefore to a really wide range of publications—an advantage which many of Kosambi’s contemporary Indologists did not have—and Kosambi did make full use of his expertise in both his Mathematical and Indological works. Combined with command over languages was Kosambi’s wide range of interests—an eclecticism which appears to have been encouraged by his scholar father. This is how one of his Harvard contemporaries describes Kosambi’s room of Harvard student days:

The room was lined with bookshelves filled with the widest imaginable variety of things. I recatt. *Allgemeine Sprachkunde* (a book on linguistics), copies of the Bible in Latin, Greek and German, and other languages (which he liked to compare as language practice), a large number of paperbacks of French, Italian and German literature, as well as books in Indian languages, and of course scientific books, mostly in German.⁷

It is true that Kosambi did not learn Indology in a classroom situation, but he did learn Sanskrit to the extent of being able to prepare model critical editions of several Sanskrit texts, and this by no means suggests casual entry into the field of Indology. Kosambi himself has been several times uncharacteristically modest about the quality of his command over Sanskrit, but let me cite another authority, J.L. Masson, whose translation of the Sanskrit drama *Avimaraka* came out in 1970:

He [Kosambi] told me he had been interested in *Avimaraka* for some time and had in fact done some research on the rather peculiar name (‘sheep-killer’). He suggested that we collaborate on a work; he would write a long introduction which would investigate the anthropological data concerning the name, and I would include the translation of the play. I agreed and we sat down to re-read the play together in Sanskrit, checking it against my translation. We did this for a period of two weeks. During this time several passages in the translation profited from the astonishing range of Kosambi’s scholarship. Wherever he has actually changed my previous translation I have noted this in the textual notes.⁸

The making of Kosambi as an Indologist has to be ultimately traced to his family’s long-standing pursuit of traditional learning, his easy capacity to acquire language skill, his wide range of academic interests, and, above all, his penetrating curiosities about the world and the society around him. Kosambi had an abiding admiration for the way his father, a renowned scholar of Buddhist scriptures and editor of the Buddhist text *Visuddhimagga* for the Harvard Oriental Series, worked; he has made pointed references to the method of his father’s work and to his father’s writings on the Buddha and Buddhism. It is likely that in the intervening year between his return from and return to Harvard for his undergraduate studies, Kosambi was associated in some ways with his father’s work at Puratattva-Mandir of Gujarat Vidyapith which was being organized by Mahatma Gandhi. His admiration for Gandhiji,⁹ his closeness to his father’s friend *acarya* Muni Jinavijaya, renowned Jaina scholar who later introduced two of Kosambi’s editions of Bhartrhari to the scholarly world,¹⁰ and his contact with people involved in the Indian national movement around the middle of the twenties must have made Kosambi directly aware of Indian affairs at this stage, despite his long years in Harvard. As a young member of the Mathematics Faculty at Banaras Hindu University (1929-31) and later at Aligarh Muslim University (1931-32), Kosambi may be seen to have started exploring the ancient sites and monuments in the areas of Benaras and Aligarh;¹¹ the mature phase of his archaeological fieldwork in the Deccan, which covered a long chrono-cultural span to include microliths, megaliths, early historical Buddhist cave sites, and medieval temple centres,¹² had their modest beginning in north India since the time of his return to India.

During his tenure at Fergusson College, Pune (1933-47), Kosambi’s piece of literary criticism *The Quality of Renunciation in Bhartrhari’s Poetry* came out in 1941 in Fergusson College Magazine. His work on Bhartrhari’s text, which resulted in the publications of four separate editions,¹³ began in 1943. The preparation of these editions involved painstaking research—slow and monotonous—a source of major strain on both physical

stamina and financial resources. But it was this work which was to earn him the distinction of being invited to edit Vidyakara's *Subhasitaratnakosa*, another work of Sanskrit anthology, from inadequate photocopies preserved in Tibet and Nepal, for the Harvard Oriental Series.¹⁴

I have so far focussed intermittently on Kosambi's handling of Sanskrit texts, because I believe that preparation of a critical edition of a text is a crucial, if not the ultimate, test of expertise, of perseverance and of scholarly integrity. The collation of a number of manuscripts, with considerable variations and at different conditions of preservation, involves not only the capacity to compare and select, but also knowledge of palaeography, and awareness of the possibility of existence of strata within a text. While editing a text or weighing coins on a scale, Kosambi was concerned with the minutest detail. Kosambi, and historians with a Marxist orientation in general, have often been accused in India of ignoring hard data or making generalizations without familiarity with sources and facts. Irrespective of whether one accepts his historical generalizations or not, Kosambi did train himself to respect facts. Commenting on this aspect of Kosambi's scholarship, Daniel Ingalls, Harvard Sanskrit-ist and one of the severest critics of Kosambi's literary assessments, wrote in his reminiscences:

What I admired in Kosambi was his instinctive respect for facts, I would almost call it a reverence, that would come into play even when I least expected it. To listen to him theorize on Indian history you might think he believed himself to have an understanding of its every turn. But no; he still had the patience to weigh on a jeweller's scale each new lot of punchmarked coins that came into his hands; he would still worry for hours over which of five manuscript variants to choose for a critical text. This side of Kosambi's character, the truly scholarly side, made no great flash in the world... But to Kosambi it was part of his inner morality.¹⁵

It was this inner morality which made Kosambi acknowledge and appreciate, with humility, those text-workers whose works, he thought, merited acknowledgment and appreciation.¹⁶

II

The making of an Indologist does not explain the making of an historian. The texts critically edited by him were received with high acclaim in scholarly circles, but it is as the author of *An Introduction to the Study of Indian History*;¹⁷ *Myth and Reality*;TM and *The Culture and Civilisation of Ancient India in Historical Outline*¹⁹ that Kosambi's approach and formulations regarding India's past are recognized, discussed and disputed. The enigma of the making of Kosambi as an historian is also the clue to understanding the way he developed his approach to Indian history.

Despite his long engagements with texts,²⁰ Kosambi was time and again critical about texts, or written records alone for that matter, as the sole source of knowledge about India's past; constructs of India's past based on texts alone produced only a 'tunnel vision' of history.²¹ Texts also tended to be interpreted from the perspective of India 'as the changeless East' stereotype. Despite his deep admiration for the profound philological scholarship of many European and Indian text-workers, he was thus a severe critic sometimes of their interpretations of textual terms. Meanings of words could and did change as did historical reality. What the texts were seen to give was the vision of an essentially unchanging world or universal truth about the entire society. Kosambi was particularly fond of repeatedly citing the high incidence of widow remarriage among Maharashtrian common people of his times, whereas the social reformers of the nineteenth century were hard put to finding evidence of widow remarriage in ancient Sanskrit texts in order to legitimize their movement for its practice in contemporary society. Another custom of high incidence in Maharashtrian society, cited by him, is that of the payment of bride price of which there is clear reference in the *Mahabharata* in relation to the country of the Madras, but which is deliberately obfuscated and derided as a non-Aryan practice by the Brahmin organizers of texts.

Clearly then there is a mismatch between the textual reality as it is constructed and contemporary Indian reality, and, to Kosambi, it is contemporary Indian reality alone (because of the encapsulation within it of many stages of history) which can make us try to understand the past reality, both of written records and what is available outside written records.

This is not too difficult in a country where contemporary society is composed of elements that preserve the indelible marks of almost every historical stage. The neglect of such analysis leads to a ridiculous distortion of Indian history and to a misunderstanding of Indian culture, not compensated by subtle theology or the boasts of having risen above crash materialism.²²

Contemporary reality being an encapsulation of many historical stages, what were the alternatives to written records alone for a study of these stages? One obviously was fieldwork, to observe and analyze the tremendous diversity in contemporary reality²³ and to understand the way the past has continued and acquired new connotations in the present. The history one is talking about is then different from the history currently reconstructed, on the basis of written records alone. Kosambi's remarks explain this:

But what is history? If history means only the succession of outstanding megalomaniac names and imposing battles, Indian history would be difficult to write. If, however, it is more important to know whether a given people had the plough or not than to know of the name of their king, then India has a history.²⁴

The other was Marxism. For Kosambi Marxism was the only acceptable philosophy as a guide for desired change in the contemporary world, but it was also the correct perspective for understanding patterns of change in Indian history. Both Kosambi's fieldwork and Marxism need a little further clarification. There have been some misgivings about Kosambi's notion of 'survival'²⁵ which is inextricably connected with his statements about fieldwork, for his use of 'survival' has been interpreted to mean both unilinear evolution in which 'survival' refers to the poor remnant, and, therefore, there is value-judgement on what has survived. There is a certain measure of value-judgement, in terms of what Kosambi would consider efficiency of production and social complexity, in the way he viewed survivals; to him, plough-agriculture is certainly an advancement upon pre-plough economy. But 'survival' in a broader sense relates the cultural significance of tradition located in the life pattern, beliefs and practices of living communities to the totality of existing societal pattern itself and not in isolation from it; sometimes what has come down from the prerecorded past has outlived, although with new meanings,²⁶ more ephemeral historical stages. Kosambi refers to the mother cult of Lum-bini,²⁷ antedating the birth of the Buddha, at the sacred grove where the Buddha was born and thereby became an object of veneration among the Buddhists. When Kosambi was writing, the Sakyas and the Buddhists had gone, but Lumbini continued to be venerated as the centre of the mother cult. Survival then means the vertical continuity of myriad cultural elements, in a state of flux, through Indian history which has thus to be understood with

reference to both recorded and unrecorded evidence. Place names, cult centres, festivals—all were ingredients of history: all had distinct meanings for understanding the present in relation to the past.

History then has to be studied in the field, but one has to understand that by fieldwork Kosambi was not referring to archaeological investigations alone. One suspects that this is where he was somewhat sceptical of the work, being done in his time, by professional, institution-based archaeologists.²⁸ In a letter, dated July 30, 1961, Kosambi wrote, commenting on his own fieldwork:

I also was an observer, though the questions I asked and the sites inspected by us had a purpose developed from long experience. The main intention was always to investigate the relation of modern Indian life (at the lowest levels) with the Brahmin-recorded tradition; and also to study the transition from prehistory to history.²⁹

This essentially should be the meaning of his fieldwork and of his ‘survivals’, in the plural; the ‘survivals’, their meanings and the way they together, in their journey through history, constitute the present, can alone make Kosambi’s notion of historical change in India in Marxist terms understandable.

There is a genuine reason why further discussion on this is necessary. The reason is that there was indeed a big difference between how other Marxist Indologists used the concept of the ‘Mode of Production’ and how Kosambi was trying to use it in the Indian context.³⁰ In referring to Kosambi’s historical approach, and in comfortably and securely keeping him ensconced in a Marxist basket, the following statement made by him in both his *Introduction* and *Culture and Civilisation* is, following Kosambi himself, underlined: ‘*History is the presentation in chronological order of successive changes in the means and relations of production*’. He, however, went a step further and himself clarified: ‘Our position has also to be very far from a mechanical determinism, particularly in dealing with India, where form is given the utmost importance while content is ignored. Economic determinism will not do. It is not inevitable, not even true, that a given amount of wealth will lead to a given type of development. The complete historical process through which the social form has been reached is also of prime importance’.³¹

The ‘complete historical process through which the social form has been reached’ could be, if one follows Kosambi’s writings closely, understandable in terms of the way he himself interpreted the Marxist framework of historical change,³² the mechanism of change in existing Indian historiography available to him having been through wars, conquests, dynastic shifts—the agency of change, in other words, being the activities of those he called ‘megalomaniacs’. I shall make further comments on Kosambi’s Marxism in relation to his vision of historical change later, but it may be noted here that Kosambi was contemptuous of both Soviet and Indian Marxist attempts to delineate social formations and social change in early India. To him, ‘the complete historical process’ was the uniquely Indian process, to be explained by the logic of Indian societal developments and in terms of Indian cultural elements, *culture* being understood ‘in the sense of the ethnographer, to describe the essential way of life of the whole people.’³³

In developing his ideas about the trajectories of historical change in India, and of Indian history in general, it must be noted, Kosambi did not really have a working model before him. He did, in his writings, refer to archaeologists and ancient historians with leftist orientations; he had particular admiration for the works of George Thompson on early Greece.³⁴ In 1965, in his *Culture and Civilisation*, he was quoting approvingly, E.H. Carr’s statement that ‘the function of history is to promote a profounder understanding of both past and present through the interrelation between them.’³⁵ But, then, this is what Kosambi was himself trying to achieve, in his fieldworks through the fifties and early sixties, observing, recording and analyzing the tradition which was living in relation to meanings from the remote past, underlining the reciprocal relevance of the contemporary and the past.

III

In his Preface to *An Introduction to the Study of Indian History*, Kosambi wrote: ‘This book does not pretend to be a history of India. It is merely a modern approach to the study of Indian history ... To this end, the examples given here have been intensive, from my own (necessarily restricted) experience and reading.’

Kosambi’s approach to Indian history started with the admission that no chronological history of India, in the way European or Chinese history was written, was possible, although his *Introduction* did have a ‘chronological outline’ (xvii-xix) corresponding to the order in which the ten chapters of the book were arranged. His historical approach was founded on a chronological perspective which was his response to the ‘absence’ of chronology and events in Indian history; even if Indian history could not be written with the content of historical events and narrative continuity as in European or Chinese history, an alternative history was still possible. Construction of such a history obviously involved altering the approach.

Even though the framework for this alternative approach was provided by Marxian ‘successive developments in the means and relations of production’, obviously Marx had not worked it out in the context of India, and, in any case, nor was Kosambi entirely satisfied with Marx’s characterization of pre-colonial Indian society.³⁵ Since also, Marxism is not ‘a substitute for thinking’,³⁷ the approach present in Kosambi’s overview of Indian history has to be regarded as representing his own thinking. It may be interesting to quote here a few lines from the beginning of chapter VII of his *Introduction*, titled ‘The Formation of a Village Economy’; this is a chapter which actually deals with the period of the Mauryan Empire:

The last three chapters drift away from the definition of history given at the beginning of this work. The reader may be lost in the text critical morass presented by tenuous legendary material uncollated with archaeology. The fact is clear that Magadha emerged as the dominant Gangetic state, ruining alike petty Vedic kingdoms, Aryan tribes neither known to nor following the Vedas, and aborigines not yet Aryanised.

The awareness that he had drifted from the ‘definition of history’ is an admission of the need to do so, since simply providing a definition of history does not resolve the task of reconstructing history’s specific trajectories. Reconstructing the route to Magadha’s ascendancy at a particular phase in early India involved making sense of ‘tenuous legendary material’ and situating this sense in the context of an over-view. His alternative Indian history thus in a sense does not automatically flow from a ‘definition of history’ as such, but, following from that basic definition of change, to the formulation of a series of questions which would relate to the society one was studying:

Thus the more important question is not who was king, nor whether the given region had a king, but whether its people used a plough, light or heavy, at the time. The type of kingship, as a function of property relations and surplus produced, depends upon the method of agriculture, not conversely. What was the role of caste in breaking up tribal groups to annex them to society? Where did the metals come from? When did commodity exchange crops like coconut become important; what relations did they have to communal and private land-holdings? Why have we no large-scale chattel slavery in the classical period, no proper serfdom in the feudal? What is the reason for the survival of mesolithic rites, continued worship of stone-age gods even today among all classes? These questions have at least to be raised, their answers worked out as far as possible.³⁸

The questions posed are not exhaustive, but they do reflect a particular accent, and they amount not to a narrative history of India but to a particular way of choosing, organizing and interpreting data. Except marginally, data from many regions, such as the south, remain unrepresented in his writings,³⁹ but one must remember Kosambi's initial statement in the *Introduction* that he was not writing a history of India. His substantial chapter 'The Heritage of Preclass Society' in the *Introduction* is, for example, not an uptodate survey of the pre-and protohistorical cultures of India unrelated to other chapters, but an attempt, in the form of a synthesis of his many other writings, to understand the productive and ideological roots of Indian society as they could be analyzed from archaeological evidence and living traditions.

It is not necessary to present here a summary of Kosambi's historical writings, but his accent not being on narrative history but on changes of modes through which society reproduces itself, it is imperative that we understand in what ways he was consistently differing from those others who too seemed to have worked with the same approach. The difference would be clear from the way Kosambi dismissed the writings of both D.A. Suleikin⁴⁰ and S.A. Dange⁴¹ on the formation of early Indian class society. Kosambi's work on this had to follow the course of Indian evidence chronologically, through the Indus valley civilization, the 'Aryan Society' of the Vedas, to the ascendancy of Kosala and Magadha, before the emergence of the first Indian empire—the Mauryan empire. In the Indian context, he argued, in terms of the evidence available it would be absurd to postulate a passage from Primitive Communism to Slavery: 'If we wish to study the oldest Indian communities, the fact has to be faced that those [of] whose antiquity and means of production we have any certain knowledge have passed far beyond the primitive, into civilization.'

The contrast between Indus valley society with 'the fully developed city of such magnitude with all its high technique and the complex social organization thereby impiled' and the Aryan society,⁴² despite continuities of earlier cultural elements into Aryan society, is important for two reasons: (a) Aryan society's productive basis included horse, iron and plough, and therefore had more effective ways of creating a coercive state, and (b) the formation of the Sudra *varna*, representing the basis of labour service in society. 'Because of the Caste System', Kosambi wrote, 'India had helotage, not slavery. Thus Dange's very title is wrong, for his sources contain neither primitive communism, nor slavery.' State formation, crystallizing in the establishment of the Magadhan empire, is crucial as the basis of this class society because the state is directly involved in the creation of the true village which is the foundation of the state, through Sudra labour.

Kosambi saw 'feudal' development in India almost as an inevitability, but although a substantial part of his *Introduction* and other writings were devoted to the elaboration of his ideas on Indian feudalism, there has hardly been an attempt to analyze them and place them in the context of the differences of approach. To continue therefore with the context of differences, Kosambi had serious reservations about what may be called the K.A. Antonova model of Indian Feudalism.⁴³ According to Antonova, who based her reconstruction of the chronology and structure of feudalism on the practice of landgrants, feudalism began to develop in India in the fifth to the seventh centuries; 'from the landgrants of the 7th-8th centuries, we see that the system of feudal hierarchy is already established ... in future these landgrants will reflect the struggle between the feudal lords and the 'burghers' (of the middle ages) for their domination in towns'.

Kosambi's major criticism of this reconstruction, apart from pointing to the incorrect use of landgrant evidence, is that it does not take note of the specific features of Indian development from the fourth century onwards: 'The presence and decay of extensive tribes, the new functions of caste and Brahmanism, the real growth of plough agriculture plus village settlement all over the peninsula, rise of trade volume inspite of decrease in commodity production per head, do not appear here at all'. Why Brahmin in the earlier period was 'the *almost exclusive* (emphasis in the original) recipient of landgrants' was not explained by Antonova to whom, as a 'serious materialist historian' 'caste was of no importance'. For Kosambi, 'this throws away what little remains to us of source material in Indian history, for *caste is an important reflection of the actual relations of production, particularly at the time of its formation*' (emphasis in the original). On the use of landgrants, Kosambi's comment was: 'If such gifts constitute evidence for feudalism, then feudalism in India has to be put nearly a thousand years earlier than Antonova has done'. Also chronologically, 'not only do burghers fail to appear, but the individual merchants who might have become burghers sometimes turned into feudal lords'.

Kosambi's feudalism extended from the early Christian centuries to at least the eighteenth century,⁴⁴ and in references to Kosambi, it is customary simply to mention briefly his idea of the evolution of the feudal formation in two stages: 'Feudalism from above' and 'Feudalism from below', without relating the totality of his references to Feudalism to his characterization of the two stages. For one thing, Kosambi often used such expressions as 'Primitive feudalism'—'Pure feudalism'; 'Simple feudalism—Mature feudalism' which would, it can be assumed, correspond to his two-stage scheme of feudal development, which is better expressed in his own words:

Feudalism from above means a stage wherein an emperor or powerful king levied tribute from subordinates who still ruled in their own right and did what they liked within their own territories—as long as they paid the paramount ruler. These subordinate rulers might even be tribal chiefs, and seem in general to have ruled the land by direct administration, without the intermediacy of a class which was in effect a land owning stratum. By feudalism from below is meant the next stage ... where a class of landowners developed within the village, between the state and the peasantry, gradually to wield armed power over the local population. This class was subject to military service, hence claimed a direct relationship with state power, without the intervention of any other stratum. Taxes were collected by small intermediaries who passed on a fragment to the feudal hierarchy, in contrast to direct collection by royal officials in feudalism from above. In both cases, remnants of previous systems survived (locally or in form) down to the foodgathering tribe. The basic difference between these two stages derives from the slow increase of trade and commodity production.⁴⁵

Perhaps Kosambi's own discomfort with the way he conceived feudalism, which will be mentioned in the next section, derived from its long chronology and assumed inevitability of 'some feudal developments'. The other problem is that his own definitions and chronology would often not match his evidence. For example, if his earlier 'feudalism from above' was essentially a type of political feudalism, then the Satavahana period inscription of the middle of the second century AD from Myakadoni that he refers to, with clear indication of the existence of superior rights at the level of the village of Vepuraka, in their relationship with military service, would be a negation of that kind of feudalism and a more appropriate

evidence for his 'feudalism from below'. His dating of the crystallization of 'feudalism from below' from the reign of Firuz Tughlaq in the fourteenth century 'after several false starts'⁴⁶ becomes equivocal when one relates this to his almost absolute and confident dating of *samanta* as feudal baron between the middle and the close of the sixth century, or to his reference to 'Pure' feudalism, beginning in the later Gupta period but 'enormously stimulated by Muslim trade and military penetration after AD 1200.'⁴⁷

Despite this equivocation, which is so atypical of Kosambi's writings, 'feudalism' in the way he formulated it in sharp contrast to the feudal mode of others, remains an integral part of his approach. The 'approach' set an agenda, and the historiographical significance of this agenda lies in the fact that at least among Indian historians of India's early past, the issues raised by him, such as those bearing upon the legacy of pre-literate society; the nature of Rgvedic society and the presence in it of non-Aryan elements; iron technology and social change; state formation and *varna*; changes in the structure of the Buddhist *samgha* and the locational pattern of rock cut cave monasteries; the social significance of the ideology of *Bhakti*; and the character of what is seen as Indian feudalism continue to be major historical themes to be researched upon and debated.

IV

In what sense, then, does one take Kosambi's work to suggest a real departure—a 'paradigm shift'—from past historiography? Answers to a question like this are bound to be subjective, largely depending on the position one takes in relation to a much refined historiographic scenario in the dying decade of the twentieth century. But to see Kosambi's work solely in the light of contemporary historiography and not by situating it in the context of the period in which he was working would be travesty of historiography itself, made worse by bracketing him with a host of other Marxist historians, as if his work must need be weighed only on a Marxist scale.

The historiographical situation, up to the middle of the fifties, as Kosambi saw it, was dominated by 'official and fashionable' histories:

Beginning with Vincent Smith's *Oxford History of India* (with its praise for 'strong' empires of all sorts) and finishing as of 1954 with the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan's *Age of Imperial Unity and The Classical Age*. These books start with an incredible slender foundation of valid data, on which an imposing superstructure of conjecture, mere verbiage, and class-fashions is erected; of course, the class is no longer the British but the Indian bourgeoisie, which strives desperately to produce a history as 'respectable' as that of the foreigner in his own country.⁴⁸

The monumental nationalist project of the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan to write India's history in several volumes achieved, according to Kosambi, only an inversion of the premises of European historiography and of European historical scholarship on India. I would venture to suggest that the major breakthrough that Kosambi's work signified was to free Indian history from the tyranny of European historiography. One may object to this statement by pointing to the numerous references in Kosambi's writings to European mythology, to European practices, and to his free use of terms like 'baron', 'vassal', 'serf', 'feudalism', 'bourgeoisie', etc. in the Indian context. One should however keep in mind the entire corpus of Kosambi's writings while evaluating their use. Kosambi obviously viewed history in comparative terms, but contemporary society and culture in India being so different from anywhere else, the actual processes of the formation of that society and culture had to be understood in its own terms. Political or dynastic history, administrative, constitutional or legal history by themselves, and in isolation, were not important to him as they were to nationalist historians whose model was derived from European historiography. The difference in conceptual frame meant redefining the scope of historical enquiry; it meant shifting the focus from what was being routinely studied and highlighting new areas of priority.

Kosambi's shift to society and culture in its entirety, both past and present, including within its ambit the elites and the marginals alike,⁴⁹ was a redefinition of the scope of history and therefore redefinition of the sources of historical knowledge. Conventional sources would no longer suffice, and, in any case, could no longer be studied in isolation. The shift had to be to 'Combined Method': using what would today be called ethno-archaeology,⁵⁰ anthropology, mythology, as well as fresh analyses of meanings of words in written records. It would be simplistic to attribute these shifts to a particular historical approach unless the actual working of the method can be demonstrated, and, it would seem that with Kosambi the actual work began by asking questions. To repeat a point made earlier by citing his series of queries in *Introduction*, in his critique of the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan project too Kosambi commented:

... When did regular coinage appear? What, in particular, did Asoka's coins look like? The answer exists, but one finds nothing about punch-marked coins in the entire work. What was the essential difference between Mauryan and Gupta empires, if any? Why did the latter produce great Sanskrit literature, not the former? On the other hand, why do Buddhism, Jainism, the Ajivikas, and so many other contemporary religious sects of the type arise in Magadha, all becoming prominent at about the same time? Does this have no connection with the imperial expansion of Magadha, of which so much is made in volume II? Why had Patna, once the greatest city in the world, dwindled to a pair of villages by the time of Hiuen Tsang though the surrounding countryside was quite as productive, fertile and prosperous as before? Why did the Greek Menander not try to introduce the Greek way of life (oral at least something like the Athenian academy) into the country; why did he and so many Yavanas, Sakas and other foreigners turn to Buddhism or 'Hinduism'? Why did this trend suddenly change with the Islamic conquest—yet gradually reappear by the time of Akbar in a totally different manner?⁵¹

Obviously, 'no historian can say everything that happened, having often to select from sources that have already selected what seemed important enough for them to be recorded', but, even so, 'any serious history' to be considered a worthwhile enterprise ought to be able to raise and answer relevant questions. 'The very names of our numberless castes, the innumerable local superstitions practised by Brahmins with rewritten scriptures or without any reference at all to scripture, attest the mutual interaction of tribal and agrarian society. But the nature of tribal cultures, the various methods whereby the advance to a general society beyond the tribe was achieved, receive no consideration whatever from the Bharatiya Vidya group, which thus discards the main achievement of ancient Indian history.'

The 'paradigm shift' then has to be understood in terms of Kosambi's redefinition of the scope of history, which broke down the compartmentalization of earlier history, in terms of his designing integrated methodology for harnessing diverse sources and in terms of his emphasis on asking questions which these diverse sources and the society they emanated from alone could generate. If they together constituted a thoroughly new approach, they also meant breaking down of the sharp barriers between periods of history, of the entrenched notion of fixed periods. Kosambi does occasionally and loosely use such terms as 'Muslim' period, but in his long-distance vision of Indian history, there were only 'main advances',⁵² not replacement of one period of Indian history by another.⁵³ If markers of change were to be identified, they had to be not in the form of sharp

breaks or revolutions, but in the form of these 'main advances'. 'The advance of agrarian village economy over tribal country is the first great social revolution in India; the change from an aggregate of gentes to a society.'⁵⁴ Leaving this out, if one were envisaging 'main advances', then they were: (a) from urban but stagnant Indus valley culture, through (b) Aryanization, (c) clearing and settlement of the heavily forested Gangetic alluvial plain, (d) a 'primitive' feudalism (d) 'pure' feudalism, (f) 'modern capitalism, culminating in the rule of a new indigenous bourgeoisie that came into being less than 100 years ago through European trade, factory production and share capital, under British colonial rule'.⁵⁵ Kosambi's writings were thus singularly devoid of making use of Ancient, Medieval and Modern in the conventional ways of periodizing Indian history, at a time when research, and historical consciousness, were rooted in the acceptance of this premise of historical periodization. Kosambi's alternative chronological scheme was related to his own concept of what constituted major historical change, and ultimately, to his redefinition of the scope of Indian history.

Kosambi's other pioneering idea, which was in his conception of the power of ideology, followed from his attempts to answer this query: 'It is therefore reasonable to inquire what it was about India that was characteristic, to ask ourselves wherein the history of India *differs* (emphasis in the original) from that of other countries'.⁵⁶ The answer, to Kosambi, lay in the power of ideology. This is not the same as underlining, as many do, the much-published religiosity of the Indians or producing specialized tomes on Indian religions and philosophies. It, on the other hand, meant understanding how ideology bore upon relations between disparate groups in society, how it acted as an integrative mechanism, strengthening at the same time the basis of inequality:

A change of the utmost historical importance is in the relation of the ideological superstructure to the productive basis,... without these superstitions assimilated by Brahminism at need,... tribal society could not have been converted peacefully to new forms nor new savages changed into helpless serfs—though peace between tribes ... andachangefromhuntingorpastoralism to agriculture guarantee a decidedly more secure livelihood for the tribesmen. Only an imposing ritual, or overpowering force, or modern socialism could have won the savage over. The Indian method reduced the need for violence to a minimum by substitution of religion; caste or the *smritis* adopted or replaced totem or tabu with more power than the sword or bow."

Elsewhere, he wrote:

India has a unique social division, the (endogamous) caste system. *Caste is class at a primitive level of production, a religious method of forming social consciousness in such a manner that the primary producer is deprived of his surplus with the minimum coercion*, (emphasis in the original). This is done with the adoption of local usages into religion and ritual, being thus the *negation* of history by giving fictitious sanction from 'times immemorial' to any new development, the actual change being denied altogether. To this extent and at a low level of commodity production, it is clear that *an Asiatic Mode did exist* (emphasis in the original), reaching over several stages; at least, the term is applicable to India, whatever the case elsewhere.⁵⁸

It may appear extremely strange to find Kosambi here endorsing the notion of the Asiatic Mode of Production,⁵⁹ which he so vehemently opposed in the slightly later *Introduction*, but it was Kosambi's understanding of the power of ideology which was at the root of this contradiction, perhaps in a sense an admission of his own difficulty to achieve conceptual resolution between change and 'negation of history'. In understanding Kosambi's historiography one cannot gloss over this contradiction; it is this tension rather than facility of conviction that lies at the root of all radical thinking.

The radicality of Kosambi's vision of Indian history and culture—no matter how his many formulations are viewed today—can perhaps be measured by the distance we continue to maintain from it. Today, Kosambi's basic 'non-Aryan' preliterate foundations of Indian culture, conceptualised from the use of ethnographic data, field observations and archaeology, are far from integrated into our textbook versions of Indian history. The archaeology—history divide still largely holds valid, with professional archaeologists withdrawing more and more into their specialization grooves and increasingly mistrustful of historians using their material. The tyranny of conventional periodization still seems to suit the convenience of the professional historian, the growth of fundamentalist strain in contemporary thought continuing to derive legitimacy from this periodization. The sustenance and further advancement of radical thought are dependent upon continuing to respond to its core premises; responses to the core of Kosambi's work have been rather negligible so far.

Kosambi's history is not really separable from his overall personality and the style in which he wrote, and I would like to close my endeavours to understand his writings by trying to understand, however inadequately, how the links between them can be explored. Kosambi's Marathi biography, reminiscences about him, as well as Kosambi's own brief references to himself, bring out the formative character of his Harvard years. The impact was not simply academic, but on the formation of some of the basic traits of his personality: his espousal of the cause of the 'underdog'; total loyalty where loyalty was due; and despite his much-publicized conceit⁶⁰ and sharp tongue,⁶¹ his known preference for the 'town' to the 'gown', his being more at home with the community of the children of factory and office workers than with students of the 'gown'. He was perhaps in some measure a victim of white racism in America because of his brown skin and 'Jewish nose', and the denial of a scholarship to him during the depression years despite his brilliant results, depriving him of the opportunity to pursue his Ph.D., may have strengthened his anti-racist convictions.⁶² His love of Negro pastorals and of Paul Robeson are evidence too of the way his ideological convictions were being formed at this stage.

Kosambi's admiration for Mahatma Gandhi has been mentioned already. In America, his heroes were George Washington and Abraham Lincoln.⁶³ In India, he gradually turned to Marxism, although one does not really know how,⁶⁴ and when it was politically risky to do so, he dedicated, in 1948, his critical edition of the *Satakas* of Bhartrhari to Marx, Engels and Lenin, 'the vanguards of the new human society' *Nutan-amanava-samajasya-purascardnam-Marx-Engels-Lenin-ndmadheyndm tejasvindm mahdmndvndmpunitasmarandrtham*.⁶⁵ His scholarship too was a part of his convictions which could mean combining research in all seriousness with taking up relief operations around the time of India's independence and partition or at the time of the devastating Pune floods of 1961. Kosambi's involvement in the International Peace Movement which he espoused passionately is well known; it was, however, not simply an ideological response; it was based on a full understanding of the real dangers of nuclear weapons programme:

A flimsy 'Indian Report' on the effect of atomic radiation shows our low moral and scientific calibre by ignoring the extensive data compiled since 1945 in the one country which has had the most painful experience of atomic radiation applied to human beings—Japan. The real danger is not death, which is release for most Indians, but genetic damage to all humanity.⁶⁶

Kosambi's social concerns, backed by academic homework, extended to such diverse areas as overpopulation and birth control, fertilizers, solar energy and reforestation ('indispensable for good agriculture'), and water-harvesting for purposes of irrigation:

Neither the engineers, nor the Planning Commission, would consider a more important suggestion, namely, that many cheap small dams should be located by plan and built from local materials with local labour. Monsoon water would be conserved and two or three crops raised annually on good soil that now yields only one. The real obstacle is not ignorance of technique but private ownership of land and lack of cooperation among the owners.⁶⁷

The reality however was thus very different from what he wanted it to be. He was impatient with the reality as he perceived it, and with human failures resulting from superficiality, inefficiency and hypocrisy. The sharpness of Kosambi's style, one aspect of which was perhaps euphemistically referred to by A.L. Basham as 'concise'⁶⁸ was really a reflection of his impatience with what he found unbearable: be it in the understanding of Marxism or its applications, squabbles even over such noble movements as peace movement or in bureaucratic unconcern. How bitter his critique could be can be seen from what he wrote to Daniel Ingalls on the question of the distribution of research grants:

What you say about the grant comes painfully home in several ways. Our fertile but whimsical *Kainadhenu*, the government, can be milked for streams of cash, if one does it on a sufficiently large and useless scale. The man who needs 500 for some really useful work is a common swindler; a scheme for 10,000 might get through with heavy backing. In the hundred thousands it becomes routine; and by the million, you not only get everything you ask for, but are certainly a public benefactor, provided the money all goes down the drain.⁶⁹

If this was one, bitter, side of human sensitivity, then there was also the other, the unexpectedly soft core, where Kosambi's style of expression—in his behaviour towards his young associates with whom he could spend hours teaching Greek history or undertake arduous archaeological explorations over difficult terrains, in his closeness to his family or in his touching loyalty to friends—found outlet in a different kind of language altogether. Contrast the tone of the above letter with the last lines of the Introduction to a book which he dedicated to his mother:

At a time when my health and finances were both ruined, and the work would have been suspended, she put at my disposal, unsolicited, the meagre savings of a lifetime devoted to the service of her children. To these funds, given without condition in the disappointed hope that I should use them to improve my health, this edition owes its very existence. A matron in the noblest Indian tradition, one to whom even Bhasa's broken hero of the shattered thigh, abandoned on the field of battle, might pray with his dying breath, 'If merit be mine and rebirth fall to my lot, be thou again my mother', she deserves to have a far better work dedicated to her, just as she deserves a far better son. However, if she will condone the shortcomings of the book as she has those of the child, both are hers.⁷⁰

A rational idealist, with deep human compassion within, is usually ultimately a broken man. Kosambi's ideals obviously were going to remain unrealized. He withdrew from the peace movement, but his fierce opposition to the nuclear programme resulted in tensions, of which his job was probably a casualty.⁷¹ Being finally nominated a Scientist Emeritus of the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research, after squabbles of the nature of academic politics, was no major compensation. Field work sporadically continued till the early sixties, but problems of finance, logistics and those caused by nagging arthritis combined to make things difficult for him at the late stage of his life.

But, what one can be sure about is that Kosambi would never have fallen in line with Bhartrhari, the poet he continued to study so thoroughly till the end: anti-elitist Kosambi's impatient comments on Bhartrhari's despair born out of poverty would only be: '... this is poverty of the intelligentsia; not of the proletariat, the *pamara* who has nothing to live by except the hard labour of his scabby body; with him the poet feels no kinship ... Our poets had long past the stage when they would burst into song for the sheer joy of being alive.' In his assessment, 'the florid Sanskrit poet or his hedonist patron' compares unfavourably with Bunyan's valiant pilgrim: 'For him, death had no sting, over him the grave could claim no victory'; only those prepared to put up 'constant struggle' would be capable of demanding, in the words of another of Kosambi's favourite poets, Blake:⁷²

Bring me my bow of burning gold! Bring me my arrows of desire! Bring me my spear! O clouds unfold! Bring me my chariots of fire!

This is the best of all possible warfare, the only one for a poet', Kosambi wrote. In retrospect, one feels that one can say this about a scientist-social scientist too, if one can get to the heart of Kosambi's warfare.

NOTES

1. Dale Reipe, 'D.D. Kosambi: Father of Scientific Indian History' in R.S.Sharma and V. Jha, eds, *Indian Society: Historical Probings: In Memory of D.D. Kosambi* (People's Publishing House, Delhi, 1974), pp. 34-44.

2. Romila Thapar has used this expression in her 'The Contribution of D.D. Kosambi to Indology', included in her *Interpreting Early India* (Oxford India paperbacks, Delhi, second impression, 1994), pp. 89-113 [hereafter 'The Contribution of D.D. Kosambi'.]

3. To my knowledge, Romila Thapar's 'The Contribution of D.D. Kosambi' remains the only analytical overview of his writings so far. For a review of Kosambi's *Culture and Civilization of Ancient India in Historical Outline* (Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1965) see D.N. Jha, 'A Marxist view of Ancient Indian History', in his *Economy and Society in Early India: Issues and Paradigms* (Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt. Ltd., Delhi, 1993), chap. 2.

See also idem, 'D.D. Kosambi' in S.P. Sen, ed. *Historians and Historiography in Modern India* (Calcutta, 1973), pp. 121-32.

4. It seems that this is what Kosambi was being accused of towards the end of his career as Professor of Mathematics at the Tata Institute of Fundamental Research, Mumbai. See the reminiscences section in *Science and Human Progress: Essays in Honour of Late Professor D.D. Kosambi* (Popular Prakashan, Bombay, 1974), p. 16.

5. D.D. Kosambi, 'Adventure into the unknown', in K. Satchidananda Murty and Ramakrishna Rao, eds, *Current Trends in Indian Philosophy* (Asia Publishing House, Waltham, 1972), pp. 158-9.

6. This information has been gathered from a careful reading of reminiscences about him in *Science and Human Progress* and from his Marathi biography by Chintamani Deshmukh, *Damodar Dharmananda Kosambi (Jivan ani Karya)*, (Mumbai, 1993).

7. *Science and Human Progress*, p. 319.

8. 'Acknowledgments' in J.L. Masson and D.D. Kosambi, tr. *Avimarakā: Love's Enchanted World* (Motilal Banarsidass' Delhi-Patna-Varanasi, 1970).

9. *Science and Human Progress*, p. 319.

10. (a) *Satakatrāyām of Bhartrhari* (The Southern Archetype of the three centuries of Epigrams Ascribed to Bhartrhari), for the first time edited by D.D. Kosambi, with an anonymous Sanskrit commentary edited by Pt. K.V. Krishnamoorthy Sharma (Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1946) (hereafter *Bhartrhari*, 1946); (b) *Bhartrhari-viracita-sataka-tray-adi-subhasita-samgrahah* (The Epigrams attributed to Bhartrhari, including the three centuries for the first time collected and critically edited with principal variations and an Introduction) by D.D. Kosambi with a Foreword by Acharya Muni Jina Vijaya (Singhi Jain Series, no. 23, Bombay 1948) (hereafter *Bhartrhari*, 1948).

11. Chintamani Deshmukh, pp. 34-5.

12. An essential reading for understanding what Kosambi was trying to achieve through his fieldworks is 'Pilgrim's Progress: A contribution to the Prehistory of the Western Deccan Plateau', in his *Myth and Reality: Studies in the Formation of Indian Culture* (Popular Prakashan, Bombay, 1962), chap. 4.

13. In addition to *Bhartrhari* 1946 and *Bhartrhari* 1948, Kosambi was associated with the following other publications on Bhartrhari: (a) *The Satakatrāyām of Bhartrhari with the Commentary of Ramarsi*, edited in collaboration with Pt. K.V. Krishnamoorthy Sharma (Anandasrama Sanskrit Series, no. 127, Poona 1945), (b) *Sri Bhartrhari-Yogindra-Viracita-Subhasitātrisati*, revised with the help of D.D. Kosambi and others (Nirnaya Sagar Press, Bombay, 1957).

14. *The Subliastaratnakosa compiled by Vidyakara*, edited by D.D. Kosambi and V.V. Gokhale, with an Introduction by D.D. Kosambi (Harvard Oriental Series, vol. 42), (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1957).

15. Daniel H.H. Ingalls, 'My friendship with D.D. Kosambi' in R.S. Sharma and V. Jha, eds. *Indian Society: Historical Probing*s, p. 26.

16. Kosambi's admiration for quality extended beyond narrowly defined academic world. Referring to the works of Sunil Janah, some of whose photographs of tribal life he chose for inclusion in his *Culture and Civilization*, he wrote in a letter: 'I have every hope of getting a few magnificent shots from Sunil Janah, a real artist with the camera, who has a superb collection of tribal photos. Incidentally, if you know anyone in Germany who wants to publish photos of Indian tribal people as a book by itself, Janah is the man to contact.' Letter dated November, 1963 to G.D. Sontheimer of Heidelberg University. I am grateful to the memory of late Professor Sontheimer who had allowed me to photocopy and use the letters written to him by Professor Kosambi.

17. First published by Popular Book Depot (now Popular Prakashan), (Bombay, 1956).

18. (Popular Prakashan, Bombay, 1962).

19. (First published by Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1965).

20. On 13-2-1965 Kosambi was writing to G.D. Sontheimer; The *Lekhapaddhati* in the COS is out of print, as you know; we have the basic MSS right here at the BORI [Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute], but the Gujarati words need closer explanation, not fully given in the GOS [Gaekwad Oriental Series] edition. I hope they will have a better edition soon, but no one actually worries about such matters nowadays.'

21. 'Combined Methods in Indology' (no. 1. The number corresponds to the serial number of the article in this volume), p. 4.

22. *Myth and Reality*, p. 2.

23. In his critique of D.A. Suleikin's note on periodization of Indian history Kosambi wrote: 'India is not a mathematical point but a very large country, with the utmost diversity of natural environment, language, historical course of development. Neither in the means of production nor in the stages of social development was there overall homogeneity in the oldest times. Centuries must be allowed to pass before comparable stages of productive and social relationships may be established between the Indus Valley, Bengal, and Malabar. Even then, important differences remain which makes periodization for India as a whole almost impossible except with the broadest margins', 'On a Marxist approach to Indian chronology' (no. 3).

24. *Culture and Civilization*, p. 10.

25. See the sections 'Primitive survivals in the means of production, Primitive survivals in the superstructure' in chap. 2 of *Culture and Civilization*

26. 'Combined Methods in Indology'.

27. *Ibid.*

28. Kosambi was not unconcerned about the technical requirements of archaeological training, which could be acquired in properly equipped institutions alone. In a letter to V.N. Sisodia, one of the young fieldworkers associated with Kosambi and later a student at the Institute of Archaeology, London, Kosambi wrote on 16 October, 1963: 'By all means concentrate upon new techniques like soil analysis. Pollen does very well in Denmark, with peat bogs for example; but what will work in India I don't know. The best indicator in this area is the impregnation of the soil with lime absorbed from below (Deulgao Gada, Coraci Alandi); also some peculiar whitening of microliths, perhaps also due to such absorption. If these could be used in some way for dating, all the better'.

29. Letter to G.D. Sontheimer of the University of Heidelberg, who had done some field work with Kosambi in the Pune area and whose subsequent researches on the folk deities of the Deccan came to be based on regular field works, recording of oral traditions and written texts. In another letter to him, dated May 24, 1962, Kosambi had written: 'The old methods for Indology will simply not do; without fieldwork the literary sources will not convey any real meaning. You must have realised that for yourself by now, but have the senior scholars?'

30. Kosambi's position on this should be clear from a perusal of his article 'Stages of Indian History' which was published in *ISCUS: Journal of the Indo-Soviet Cultural Society*, vol. I, no. 1 (1954). Beginning with a long extract from Marx's preface to the *Critique of Political Economy*, Kosambi goes on to state: The quotation from Marx normally ends with the sentence "In broad outline the Asiatic, ancient, feudal, and modern bourgeois modes of production can be designated as progressive epochs in the economic system of society." This is quoted without change in Lenin's famous essay on Marx. J.V. Stalin, however, in his classic *Dialectical and Historical Materialism* says: "Five main types of relations of production are known to history; primitive communal, slave, feudal, capitalist and socialist." Why this difference? ... there is only one real change in Stalin's presentation, namely omission of the Asiatic mode. Whether deliberate or inadvertent, it seems to me neither correct nor trivial.'

31. *Culture and Civilisation*, p. 10.

32. Kosambi was skeptical about orthodox Marxist Indologists' willingness to accept his approach; he was apprehensive of the kind of reception his *Culture and Civilisation* would receive from a well-known Marxist Indologist of East Germany, because in his book there was 'no mention of the great authorities on Indian history (or anything else), namely Marx, Engels, Lenin' (letter dated 7-6-1965 to G.D. Sontheimer).

33. *Culture and Civilisation*, p. 10.

34. 'Marxism and Ancient Indian Culture', (no. 48).

35. p. 24.

36. See his remark on p. *IQofihelIntroduction*: 'What Marx himself said about India cannot be taken as it stands.'

37. 'Marxism and Ancient Indian Culture*.

38. *Introduction*, p. 13.

39. There is no reason why the processes underlined by Kosambi should not be valid in relation to regions for which he did not provide much material. To give one example, Kosambi suggested: 'Divine marriage, acquisition of a family or entourage, and successive incarnations are theological manifestations of social fusion. Such parallel changes in society and religion were repeated in different localities. The apparently senseless myths so illogically put together in our Puranas have a peculiar basis in reality', 'Pilgrim's progress: A contribution to the Prehistory of the Western Deccan Plateau', *Myth and Reality*, p. 110. See in this connection a recent study: David D. Shulman, *Tamil Temple Myths: Sacrifice and Marriage in the South Indian Saiva Tradition* (Princeton University Press: Princeton, 1980), chap. 4.

40. 'On a Marxist approach to Indian Chronology' (no. 3).

41. 'Marxism and Ancient Indian Culture'.

42. On the supposed identity of the builders of Harappa and the Aryans, Kosambi's comment was: 'Most histories of India begin with these ancient Aryans. Some writers still maintain that the Indus people must have been Aryan, from the prejudice that every peak of Indian cultural achievement must have been Aryan. The hideous racial implication given to 'Aryan' by the late Nazi regime and its official philosophy has increased the confusion . . . The outstanding Aryan feature, the one characteristic that justifies the name for a large group of people, is a common family of languages ... The main question is: Does the community of language or a common origin for the group of languages justify the conclusion that there was an Aryan race or an Aryan people? It is difficult to believe that blond Scandinavians and dark Bengalis belong to the same race, however loosely defined the term 'race' may be. Some excellent linguists therefore concluded about a century ago that it was as ridiculous to speak of an Aryan race as of a 'bracycephalic' grammar!' *Culture and Civilisation*, p. 73. Kosambi also clearly demonstrated the difference between the *Rgveda* and later strata of Vedic texts.

43. 'On the development of feudalism in India', (no. 51)

44. Foreexample, of the Pesh was of the eighteenth century, Kosambi wrote: '... the basic mode of production was as feudal as anywhere else in India, whether Muslim or Hindu', *Introduction*, p. 338.

45. *Introduction*, pp. 274-5.

46. *Introduction*, pp. 344-5.

47. 'Stages of Indian History'.

48. 'The Basis of Indian History'.

49. What Kosambi was repeatedly trying to stress, in trying to get away from routine historiographical agenda which had emerged in response to the west, was: 'What most observers miss is the *reciprocal* influence of tribesmen on the Indian peasant and even on the upper classes', *Culture and Civilisation*, p. 44.

50. In assessing Kosambi's archaeological fieldwork one cannot just refer to his various formulations as either infallible or faulty, but to the fact that he was meticulously recording the contemporary as well as the historical contexts in which the artefacts were located. The documentation included current meanings of artefacts, monuments and cult centres and the traditional products of the area. Note in this context Kosambi's article on the staple grains of the Maharashtra region. Kosambi was careful too to distinguish between old functions of artefacts and their current uses and thus of the limits of ethnoarchaeology; referring to the Dhangar custom of castrating sheep and goat by freshly made chips of chalcedony, he pointed out that 'the prehistorical technique was far more delicate, but prehistoric microliths are not recognised as artifacts or tools by modern Dhangars', *Myth and Reality*, p. 42. His archaeology essentially involved study of the total contemporary context, and he thus continued to be critical of those archaeologists who would laugh 'at the idea that one could learn something from potters, tanners and Dhangars' (letter dated 29-1-1965 to G.D. Sontheimer). One should also note here the distinction that Kosambi made, in his review of F.R. Allchin's *Piklihal Excavations and Neolithic Cattle-Keepers of South India: A Study of the Deccan Ash-Mounds, between 'field archaeology'* and 'site archaeology' (no. 53).

51. 'What Constitutes Indian History?' (no. 49).

52. 'Stages of Indian History'.

53. Kosambi's assessment of Muslim rule was in the following terms: 'The main contribution was to sweep off certain decadent forms of relations of production; this revealed the real prop of the class-state as force, not religion,' *Introduction*, p. 341.

54. 'The Basis of Ancient Indian History'.

55. 'Stages of Indian History'.

56. Ibid.

57. The Basis of Ancient Indian History'.

58. 'Stages of Indian History'.

59. It should be noted that in the same article he talks of 'Primitive' feudalism and 'Pure' feudalism.

60. Even his father is said to have made this remark about Kosambi: 'His ego is greater than himself, Chintamani Desmukh, p. 51.

61. In a style which is typical of him, Kosambi refers to his annual visits to his ancestral village in Goa in his childhood when his grandmother would seat him on her lap, and 'in the presence of such of the household as were at home ... put sugar into my mouth with a benediction that my words might be sweet. Those who witnessed this charming, ridiculous, now forgotten observance feel, judging from the results, that she did not use enough sugar', *Introduction*, p. 351, fn.

62. *Science and Human Progress*.

63. Information from Dr D.S. Chavda.

64. From his Marathi biography, it appears that Kosambi used to discuss Marxism with a select number of students and members of faculty at Aligarh.

65. *Bhartrhari*, 1948.

66. 'Adventure into the unknown'.

67. Ibid.

68. A.L. Basham, '“Baba”: A personal tribute', in R.S. Sharma and V. Jha, eds *Indian Society: Historical Probing*s, p. 16.

69. D.H.H. Ingalls, 'My friendship with D.D. Kosambi', *Ibid.*, p. 27.

70. *Bhartrhari*, 1946.

71. Kosambi 'retired' from the Tata Institute of Fundamental Research at the age of 55. Apparently, this was because of his work as an amateur Indologist at the expense of his mathematical research. Curiously, his mathematical manuscript 'Prime numbers' sent to the publishers remains unpublished. Also unpublished is a book he wrote for children titled 'The hump on Nandi's back'.

72. 'Introducing Vidyakara's *Subhasitaratnakosa*' (no. 43).

SECTION I

Concerning Method

1

Combined Methods in Indology

This note suggests that the linguistic study of problems of ancient Indian culture would be more fruitful if supplemented by intelligent use of archaeology, anthropology, sociology and a suitable historical perspective.¹ Available Indian data in each of the fields listed need to be augmented by a great deal of honest and competent field work. None of the various techniques can, by itself, lead to any valid conclusion about ancient India; combined operations are indispensable.

1. Preliminary

The main idea back of the suggestion is that people who live alike tend often to act and to think alike, especially if their historical development has followed parallel courses. Indian peasants in villages far from any city live in a manner closer to the days when the Puranas were written than do the descendants of the Brahmins who wrote the Puranas. A stage further back are the pitiful fragments of tribal groups, usually sunk to the level of marginal castes; they rely heavily upon food-gathering and have the corresponding mentality. The existence of such differences is ignored by the Indian intelligentsia, to the detriment of its reasoning. In the judgment of Louis de la Vallee Poussin:² 'Les savants de l'Inde sont excellents pour la lecture des textes, l'étude des dates, etc. Mais quelques-uns sont bien les neveux des philosophes bouddhistes ou brahmanisants. A ceux-ci toute explication est bonne des qu'elle est specieuse, et ils jouent avec des abstractions du second degre comme avec des realites concretes'. This criticism, unfortunately too true, applies not only to *Indian* savants. The Brahmanizing tendency has seriously affected many distinguished foreign scholars whose long and exclusive concentration upon Brahmin documents seems to have impaired their ability to distinguish between myth and reality.

One consequence of such neglect may be seen in the formulation of 'Hindu' Law. This type of jurisprudence is mainly Brahmin traditional usage on property rights and inheritance. The *smṛti* injunction (*Ms.* 8.41) that judicial (*dhartna*) decisions were to be given only after due consideration of the particular law and the usage of the region, caste-group and family group, guild, etc., was apparently followed for a long time.³ However, no written record exists of any cases tried under this heterogeneous system. No attempt was made even by the British to study and collate the various caste laws carefully as a preliminary for Indian common law. New forms of property were regulated under the foreign (British bourgeois) law; crime by an arbitrary penal code. The caste *sabhas* continue to function off the record, with diminishing force and powers. When the question of Hindu widow remarriage was being violently argued by reformers at the beginning of this century, even the most scholarly (like R.G. Bhandarkar) looked only to correct interpretation of the sacred texts, from the *Rgveda* down. That 85 per cent of the population in their immediate locality allowed widows to remarry (and permitted divorce when either party felt aggrieved) made no impression upon the scholars nor upon the authorities on Hindu Law. P.V. Kane's monumental history⁴ of the *Dharmasastra* meticulously restricts the discussion to *smṛti* documents, avoiding any disagreeable contact with anthropology, sociology, or reality. This tunnel vision persists in all disciplines concerned with Indology.

Field work has one disadvantage for arm-chair linguists. The amazing deftness with which world-shaking conclusions can be drawn without moving out of the study becomes less serviceable. I was told by a good linguist that the rather unusual Marathi village name of Gomasl (gad-fly or cattle-fly) has its obvious etymology. The villagers, however, usually speak of the place as *goam*, shortened from *go-ama*. The actual spot so designated is a small cave near the village with a fine sixth-century image of Buddha, also unique for the region. Gotama Buddha had become Gotama *rsi* for local Brahmins and the villagers follow the Prakrit form *goama (+isi)*. Gomasl can thus be traced step by step to *gotama—rsi*, though the derivation at one jump seems to contradict accepted rules. The village name Pasane is pronounced in half a dozen different ways within a range of twenty miles. The last syllable can vary, as in peasant Marathi, from *na* to *ne*, while the *sa* becomes a cerebral *ca* or the dental *ta*, for reasons that could not be discovered. Learned theses on Maratha continue to be written as if such difference did not exist; as if the rustic speech of Satara district were not markedly different from that of the adjoining Korikan. In Goa it was possible in 1925 for a keen ear to emulate Bernard Shaw's Pygmalion-Higgins and to locate a person's origin within five miles merely by his or her speech, which also gives away the speaker's caste or religion, status, profession and educational accomplishments to an observer who knows the locality.

This diversity raises a natural question about the language of Asokan edicts. The local varieties have been determined by philological analysis;⁵ the text of the same edict is not absolutely identical in different localities. This caused T.W. Rhys Davids⁶ to declare that: 'The Buddha and his followers adopted ... the particular form of this common speech ... that was current in Avanti'. Does the Pali canon represent the idiom actually in the Buddha's mouth, through a collection made from oral tradition some-two centuries after his death? The Buddha's strict injunction to his disciples to preach in the languages of the common people is either ignored or taken to mean that the said languages differed by no more than the various versions of the same edict. The discovery of the Shar-i-Kuna⁷ (Kandahar) edict in Greek and Aramaic (without a Magadhi equivalent), a brief resume of the standard Asokan declarations, changes the picture. It is difficult to believe that Greek and Aramaic were then the two languages of Afghanistan, though they were undoubtedly the two major languages and scripts which would reach the great majority of literate people passing through Kandahar. Asokan Prakrit and Brahmi have to be given the same position in the greater part of India, a country where the

language must then have changed from one small valley to the next as it does in Assam today. The decrees were promulgated by the emperor, but the rescripts circulated by his predominantly Magadhan secretariat. It is not plausible that spoken Magadhi had then so little inner variation as the pillar and rock texts show. During a walk of twenty miles in Goa, 'want to go' changes *from jaumka hoyo* to *vacumka jdyā*, while another twenty miles in the same direction reduces it to *vacakā*; this is for peasants of the same caste and status who manage nevertheless to understand each other. Patanjali⁸ gives local usage in spoken Sanskrit (not different languages) of his day: 'goes' was *savati* in Kamboja, *hammati* in Suras-tra, *ramhati* in the east (the Gangetic regions), but *gamati* for 'real Aryans'. Yet Sanskrit then possessed the standardization of an extensive literature, the scriptures being committed to memory without alterations of a single syllable or accent. In both cases, the reported variation is much greater than for the official Prakrit of Asoka. The analysis of the latter cannot therefore be put upon the same footing as the comparison of early Greek epigraphs, say Ionian, Attic, Doric and Cretan linear B. These were issued by independent local authorities in a land where the profusion of written contracts and registers afforded a striking contrast with India—where the natives' honesty and truthfulness in the absence of written agreements astounded Greek observers.⁹ The Prakrit spoken by different characters in the *Mrcchakatika* has been separated into varieties labelled with local names. But even the *Mrcchakatika* Candalas use a Prakrit easily understood by the rest, while the Candalas of the *Jatakas* spoke a language among themselves incomprehensible to 'Aryans'. The parallel is with the idioms used by a Welsh or Irish character in a modern English play as against the actual Welsh language or Erse. Though the variation is decidedly less than one would expect from Patanjali, the use of Prakrit is more natural in this particular drama than in other Sanskrit plays. Here, the Sutradhara declaims in Sanskrit to the audience, but lapses into Prakrit with his own womenfolk; much as educated Goans who consider Portuguese or Marathi to be their real language speak Konkani to women and servants. No other Sanskrit drama makes so great a concession to everyday life, just as none other deals with a historical in preference to a mythical episode. Literary Prakrit with all its varieties had become standardized, five centuries after Asoka. The presumption is strong that the observed variation in Asokan Prakrit is due to clerks and officials of the secretariat rather than to common local usage; very few of the original inhabitants of Maski in Mysore could have mastered the Magadhan tongue.

In modern science, it has been recognized that the variation is a very important characteristic of the material, particularly when dealing with living organisms. Fundamental methods developed by R. A. Fisher¹⁰ and others for taking such variation into mathematical account have led to great advances in biology. But I have yet to see any recognition of the philosophical principle, let alone the use of delicate statistical tests, in Indology. Still worse, most of our field work is done by educated men who often miss significant features or impose their own views upon the observed. In particular, the world of the women with its secret rites exclusively the property of female members of the group and the inevitable archaisms that mark the speech of the women when trade and intercourse with strangers is a male prerogative—all these inevitably escape observation, especially when the ritual has not been written down and the language not standardized by formal education.

2. *Ibhya*

India is a country of long survivals. It is known that the Buddha's birthplace was the sacred grove of a Mother-goddess still worshipped at the spot under the same name after two and half millennia; but the Sakyas and Buddhism have vanished from the locality. Literate Maharastrians use the word *lene* (= *layanam*) for a monastic cave, originally excavated as a retreat, and referred to in Satavahana inscriptions under essentially the same name. To the peasantry near Karle caves the natural term is *veher* (often pronounced *vyahar*), from the Buddhist *vihara*, which the caves actually were for centuries. Surprisingly enough, the term changes at Karhad (the ancient Karahataka) where the (sixth century AD) Buddhist caves are called *vavri*, an archaic Sanskrit word whose filtering down to the lowest stratum of the population can only be explained by the strength of the Brahmins at Karhad. The peasant dialect about Karhad is otherwise not more influenced by Sanskrit than elsewhere in Maharastra. The caves were carved out by a class of people intimately connected with the Brahmins of a great trade centre.

These survivals naturally lead to the view that there has been no real change in India over the ages. Among the more stupid displays may be mentioned A.A. Fiihrer's publication¹¹ of a photograph of Tharu tribesmen near the Buddha's birthplace as modern Sakyas, though there was nothing whatever in the tribal name or legends to indicate the equivalence. Fa-hsien's account¹² showed that by the fourth century AD, the Saky capital was virtually deserted. By the time of Hsuan Tsang in the early seventh century, a Buddhist revival seems actually to have relocated Kapilavastu several miles away from its original site,¹³ if the two travellers' accounts (so accurate in detail) are to be reconciled. How many tribes (before the Tharus) wandered over the *Sakyanjanapada* remains unknown. This 'timeless unchanging East' theory may insidiously distort the entire meaning of a document and thus reduce the value of our already meagre source material. For example:

Rgveda 1.65.7 describes the fire-god Agni: *ibhyan nd raja vdnany atti* 'As a king the *ibhyas*, so eats he (Agni) up the forests'. K.F. Geldner¹⁴ translates this as 'Wie der Kbnig die Reichen frisst er die Holzer auf. The footnote to this gives an alternative: 'Oder: Wie ein Konig seine Vasallen'. Sayana commenting on the same *rk* gives *ibhya satravah . . . yadva dha-ninah; tan yatha dhanam apaharan raja hinasti tadvat*. Thus, Geldner has taken the second of Sayana's alternatives for a word that occurs just once in the whole of the *Rgveda*. That this did not entirely satisfy seems clear from his note on *RV*. 9.57.3 *ibho rajeva suvratdh*. The footnote here reads:

'Die Verbindung von *ibha* (*ibhya* mil rayon 1.65.7; 4.4.1 und hier) ist fur beide Worter bedeutsam und harrt noch der sicheren Losung. Andererseits ist die Bedeutung 'Elefant' fur *ibha*, 'reich' fur *ibhya* durch das spatere Sanskrit (*raja ibhena* Manu 8.34!) so gesichert, dass sie kaum zu umgehen ist. *ibhya* wird sich zu *ibha* verhalten wie *dhanya* zu *dhana*. Pali *ibbha* in der bekannten Formel (s.P.D.) und *ibha* in *Chand. Up.* 1.10.1-2 sind aus dem Zusammenhang nicht mehr sicher zu bestimmen ... Lehnt man aber die klassische Bedeutung fur den Veda ab und sucht den Sinn in der von Roth gewiesenen Richtung, so empfiehlt sich statt 'Gesinde, Horige' (Roth) vielmehr fur *ibha* und *ibhya* 'Vasall'. *ibho raja* ware dann der Vasallenkonig'.

This is a valiant attempt made by a scholar of merit to settle the meaning of a unique term in a document which he had studied intensively for so many years. The basic question is whether *Rgvedic* society had kings who ruled absolutely over vassals and over elephant-owning noblemen. It would seem extremely unlikely, taking the hymns as a whole. On the other hand, if the meanings of *ibhya* could be more closely determined, a certain amount of history emerges from the verse in question. The matter could have been settled by Asoka's 5th Rock Edict which is clearly legible for the relevant portion at Dhauli, Shahbazgarhi, Kalsi and Man-sehra. There, *bambhanibhesu* is beyond question an antithetic compound, like the preceding, 'masters and servants'. One should expect that the *ibbha* here would be the lowest of castes, as the Brahmin was the highest. However, the point may still be argued, and Jules Bloch,¹⁵ for example, deliberately leaves the word untranslated, as he does every other word that might contradict the idea that Asoka was a pious dotard bent upon preaching Buddhism. So, we might look closer at the two sources which seemed indecisive to Geldner.

The *Pali Dictionary*¹⁶ of Rhys Davids gives *ibbha* primarily as the lowest of menials, lowest of the low. The context of the third *sutta* of the *Dlghanikdyā* (*Ambatthasutta*) makes it certain that *ibbha* is used as a term of abuse, to indicate the contempt in which some local Brahmins held the Sakyans as men of low lineage. This meaning fits all contexts cited, and is generally accepted. The only other meaning given by that dictionary is late, in a comment of Buddhaghosa on the *Jatakas*. As for the *Chandogya Upanisad* reference, there seems to me no doubt of the meaning of *ibhya* in its particular context. The story is of a Brahmin Usasti Cakrayana of the Kuru country, who was wiped out by a plague of locusts (*matacl-hata*; commentators prefer ‘hailstorm’). At a village of *ibhyas*, he saw an *ibhya* eating *kulmasa* broth, begged the leavings (which his wife could not bring herself to eat, famished as she was) and from the strength gained from this distressing meal, made a success the next day at the royal sacrifice. The commentary that passes under the name of Samkara gives for *ibhya* the alternatives ‘rich man’ or ‘elephant-driver (of low caste)’; whereof Hume in his English translation takes the first. Gopalananda-svami¹⁸ in his comment gives only *hastipak*= elephant-driver for *ibhya*. Geldner may seem to appear justified in his assertion of ambiguity. But what is *kulmasa*? Neither lexica nor commentators make of this anything but food of the lowest grade. Whether my personal interpretation of *kulmasa* as the lowly vetch *Glycine tomentosa* is accepted or not, it was certainly not food for a nobleman rich enough to own elephants. The story has a point only if it shows the desperate straits to which a learned Brahmin had been reduced. Not for the first time in our records, for Vamadeva in *RV*. 4.18.13 claims to have cooked a dog’s entrails in hunger: *dvartyd suna dntrani pece*. This *rk* is put into Indra’s mouth by Geldner, who here ignores the logically consistent Brahmin tradition reported by Sayana and the *Manusmṛti* (10.106) to the effect that the degradation was Vamadeva’s.

Finally, what can a village of *ibhyas* (where an *ibhya* could be seen eating outdoors) mean, if not some hamlet inhabited by people of a low caste-guild? Such villages still exist. If you take *ibhya* as the equivalent of the tribal caste Matanga, the modern *mdrig*, originating from people with an elephant totem, every one of the passages discussed makes sense. The Aryan king of *RV*. 1.65.7 would eat up tribal savages mercilessly. The Brahmin could take soiled food from the lowest caste only in times of unutterable famine.

3. *Samanta*

Naturally, this raises the question of feudalism in India: When did vassals and feudal barons as such come into existence? The Sanskrit word to be discussed is the post-Vedic *samanta*, meaning originally ‘neighbour’ or ‘neighbouring ruler’. In his indispensable translation of the *Arthashastra*¹⁹, J.J. Meyer generally takes this in its later meaning ‘vassal’. If the translation is justified, then India was unique in having a feudal system about a thousand years before Europe, or the document is a late forgery. But no one puts the book later²⁰ than AD 300, and the question must be asked whether feudal barons were in existence even at that period. *Thai Jatakas* show *samanta* only as ‘neighbour’; the feudal institution is absent. The few *ksatrapas* and *mahdksatrapas* known in inscriptions are actually or virtually independent kings. Fortunately, it is possible to date, within limits unusually narrow for India, the period when *samanta* acquired the meaning ‘feudal baron’.

We may note that even in the *Arthashastra*, the word *samanta* has often the meaning ‘neighbour’, without alternative—as for example in *Arth*. 3.9 when transfer of title of houses and plots of land is in question. However, in every single case, *samanta* can consistently be translated as neighbour, whether royal or commoner, without incompatibility. In fact, in *Arth*. 6.1., Meyer contradicts himself by translating *sakyasamantah* at the beginning as ‘Herr iiber seine Vasallen’ and in the middle of the same chapter as ‘von Grenznachbarn umgeben, die man in der Gewalt hat’. The latter translation would fit both contexts, the former would not. There is no *samanta* baron in the *Manusmṛti*. The earlier Guptas rule over no *saman-tas* in their inscriptions; the posthumous Harisena-prastis-ri²¹ of Samudra-gupta on the Allahabad pillar mentions no barons. Dharasena of Valabhi who appears as the first *mahasamanta*²² in AD 527 is an independent king friendly to the Guptas (from the tone of his inscriptions), not a peer of the realm. The Mandasor pillar²³ inscriptions of Yasodharman, who drove Mihiragula and the Huns out of Malwa, say that the king defeated and humbled all the *samantas*, which can only mean neighbour kings. But the Visnusena charter²⁴ of AD 592 takes *samanta* only in the sense of petty feudal viscounts who might press labour for corvee, or infringe upon the rights and immunities of merchants to whom the charter was granted. Thus, the change in meaning falls within a period of less than 60 years, say the second half of the sixth century AD. It is confirmed by the Ten Princes²⁵ of Dandin, where *samanta* can only mean feudal baron, though the author shows remarkably close reading of the *Arthashastra* as of many other works. The copper plates²⁶ of Harsa, supported by Chinese travellers’ accounts, prove that feudal relationships and *samanta* ‘baron’ had come to stay.

The entire structure of the *Arthashastra*, considered as a whole, contradicts the possibility of feudalism. The state collected its taxes in kind, but processed and made into commodities an enormous number of natural products thus gathered. The whole economy and the system of administration was based upon cash valuation, as may be seen by the minutely detailed table of fines and of salaries. Moreover, the state itself owned most of the land under the title of *sita*, the *rastra* being still under private enterprise of various sorts though subject to imperial taxes. Neither in the mechanism of collecting taxes, nor in the administration of law and order, nor in military service is the *samanta* feudal officer mentioned; the respective officials are named, and have fixed monthly salaries paid in cash. The high ministerial *mantrin* and *amatya* are also salaried posts not based upon hereditary tenure or nobility of rank. A ‘vassal’ in the feudal sense would make the whole document logically inconsistent. As for the neighbouring rulers, the whole purpose of the *Arthashastra* is to make its king the universal monarch, starting on level terms with the *samantas*. But conquest did not mean reduction of the beaten king to vassalage; he and his officials were to be maintained in their old position. No special tribute is mentioned. The profit of aggression came to the conqueror from the development of waste land as new *sita* plus absolute control of mineral resources as a state monopoly. The land visualised is one divided into *janapada* territories, each originally belonging to a particular tribe, say Magadha, Kosala, Videha, etc. These were separated by extensive forests infested by predatory *atavika* savages who were still in the food-gathering stage, difficult to conquer by military methods, or at least to conquer with due profit. In the intermediate stage were a few powerful, armed, tribal oligarchies. These had to be broken ruthlessly by every method at the king’s command. There was no need or place for feudalism in any recognizable meaning of the word, in this type of state.

Not only do these considerations furnish important data for Indian history, but they also help clarify points that remain unexplained or have escaped attention. The Allahabad prasasti of Samudragupta says that he had reduced all forest kings to servitude: *paricariki-kṛta-sarvataavika-rajasya*, and the context shows that this refers to Aryavarta, the Gangetic basin, probably including West Bengal. This finished the course of settlement begun by Magadhan kings before the *Arthashastra*, and accounts for the new prosperity of the Gupta empire. The great forest still existed in places, e.g. between Allahabad and Banaras, but had been cleared of armed savages; its reduction to farmland was a matter of time, no longer of armed intervention. Gupta gold coinage, beautiful as it is, supplements Chinese pilgrims’ accounts to show that barter economy was

becoming prevalent; Harsa's coins are so few that the economic trend seems to have been virtually complete by the seventh century AD. Other steps to feudalism were payment of officials by the income of specially assigned plots of land—impossible in the *Rgvedic* economy (when fixed plots did not exist) and frowned upon by the *Arthashastra*. The definition of the paramount ruler: *raja tu pranatdsesa-samantah syad adhisvarah* in *Amarakosa* 2.8.2 fits only the Yasodharman type of conqueror of neighbouring kings; *samanta* as 'feudal baron' would not explain the given hierarchical order: *adhisvara, cakravartin, sarvabhauma*; but if none of these, then a *mandalesvara*. It follows that the *Amarakosa* cannot be later²⁷ than the first half of the sixth century AD. The tradition that places its writer at the same court as Kalidasa seems quite reasonable so that the work may be as early as the late fourth century AD. On the other hand, I had placed the poet Bhartrhari in the opening centuries of the Christian era, which can be disproved on our deductions about the meaning of *samanta*. The Bhartrhari stanza²⁸ that begins *bhratah kastam aho* (or *sa ramyd nagari* in the southern recension) takes *samanta* as the high noble of a royal court, and is attested by all complete manuscripts. Inasmuch as the manuscript evidence also compels inclusion of the stanza *bhavanti namrds taravah phalodgamaih* which is to be found in the *Sakuntalam*²⁹ of Kalidasa (whereof the critical study needs to be extended), it follows that even the nucleus of the Bhartrhari collection contains verses composed two centuries or more apart; the archetype restored on present manuscript evidence still remains an anthology.

To round out the discussion, it can be shown that the transition from the *Rgvedic* to the *Arthashastra* society as we have reconstructed it was natural. The relevant documents are the various *Brhdhmanas*, from whose diffuse liturgical contents a useful collection of data has been boiled down by W. Rau.³⁰ The king of this intermediate period was a small princeling, without very rich elephant-owning *ibhya* vassals. As the first among equals, he could be deposed. The move towards absolute rule unrestricted by tribal law was also evident. The ostracized (*aparuddhd*) king appears again to intrigue in a somewhat more ambitious role in the *Arthashastra*. Production on the land was, in each locality, in the hands of people with bonds of kinship, *sajata*; this was the only form of association permitted on the *Arthashastra* ruler's *slid* crown lands, and the text has been emended to *sujata* (high born, upper caste) by heedless editors. The correct reading is confirmed by the fact that even under the Mughals, villages were generally tilled by a *biradari* (kinship group), and undisturbed villages (e.g. in Maharashtra) are still populated by people with the same clan-name, usually reminiscent of some totem (e.g. Magar, Landage, Vajl, More). While better developed than in the *RV*, the *Yajurveda-Brahmana grama* was still a mobile association of human beings, who moved seasonally with their cattle to and from the territory to the other; very different indeed from the fixed agricultural village of today. The meeting of two such groups on the transhumance march meant conflict, as the word *samgrama* for battle proves. If, now, we take Geldner's meaning for *ibhya* and Meyer's for *samanta*, the *Rgveda*, the *Brahmanas* and the *Arthashastra* fail to give a consistent picture of developing Indian society.

4. Udumbara

Jean Przyluski (*JA*. 208.1926, pp. 1-59) describing the Udumbaras as an ancient people of the Punjab, reached the conclusion: 'On peut done ad-mettre que Udumbara, Odumbara, Kodumbara sont les variantes d'un meme nom designant un peuple austro-asiatique du Nord de l'Inde'. The basic theory, again in Przyluski's words, seems to be as follows: 'La repartition des populations de l'Inde avant Alexandre aurait etc le resultat de trois invasions successives. D'abord les Austroasiates recouvrent en partie l'element dravidien et ne laissent guere emerger que l'lot brahui au Nord et les masses du Dekhan au Sud. Puis les Aryens, descendus dans l'Inde par le Nord-Ouest, s'etablissent progressivement dans les vallees moyennes de l'Indus, de la Yamuna, du Gange, et rayonnent autour de ces foyers de culture brahmanique. Plus tard enfin, les Bahllka, venus de l'Iran oriental s'infiltrerent, marchands et aventuriers, chez les tribus austroasiatiques laisseees a l'ecart par les Brahmanes; en organisant de vastes confederations comme celle des Salva et en faisant circuler de l'Ouest a l'Est leurs caravanes, ils preparent la formation des futurs empires et assurent la liaison de l'Inde et de l'Occident'.

These conclusions have caught on very well with a certain class of Brahminizing disciples, lovers of the 'explication specieuse' and 'logique imperturbable'. The Austro-Asiatics are even credited³¹ with the Indus valley civilization and that of Sumer! Rather than plunge into the linguistic morass, it might be more profitable to analyze the technical details of the three supposed pre-Alexandrian invasions.

The British 'invasion' of India reached maturity in approximately two centuries. Its ultimate cultural dominance and military success rested upon superior technique of production and a social form (the bourgeois) decidedly more efficient than feudalism. The Muslim invasion took six centuries to span comparable stages. The military technique is again well known while their developed feudalism was more efficient than the priest-ridden Indian system before them. In both cases, the success was out of all proportion to the actual number of invaders. There was no question of 'submerging' the indigenous population, no matter how much Islam grew by conversion. So, Przyluski's three invasions prior to Alexander's ephemeral raid must have been much more powerful in numbers, not to speak of superiority in productive technique, military organization, and social form, relative to whatever existed in India at the time of each.

The case for the Aryans supports these contentions at first sight. The older view that an 'Aryan tribe' or 'race' is as ridiculous a combination of attribute and noun as a 'brachycephalic grammar' needs hardly be considered. Strabo talks of Aryans on the banks of the Indus in Alexander's day; Darius I claims in his grave inscription to be an Aryan of Aryan descent: *ariya, ariyaciga*. So we need hardly go into the etymology of Haryana and Iran or speculate about the Germanic Aarii in Tacitus. Archaeologists tell us that Aryan technique³² as such does not mean any special type of pottery or tool; they picked up whatever suited them while smashing through the barriers of little atrophied peasant communities in Asia Minor. The military success of the first wave, dated³³ at about 1750 BC, may be ascribed to the fast horse-chariot and a mobile food supply of good cattle. The second main wave at about the end³⁴ of the second millennium BC added thereto the knowledge of iron, the first cheap metal that made the heavy plough and extensive agriculture possible.

This last point, of no importance to linguistic scholars, must be properly understood. In six African animal preserves,³⁵ the annual 'production' of meat ranges from two tons to 34 tons per square kilometre. First class range land in Oklahoma yields 14 tons of beef per square kilometre annually; good Belgian meadowland runs to 45 tons. All this is with modern conservation and fire-arms. If the meat were to be procured by traps, pitfalls or bow and arrow, the actual yield would be much less; supplementing primitive weapons by bush fires would cause (and has elsewhere caused) great ecological changes which deplete the supply of game and therefore eventually the human population. Briefly, a change from hunting and food-gathering to a pastoral economy in suitable territory would support, say, eight times the population on the same land; plough farming could again multiply the number of people by at least as great a factor. Moreover, cattle-breeding and agriculture provide a regular food supply, where food-gathering is uncertain.

Only the Indus region and part of the Gujarat loess area could have had any farming other than primitive slash-and-burn (Brandwirtschaft) or digging-stick cultivation before iron became plentiful. The river flowing through an alluvial desert in a tropical climate is of the utmost importance. That is why we find the first civilizations in Mesopotamia, on the Nile, the Indus; not on the Amazon nor the Mississippi. Next best would be a loess corridor, as in China and on the Danube. This explains why the Ganges and Yamuna, though eventually the main centres of Brahmin culture, could not have had any significant settlements till iron became relatively plentiful—not before the eighth century BC. The first ‘Aryan’ settlements were in upper Punjab and along the Himalayan foothills.

Banaras is perhaps the earliest of the riparian states. Rajgir owed its position to the great ore deposits which lay close and to the south-east. The control of ore sources rather than Brahmin organization of vast confederacies explains why Magadha was the first ‘universal’ empire in India. The ‘masses du Dekhan’ did not exist. Though Paithan was the terminus of the *dakkhinapatha* (southern) trade-route from Kosala, the Deccan plateau was not opened to extensive agricultural settlement till late in the sixth century BC, and could earlier have provided neither hunting nor pasture comparable to the best northern territory. The coastal strip with its terrific rainfall and heavy forest was developed after Asoka. The pre-Aryan invasions meant at most a relatively thin scattering of stone-age people, except for the Indus valley. Even here, the light plough or harrow and flood irrigation must have been the norm; the absence of good ploughs and of canal irrigation may be deducted from the low density of ancient urban ruins in Sind and the lower Punjab as compared to Iraq.

Any preponderance of Aryans in number could only have been due to their ability to colonize lands undeveloped before their time, particularly the wooded foothills of the upper Punjab and the Gangetic basin; not that they came to India in great numbers, but that they bred faster and had a higher expectation of life because of the improved and more regular food supply. Aryanization thereafter means primarily the progress of plough agriculture in fixed land holdings—with a new social organization to correspond. The only people that adopted this without the Aryan idiom are Dravidians, not Austro-Asiatics. So far as I know, neither the primitive Australians nor those aborigines whose languages (e.g. Munda, Khmer, etc.) serve as source-material for the Austro-Asiatic theory produced any striking innovation in food production. Whatever they know of serious agriculture, metal work, pottery and handicrafts (except weaving baskets and fishing-nets) seems to have been learned after the ‘Aryan invasion’, so that they still remain nearer to the food-gathering stage than any other people in the East.

The Udumbara tree (*Ficus glomerata*) is native to India. Its sanctity, use of its wood for royal consecration thrones, and its edible fruit indicate that it was a totem tree. In fact, there is a historical Udumbara tribe on whose coins³⁶ a tree normally appears, presumably the *udumbara*. There still exist low-caste Udumbaras in Gujarat and a few Udumbara Brahmins as well. The great Sanskrit poet and dramatist Bhavabhuti was such an Udumbara Brahmin.³⁷ This does not mean organization by the Brahmins of a ‘vast confederation’ but that Brahmins were adopted into the tribes, or joined the tribal priesthood. This process continued down to the last century³⁸ and is in fact the principal method whereby successive developing groups of *atavika* savages were enrolled as endogamous castes into general Indian society—the formal aspect of ‘Aryanization’, even in Dravidian regions.

5. Satakani

The classification of ancient Indian peoples on a slender linguistic basis into Aryan and non-Aryan or pre-Aryan groups often excludes the possibility of consistent statements about customs, manner of life, or ethnic affinities. The Brahui ‘island’ in the north is explained on the basis of a pre-historic Dravidian population all over the country. Actually, there is no reason to treat it as other than a casual survival of unabsorbed trading settlers from the south in historic times. Tolstov’s excavations at Kho-rezm show unmistakable south Indian types in stucco relief depicting soldiers on garrison duty for the earlier Kusanas in Central Asia; the find is supported by anthropometry of the skulls dug up at the site. Alberun³⁹ refers to Kanarese soldiers in the armies of Mahmud of Ghazni. Adventurers from the Dravidian section of the Peninsula had set up considerable factions at various courts, by the eleventh century, even in Bengal.⁴⁰ Unless the existence of Brahui can be proved, say in the third millennium BC in about the same place as today, the linguistic explanation lacks force. The thesis becomes still less convincing when the Burushaski ‘island’ on the Karakorum is taken into account. The assumption that the non-Aryan and non-Dravidian languages of India, all primitive tribal idioms, can be grouped together as having a common or similar ‘structure’, whatever that term may mean, is doubtful.

Przyluski (*JRAS*, 1929, pp. 273-9) derived Prakrit *satakani* from *kon* ‘son’ (Munda) and *sadom* ‘horse’ (Santali, Mundari, etc.), as ‘son of the horse’. He notes the horse emblem on certain Satavahana coins, then the Visnuite-Saiva conflict and the flowering of Prakrit under a Satakami Hala. The conclusion is: ‘Quand on voudra mesurer la part des influences anaryennes dans le developpement de la litterature prakrite, on ne devra pas perdre de vue que l’onomastique des Andhras contient un important element austro-asiatique’.

This slipping off into a groove spoils an otherwise valuable study. There is no question that the Satavahanas rose from low tribal origins.⁴¹ Their region, as has been explained, had no agriculture to speak of before the sixth century BC, hence could not have supported anything beyond small tribes with petty chieftains; certainly not an ‘Aryan’ king. The horse introduced by Spaniards in America ran wild, bred in large numbers, and was then used by Amerinds of the prairies, who thereby became more efficient in killing the bison. The Aryan horse would similarly have reached some aborigines in the Deccan, or been acquired from northern caravan merchants by way of trade. The tribe or family groups who first used horses would gain superiority in warfare and the hunt. *Satakani* would be equivalent with ‘horse totem’, which agrees with Przyluski’s findings; but the Austro-Asiatics are superfluous, inasmuch as the totem is found with the horse all around the old world, from the White Horse of the Saxons to the clan name Ma among the Chinese.

The development into Satakami and Satavahana is of peculiar interest. The name is apparently a direct Sanskritization of *satakani* by late writers in possession of extensive and beautiful Prakrit literature, but ignorant of the actual dynasty whose tribal origins had vanished into dim antiquity. The *Kalki* (*anubhdgavata*) *Purdna*⁴² reports a *Saptivdhana* king named Sasidhvaja, who gave his daughter to Kalki. That Kalki was a minor historical character later promoted to a messianic future *avatara* is clear from all extant narratives; he was the son of a Brahmin and a woman of the low Matahga caste (our *ibhyas* again) and his symbol is the white stallion. *Sapti* is good Vedic Sanskrit for horse, with special reference to the sacred horses of the Sungod’s chariot. Both *sapti* and *saptan* ‘seven’ could be prakritized as *sata*; the natural confusion may account for the seven horses of Surya, who is called *sapta-sapti* and so depicted in many icons. The *vdhana* ‘vehicle’ of an Indian deity is generally shown as his mount, but is obviously a totemic manifestation of the god or goddess. Thus Brahma is the swan. Clear evidence of pre-historic and pre-Siva worship of the humped bull⁴³ has been uncovered by archaeologists. The large animal which normally occupies the greater part of an Indus seal is presumably a clan emblem, just as the Athenian Boutadai had their shields marked with a bull’s head. There is a direct line of descent from the

pre-historic ice-age artist's pebble 'sketch-sheet' and the stamp seals and cylinder seals used to protect merchandise from Mesopotamia to the Indus.

Saptikarna 'horse-ear' sounds like a 'split totem' which sometimes develops when a primitive exogamous clan splits into two or more units. The clan name *Ghotaka-mukha* 'horse-face' occurs in the *gotra* lists and the *Kamasutra*,⁴⁴ while Ghotamukha is reported in *Arth.* 5.6 as a former master of political science. Earlier, the legend of *Sunah-sepa* and his brothers, each of whose names means 'dog's tail' and famous *gotra* names like Saunaka (from *svan* 'dog' *sunaka* 'puppy') carry one in the same direction. There is actually a Sanskrit word for 'split clan', namely *gotravayava* (Pan. 4.1.79). In Pan. 4.1.173 the Udumbaras and others are (according to commentators) *avayava* components of the Salvas; this is treated as a confederacy by Przulski, but the two possibilities are not mutually exclusive. The etymology of *gotra* 'cowpen' and the comment on Pan. 4.3.127 implies that at some stage, the local *gotra* group had a distinguishing mark for its men and brand for cattle—presumably owned in common.

Salva is given as tree with edible fruit by some commentators on Pan. 4.3.166; a large number of Brahmin *gotra* names⁴⁵ are edible tree- or animal-totems as among so many savages and for that matter among Latin gentes. We shall consider here only six examples of Sanskrit names ending in *karna*, none in the same category as *manda-karna* 'hard of hearing'. In the *gana* Sivadi (Pan. 4.1.112) are found (in the *Kasika* also) the clan names *trnakarna* (var. *tuna-*), *mayurakarna*, *masurakama*, *khar-jurakarna*; respectively 'grass-ear', 'peacock-ear', 'lentil-ear', 'date-ear'. These exclude the split totem; nor can they be used to describe shape or colour of a human ear. The analogy with *saptikarna* is clear, and one may point to a *saunakami* 'son of dog-ear' in the *gotra* lists. Still better known is *Jatukarna* 'bat-ear'. In each of these cases, the termination—*karna* signifies 'descent from' rather than a split totem. Finally, the demon *Kumbhakarna* might have had ears like pot-handles (e.g. the Scottish 'lug'). But the *kumbha* is often the homologue of the uterus and symbolizes a mother-goddess. This would explain the otherwise stupid account of the hundred Kaurava sons and one daughter of Gandhari being born through the intermediacy of *ghrta-kumbha* ghee-jars; that many of these sons were patron *yaksa* cacodemons of northern towns⁴⁶ is known. Vasistha and Agastya had similar origin, being born from womb-jars, and the *acarya* Drona's name as well as birth-story throws him in the same category. *Drauni* and *Draundiyana* are again listed as *gotras*. Drona's son Asvatthaman bore in his forehead (from his very birth) a precious jewel—the symbol of a *naga*. So, the Sanskrit termination—*karna* can signify 'son of' as in Mundari, and may be associated with pre-Aryan elements. That a man has a good Aryan name does not mean that he had an Aryan father, nor even that he had a father at all.

6. Parallel Development

It might seem at this point that I merely replace Austro-Asiatic by *naga* or some such change of name. The matter lies much deeper, being the gradual and progressive absorption of many distinct *atavika* tribes into general Indian society which had had its own course of food-producing development since 3000 BC. The influence of food-producing neighbours, infiltration by caravan merchants, Buddhist, Jain and other monks, Brahmin priests and an occasional adventurer of some military capacity would generally introduce food-production and a class structure. From that stage, the course of assimilation depended upon the relative wealth and armed strength of the environment. The important point is that there was always a reciprocal influence. It seems to me that forgotten tribes show their existence in the onomasticon of peasant deities, particularly the mother-goddesses; Sirkai, Tukai, Bolhai, Mengai, Songzal, Kumbhalja (and of course the pre-Sakyan Lumbini) seem to have no acceptable derivation. The folk etymologies are demonstrably eponymous, sometimes as crude as the world-derivations in the *Brahmanas* and *Upanisads*. But there is nothing to show that any of these were Austro-Asiatic nor that they all belonged to one pre-Dravidian or pre-Aryan group. Brahmin tradition lumped all kinds of aborigines together under the generic title *naga* (cobra or more rarely elephant), presumably as snake-worshippers. The *naga* cobra becomes a garland for Siva, bed and canopy for Visnu, the patron demon for many Buddhist *viharas* and a few cities. The mother-goddesses are, whenever the number and wealth of their worshippers warrants it, identified with Durga, Lakshmi, or the like, 'married' to the corresponding god and worshipped in suitably endowed temples. This Brahminization reflects the underlying change from food-gathering in independent tribal units to food-production in a society that preserved endogamy and a (hierarchical) commensal tabu as features of its caste system. This preservation is due primarily to the fact that food-gathering remained a powerful supplement to agriculture till the forests disappeared, while clothing and shelter are not physically indispensable over most of India. It should be noted that Indian monastic tradition also has deep roots in the food-gathering tradition.

The danger of treating 'Aryan' as a homogeneous unit over any considerable extent of time or space, or even in any large literary source formed over many centuries, may easily be demonstrated. The Madra tribe in the *Mahabharata* was settled in the north-west, along with the allied Salva, Udumbara, Bahlika and Gandhara. Both Panini and Patanjali came from or near this territory. The more learned *Upanisadic* philosophers (*Brhad.* 3.3.7 and 3.7.1) claimed to have wandered among the Madras to study the *yajna* fire-ritual, the very core of the sacred Vedas. The local host is named as Patancala Kapya. *Jataka* tradition supports this independently in placing Taxila as the main centre of (Vedic, Sanskrit and medical) education to which Gangetic princes and Brahmins travelled by the great northern trade route, the *uttarapatha*.

For that matter, the *Upanisads* (*Chand.* 5.3.5.11; *Brhad.* 2.1.6.2.) show Brahmins at KasI and Pancaja learning high philosophy from Ksatriyas; this perfectly genuine though un-Brahminical tradition was continued in history by great Magadhan Ksatriya teachers like the Sakyan B uddha and the Licchavi Mahavira. Nevertheless, Karna as the ruler of Anga in the east exchanges biting discourtesies with king Salya of Madra-land, though the latter has agreed to act as Karna's charioteer in the imminent desperate and hopeless contest. The reproaches against the Madras and their neighbours are that: Women mixed freely with men, without restraint or modesty. All drank and ate meat. The ladies would cast off their garments to dance when intoxicated. ... Still more shocking was slackness in observance of caste distinctions (8.30). There a Bahlika who has been a Brahmin becomes a Ksatriya, a Vaisya or Sudra, or even a barber. From a barber he again becomes a Brahmin. Having been a twice-born (*dvija*), he there becomes a *dasa* again ... In the same family one (male) may be a Brahmin while the rest are common workmen'.

It does not seem to have struck the Brahmin redactors of the *Mbh.*, nor for that matter Salya himself, that this kind of abuse sat ill in the mouth of Kama. Though ranked as a pre-eminent Ksatriya, Karna had no legal father, had been exposed by his unwed mother to hide her shame, rescued and brought up as his own son by a lowly professional chariot-driver. The censure only proves that the Madras and their allies retained the older Aryan custom whereby no man was degraded by his profession, while ritual had to be performed by some member of the family or clan. (Parenthetically, this last rule alone can explain the presence of so many tribal names in the Brahmin *gotra* list, whether the Brahmins were originally strangers adopted into the tribe or members of the tribe who specialized in pontifical functions). The quotation agrees very well with *sutta* 140 of the *Majjhima-nikaya*. The Pali discourse reminds the Brahmin Assalayana through the mouth of the Buddha that in Yona, Kamboja, and other

regions beyond the (north-west) frontier, there were only two castes: Arya (= free) and *dasa* (= slave); moreover, a person who had been an Arya could become a *dasa* and conversely. That is, the Madra-Bahluka-Gan-dhara-Kamboja lands had developed a form of chattel slavery nearer to the classical Graeco-Roman model than to the complex and rigid caste system evolved in the Gangetic Plain. As explained, the latter was better suited for the peaceful absorption of savage tribes in the warmer and wetter parts of India, under the conditions that prevailed before mechanized production became the norm. This cumulative difference had become significant by the end of the fourth century BC. Earlier in the great epic, a Madra princess famous for her beauty had literally been purchased by Bhishma as legal wife for his nephew Pandu, with no more ado than over a basket of vegetables: *Pandor arthe parikrita dhanena mahata tada* (*Mbh.* 1.105.5). This passage proved so embarrassing to later Brahmin orthodoxy that several versions of the *Mbh.* insert discordant interpolations to explain it away. The *smrtis* forbid bride-price for the upper castes (*Ms.* 3.51-3) as amounting to the sale of a daughter; therefore, in the high *arsa* form of marriage, the gift even of a pair or two of cattle to the bride's father was forbidden (*Ms.* 3.53). Nowhere is the wedding of Madri declared Asura as it would be by *Ms.* 3.31; it might be added that the custom is permissible and normal in some 80 per cent or more of the Maharastrian population; Brahmins do not hesitate to officiate (for a consideration) at such weddings.

The change from *Rgvedic* to *Yajurvedic* Aryans corresponds rather well to that between the ruder Germani of Tacitus and Caesar's Gauls of the later La Tene iron age culture. This is another example of parallel development, not a suggestion that the Druids were really Brahmins or that Caesar must be later than Tacitus! When we look for totemic origins in the *gotra* lists, there is no implication that the Brahmins concerned were comparable to medicine men of Austro-Asiatic savages. Nevertheless, Urahmin penetration of the priesthoods of comparatively savage groups is demonstrable or deducible from the earliest 'Aryan' period down to the last century. The *Manusmrti* interdict at a feast for the manes upon any Brahmin who sacrificed for tribal organizations *ganandm caiva ydjakah* (*Ms.* 3.164) would otherwise have been quite superfluous. How explain the Saigrava *gotra* (attested by a Mathura inscription⁴⁷ though absent from surviving *gotra* lists) among Brahmins except by association with the Sigr tribe of the *Rgvedic* (*RV.* 7.18) Ten Kings'. War? Is not the tabu upon the *s'igru* ('*Moringapterygosperra*') as food for ascetics (*Ms.* 6.14) of such tribal-totemic origin? The iguana is specially excepted (*Ms.* 5.18) from the tabu on the flesh of five-nailed creatures, but eaten today only by the lowest castes; what of *godhasana* 'iguana eater' as a gens in the *gana* Kasyadi (on Pan. 4.2.116)? The hungry Brahmin wanderer Baka Dalbhya (or Glava Maitreya) spies in *Chandogya Up.* 1.12 upon an assembly of dogs, led by a white dog (*sva svetah*) as they dance hand in hand to perform an *udgitha* chant for food. This can only mean a fertility rite of a dog-totem clan; I have witnessed similar chants and dances among the lowest Indian tribal castes. A Kukuraka ('dog') tribe is listed among the formidable military tribes in *Arth.* 11 [the reference is to Kukura, which occurs in *Arthashastra*, 11.1, pp. 160-1—Ed.]; a cut above the *ata-vikas* but dangerous to royal power. The historical name Kokerah for the region about Ranchi in Bihar may be due to the Kukurakas. We have already noted the Brahmin *saunaka* gens.

In the same way, modern linguists talk of a Kol language or group of languages. A Koliya tribe is clearly referred to in the *Jatakas* as having the Kol tree *Zizyphus jujuba* as a totem; the Sanskrit name *badara* for the same jujube tree leads to Badarayana, whom no one relates to the KoH-yans. In Marathi, KoI (like *naga* further north) means the originally heterogeneous marginal tribe-castes that took late in history to agriculture and were often pressganged for portage in army service. The same word also means spider and fisherman, presumably because the fisherman makes and uses a net to catch his prey as a spider his web. Here the derivation is not totemic but occupational; heavy deposits of micro-liths at certain favoured spots on the river bank surely indicate prehistoric fishing camps in Maharashtra. Men of the Koll caste still catch fish and keep up age-old cults at some of these places, as at Cas-Kaman. The Sakyans seem closely related to the saka tree (*Shorea robusta*) and there existed two sub-groups among them known as reed-sakyas and grass-sakyas, the last being reminiscent of *trnakarna*. Pippalada as a *gotra* has a modern non-Brahmin counterpart among the Pimples (now a surname, once a clan) who, at their village Pimploli, still observe characteristic tabus such as not eating off plates made of *pimpal* (*Ficus religiosa*) leaves. This should place the Udumbaras in proper perspective.

There still exist tiny remnants of a *gavall* tribal caste, who live solely by pasturing cattle. To most city-dwellers *gavall* means only 'milk-man' whatever his caste. Remote villages report strong traditions which show that the now extinct *gavalis* were relatively more numerous at one time and relatively more important in the rural economy. This sounds like an Aryan invasion, but I have been unable to find any indication of their possessing horse-chariots, the heady *soma* drink, the over-developed fire ritual or the powerful aggressive tendencies of Vedic Aryans. Archaeologically, their successive waves appear in the western Deccan to be responsible for megaliths, rock engravings of a peculiar type, upland terraces not meant for the plough, and certain remarkable mortarless structures (*vddage*) of undressed stone that are traditionally cattle enclosures though never used now as such. The terraces and *vddage* are sometimes ascribed to the mythical Age of Truth (*satya yuga*) by older peasants.

Occasionally, the pastoral cults survive in the name of a comparatively rare patron god of cattle: *gavaluji-baba*. Still rarer is the use of the term to describe a village. One such is Gavalyaci Undavadi not far from Bara-mati, with a companion village Coraci Undavadi. The village Coraci Aland! has a tradition that the qualification 'thief's' was originally genitive plural: *coramci* 'of the brigands'. The origin of this latter village can be traced back to long before the eighth century AD. The added *cora* both at Aland! and Undavadi merely denotes a settlement of tribal origin which long retained habits of brigandage, taking to plough culture much later than neighbouring villages. This would be impossible to restore without field work, merely from the etymology of *gavall* and *cora*; in the latter case, distant villagers invent some repentant thief who originally settled the village of Ajandl. The primitive goddess Bolhai is reported by her senior worshippers, the Vaji ('horse') clan at Pasane, to have been taken by *coras* to her present location, which represents tribal cult migration quite accurately.

A modern observer could report (*New Yorker*, April 18, 1959, p. 119) that in the neighbourhood of Pawa in north-eastern Congo: 'The pygmy women used a kind of sing-song in their speech ... and there were experts who believed that this was the vestige of an ancient pygmy language; nowadays the pygmies had no identifiable language of their own, merely speaking that of whatever settled tribe they lived near ... They had a natural balance of trade—the sort of mutual dependency that naturalists call symbiosis. The pygmies killed game and gave some of it to the villagers, whose normal diet lacked proteins, and in return got the products of agriculture—mainly bananas—which, as nomads they did not grow themselves. Nowadays ... the pygmies are accustomed to a steady supply of bananas and this keeps them from disappearing into the forest for very long. The men may hunt for days on end, but meanwhile the women will go back to the villages to fetch bananas and this ties them all down to some degree.' No better illustration could be found of the development of primitive languages in relation to food gathering and food production. Now add the following important remarks by T. Burrow (*Trans.* 19, *Bull. Ramakrishna Mission Inst. of Culture*, Feb. 1958): 'The number of loan-words in Sanskrit, which cannot be explained as either Dravidian or Munda, will remain considerable. It may very well turn out that the number of such words which cannot be so explained will outnumber those which can be. This is the impression one gets, for instance, from the field of plant-names, since so far on ly a minority of this section of the non-Aryan words has been explained from these two linguistic families.'

If we take, for instance, the name of the jujube (*Zizyphus jujuba*), we find four synonyms, all obviously non-Aryan words, namely *kuvala* or *kola*, *karkandhu*; *badara* and *ghonta*; and none of these has been explained out of either Dravidian or Munda. Evidence such as this leads to the conclusion that there must have been several non-Aryan languages or families of languages which exercised an influence on the vocabulary of Indo-Aryan'. Inasmuch as the total number of words in use has grown with social production, it may be better to concentrate upon parallel development rather than invent fictitious origins.

Language is surely a means of exchanging ideas, which cannot precede the exchange of surplus. This implies that any language common to more than a handful of people must have been preceded by commodity production and exchange on a corresponding scale. But it is known that, in the most primitive societies, such exchange is not simple public barter with a basic standard of equivalents modified by haggling or by the laws of supply and demand. On the contrary, the exchange appears at its most primitive level in the form of gifts that cannot be refused and must ultimately though not immediately be compensated by a reciprocal gift from the recipient. Moreover, these gifts are only to be made between fixed persons⁴⁸ of different tribes in a special relationship, 'trade friends'. Within the tribe, such gifts are obligatory, dependent upon the status of the giver, with no idea of compensation—a form of distribution of the surplus. It seems plausible that at a still earlier period, the tribe was fused out of individual totems on the same basis, with exchange of human beings in some form of exogamous 'marriage' as a concomitant of the transfer of food (often the special totem product) or techniques. If so, the development of language cannot be separated from the succession of pre-historical stages through which a given society has passed.

The position stated does not approach the formalism of Marr's Japhetic Theory which derived all Caucasian languages and perhaps all languages from the four mystic syllables *yon*, *her*, *sal* and *ros*. It differs also from the Durkheim-Levy-Bruhl⁴⁹ type of sociology which takes 'pre-logical' mentality as a fixed characteristic of certain ethnic groups, not as the concomitant of the various stages of development through which the particular group reached its actual level of social production. One may leave out of discussion the higher mentality which takes slums, world wars, massive colonial suppression and nuclear bombs as logical assets of civilization; but two questions remain. First, did not the superior 'logical' people once pass through the same 'pre-logical' stage, say when their ancestors could make only the simplest tools of stone?

Second, what caused the change from the pre-logical to the logical mentality? One possible answer has been suggested in this note.

NOTES

1. The reader is referred to two works of mine, entitled: (a) *An Introduction to the Study of Indian History* (Bombay, 1956) and (b) *Myth and Reality: Studies in the Formation of Indian Culture* (Bombay, 1962), where further references will be found. Facts about Maharastrian villages or customs from my own observations in the field are not documented.

2. L. de la Vallee Poussin, *Dynasties et Histoire de l'Inde depuis Kanishka jusqu'aux Invasions Musulmanes* (Paris, 1935), avant-propos, p. xix, footnote. Special attention is called to pp. 360-1 of this book, for important additional remarks on the process of Brahmanisation.

3. The *Krtyakalpataru* of Bhatta Laksmidhara (a minister of king Govindacandra Gahadavala of Kanauj); Gaekwar Oriental Series CXIX for vol. 12 of the work, being the *vyavahara-kanda*. No special *praetor peregrinus* existed, and no *ius gentium* seems ever to have been officially recorded or codified, though its existence in practice is clear.

4. P.V. Kane, *A History of Dharmasastra (Ancient and Mediaeval Religious and Civil Law)*, 5 volumes (still incomplete) (Poona, 1930-62). Though the vast majority of India's people are sudras in this classification, there is no way to determine just what sudras were actually meant by the few authors who wrote on sudra rites and legal usage.

5. E. Hultzsch, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum I* (The inscriptions of Agoka) (Oxford, 1925) gives the complete Asokan texts known to that date, and a linguistic analysis.

6. *The Cambridge History of India*, vol. I, *Ancient India*, ed. E.J. Rapson (Cambridge, 1922), p. 187.

7. First published in full in *Serie Orientate Roma* (ISMEO) XXI, 1958: 'Un editto bilinguale Greco-Aramaico di Asoka'. The treatment in *JA*, 1958, pp. 1-48 seems preferable.

8. Commenting on the *vartika: same desantare*: p. 65 of Patanjali's *Vyakarana Mahabhasya* with Kaiyata's *Pradlpa* and Nagesa's *Uddyota*, vol. I, Nirnayasagar Press (Bombay, 1938).

9. The original remark may have been by Megasthenes, and is seen in its most forceful version in Arrian's 'No Indian is ever known to lie'.

10. R.A. Fisher, *Statistical Methods For Research Workers*; 10th ed. (Edinburgh, 1948).

11. A.A. Fuhrer, *Buddha Sakyamuni's Birthplace in the Nepalese Tarai* (Allahabad, 1897).

12. *A Record of the Buddhist Countries* Fa-hsien (Peking 1957). The translation in S. Seal's collection: *Ta-Tang-Si-Yu-Ki: Buddhist Records of the Western World*; 2 vols (London, 1884), also contains this in the introductory portion.

13. The discrepancy seems to have been first considered in archaeological detail by Vincent Smith in the prefatory note (p. 10) to P.C. Mukerji's 'A report on a tour of exploration of the Antiquities in the Tarai, Nepal, the region of Kapilavastu during February and March 1899' (Arch. Surv. Ind. No. XXVI, pt. i, Imperial Series; Calcutta 1901). Smith was capable of identifying Satna railway station in central India with the site of ancient Kausambi (*JRAS*, 1898, p. 511), but his discussion of the Kapilavastu problem seems reasonable. The strictures on pp. 3-4 of the same preface about Fuhrer's supposed excavations are by no means excessive.

14. K. F. Geldner, *Der Rig-Veda aus dem Sanskrit ins Deutsche iibersetzt und mil einem laufenden Kommentar versehen* [Cambridge, Mass. (Harvard Oriental Series, vols 33-5) 1951]. For the Sanskrit text and S ayana's commentary, I have used the 4-volume edition of the *Rgveda-Samhita* issued by the Vaidik Sam-shodhan Mandal (Poona, 1933^16).

There may have been a sort of feudalism at a stage not much later than the *Rgveda*, among the Hittites: E. Neufeld; *The Hittite Laws translated into English and Hebrew with commentary* (London, 1951), particularly laws 39-41; 46-56 for military service as condition of land tenure. But there is no evidence for comparable fixed land settlement in the *Rgveda*, nor for a king ruling over many different tribes by the military strength of a few of his own tribal comrades, as with the Hittites.

15. J. Bloch, *Les Inscriptions d'Asoka* (Paris, 1950), p. 104.

16. The Pali Text Society's *Pali-English Dictionary* (London, 1921).

17. The Pali Text Society's edition of the *Dighanikaya*, vol. I (London, 1890), p. 90; Buddhaghosa comments: *ibbha ti gahapatika* (peasants), on p. 234 of the *Sumaiigala Vilasim*, vol. I (London, PTS 1886).

18. The Nirnayasar editions of the *Upanisads* have been used for the text. With the commentary of Gopalananda-svami, NSP 1932. For the English translation, R.H. Hume, *The Thirteen Principal Upanishads translated from the Sanskrit* (Oxford, 1934).

19. J. J. Meyer, *Das altindische Buch vom welt- und Staatsleben; Das Arthasastra des Kautilya* (Leipzig, 1926); the text used has been the revised southern edition *Kautilyarthasastram* (Mysore, 1960).

20. A. Berriedale Keith, *A History of Sanskrit Literature* (Oxford 1928), p. 461. The discussion in my history book (note 1) and in *JAOS*, 78, pp. 169-73 may be referred to for the authenticity of the *Arthasastra*.

21. J. F. Fleet, *Inscriptions of the early Gupta Kings and their successors; Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum III* (Calcutta, 1888). The Harisena *prasasti* of Samu-dragupta (posthumous) is on pp. 6-17.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 41 of the introduction. As the founder of the Maitraka line was Bhatarka, a *senapati*, the interpretation of *mahasamanla* as 'duke' would have been justified only if the Valabhi kings made any reference to some Gupta emperor as suzerain.

23. *Ibid.*, inscription No. 33, pp. 146-8. Line 5 of the inscription has *samantairvasya bahu-dravina-hrta-madaih padayordnamadbhis*, but these *samantas* are explicitly mentioned as coming from territories over most of which Yasodharman had set up no administration and could claim no permanent sovereignty, namely from the Himalaya to the oceans. The reference can only be to kings defeated in some passing raid or invasion, and this is strengthened by special mention in the preceding line of Huns (Mihiragula) and other kings, whom even the Guptas could not vanquish but who were beaten by Yasodharman.

24. D.D. Kosami, 'Indian Feudal Trade Charters', *JESHO* 2, 1959, pp. 281-93.

25. *Dasa-kumara-caritam of Dandin*, 14th ed. by N.K. Godbole, Nirnayasar Press (Bombay 1940), p. 184; but the remarkably silly comment *sdmantahsydd adhl-svarah* made by lifting half a phrase out of *the Amarakosa* confuses the issue. The context here, as in chapter 8 (p. 267 ff.) does not leave the meaning in doubt. Keith (*Hist. Skt. Lit.*, p. 297) suggests a date slightly before Harsavardhana for Dandin, so towards the end of the sixth or beginning of the seventh century AD.

26. *Epigraphia Indica* 4, pp. 208-11, where *mahasamantas* are named for the execution of the Banskhera plates of Harsa. See also p. 130 of Sana's *Harsa-caritam* (7th ed. NSP Bombay, 1946), where only 'baron' will suit; on pp. 100, 150 & c., *mahasamantas* of the court are named again.

27. Keith (*Hist. Skt. Lit.*, p. 413) vaguely places him about AD 700, but without committing himself.

28. *The Epigrams attributed to Bhartrhari* (Singhi Jain Series No. 23, Bombay, 1948) is the critical edition where the stanza may be seen as No. 169.

29. *Ibid.*, stanza 63. In the 12th Nirnayasar edition of the *Abhijnanasakuntalam* (Bombay, 1948, ed. N.R. Acarya), act 5, stanza 12; in Pischel's Harvard Or. Ser. edition, 5.13.

30. Wilhelm Rau, *Staat und Gesellschaft im alien Indien* (Wiesbaden, 1957), particularly pp. 51-4.

31. SunitiKumarChatterji in The Bharatiya Itihasa Samiti's //<sr0ryanrfCu/r<re0/ the *Indian People*, vol. i: *The Vedic Age*, chapter VIII, for the statement of the Austro-Asiatic hypothesis. On page 153: 'We may admit the possibility of Sumerian and Austric being related, for we have to remember that the Proto-Australoids, who are supposed to have been the original speakers of Austric, were a very ancient offshoot of the Mediterranean race, and as such in their trek to India where they became specially characterized they may have left some of their tribes on the way, or some of their kinsmen might earlier have preceded them and had established themselves in Mesopotamia, to become the Sumerians who built up the basic culture of that part of the world. But even then it seems that India was the centre from which the Austric speech spread into the islands of the east and the Pacific; and the theory that there is actually an Austric Family of Languages in its two groups of Austronesian and Austro-Asiatic, as propounded by Pater W. Schmidt, may be said to hold the ground still.' I can't even understand this, let alone admit it.

32. V. Gordon Childe, *The Aryans* (London, 1926). The work needs revision, but the basic idea seems uncontradicted by new finds.

33. A.L. Oppenheim, 'The Seafaring Merchants of *W.JAOS* 74, 1954, pp. 6-17, a review analysis of vol. v of the texts from L. Wolley's excavations at Ur, by H.H. Figulla and W.J. Martin: *Letters and Documents of the Old-Babylonian period* (London 1953). The break (due to an Aryan invasion) came about 1750 BC if Meluhha be the Indus valley: though so competent a scholar as S. N. Kramer would take Tilmun as Harappa, it seems clear that the usual identification with Bahrein must stand (*JAOS*. 74. 1954, p. 179). W. Wiist, curiously enough, also placed the Aryan invasion of the Indus region as at about 1750 BC (*WZKM* 34. 1927, p. 190), but this is simply a guess from poor archaeological material, without a scientific method for estimating the time from linguistic sources alone.

34. The two-wave theory was confirmed by personal discussion with Prof. S.P. Tolstov, in 1955. The mention of Istasva (= Vistaspa?), Istarsmi, and Susravas (Husravah) in the *RV* seemed to me philological evidence for the second wave; the archaeological basis in India may be the two layers of the Harappan cemetery *H*. Prof. Tolstov also showed Indian type of faces in Kushan frescos (Note 39 below), and in a skull reconstruction.

35. The data will be found in *New Scientist* No. 251, Sept. 7, 1961; p. 566.

36. For Udumbara coins, J. Allan's *Catalogue of Coins in the British Museum, Ancient India* (London, 1936), pp. 122-3. The legend is Odumbara and the region of the Beas valley of the Punjab.

37. The *sutradhara* in the prologue to the drama *Malatimadhava* says that the poet belonged to a group of Brahmins settled at Padmapuram in the south (*daksina-pathe*): *Taittiriyah Kasyapah; Udumbara-namanah*.

38. The most recent example known to me is of the Tigalas, whose tribal fertility rite was given respectable ancestry by a Brahmin during the second half of the last century, and is now the most impressive popular festival at Bangalore.

39. E. Sachau (trans.), *Albiruni's India*, 1 vol. (London, 1910); vol. 1, p. 173. For dark-skinned guardsmen at Toprak-kala (Tolstov's excavations) in the third century AD, see A. Mongait, *Archaeology in the USSR* (Moscow, 1959), p. 272. The wide extent of the Kushan empire not only made it possible to bring in soldiers from great distance, but even attracted mercenaries from beyond the imperial frontiers.

40. The Senas who superseded the Palas in Bengal were apparently of southern origin; Garigeyadeva of Tirabhukti seems to have had Kanarese ancestors; some Pala queens and princes are named in Kanarese style, and the final stanzas of the drama *Canda-kausika* imply that the wives of the Nandas were practised at the Gurjara-Pratihara court by Kanarese nobles (cf. the introduction to the *Subha-sitaratna-kosa* of Vidyakara, HOS, vol. 41, Cambridge, Mass. 1957).

41. The low tribal origin of the Satavahanas is preserved in Jain tradition, e.g. Raja-sekhara-suri's *Prabandhakosa* (ed. Jina Vijaya, Santiniketan 1935; Singhi Jain Series 6), story 15. The original Satavahana was born of a Brahmin widow ravished and impregnated by the *naga* (cobra-demon) of a pool in the Godavari river; Paithan was then a hamlet, and the widow's two brothers lived there by some sort of food-gathering. Taranatha (in A. Schiefner's translation) similarly reports a *naga* father for the first Pala king. With the *Mbh.* heroes, of course, we have the immaculate conception in the manner of Trobriand islanders, which means that the father was traditionally unknown, fatherhood then being of no importance; the *Mbh.* tradition must basically have been pre-patriarchal, hence pre-Aryan.

42. In the printed edition (without frontispiece, Bengali form of *devanagari* type) 8.1; the Saptivahana is given as king of Bhallatanagara.

43. The latest such excavations known to me were by F.R. and Mrs B. Allchin at Piklihal; their final report has not yet come to hand. [The report was subsequently published as: F.R. Allchin, *Piklihal Excavations*, Andhra Pradesh Government Archeological Series, I, Hyderabad, 1960.]

44. Ghotakamukha is reported in *Kamasutra* 1.114 as the authority for the third section of that work. Hayagriva and Hayavadana may be adjectives, and Haihaya may or may not be connected with the horse, in spite of the termination.

45. The best available gotra lists are in J. Brough; *The Early Brahmanical System of Gotra and Pravara* (Cambridge, 1953); actual *gotras* found in Maharashtra among the Desastha Brahmins have been collected by V.T. Sete in his *Gotravali* (in Marathi; Yajnavalkya Asrama, Poona 1951).

46. Sylvain Levi, 'Le catalogue géographique des yakshas dans la Mahamayuri'; *Journal Asiatique* 5. 1915(i), pp. 19-138; line 23 of the Sanskrit text, *Duty odhanas ca Srughnesu*; but the list is composite, probably from many different sources: 1.60-*siddhayatras tatha Srughne*. For Bharukaccha, Bharuka in 1.17, Asanga in 1.43; for Rajagrha, Vajrapani in 1.3, Bakula in 1.6., Kumbhira in 1.101. Not that there need be only one *yaksa* per city, but the principal guardian could be only one—here a different one for each particular tradition among the worshippers.

47. H. Luders noted in reading the Mathura inscription (*Epigraphia Indica* 9, pp. 247-8) that the Brahmin of the Segrava *gotra* there named was treasurer of the Saka ksatrapa king Sodasa; the title *gamjavara*, of which this seems to be the earliest mention, is a loan word from the Persian *ganjwar*. Luders further comments that the legendary preceptor *oiacatya Moggaliputta Tissa* was a Siggava.

48. See particularly, B. Malinowski, *Crime and Custom in Savage Society* (London, 1940), pp. 22-5; also, Margaret Mead: *Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies* (Mentor Books, New York 1950): pp. 19-20 and 31 for the Arapesh.

49. L. Levy-Bruhl, *Les Fonctions Mentales dans les Societes Inferieures*, translated into English as: *How Natives Think* (New York, 1925).

Living Prehistory in India*

* *Scientific American* (February 1967).

The basic task of the prehistorian is to learn as much as he can about the lives of the vanished people he chooses to study. Since by definition he works with evidence other than written records, he sometimes turns for illuminating parallels to living peoples who themselves have not written history. Perhaps nowhere in the world can such parallels be found more readily than in India. For one thing, even the written material from ancient India cannot be considered history. Scarcely a single historical figure who lived before the Muslim period (beginning in the twelfth century) can be dated with any degree of accuracy, and more general accounts show little concern for facts or common sense. What is perhaps more to the point, there exist in India today many tribal peoples whose customs go back to preliterate times. Representing some 30 million (about 6 per cent) of India's total population of 440 million, these peoples preserve many features—in fossilized form, as it were—of Indian prehistory.

How is it that peoples whose way of life has remained largely unchanged from prehistoric times have survived in India, which has had cities and civilization since early in the third millennium BC? The answer lies in the availability of food. In India today food shortages are all too well known, but they are a comparatively recent development; even now they are limited to village farmers working marginal lands and to the nation's impoverished city dwellers. In most of India nature is so kind that for thousands of years it has been possible for people to live with comparative ease simply by hunting and primitive food-gathering. This is still the case in areas where over-cultivation and excessive clearing of forest have not eliminated the land's natural cover. Not only are fish and game abundant but also a variety of other natural products are enough in themselves to provide a balanced diet. Fruits, nuts, berries, leafy vegetables, tubers such as the yam, mushrooms, honey—more than 100 such natural products can be gathered in season. A large number of foodstuffs that can be stored from one season to the next grow in both wild and cultivated forms. In this category are sesamum (which provides an edible oil), emmer wheat, rice, a wide variety of beans and the sorghums and millets. Indeed, in the days of Gautama Buddha (sixth and fifth centuries BC) the millet *Panicumfrumentaccum* was gathered wild and not cultivated at all.

This abundance of vegetable resources, supplemented by the milk and other dairy products available to the herders of cattle, sheep and goats, means that even hunting is not really crucial to survival. One can support life reasonably well in the balmy Indian climate without killing anything. This is a basic reality that does more than merely account for the survival of primitive tribal groups in India today: it clarifies the origins of Indian social thought. The characteristically Indian religions—such as Buddhism and Jainism—regard the taking of life as a sin. It is scarcely conceivable that such an ethic could have developed if an economy of bloodless food-gathering had not provided prehistoric Indians with an adequate livelihood.

The Iron Age people who practised plough agriculture in India were at first limited to the plain of the Ganges. From that rich region they moved southward into the Deccan: the great forested plateau of peninsular India [see illustration]. This invasion was not accompanied by the violence that marked Rome's Iron Age conquest of tribal Gaul and pacification of the forests beyond the Rhine. As the advancing ploughmen from the north met the forest herders and food-gatherers of the south, the contact seems to have initiated a process of mutual acculturation. The food-gatherers learned to adjust to agriculture and the farmers not only came to rely heavily on food-gathering to supplement their diet but also brought wild foodstuffs under cultivation. This two-sided adjustment between gatherer and producer provides both the fabric and the pattern of India's past. It is notably reflected in today's social organization and accounts for the origin of caste and the caste system (see The "Untouchables" of India,' by M.N. Srinivas and Andre Beteille; *Scientific American*, December, 1965).

In many parts of India the names of the local tribal people are identical with those of the local agricultural castes, even though the difference in caste between tribesman and farmer prevents intermarriage and other forms of contact between them. The identity of names probably stems from an original unity, when immigrant farmers and indigenous food-gathering tribesmen at first made common cause in the forest region. The two major characteristics of the caste system—prohibitions against marriage outside the group and against acceptance of food from the hands of a stranger—are taboos that are typical of food-gathering tribal societies. One can imagine the caste system originating as a somewhat later effort of the indigenous food-gatherers to establish themselves as being superior to the immigrant ploughmen.



Tribal Hunter from the central plateau of peninsular India stalks game such as quail by hiding behind a cloth screen and moving beside a grazing cow until the quarry is within reach. One of the Ras Phase Pardhi tribesmen of Maharashtra, the hunter belongs to an aboriginal society whose ancient tradition of ordeal by fire may have inspired the more modern Hindu ritual of fire walking

If this is the case, one may ask why the caste of farmers is now higher than that of tribesmen. Answers are not hard to find. First, whatever their initial handicaps, the farmers, simply by practising agriculture, had a sounder economic base than the tribal people, and in India, as elsewhere, social rank corresponds closely to position on the economic scale. Second, because of their somewhat better food supply the farmers must almost from the first have multiplied faster than the tribesmen and thus would soon have outnumbered and dominated them.

Although there are caste inequalities between farmers and tribal peoples today, plentiful evidence of mutual acculturation remains, particularly in the area of religion. Many of the supposedly 'Hindu' gods of the Brahmin pantheon, for example, have their actual origin in tribal cults. By the same token, when tribal people abandon their aboriginal ways and take to farming for a livelihood, they abandon their ancient gods and adopt Hindu religious practices. Much of the ritual that accompanies both the Hindu religion and the aboriginal ones seems bizarre to modern eyes. Nonetheless, to dismiss ritual as mere superstition (or worse, to follow the fad of explaining it in psychoanalytic terms) is to throw away a genuine opportunity to study both the history and the prehistory of India.

My own fieldwork has been confined to portions of the Deccan plateau and the adjacent west coast of peninsular India, an area in which my familiarity with local dialects and customs has made detailed investigations of tribal and village life possible. One of the first tribal groups I had a chance to study was the Ras Phase Pardhi. These people, who now live in Maharashtra, originally came from Gujarat to the north and speak a dialect of Gujarati. The Pardhi are nomadic and are accompanied on their travels by a few scrawny cattle. The men do some casual labour and are skilled at stalking and snaring birds and other small game [see illustration]. The basic Pardhi occupations today, however, are begging and theft—practised by men and women alike. The Pardhi consider stealing a crime only if the victim is a fellow tribesman.

Pardhi religious ritual is a mixture of adopted and aboriginal elements. The principal object of worship is a silver plaque of modern manufacture that bears the image of a Hindu goddess. Nonetheless, the major ritual—a fertility dance—gives every sign of being genuinely ancient. The performer is a male, the head of one of the small bands into which the tribe is divided. He dresses as a woman and is not merely a priest in the ritual. In his own words, 'I *am* the goddess.'



Packhorses belonging to shepherds of the Dhangar caste are led by the women to the next campsite in a round of travel that may cover as many as 400 miles during the eight months of the dry season. The Dhangar men do not follow the roads but let their sheep graze cross-country. Each night they pen the flock in the fields of local farmers, who pay for the manuring that results.



Modern Microlith is made by Dhangar shepherd, who smashes a nodule of chalcedony with a stone hammer and anvil. He will use one of the razor-sharp chalcedony fragments as a knife for castrating lambs. The knife is thrown away after one use.

Part of the fertility ritual provides an interesting example of reciprocal acculturation between Hindu and aborigine. The dancer at one point plunges his hand into a pan of boiling oil, evidently without ill effect. This kind of ordeal is apparently an ancient Pardhi custom. At a Pardhi trial, for example, one proof of innocence is to walk a fixed number of steps while carrying a red-hot piece of iron. The parallel Hindu ordeal—walking on hot coals—has no sanction in Brahmin scripture; ordeals are not mentioned in the earliest Hindu sacred books. In fact, fire walking apparently did not become a part of Hindu ritual until about the beginning of the Christian era, when it was adopted primarily as a means of proving innocence in the face of strong evidence of guilt. One can scarcely avoid the conjecture that the Hindu ordeal was adopted from some aboriginal Indian rite such as the ones preserved today in the Pardhi dance in trial.

Another primitive group in the Deccan—the Dhangars—are a caste rather than a tribe. Some of them are farmers; others specialize in the manufacture of woollen blankets. At least one Dhangar family, the Hol-kars, took up the military life early in the eighteenth century and rose to princely status as the maharajas of Indore. Today the members of one Dhangar group follow tribal ways and earn a living as itinerant herdsmen. Each Dhangar band numbers about twelve people. Leading a flock of perhaps 300 sheep, the band spends the eight dry months of the year in a round of travel that rarely covers less than 200 miles and may range as far as 400 miles.

The women of the band travel the roads, moving from one pre-selected campsite to another and preparing the meals [see illustration]. The men herd the grazing sheep cross-country and leave them in some farmer's field at night. The sheep's overnight droppings are valuable fertilizer for which the farmer pays either in cash or in produce. These payments, together with small earnings from the sale of wool, a few skins and occasionally an animal provide the livelihood of these pastoral nomads.

During the four months of the rainy season the Dhangar herdsmen move from their farmland pastures to traditional-campsites on the plains that are dry enough to keep the sheep safe from the hoof rot they contract on muddy ground. At these rainy-season camps are sheep pens, solidly constructed of drystone masonry, that must have been built in prehistoric times. Some of the richest deposits of prehistoric stone tools I have found in India are close to Dhangar rainy-season camps. The same is true of many rock engravings that also appear to be prehistoric.

The stone tools are the tiny blades called microliths. It is a curious fact that although the Dhangars do not recognize the microliths as tools when they see them, they make and use similar tools themselves. When a lamb is to be castrated, a Dhangar shepherd takes a nodule of chalcedony and shatters it, using two other rocks as hammer and anvil [see illustration]. He then selects a sharp flake of chalcedony to use as a castration knife. After the stone flake is used it is ritually boiled together with the lamb's testicles and thrown away.



Ancient Microliths have been found by the author in surface deposits at many sites in peninsular India. Carefully produced flakes such as these provided aboriginal hunters and herdsmen with tools for working bone and wool and for cutting flesh and hides.



Transformation from function to ritual is evident in this 2000-year-old sandstone ring, the inner face of which is decorated with alternating human figures and plants. Rings of this kind but without decoration are found at Neolithic sites throughout India; they were used to weight the digging sticks with which the earliest farmers planted seed. By 200 BC, when this example was made, the rings were talismans rather than farmers' implements.

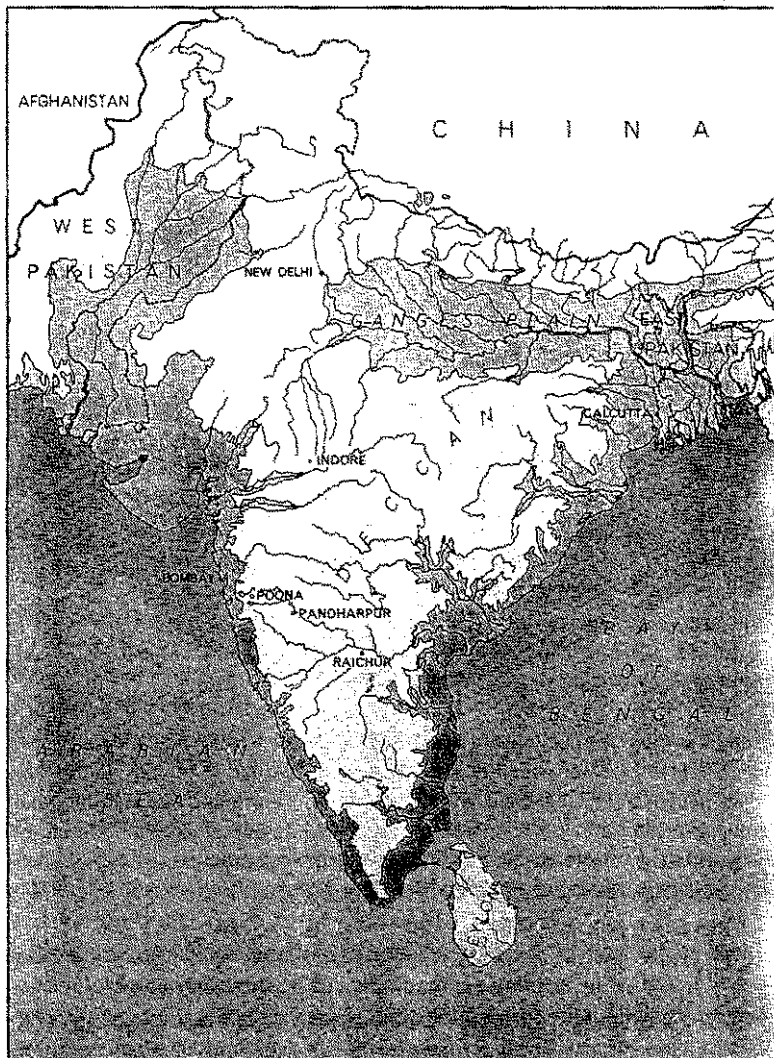
One of the traditional rituals in the Maharashtra region of the Dec-can—the great pilgrimage to Pandharpur—may have originated in the days when everyone's life involved the kind of seasonal wandering that is still the way of the Dhangar shepherds. At the very least the pilgrimage is out of keeping with a settled agricultural way of life. The journey to Pandharpur can take as long as three or four months and traditionally begins at the start of the rainy season. That such a custom could have arisen in a farming society seems improbable; the rainy months are the ones during which the farmer does the larger part of his productive work.

Other seemingly illogical mixtures of old ways and new are common in peninsular India. One example I have observed combines the plow technology of later times with a much earlier form of agriculture—the 'slash and burn' method, in which farmland is created by cutting down and burning the natural vegetation. When the farmers of Maharashtra grow millet today, they clear hillsides by the slash-and-burn technique and plant the crop with the aid of primitive digging sticks. In the level valley fields where wheat and rice are raised, however, the same farmers plough and fertilize by modern methods.

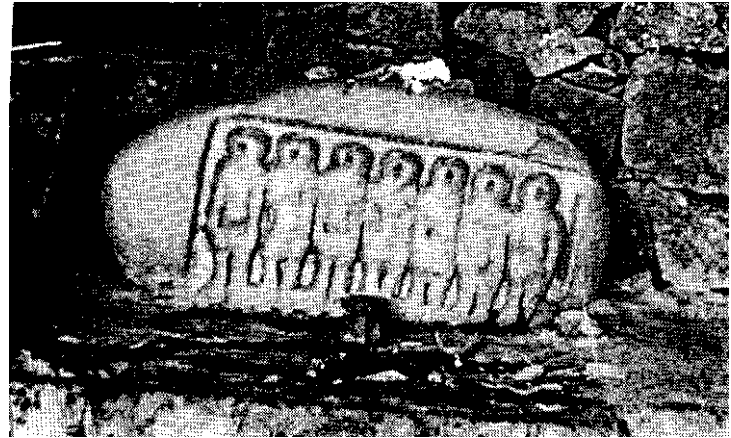
The most spectacular example of fossilized ritual I have encountered is *bagad*, or 'hook-swinging.' Both the law and public opinion discourage this practice in India today, but hook-swinging posts are still to be found near many temples throughout the Deccan. According to historical accounts the ritual required that a pair of sharp metal hooks be thrust into a selected victim's back, penetrating the flesh just above the hips. The hooked man was then hoisted clear of the ground and left to swing, painfully suspended only by the two hooks. This gruesome rite was conducted on one special day each year. Foreign observers could discover no particular reason for it and rather too willingly attribute it to the savagery of the people who practised it. None of these people had told them that to be hook-swung was a signal honour and a prerogative jealously guarded by a very few of the oldest farming families in each district.

Today hooks are still set in living flesh each year in a few remote villages. I was recently able to witness such a ceremony. I must preserve the anonymity of both the village and the participants in the ritual, but I can say that it took place at the time of the April full moon. In this village the man to be swung must be selected from among the young married men of clan X, in spite of the fact that the village headman, the leading village families and all the richest farmers are members of clan Y. This privilege stems from the fact that the earliest immigrants in the area were members of clan X, and that it was they who first heard the call of the god Mhatoba, in whose honor the ritual takes place.

In this village the two swinging posts are set up in a cart that is used only on this one day of the year. Nowadays the celebrant's weight is no longer borne by the hooks throughout the ceremony. Between swings he sits more or less comfortably astride a bar suspended from a crossbeam that is balanced between the two uprights [see illustration]. A new cross-beam is ceremonially cut each year in a jungle some 40 miles from the village; this jungle is said to be the place from which clan X originally migrated. Relays of specially chosen villagers carry the beam back to the village. They are permitted to put down their burden and rest only at specific points along the way.



Peninsular India is dominated by its ancient volcanic highlands, called the Deccan, bordered on the east and west by the subcontinent's narrow coastal lowlands and on the north by a wide, rich, densely populated alluvial plain formed by the Ganges River.



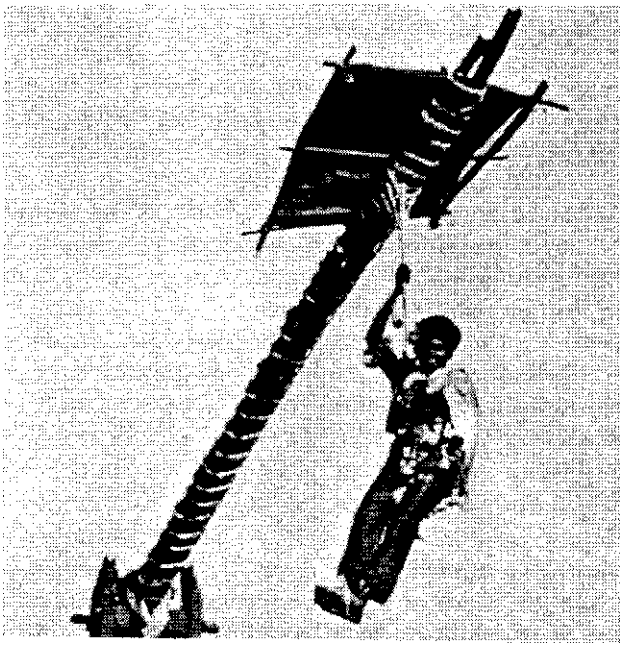
Seven Sisters, once possibly a college of priestesses who served an aboriginal mother-goddess in peninsular India before the invaders of the Deccan introduced worship of a father-god, are still revered in Maharashtra. This sculpture in their honour stands near the National Chemical Laboratory in Poona; it has a coating of red lead that symbolizes blood.

At the outset of the hook-swinging ceremony candidates for the honour gather with a group of electors under a specific tree outside the village. After the celebrant has been chosen the electors and the candidates return to the village, running through a sacred course in groups of three. The man in the middle of each trio is a member of clan X; he is flanked by men of clan Y. The celebrant and his two escorts are the last to run the course. When they have done so, the celebrant is led to the local temple. There he is ritually bathed, declared *deva* (temporarily divine) and dressed in a special costume (a red turban and red silk trousers) that leaves him naked from the waist up.

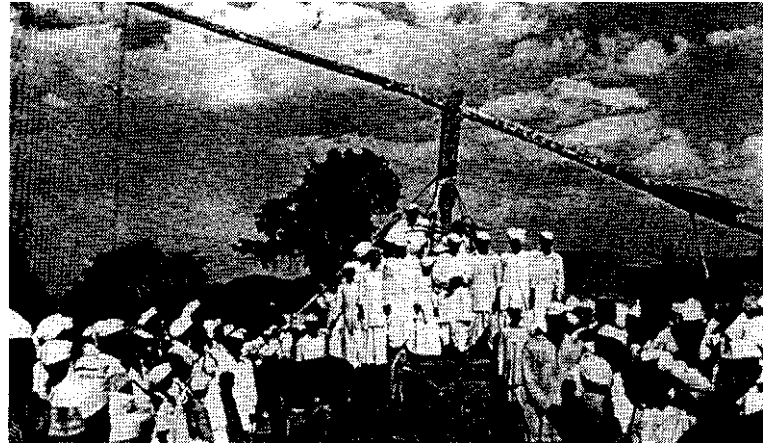
The celebrant now goes to the site of the village's annual *holi* (spring festival) bonfire. He stands on the fire's ashes as the village carpenter thrusts the two steel hooks into the small of his back [see illustration]. Every man in the village crowds around to watch the operation. The celebrant is then decked with garlands and led to a nearby field. There the cart, drawn by a pair of bullocks, is waiting. A rope that is attached to each hook is looped behind the celebrant's back and tied to the crossbeam, which rests on the two *bagad* uprights. The celebrant individually blesses each child born since the last hook-swinging; when this has been done, he makes his first swing suspended by the hooks. A cheer goes up, the god-elect nimbly climbs astride his resting bar and the cart jolts off across the fields.

At prescribed points along the route the cart stops and the celebrant descends from the bar to make a predetermined number of swings. After all the village's fields have been blessed in this manner, the procession continues through the fields of a neighboring village to the place where the god Mhatoba's temple stands. The people have gathered from miles around. A number of goats are now sacrificed, the order of their slaughter being established by the rank of the clan offering the sacrifice.

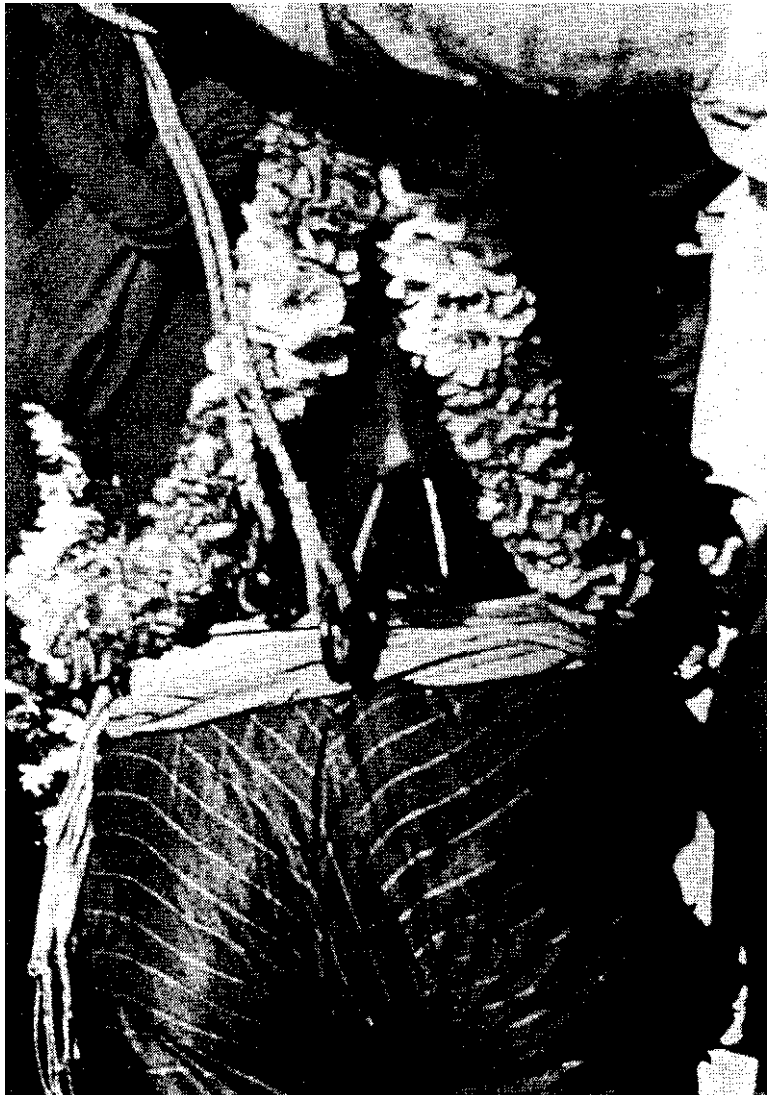
When the sacrifices are over, the hook ropes are united from the *bagad* beam and the god-elect climbs down from his bar. He enters the temple, the hooks are removed and his wounds are anointed with ashes from Mhatoba's sacred fire. Once this is done the god-elect reverts to human status. During the ceremony I observed, the celebrant was in a state of exaltation and showed no trace of pain. Although he received no medical treatment other than the application of wood ash, two weeks later the marks on his back were scarcely visible.



Ritual 'Victim' of the annual hook-swinging bagad ceremony rests on his perch as he starts off to bless all the farm fields of his Maharashtra village. Two metal hooks thrust into the small of the back were at one time all that suspended the hook-swinger through out the ceremony. To be selected for the swinging ritual is an honour that is jealously confined to the men of one clan in the village.



Ritual Cart on which the bagad uprights and swinging pole are mounted stands unused all year long except for this day. Those surrounding the cart include the dectors, who annually choose a hook-swinger from among the eligible clan's young married men.



Hook-swinger, ritually dressed in silk breeches and garlanded with flowers, is about to be tied to the swinging pole by means of the ropes attached to the two hooks that dangle from his back. The author found that hook-swinging was a substitute for human sacrifice.

When I asked about this village tradition, I was told that the form of the hook-swinging ceremony had originally been quite different. In the 'good old days', my informants said, the god-elect from clan X was killed at the end of the procession, along with another god elected annually chosen from the low-caste clan Z. The two men were beheaded, their heads were set on stone slabs that are still in place in front of Mhatoba's temple, and Mhatoba's ceremonial palanquin was paraded over the grisly offerings. I was told that the original practice had been continued until only one male member of clan Z remained alive. At that point, it was said, Mhatoba himself appeared and declared that life need no longer be taken. It would suffice, he said, if on the sacred day the elected representative of clan Z had his thigh ceremonially cut and the representative of clan X was hooked and swung. In fact, my informants told me, the thigh-cutting ritual is still followed each year within the temple. The representative of clan Z has his thigh cut at the same time the hook-swinger descends from his cart. Like the hook-swinger's wounds, the clan Z celebrant's wound is anointed with ashes from Mhatoba's sacred fire.

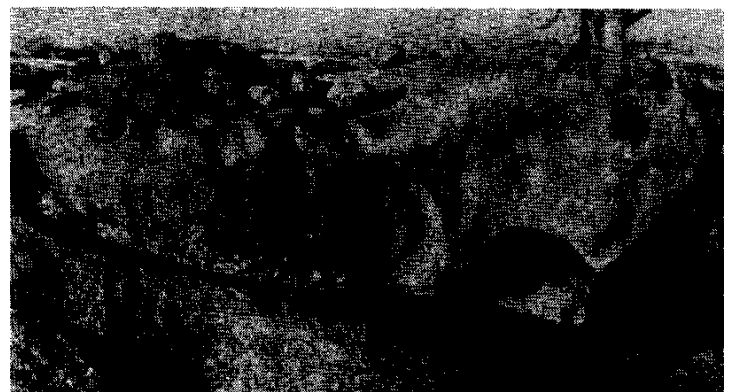
What are the prehistoric elements in this bizarre tangle of ritual and tradition? For that matter, how much of the supposed tradition is actually credible? As a start, I see no reason to doubt that human sacrifices really took place in the 'good old days'. Although human sacrifice was eliminated from formal Hindu ritual before the sixth century BC, the custom continued in many parts of India until recently. To judge by today's police record of ritual murders, human sacrifice is still practised among a number of tribal peoples.

As recently as the 1780's the Brahman rulers of Poona, wishing to ensure the impregnability of Lohogad Fort, saw to it that a young married couple was buried alive under the fort's foundations. An unmarried man was similarly sacrificed by the Moslem builders of Chakan Fort; a cult in his honour survives to this day. Not all the victims of human sacrifice went unwillingly to their death. Evidence is provided by the barber caste of Kurkumbh, which is proud to hold first place in worship at the shrine of the goddess Phirangai. The barbers' priority is traditionally based on a feat performed by a member of the caste who had been given the task of escorting the goddess to Kurkumbh from her former residence some 200 miles away. The goddess agreed to make the move, with the usual kind of fairy-tale provision that she would travel no farther than the first place at which her escort turned his head and looked behind him. The barber resisted temptation all the way, starting fixedly before him until he reached Kurkumbh. On his triumphant arrival he volunteered on the spot to make a sacrifice of his unturned head.

Assuming that the account of Mhatoba's original bloody rites is authentic, how are these rites related to the prehistory of peninsular India? An answer to this question requires an examination of the deity's history. Mhatoba is a god to whom tradition assigns two distinct places of origin. One is the same jungle, 40 miles from his present temple, from which his worshippers procure the *bagad* crossbeam each year. Here Mhatoba has a second temple. It stands on a hillock, at the base of which I have found a fair number of crude microliths; the presence of these stone tools is good evidence that the area supported a prehistoric population. At this place of worship Mhatoba is called Bapuji-Baba, or 'Father-God', and it is dangerous for any woman to approach him.

Mhatoba's other place of origin is about the same distance from the hook-swingers' village but in a different direction. The site is unmarked, but tradition states that at this place the deity first appeared and immediately made his presence known by kidnapping seven virgin sisters. Mhatoba thereupon travelled cross-country to the vicinity of the hook-swingers' village, where he paused by a pool in the river. There, for no known reason, he drowned all seven sisters. When a passing member of the Koli tribe ventured to criticize Mhatoba's behaviour, the god drowned him as well. Near the pool today there is a shrine to the seven sisters and the unfortunate Koli. The pool itself is considered cursed. No one bathes there, nor is its water used for farm animals. Within the shrine the crude representations of the seven sisters are coated with red lead, which is commonly used by Indian villagers as a substitute for the blood of sacrificial animals [see illustration]. I have found surface deposits of microliths nearby, as I did at the temple where Mhatoba is known as Bapuji-Baba.

In spite of his murder of the kidnapped maidens, Mhatoba is known in one aspect as a 'married' god. Next to his statue in the hook-swingers' temple stands a statue of a goddess named Jogubai. The hilltop Mhatoba, with his reputation for being dangerous to women, has no such consort. Why should the god be single in one aspect and married in the other? To find the answer I undertook a survey of all the district's temples. I quickly learned that the goddess Jogubai, like Mhatoba, was worshipped in several places, although there was no tradition that she had come to the district from some other region. I also encountered several more Mhatobas. In many places Mhatoba and Jogubai were 'married', as they are at the hook-swingers' temple. In other places, however, either the god or the goddess was worshipped alone, and the local worshippers knew nothing about Mhatoba or Jogubai being 'married' elsewhere.



Megalithic Monument, erected by prehistoric inhabitants of the Deccan, has become the centre of a modern cult. The object of veneration is an unhewn stone, called Manzrai, or 'Cat Mother', that lies under one of the boulders in the middle of the pile.

Goddess's Shelter is the dark hollow (right) under one stone of a prehistoric megalithic monument near Poona. The deity, whose worship only began in the eighteenth century, is a huntress named Bolhai. The deep circle cut into the boulder is 12 inches in diameter, a size characteristic of most of the circles that decorate the megalithic monuments of the Deccan. It was probably outlined with a hand, the thumb and little finger acting as a compass.



Circular Groove decorates the flat surface of a basalt boulder that is part of another ancient megalithic monument in the vicinity of Poona. This circle is the same size as the one shown in the illustration.

It is my belief that Mhatoba and Jogubai are a pair of deities who originally belonged to two different population groups and quite probably to different eras of prehistory as well. As I interpret the evidence, Mhatoba was at first an aggressively male god of the kind who was worshipped by the Gavalis, a late wave of pastoral invaders who entered the Deccan from northern India. These people herded cattle but did not use the plough. They reached Raichurin the middle of the Deccan plateau by about 2000 BC; recently obtained carbon-14 dates indicate that they were still practising their pastoral way of life as late as 1000 BC. The preceding wave of pastoral invaders from the north herded sheep and goats; therefore the skins they used for various purposes were the comparatively thin sheepskin and goatskin. The Gavalis had to work with thick cattle hides, and accordingly their microlithic tools were somewhat heavier and coarser. This difference is evident in the microliths found near the Bapuji-Baba temple.

Jogubai, on the other hand, is the kind of mother-goddess I associate with the earliest inhabitants of the Deccan: the primitive food-gatherers. These are the same people who with enormous effort erected all over peninsular India hundreds of megalithic monuments consisting of large piles of boulders. After they had piled the boulders together they also marked them with deep grooves. It is an interesting coincidence that wherever a modern cult is associated with one of these ancient megalithic monuments it is almost without exception a mother-goddess cult.

If it is correct to assume that the mother-goddess was first in the area and that the father-god was a pastoralist intruder, how do the traditions of the hook-swingers' village fit such a sequence? In their temple goddess and god are joined in 'marriage'; I take this to be symbolic of a situation in which conflict between food-gatherer and pastoralist was resolved by peaceful fusion. The virgins drowned by Mhatoba might represent a sacred college of priestesses dedicated to the worship of the mother-goddess. The fact that Mhatoba is now married to Jogubai shows that even the destruction of her priestesses was not enough to suppress her worship.

The conflict between mother-goddess and father-god could not have been resolved peaceably every where. Throughout Indian theological art, from the earliest representation of a horned 'proto-Shiva' on Harappan seals of the third millennium BC to gaudy pictures sold in Indian bazaars today, runs a theme of conflict between a female deity and a 'buffalo demon', in which the goddess is the victor. In Kalighat paintings, for example, Shiva's wife Parvati tramples him. The goddess Durga-Parvati is called 'she who tramples the buffalo demon.'

In this connection Jogubai appears in another temple in the district not in the role of consort to Mhatoba but as consort to the more primitive male deity Maskoba, who is recognized as the counterpart of the buffalo demon. Just as the union of Jogubai and Mhatoba in the hook-swingers' temple can be taken to symbolize conflict resolved, so perhaps this marriage to the buffalo demon symbolizes conflict perpetuated. This much is certain: The prehistoric fusion of two distinctly different societies has left marks that remain to this day. Indeed, in some parts of the countryside both the buffalo demon and the goddess who tramples him are worshipped by the same believers but in separate shrines.

Two points, however, should be made clear. First, although instances of goddess-worship are still to be found all over India, there is no reason to believe the country's prehistoric food-gatherers were worshippers of a universal mother-goddess. To attribute any universal custom to Primitive and segregated peoples is obviously hazardous. Second, it is important to emphasize that even when some ancient monument is found to be a centre of goddess-worship today, there is little possibility that the modern cult represents a survival from prehistory. The early food-gatherers had no fixed abode and the early pastoralists were constantly on the move; accordingly any continuity of worship at a single site is implausible.

Nonetheless, coincidence can sometimes achieve what piety cannot. At the village of Theur the goddess of childbirth is worshipped at a megalithic monument that stands on the summit of a prehistoric mound. This goddess—Satvai, or 'Mother Sixth'—takes her name from the fact that sacrifices are made to her on the sixth day after the birth of a child. The boulders that compose the monument at Theur are of a stone so hard that it will turn the edge of a modern mason's chisel. Yet every one of them bears smooth grooves with a semicircular cross section, some over an inch in depth, that were evidently produced by patient rubbing in prehistoric times. Prominent among the grooved designs is a representation of a cowrie shell, the traditional symbol of the female. It appears certain that the deity worshipped at the Theur monument thousands of years ago was a goddess just as the deity is today. Here, with the Pardhi snarers, the Dhangar shepherd and the hook-swinging devotees of Mhatoba, is further evidence that the prehistory of India is still alive.

On a Marxist Approach to Indian Chronology

The late D.A. Suleikin's note on the periodization of Indian history contains just criticism of our historians, along with some dangerously misleading statements. These last force me to repeat briefly some of my own conclusions published elsewhere over the last ten years.

1. Only the fullest agreement can be expressed with the main principle, namely that historical periods must be demarcated according to the means and relations of production, not by fortuitous changes of dynasty or battles. Even here, it can be recognized that major wars, great changes in rulers, significant religious upheavals do often signalize fundamental changes in the productive relations of the people. That such critical changes manifest themselves through wars or reformation in religion is due to the undeveloped stage of society with its attendant concealment of the true social forces guiding or forcing historical development. That history as written by most bourgeois scholars confines itself to these superficial manifestations is due in part to archaic tradition, but in still greater measure to the bourgeois author's denial of the class struggle within his own society. A critical approach to the class basis of former periods implies a similar approach to the author's own period, which would lead to unpleasant truths.

When all this is said, we come to the objections that must be raised. These are:

(A) India is not a mathematical point but a very large country, a subcontinent with the utmost diversity of natural environment, language, historical course of development. Neither in the means of production nor in the stages of social development was there overall homogeneity in the oldest times. Centuries must be allowed to pass before comparable stages of productive and social relationships may be established between the Indus valley, Bengal, and Malabar. Even then, important differences remain which makes periodization for India as a whole almost impossible, except with the broadest margins.

(B) A given ancient document may in general imply a certain form of production, but it is rarely possible to date it (as Suleikin himself noted) and often impossible to determine its locality. Thus Suleikin's quoting from the latest additions to the *Aitareya Brahmana*, and from the *Jdtakas* (which are on the same level as fairy stories, but composed long after king Asoka) is particularly unfortunate. No such work can apply—even when its statements are not fabulous or purely imaginary—to the whole country. Often, the work indicates nothing more than the false expansion and generalization of a narrow local tradition which has been merged with others but given special weight because of the class or sectarian bias of the redactor. This is a concomitant of the hierophantic tradition and approach; for to the priesthood, only the lunar month and days are of importance for ritual: only in Jain records are the years at all reliably kept, simply because that community had a large proportion of traders to whom the succession of years meant something. The best that can be done with Brahmin records is to group them into broad chronological strata, before analysis of each layer upon its own merits. Otherwise, like Suleikin, one has to flit lightly from century to century and across thousands of kilometres.

(C) The disastrous consequences of combining and universalizing local traditions are manifested in several ways. The first is that simultaneous events are arranged in a fictitious sequence, thus cracking the very foundations of a chronological structure. Only a Pargiter can look into Puranic king-lists with aplomb and pass smoothly over contradictions. A second difficulty is that the meaning of crucial terms is apt to change, or be lost altogether. This is made peculiarly easy by the priestly control of the Sanskrit language which led to secrecy (as with the Druids of Gaul), to reliance upon memory rather than writing, hence to versification and ambiguity; contrast the difficulty of getting any clear meaning out of a Sanskrit passage, with the comparative lucidity of Greek or Latin prose.

2. What, then, are the actual possibilities of a scientific Indian chronology? Beginnings have been made by noting the citations in each author, whereby a sequence may be found. This has to be done on a vast scale before location of the material as well as chronology become satisfactory. Restricting ourselves to the handful of published scriptures will not suffice; only the citation method followed on a large scale can tell us something reliable about time and place. A further step is tracing the first mention of social customs, first use of specific techniques, first appearance of particular foodstuffs. Both these methods have been initiated by Prof. P.K. Code's systematic work, but need powerful extension. For example, the coconut so basic today in almost every Brahmin ritual has no scriptural authority, being in fact an import from the south-east (probably Malaya) not earlier than the Christian era, and certainly little cultivated before the fourth century AD. The sacred animal is the cow, but without the water-buffalo the swampy lands of the Gangetic basin could not have been made productive; this most important animal was not generally tamed till the age of the Buddha, if that early. There is no direct record of such important additions to the Indian means of production.

Only primary archaeological work can help us to evaluate the content, to fix the meaning of our written sources. It was not so long ago that European scholars, relying solely upon records, dismissed the Buddha as a sun-myth. We know that though particular episodes of the Iliad may be fictitious, Troy did exist, and there is evidence for its having been sacked by the Achaeans. Was there actually a Mahabharata war? What does Rama's legendary invasion of Lanka represent? No answer will be forthcoming unless someone digs at the right places. Indian archaeology is still at the bourgeois-colonial stage of digging for museum exhibits that look impressive to foreigners. The recent attempts at a reasoned stratigraphy have yet to be extended systematically to the whole country. Our chronology cannot begin till carbon-14 analysis of wood and charcoal, dendrochronology, and other such techniques are widely employed.

3. On the position of slavery, it is necessary to deny flatly the general stand taken by Suleikin, who seems to have been carried away by European parallels. Debt-slavery still exists in parts of Gujarat and Sind. My grandparents on both sides held family slaves of low birth, the *bande* of Goa. But these slaves were not to be bought or sold, none of these types ever having performed any indispensable function in the relations of production;¹ their total number was negligible.

It is very surprising that Suleikin dismisses so lightly the statement of Megasthenes that there was no slavery in India (cf. *Arthashastra* 3.13 = 65, with Megasthenes in Strabo xv. 1.59, Diodoros Siculus ii, 39 and Arrian *Indika* x, end). Our Soviet writer goes so far as to state: 'It is true that ancient India knew of no large slave-owning enterprises, but the essence of the matter does not change because of this'. Apparently, the essence of the matter is a fixed opinion that no amount of negative evidence can change.

Clearly, Indian slavery was not recognizable as such by the Greeks and Romans. Chattel slavery can never have had any significant role in Indian production. Human beings traded like cattle for heavy labour in the mines and fields is a feature of classical European economy, never of the Indian. Caesar's account of the Gallic wars and Xenophon's *Anabasis* tell us that slaves were a regular part of even the common soldier's booty. Neither inscriptions nor literature mention the numbers of slaves taken after a battle in India. There is no trace of slave marts, or caravans of slave traders. The *dasa* is a house-servant, or bondsman. So far from slaves being property like gold, jewels, cattle, *Jaimini* (*Purvamimamsa-darsana*: vi. 7.5.6) expressly separates them from all other forms of property. But note that to him *dasa* and *sudra* are virtually synonymous, as to so many other writers.

Thus the Indian method for expropriation of a whole class of labour made no use of slavery after the Graeco-Roman model. Before the Aryans, we had a considerable urban civilization, comparable to the early Sumerian, in the Indus valley. It would be incredible that this had been built up without class divisions, without a large, surplus-producing, agrarian population. The Aryans destroyed this culture down to its foundations; the *Rgveda* sings of Indra's having destroyed the cities, shattered the dams of the Dasus or Dasas, but never of building either, or digging canals for agriculture. I have shown elsewhere that some of these pre-Aryans were absorbed into the Aryans, the Brahmin priesthood being due at least in part to this admixture. Ample traces exist in the *Rgveda* of progressive recombination, Aryanization of indigenous peoples, constant warfare among these newly developed tribes. This is not merely conquest but a fundamental change such as the Battle-axe people brought to cruder Mesolithic cultures in Europe; comparable, though on a higher level, to the decline of the Erosd and Tripolye matriarchal cultures. But what happened to the vast majority of surplus producers, who found no place among the reorganized Aryans?

The word for caste *varna* means colour. In the *Rgveda*, there are only two human *varnas*, that of the Aryans and that of their *dasa* opponents. But the later *dasa* not only means slave but denotes also the Sudra caste: a class of people defined generally by birth, not eligible for initiation, barred from reading scriptures, wielding weapons, owning property—one whose function is to serve the three Aryan castes. In a word, a *helot*, not a slave. Slavery did not develop in India because at the time of the invasion (which Suleikin virtually ignores) the conquerors had tribal property, not private property. The Sudra caste therefore begins as slaves of the community as a whole, only later tied to the soil or to patriarchal households for menial labour. The initial position is nearest to that in Sparta, where the richest male Spartans formed a permanent armed camp to suppress the helots with the help of the marginal allies, the *Perioikoi*. The Indian caste system and religion performed the function of naked violence. Observe that the very passage of Narada cited by Suleikin goes on to give circumstances under which the various types of slaves could be manumitted, for that slavery amounts to contract labour; but there is no method except monkhood whereby a Sudra loses his caste, and monastic orders were usually closed to the Sudra in practice; particularly and explicitly to a runaway bondsman. Lastly, whereas a code like that of Hammurabi deals with existing relationships, one can never be certain with works like Narada just how much is traditional or even purely imaginary.

Naturally, the non-priestly and non-fighting portion of the recombined 'Aryans' sank to an inferior status, the Vaisya *varna*. The internal development of caste-classes is the inevitable consequence of the external. The Vaisya's lowered position is neatly reflected, even in the *Rgveda*, by the lowered status of the Maruts. Originally group-gods and clan-gods, they become companions of Indra, subordinate to him, exploited by him. The Agastya hymns at the end of the first *Rgveda* book show this decline. The *Satapatha Brahmana* says quite bluntly that the Maruts are the common peasants, the clan-people (albeit above the Sudras) and the peasants are food for the warrior class (*S.B.* v. 2. 1. 17, v. 1.3. 3, v. 3. 1, 6, ix. 3.1.13, xiv. 1. 3.27). Conquest followed by constant warfare had its inevitable effect upon conquerors as well as conquered. But we must not forget, in our disgust at the backwardness and human degradation imposed upon India by the caste system, that the system at its beginning advanced production, being so eminently suited to local conditions that it had to develop. It opened up the wilderness to the east of the Punjab for the new type of settlement; it prevented the formation of large-scale chattel slavery, real slavery in the Greek or Roman sense; it permitted the enrolment of newer tribes, later also of guilds, in the artificial *Manusmṛti* scheme of mixed castes. This was done on the basis of religion which minimized the need for internal violence, thereby leading all social manifestations of the class-struggle in India into religio-philosophical channels of expression. In this sense, caste is the negation of history, so that it is not in the least surprising to find that Indian literary tradition has virtually no historical sense or content. What is surprising is that a supposedly Marxist writer should have ignored all this.

4. To recapitulate: just as the word *slave* is derived from the low Latin *sclavus* which denotes a particular people from whom a large number of slaves were recruited, the Indian *dasa* in Rgvedic times means a set of tribes hostile to and generally beaten by the Aryans. The word *dasa* early went through a development parallel to that of Latin *servus* which started by meaning slave, to end as servant, retainer, serf. The older Roman patrician would have been puzzled by the idea of a menial who was not a chattel slave while his Indian counterpart would have found it impossible to comprehend how parsimonious Cato could sell off superannuated *dasas* indiscriminately. The Near East had other simultaneous types of slavery nearer to the kinds mentioned in our *smṛtis*. The famous Gadates inscription of Darius at Branchidae shows that the Babylonian *qallu* could be equated to the Persian *bandaka* and Greek *doulos*; yet the context proves that some temple slave labourers could be supported in idleness, while a powerful *satrap* was addressed by his master the king as a slave without losing his nobility. Neither of these would be possible for the Greek *doulos*.

There were two main reasons why the Greeks could not recognize Indian servitude as being within their concept of slavery. First, leading Greeks, Romans, Ionians, Phoenicians, Carthaginians could and did take part in trade and finance, having advanced the manufacture and exchange of commodities to the stage of taking minted money as the principal measure of value, means of exchange, symbol of wealth. On the other hand, those Indians who would deal most with visiting Greeks, the Indians who lived mainly by commodity exchange or cash transactions, were a small fraction of the Vaisya class and caste, having virtually no control over the state mechanism, and little over the general means² of production; hence none over religion, literature and drama. The slave trade as such did not exist in India, whence slavery could not possibly mean the same thing to them as to the Greeks. The second reason comes directly from the caste system: the great Indian source of expropriable labour was the Sudra, who was the *dasa* in general throughout the post-Vedic period down through the classical age and even later. The Sudra could not be manumitted. *Manusmṛti* 8.414 tells us explicitly: 'Even if released by his master, the Sudra is not freed from servitude; it (servitude) is his lot by nature, who can remove that from him?' Every European slave of the classical period could be manumitted, bought, or sold. The inferior position of the European freedman arose from the fact that as a slave he had lost his *gens* while manumission did not mean adoption into any *gens*; hence the peculiarly uncertain status of a *liberlinus* in a gentile society. For the Sudra, there was no escape. The Sudras are in some ways paralleled by the Babylonian *sirquṭu*, or Palestinian *netinim*, two classes of Near Eastern temple slaves.³ There is the strong possibility that the formation of the caste was helped by the pre-existence of such temple slaves at Harappa—an institution for which there is some archaeological support in the barrack-like quarters found.

It is interesting to compare the earliest, perhaps the only, recorded Indian impression of Greek slavery (*Majjhimanikaya* 93, the *Assaldyana-sutta*): 'sutam te, yona-kambojesu annesu ca paccantimesu janapadesu dve 'va vanna: ayyo ca daso ca; ayyo hutva daso hoti, daso hutva ayyo hoti'. The Buddha is reported as saying to the young Brahmin Assalayana, Thou hast heard that in Yona, Kamboja, and other (adjacent) frontier regions, there are only two castes: Aryan and Dasa. One having been an Arya may become a Dasa, one having been a Dasa may become an Arya'. Of course this could not be a sentence of the Buddha, for it must date after the time when the Macedonian invasion had spread the Ionian name as well as Greek slave trade to Afghanistan. The discourse is directed against Brahmin claims to be the pre-eminent caste by birth; therefore if *varna* meant only class (as Suleikin would have it) and not caste, the whole point of the *sutta* would be lost altogether. However, the most interesting thing here is that the Indian could best grasp Greek slavery as the equivalent of a caste, being surprised that such 'caste' could be changed about at times with the other, the caste of free men—who had no rigid barriers among themselves to marriage and free social intercourse such as caste divisions would have entailed and such as existed between slave and free. He could no more imagine a society without caste than the Greek could without chattel slavery, just as the bourgeois cannot envisage a classless society except as wild, lawless anarchy.

When commodity production is not of prime importance, human labour cannot become an essential commodity, whence human beings will not be needed as chattel slaves. If the main production be agrarian, it suffices to tie the worker to the land. Slave labour always tends to be standardized by its lowest, cheapest, and least productive form, that of the drudge whose muscular energy is the source of crude power. As soon as commodity production by power-driven machinery comes into its own, the discovery has inevitably to be made that the prime surplus-producing commodity is not the human being but only his labour. This is most efficiently productive when the human labourer is 'free' to sell his labour, unfettered by tribal, guild, feudal, or religious bonds—and also unhindered by such distractions as ownership of the land or means of production. The new social theory then regards class divisions as just, as part of the very order of nature, precisely as caste, slavery, or serfdom had been at earlier levels.

END NOTES

D.R. Banaji: *Slavery in British India* (Bombay, 1933) deals with major forms of slavery that remained between 1772 and 1843.

Marx comments specially upon the main characteristic of primitive Indian production: 'In the primitive communities of India there is social division of labour, but the products of this community production do not become commodities.' (*Capital* I. i. 2). A little earlier we have a passage inserted by Engels as clarification: 'The medieval peasant produced cense-corn for the seigneur and tithe-corn for the priest; but the fact that they were produced for others did not make commodities of cense-corn and tithe-corn. To become a commodity, a product must pass by way of exchange into the hands of the other person for whom it is a use-value.'

I. Mendelsohn: *Slavery in the Ancient Near East* (New York 1949), B.P. Dougherty: *The Shirkutu of Babylonian Deities* (Yale Oriental Research Series 5/2).

4

Stages of Indian History

Historical Theory

'In the social production of their life, men enter into definite, necessary relations that are independent of their will, relations of production that correspond to a definite stage of development of their productive forces. The sum total of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society, the real foundation on which a juridical and political superstructure arises, and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness. The mode of production of material existence conditions the whole process of social, political, and intellectual life in general. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their being, but on the contrary, their social existence that determines their consciousness. At a certain stage of their development the material productive forces of society come in conflict with the existing relations of production, or—what is but a legal expression for the same thing—with the property relations within which they had moved hitherto. From forms of development of the productive forces these relations turn into their fetters. Then begins an epoch of social revolution. With the change in the economic foundations the whole vast superstructure is more or less rapidly transformed. In considering such transformations, it is necessary always to distinguish between the material revolution in the economic conditions of production, which can be determined with the precision of natural science, and the juridical, political, religious, aesthetic or philosophic—in short, ideological forms in which men become conscious of this conflict and fight it out'.

This quotation from K. Marx's preface to his own *Critique of Political Economy* says in profound and inspiring words just what human history has been to date. For us, then, *history is the development in chronological sequence of essential stages in the means and relations of human social production*. This type of history can be written for India, though no real attempt has hitherto been made. Considerable technical difficulties intervene, for we have always to guess at the basis from what remains of the superstructure, to restore the means and relations of production from religious documents not properly edited, which themselves contain various layers of tradition. The meaning of key words changes with the basis; some outward forms and observances may remain unchanged through great transformations of the foundation.

The main advances may be taken as follows: (1) The urban but stagnant Indus valley culture (3000-1500 BC) which left its mark on later technique, iconography, and probably social institutions. (2) Aryanization, i.e. late bronze and early iron age pastoral-nomadic tribal organization over the two-caste system, developing into four caste-classes by 800 BC. (3) Clearing and settlement of the heavily forested Gangetic alluvial basin with Sudra labour, mostly under Magadhan state enterprise (from 500 BC) ending in the first empire over the whole country by 250 BC. (4) A primitive feudalism whereby the peninsula was properly developed for trade and agriculture (say the Satavahana period), but with far less production in cities. The *emergence* of private property, even in land, began earlier than AD 400, before the prime of the Gupta empire. (5) 'Pure' feudalism, beginning in the later Gupta period but enormously stimulated by Muslim trade and military penetration after AD 1200. (6) Modern capitalism, culminating in the rule of a new indigenous bourgeoisie that came into being less than 100 years ago through European trade, factory production, and share capital, under British colonial rule.

2. Was There an Asiatic Mode of Production?

The quotation from Marx normally ends with the sentence 'In broad outline the Asiatic, ancient, feudal, and modern bourgeois modes of production can be designated as progressive epochs in the economic system of society'. This is quoted without change in Lenin's famous essay on Marx. J.V. Stalin, however, in his classic *Dialectical and Historical Materialism* says: 'Five main types of relations of production are known to history; primitive communal, slave, feudal, capitalist and socialist'. Why this difference? Clearly, the socialist form did not exist as a historical reality before Stalin. The primitive communal is the origin from which the *advances* have been mentioned by Marx; we have a careful analysis of primitive tribal society in Engels' *Origin of the Family*. What Marx calls the ancient stage is slave society, the modern bourgeois, the capitalist. So there is only one real change in Stalin's presentation, namely omission of the Asiatic mode. Whether deliberate or inadvertent, it seems to me neither correct nor trivial.

Marx never clearly defined the Asiatic form. He made prominent reference to the almost self-sufficing Indian village communes which could witness the ruin of empires with equanimity while concentrating upon some miserable patch of land. He also pointed out that the principal function of the central power in most Asiatic countries was regulation of the water supply; this can be proved for Mesopotamia, Uzbekistan, the Punjab, most of the Gangetic plain, and even the Mysore plateau. But surely these cannot suffice to characterize the Asiatic mode. Asia has two vital sources of civilization from which all its countries have drawn their inspiration: China and India. In ancient times, the Chinese deliberately borrowed a religion from India, which was for centuries a sacred land and is venerated even today in China. It is therefore reasonable to inquire what it was about India that was characteristic, to ask ourselves wherein the history of India *differs* from that of other countries.

Now it is clear that a characteristically Indian form of society did spread over the entire subcontinent (as the Egyptian, Sumerian, Greek did not over their own) in spite of its tremendous geographical, climatic, racial variety. It follows that the form was viable, and adaptable to changing conditions. How is it to be characterized? Certainly by the strong grip of religion—without an organized church as in Medieval Europe. Further, *India never had a slave-holding economy* in the same sense as Greece and Rome, so that one of the stages may be taken as missing here. On the other hand, India has a unique social division, the (endogamous) caste system. *Caste is class at a primitive level of production, a religious method of forming social consciousness in such a manner that the primary producer is deprived of his surplus with the minimum coercion*. This is done with the adoption of local usages into religion and ritual, being thus the *negation* of history by giving fictitious sanction 'from times immemorial' to any new development, the actual change being denied altogether. To this extent and at a low level of commodity production, it is clear that *an Asiatic mode did exist*, reaching over several stages; at least, the term is applicable to India, whatever the case elsewhere.

Two objections are sure to be raised. First, that religion is part of the superstructure, not basis; second, that all pre-bourgeois societies as well as the rising European bourgeoisie made full use of religion. The answer is that the superstructure reacts upon its basis—or there would be no fetters to burst. What is *socially* necessary depends in part on the social consciousness of the people concerned, which cannot be unaffected by strong religious belief touching everyday life. This means a restriction of freedom (the recognition of necessity), and often of the production of value (measured by socially necessary labour time). In comparing the relative strength of superstition in different societies, we must remember that change of quantity beyond a critical measure means change of quality. During the periodic Indian famines before 1900, it was repeatedly observed that large numbers of the starving multitudes not only refused to touch meat, but would not even partake of the nourishment served to them (by relief officials) without first making certain that food and water had not been defiled by the touch of some person of lower caste. This, though the alternative was death, and though caste had for centuries received no legal support. In spite of state backing, Graeco-Roman cults and the Christian church had had no such deadly effect on the common man.

3. Ancient India

Of the primitive tribal stage, we note here only the essential feature, that *tribal forms co-existed in varying concentration right* through the course of Ancient Indian history, remnants to this day enabling us to study our own past. An important function of a detailed history would be to point out how, at various times, these tribal forms were *assimilated* to society in general.

The oldest progressive stage of which we have any evidence is the Indus valley culture. This has left impressive urban ruins resembling the Sumerian, without decipherable records, so that we have to deduce the social conditions. Clearly, a surplus was produced to feed the urban population. There is no evidence for heavy ploughs, the chief metal (bronze) being too precious for plough-shares; but pictograms represent what seems to be a toothed harrow. Later references in the *Rgveda* indicate that the land was flooded by dams thrown *across* the smaller streams, which irrigated as well as fertilized the alluvial soil. The river was the main trade route. Trade formed an important part of city life; Mesopotamian imports are found in the Indus cities, Indus seals and products in Mesopotamia. There was, in fact, a stratum common to the Indus and Sumerian cultures. This trade led to considerable amassing of wealth by a few people, not overall development, as there are only two large cities 400 miles apart,

Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa, other settlements being few and small, scattered from the Rann of Cutch to Simla and Bikaner, hence spread much thinner than in Sumer or Babylon. The wealth is attested by precious objects still found in the ruins, accurate small weights, and by the massive walls of the houses which present a blank front without even a decorated entrance. There seem to be no large public monuments worth the mention. Neither great palace nor great temple dominates the city. A large ritual swimming pool frequented (again reasoning from later sources) by hierodules or living representatives of the Mother-goddess, and terracotta figurines found in profusion should demonstrate great power of mother-right. However, the traders' seals show exclusively male animals and a three-faced god (so familiar as Siva) so that the traders were men, with their own form of property, the *panis* of the *Rgveda* as against the general country population, the *dasa* or *dasyu*.

The most interesting question would be the class-structure of the Indus valley culture under which the surplus was produced. No city is known that developed without a class structure, yet we have no details here. There is some evidence for temple (or municipal) slavery in the mean 'coolie barracks' behind a large granary at Harappa. But the mechanism of violence was trifling when compared to similar wealthy cities elsewhere. Sturdy axes, knives, etc. of bronze are tools rather than weapons; there were no sword and arrow-heads seem to be of stone, the bow principally for hunting. No graves contain weapons. The spearheads found are of copper, thin and flimsy. The implication is that religion was already a substitute for pure force in maintaining the class structure. This is supported by the fact that, at the later stage, the cities show evidence of having been repeatedly sacked, the dead lying where they fell in the middle of the street or on a stairway. With force, the culture would have been able to spread beyond the Indus valley. Its stagnant nature is farther revealed by the virtual absence of change over a thousand years. The river and the desert were both of fundamental importance (as in the Nile valley and Mesopotamia), for then agriculture was possible and necessary. There were no heavy forests to clear (as on the Amazon). A little irrigation would render the alluvial soil most fertile, while the desert gave protection for a long time against marauders.

It is fairly clear that the *Rgveda* Aryans killed this Indus culture about 1500 BC. Harappa shows a cemetery that can be called Aryan, and distinct traces of a total layer occupied by a new type of society; the city is mentioned in the *Rgveda* as Hariyuplya. The *Aryans were not a race*, their distinctive features being a new type of language and a pastoral-nomadic patriarchal life in tribal units, both of which were imposed by fighting upon different types of people. Not only direct conquest but the mere reaction to contact with Aryans sufficed to kill the older culture as well as to change the primitive forest tribes that also existed in India. This Aryanization continued in all marginal areas almost to the present day. The Indie Aryans did not survive as rulers superposed upon the older culture, unlike their fellows in Mesopotamia, Asia Minor, and perhaps Egypt. This means that Indus surplus production was less than in the west and quickly ruined. It necessarily meant the recombination of pre-Aryans and invaders into new tribes which took on the Aryan structure and language, fighting among themselves for cattle and water. Aryan military superiority depended upon their use of the horse, a mobile food supply in cattle, and knowledge of iron. But they destroyed the river dams that flooded the land (as the *Rgveda* testifies repeatedly) which broke the productive basis of the older civilization. It was inevitable that Aryanized Punjab should reach a state of turmoil as soon as tribal territories on the river banks began to overlap.

For this neo-tribal economy, land is territory, not property. Cattle have a common tribal brand, hence are held in common. The king is warleader, president at the ritual sacrifice, symbol of tribal unity himself bearing the name of the tribe, apportioner of surplus within the tribe, and often elected to office. The only private property is in tools and weapons, though the rare trader has begun to form his own accumulations of precious metals.

These new tribes are *not primitive*, as they carried the rudiments at least of a class structure. They held (in varying numbers) the Sudras, tribal helots whose surplus was property of the tribe as a whole. This is not chattel slavery as at Rome, being nearer to the Spartan model. These lowly human producers have not the right of initiation into the tribe, no claim upon tribal property (being themselves tribal property), nor a claim to their own surplus product. They must have been acquired in some way from the Indus valley civilization, perhaps as a result of the conquest. The tribes also have a new type of priesthood barely mentioned as a separate caste in the *Rgveda*: the Brahmins, who recognized some sort of kinship and clan organization often transcending tribal limits. They too developed by influence and admixture of the older Indus priesthood with that of the Aryans. However, the real castes are two, *arya* and *sudra*, the main class division without intermarriage that was essential for later development of the Asiatic form. Agriculture begins again, depending in density upon the small canals that were already in use.

We know that these tribes continued to exist in western Punjab till the time of Alexander (330 BC). Taxila was a non-tribal trade city which submitted without a blow. Pauravas was head of the ancient Puru tribe which seems to have aggrandized itself, and to have developed some sort of a standing army; he was defeated, to become a satrap of Alexander. The remaining tribes are smaller, the army consisting of all able-bodied tribesmen (not Sudras), the tribal city being merely a small fortified headquarters for common defence in times of peril. Most of them fought desperately against the Macedonians, and were wiped out.

It follows from the foregoing class division that class differentiation among the conquerors could not long be delayed. This is precisely reflected in the difference between the *Rgveda* and the two *Yajurvedas*. These last deal with settlement further to the east, say East Punjab and Delhi, not later than 800 BC. We now approach the heavily forested areas, the Gangetic alluvial plain being as fertile as the Punjab, but with a greater rainfall. This forest could not be cleared by neolithic tools; neither stone nor metals are to be found in the river valley. The *Yajurveda* already speaks of the *vaisya*, who is an Aryan (even *the* Aryan according to our lexica) but whose name means 'the settler'. The *ksatriya* restricts himself to fighting, the *brahmana* to the priesthood. The Aryan *vaisya* and non-Aryan *sudra* are to produce the surplus, and are to be preyed upon by the *ksatriya* nobles with theological support from the Brahmin—as is stated in so many words. This is the four *varna* system as against the two (*arya*, *dasa* = *sudra*) of the *Rgveda*. Kings are more prominent, their sacrifices for success in war far heavier than before, sacrificial offerings now becoming the first regular tax; yet they are petty chiefs in territory.—The *Rgvedic* king received voluntary sacrificial contributions from the tribe, not tribute exacted by force from the *vaisya*. This implies a new form of property, obtained from settlement of the land, with a greater surplus by cultivation than was available in the earlier cattle-breeding economy, which still largely coexisted.

4- From Tribe to Society

By 700 BC, the Aryan course of advance had followed the Himalayan foothills to the frontiers of Nepal, thence down to the Ganges and across the river to modern Rajgir, also in the foothills. The main fertile river basin was dotted very sparsely with settlements in the dense jungle, for slash-and-burn cultivation of the foothills is not practicable in heavy jungle. The easiest transport, down the river, served very few settlements, most being connected with each other and Taxila to the distant north-west by a land trade route. The tribal names are quite new to any reader of the Vedas, showing that Aryanization assimilated new people. Primitive savage tribes existed in the forest, living mostly by hunting and generally with

their 'Aryan' neighbours who follow pastoral and agrarian economies. These savages (i.e. the Koliyas) are being Aryanized in their turn. By 600 BC, the greater Aryan tribes had begun to decay, the Licchavis and Mallas turning into oligarchies not yet penetrated by Brahminism, but ruling over or exploiting many people not belonging to the tribe. Other tribal states had earlier developed into monarchies fighting for hegemony. Brahminism flourished in these principalities, for great ritual sacrifices were considered essential for victory in war. New Brahmin clans rise to prominence, such as the Kasyapas, presumably because of their connection with refugees from the other Indus culture when the first Aryan wave engulfed it. But Gangetic Brahmins have to go to the north-west to learn Vedic fire ritual. Traders are more prominent than before; without them the settlements would be unable to survive, as metals and salt had to be imported over long distances.

To open up the forested Gangetic plain, two resources were necessary: cheap metals and plentiful human labour power not subject to tribal rules and free of tribal protection. India's greatest resources of copper and iron are to the south-east of Rajgir, which thus controlled all metal. The capital city being close to the river, it was inevitable that its country, Magadha (originally a tribe) should ultimately rise to dominion. The march is steady from 500 BC onwards. Conquest of other Aryan tribes by fighting does little but add a liability in the absence of slavery; settling Sudras in new territory means real wealth and revenue, provided the Sudra himself gains enough thereby to breed in large numbers. State enterprise, as the logical extension of tribal activities, begins at this time to exceed all corporate or tribal activities, or private enterprise of any sort. Thus new settlements grow without disturbing the old tribal *janapadas* by heavy taxes, which are imposed on new settlements only. However, the recognized old tribal territory is doomed to suffer a corresponding change, for the tribes also possess Sudras, hence are breaking up by sharing in the new property and its surplus produce. Some tribesmen have taken service with kings of neighbouring post-tribal states, thus enabling the latter to build up standing armies independently of the king's own tribe. Others are themselves penetrating the wilderness as settlers, which accelerates Aryanization of the forest savages, generally enrolled into the Sudra caste, or becoming new 'Aryan' tribes by the help of imported Brahmins. The trend from tribe to a society in which tribal bonds and barriers were to be replaced by more general relations receives powerful ideological support by the development of new non-violent (*ahimsa*) religions. Buddhism and Jainism started at this time within a short distance and a few years of each other, the founders being themselves members of un-Brahminized Aryan tribes. They are the best developed of the many similar religions or sects that arose in the same region during the sixth century BC, showing how necessary the religious superstructure had become. These religions preach against ritual sacrifice, from which Vedic Brahminism had made its heaviest profits; the denial of all killing suits the new agrarian economy. Thereto, the older tribal totemic ideas were fully utilized, being organized into a theory of transmigration, now for the first time on a *social* basis. That is, a tremendous social advance is made by the theory that man's good deeds will determine the human, animal, or insect body his soul will inhabit upon rebirth; freedom from the cycle of rebirth is to be gained by human perfection in social activity of the individual. These religions equate all tribes, indeed all living creatures, so act against the constant petty warfare for its own sake which prevented the growth of tribal society beyond individual tribal limitations. The *karma* doctrine, not to speak of its pacificatory effect, pleases the trader as a superhuman credit account; the almsman is cheaper to maintain than the priest, charging no fee, damaging neither trade nor agriculture by *yajna* sacrifice.

The remarkable development of Magadha is to be seen in the *Artha-sastra*, supported in essentials by the account of Megasthenes. The main preoccupation of the state was control and development of non-tribal lands, the vast *sita* domains far exceeding all previous settlements, which were carved out of the wilderness. The settlements were always of disarmed Sudras. Monopoly of metals and mining as well as of most largescale trading kept the profits in the hands of the state. The caste system had so completely proved its worth that new tribes, guilds, professions (e.g. the *kayastha* scribes) were simply enrolled as new castes, generally derived by a complicated theory that made them mixed off-spring of the four main castes. The Magadhan state was particularly careful to destroy its most dangerous rivals, the Aryan tribes, by intrigue and direct military action. The Magadhan emperor replaced the tribal king demanding personal loyalty from the survivors, who became part of the general ruling class; all fighters were enrolled into the army, but no tribal armies, no tribal allegiances or restrictions remained; tribal territory was delimited and taxed according to the lighter *rastra* scale.

Magadhan conquest had spread to its logical frontiers by the time of Asoka, overrunning not only the Punjab and Afghanistan but most of the peninsula as well. In the South, as for example Brahmagiri in Mysore state, there is no intermediate stage between the megalithic and the Mauryan. *Most of the newly conquered territory outside the Indus and Gangetic basins was unsuitable for profitable exploitation as sita cultivation under state management*, which could only pay in very fertile virgin territory. The maintenance of a huge bureaucracy and large standing army at the centre, all paid in cash according to the *Arthashastra* schedule, became impossible because of difficult communications and official speculation. Some other method than naked force had to be found by 250 BC to keep the empire together. This was the new religion, Buddhism. The change in productive basis is quite obvious. With lack of cheap slave labour (the very few chattel slaves are precious house-slaves), enormous distances, poor transport, and severe restrictions upon trade, handicraft production in the cities could not grow, nor the cities themselves. Urban commodity production could not therefore supply the needs of the rapidly growing countryside. The mine shafts in Singhbhum and Dhalbhum districts had reached water level which meant—in the absence of pumps—that the Magadhan state monopoly in metals would be difficult to maintain, as was the centralized bureaucratic apparatus even with two subsidiary capitals at Ujjain and Taxila to help the cumbersome Patna administration.

The surplus food produced in state-owned *sita* lands was distributed for sale principally through state granaries. But there was also competition by expansion of tribal *janapadas* (whose tribal unity and force had been destroyed), *svem* associations of free settlers, and occasionally private individuals or families, all of whom push their way into the wilderness, or pay rent to the state for undeveloped patches within the *sita* area. The main source of labour, the Sudra, is semi-free and has no property, so that villages would be deserted under oppressive exploitation; squeezing them was not possible till all the best lands had been cleared and occupied. The system had to collapse when *old janapada* and state lands merged into a general settlement of basically equivalent nature. A second tussle was simultaneously in progress between the state and the private trader, who was subject to almost penal legislation as a dangerous rival of state monopoly. The only encouragement he received from the *Arthashastra* state was when he added value to the commodity by transport, either between districts or from a foreign country. He had no voice at all in state management. Yet the medium of exchange would inevitably be concentrated into the traders' hands. The progressive debasement of Mauryan punch-marked coins proves that the cash economy was heavily strained.

5. The Beginnings of Feudalism

It follows that the Mauryan administration would fall apart of its own weight when handicraft production moved into the countryside, the *village becoming virtually self-sufficient*. The village as unit of basic production and immediate consumption, along with the free but unpropertied Sudra as the main source of expropriable labour, persist long after, giving India its fundamental appearance of unity and changelessness till modern times. By the time of the *Manusmṛti* (between 200 BC-AD 200) the great central state had vanished along with its basis, the *sita* land. All land is taxed more or less uniformly, but more lightly than before; the king, though absolute in theory, is a mere princeling. Cash payments by the state have dwindled to nothing, the two great central armies of bureaucrats and soldiers have disappeared. State officials are paid in perquisites and a share of the revenue, while the army is dispersed in local garrison (*gulma*) which the Mauryan state did not need. A further symptom of feudalism is that taxes for the labourer and artisan are not in cash but in the form of so many days' labour for the state—the corvée. The trader still has no voice in state management, but receives far more consideration than before, among with the right to internal trade. Local and guild custom is observed in administration of justice, though the brahmin claims to rise above all laws but his own, religion being a very important adjunct of the state. Yet the *Manusmṛti* has no delusions about the real function of caste or of the state: the king's duty is to keep the Vaisya and the Sudra compulsorily tied to their work of production, thus preserving the very foundations of society.

It should be noted that *the density of commodity production i.e., commodity production per head, had greatly decreased* in spite of increased population and more use values produced. The village artisan had his share of the land; his relation to the ultimate consumer was direct, being total. The king is only nominally the owner of all land, which was settled in village communes for the main food-producing portion. However, there are also private holdings in land while cattle are not communally owned, the unit of ownership for both being the large patriarchal upper caste family household into which the ancient *clan-gotra* had been fragmented by the development of new forms of property. In fact, even the large household is doomed to gradual extinction by the rise of individually earned property, the *riktha* of the *smṛtis* which thus show conflicting views on inheritance. The family holdings, though assigned by the commune in theory, had become hereditary and furnished the real source of future change. Originally useful for corrals, kitchen-gardens and the like, they expand further into wastelands (as we know from southern records) for production of specialized trade crops such as cotton, coconuts, sugarcane; correspondingly, we get trade in greater volume (but not density) over considerable distances in metal, cloth, sugar, food oils. The profit is still insufficient for expropriation of the commune particularly as sale of foodstuffs is considered shocking. But the commune is completely disarmed, the country garrisons being responsible to the king alone. Thus royal officials tend to tyrannize, to collect more than a just share of revenue, and have a method of driving off communal holders from the best land, should it become necessary.

The Asokan empire did not uniformize India. The south was still undeveloped; its development throws up new dynasties like the Satavahanas who continue the process of integrating tribal groups into general Indian society. Here the traders, Jain missionaries, and new post-Buddhist non-killing Brahmins play a shifting but most important role. Brahmins are regularly imported from the north by southern kings, to act as settlers and priests. This gives the necessary impressive ritual sanction to the king who wishes to rise over his previous tribal fetters. However, the Vedic sacrifices become extremely rare. The settlers bring new types of agriculture to the peninsula, agreeing in most cases to share the product with the primitive population that supplied the labour, and trading in the surplus. These new communities require virtually no force except against wild beasts. In many cases, the new pioneer Brahmins scandalize the older priesthood, as did formerly the more progressive and adaptable Brahmins of Magadha, by turning into priests for the various traders' and artisans' profit-sharing associations, many of which now count as castes or subcastes, having themselves developed in many cases from tribal fragments that participated in the new development of social production. These priests form depositories of law, sanction for agreements and contracts, medicine men possessed of the ritual considered necessary for success in any primitive enterprise. During this intercourse, a reciprocal influence works upon Brahminism, introducing all sorts of primitive ritual, not sanctioned by the older scriptures, into current practice. Some of these ritual adjustments may be traced back to the stone age, but not through Aryan sources. In particular, concessions to mother-right appear comparatively late in Brahminism though the completely patriarchal Vedas possess absolute sanctity and authority—in theory. We find a curious equilibrium between Aryan patriarchy and pre-Aryan matriarchy in Malabar.

The Gupta period (fourth-sixth century AD) sees the imperial conquest of many such petty kingdoms, where the Mauryan advance had been over undeveloped territory, or tribal regions. While the Mauryans had once been a tribe, the Guptas had no tribal basis, finding it necessary to boast of a marriage alliance with the Licchavis; that their capital became Ujjain shows the importance of the South and of trade. Should a tribe rise to power hereafter (e.g. the Maukharis), its king becomes paramount sovereign, his leading fellow tribesmen turning into great feudal officials and nobles. If conquered, the king, princeling, or chief himself became a feudatory under the victor. This period gives us the finest literary Sanskrit; as contrasted to Latin, medieval and classical Sanskrit are one. On the other hand, classical Sanskrit was far from the people's language; servants, women, and common people in Sanskrit dramas speak Prakrit, the cultured tongue being mastered only by priest, king and nobleman. The Buddha, insisting upon the people's language, preached in Pali which was also used in the Asoka edicts meant to reach as many people as possible. From the Gupta period onwards, the deadly influence of brahmanism made Sanskrit the main language of inscriptions, a symbol of the ruling classes intimately connected with the priesthood that supported their rule. Persian and English hold a similar position in later periods, without the priesthood or deep cultural ties with the Indian people.

Again, the function of Brahminism and caste was to minimize the need for coercion. This could only be done, at the stage of social development, through ritual and priestly fiction; that means a low level of commodity production, shirking of reality.

6. Later Feudalism

The basis of fully developed feudalism was not the Muslim conquest but a considerable change in property relations which had begun long before and continued afterwards. The Muslims were a great *stimulus* as traders on the international market; they completed the decay of the older priest-ridden feudalism, turning a good deal of the accumulated loot into barter pseudo-capital. The first direct step in breaking up the old village economy was a heavy increase in taxes. Furthermore, some landowner - by no means always a Muslim was made responsible for tax collection (generally in kind, but converted by the agent into money for the share to be paid to higher authority) in his own locality, being given military powers. He had the right and obligation of maintaining a certain agreed number of armed retainers at his own expense. This local feudal agent

(*desai* in Goa with equivalents under other names elsewhere) and his men might be called to the wars by the superior feudal *sardar*; but he, the new petty commander, could and did tyrannize over unarmed landowners and the neighbouring communes. Thus most of the land was transformed rapidly into feudal property of landlords responsible only to a higher feudal lord, not to the communes nor to fellow landowners in the former undivided patriarchal family household. This was *feudalism from below* as against the earlier feudalism from above. Production and exchange were also transformed by this concentration of surplus, the feudal owner being a necessary complement to the trader. There came into existence a home market, small but valuable in the aggregate; on the other hand, there were few free landless workers, so the predominant exchange was still local barter. The commune survived only in partial form or in poorly settled localities away from main trade routes, or where Muslim conquest had been absent or transient.

This was an extension of previous internal development. The strife was expressed in theological terms from the earliest times, simply because of the peculiarly Asiatic mode of production. The internal dissension manifests itself as early as Kaniska in the wealthier northern Mahayana as against the more primitive Buddhism of the less developed south. Then we have the rise of Saivism against Buddhism; both religions continued to be professed simultaneously by the noble families, yet at the time of Harsa (first half of the seventh century), there was a notable conflict between eastern and western regions. The next controversy was between the Vaisnavas and the *smarta* worshippers of Siva, which lasted well into the Islamic period, even in territories conquered by Muslims. Here we knew from extant tradition that the real quarrel was between the greater officials or landowners and the lesser private owners. On the other hand, the complete feudal system once set up spread rapidly into territory not conquered by Muslims, which again demonstrates that society was ripe for it. Though its whole theological superstructure had been proved hollow, brahminism and caste survived under the Muslims, with facile adaptation to the new situation wherein the vast majority of the previous workers continued to have their surplus expropriated by a new class of landowners. The Sudra could be a member of the owner class, for people of no caste at all were at the top; yet for most, there was little effective change, comparatively few people availing themselves voluntarily of the chance of escape from the caste system because there was not much chance of escape from the economic class. The centralization attempted by Alauddin Khilji in direct exploitation of crown lands with imperial slaves (the *bandagan-i-khas*) failed dismally, as did Mohammed Tughlaq's currency control. Neither a slave economy nor reversion to the *Arthashastra* were possible. The feudal nobility and theologians (*ulema*) opposed these attempts bitterly and successfully. Thus we have Asiatic feudalism, the central state being rather weak (in spite of the supposedly absolute power of the emperors) except in regulating matters between or to the class benefit of feudal lords.

I have adopted a certain method of historical analysis *only because it works*. We have not the dates and episodes which fill out European history. No chronicles, family records, church annals are to be found—a symptom of local rustic production, the idiocy of village life as lived from year to year, absence of the trader's influence. We have therefore to abandon the scissors-and-paste method. Our history has to be written without solid documentation of episodes, in large outline. At the same time treating history as a science, regarding it not as successive waves of emergency or acts of god but the combined effect of human effort enables one to realize that the future is not a blank, that a correct analysis of present factors tells us what is to come, and may enable us to *make* history. After all, the real history of man can only begin with a universal classless society.

END NOTES

1. Examples: (1) The almost country-wide democratic *Satyannarayana* observance seems to have originated after AD 1800 from the popularity of a legendary Muslim Satya Pir. (2) The coconut that plays a crucial part in every Hindu religious ceremony was hardly known before AD 400, being of Malayan origin; its general availability before AD 1000 is highly unlikely. (3) The stone age saddle quern is used to this day even in kitchens (like mine) where the cooking is done on electric and kerosene ranges. With it goes a stone-age rite found all over the peninsula, in almost all castes. Before a new-born child is named, the roller stone of the quern, dressed up either as the child or a goddess, is passed around the cradle and then deposited in the cradle, to ensure longevity for the infant. *This ceremony is performed and attended only by women*, so that most of us remain unaware of having received such prophylaxis!

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

For studies of the ancient period, see my papers in the *J. Bom. Branch Royal Asiatic Society*, from the year 1946 onwards; for survivals of the village commune in Goa, the *J. Bom. University*, 1947, vol. XV, pt 4, pp. 63-78. A criticism of Suleikin's periodization of Indian history was given in the *Annals* of the Bhandarkar O.R. Institute, vol. 31, 1951, pp. 258-66 [reprinted in this collection]; of Dange's unjustifiable guess work in the guise of ancient Indian history, *ibid.*, vol. 29, 1949, pp. 27K7 [reprinted in this collection]. The clan organisation reflected in the brahmin *gotra* system is further studied in a paper to appear in the *Festschrift Code*. The foreign bourgeoisie brought science and historiography to India. But whereas science can be put to direct use and the pragmatic test, history reflects the class interests of the writer unless he works consciously on a definite theory. Some Indians are converting the older theological view of history into a mystagoguism matching that of Toynbee; it will not take long to produce Indian Spenglers and Sombarts should the political situation demand it—as is likely. SECTION II

Themes in History

5

The Vedic 'Five Tribes'

1. The *Rgveda* refers several times¹ to the 'Five Tribes' (*asjanah* in *RV* 3.37.9; 3.59.8; 7.11.4; 8.32.22; 9.65.23; 9.92.3; 10.45.6; 10.53.4-5 and *yflfa/iin* 6.61.12). The 'Five Humans' (*manusah*) occur in *RV* 8.9.2, 'Five Nations' (*krstayah*) in *RV* 3.2.10; 3.53.16 and 'Five Mobile Peoples' (*carsanyah*) are cited *mRV* 5.86.2; 7.15.2; 9.10.9. The last two designations may be traced to the same root *krs*, to haul or drag, which is closely associated with ploughing in later Sanskrit. The Five are nowhere explicitly named in any early source. However, a set of five tribal names occurs in just one place, *RV* 1.108.8: Yadu, Turvasa, Anu, Druhyu, Puru. Each of these is mentioned separately in other *Rgvedic* hymns. The first four come together again in *RV* 8.10.5, which led to the conjecture that the seer belonged to the fifth, the Purus. Turvasa is generally found with Yadu; Anu and Druhyu are comparatively rare. The Purus are perhaps the most favoured single *Rgvedic* people though occasionally cursed by a hostile seer like Vasistha in the famous Ten-Kings hymns *RV* 7.18. In that *sukta*, all Five are among the many enemies over whom King Sudas prevailed, except the Yadus who might perhaps be concealed under the title Yaksu (which seems an unlikely conjecture to me).

Western scholars from Roth onwards² generally agree that the various citations *jana*, *jata*, *manusa*, *carsam*, *krsti* should be equated in this particular context. The Five are then taken precisely as Yadu, Turvasa, Anu, Druhyu, Puru. No other pentad anywhere else in the Vedas can possibly refer to human groups. This quite reasonable identification is flatly contradicted by the interpretations which Indian commentators have given from the earliest times.

Sayana in his *bhasya* to the *Rgveda* takes the Five to mean the four class-castes (*varna*) with the autochthonous savages (*nisada*) as the fifth. This amounts to all Indian humanity and even all mankind in a Brahmin's reckoning. The particular interpretation seems to have originated with Aupamanyava, according to Yaska's *Nirukta* 3.8. On *Rgveda* 9.66.20, however, Sayana offers two other alternatives besides his favorite equivalence. The Five are either the Gandharvas, Fathers (*pitarah*), Gods (*devah*), Asuras and demons (*raksamsi*); or Gods and Men, Gandharvas and Apsarasas, Snakes, Fathers. The latter classification could presumably be reduced to five categories by taking Gandharva and Apsarasas as the male and female of a single species; neither Sayana nor his source (*Aitareya Brahmana* 3.31) bothers about such arithmetic trifles. The *Satapatha Brahmana* mentions the Five in 13.5.4.14 without details or ethnic implications, as does *IheAitareyain* 8.23. Sayana preserves the ambiguity when commenting upon *RV* 6.51.11; 6.61.12. On *RV* 1.176.3, he interprets the Five as the four castes plus *nisadas*, with yet another alternative: Gods, Men, Fathers, Beasts and Birds. Yet the comment on *RV* 10.45.6 states unequivocally: *panca janah* = *manusah* as on 7.15.2: *panca carsanih* = *panca janah*, *manusyan*. Only a veteran Indian *pandita*, serenely conscious of his mastery of the sacred books, could contradict himself so often with such perfect aplomb.

Sayana and the Indian traditionalists nowhere give the Five as specific tribes, let alone the particular Five enumerated above. Even on *RV* 1.108.8, each of the Five Tribes named is equated in the comment to a separate type or character of human being, but not taken as the proper noun designating an ethnic group which had actually borne that name.

2. The Indian and Western views are not so completely irreconcilable as they appear at first sight. It has already been noted in passing that Sayana's main interpretation makes the Five virtually synonymous with all mankind. The alternatives he derived from older commentators seem equivalent to 'all moving creation' in the context. Modern scholars have also remarked that *panca janah* is in fact used with some such universal connotation by many of the original seers. Indra is 'of the Five tribes' (*pancajanya*: *RV* 5.32.11; 9.66.20 &c), though the Boghaz-Kibi texts show that even Aryans whose tribal names do not appear in the Vedas also worshipped Indra. Similarly, *mdnava*, *manusa* literally mean 'descendant of Manu', an Aryan progenitor; the meaning was later extended to cover all humanity, though not all creatures. For the last, the Brahmins had to discover Kasyapa as father of all creation (*prajapati*) with the indispensable cooperation of Aditi and other goddesses.

Geldner's note on *RV* 9.101.9 brings out the modern critical view fairly well:³ 'Die fünf Volker umspannen den geographischen Horizont des Dichters, vgl. 7.15.2. Für *panca* steht allgemein *visvah* 1.86.5; 4.7.4; 5.23.1.' The point may be argued, for people in the primitive tribal stage do not think of men and women outside the tribe as really human. Shifting the seer's mental horizon from the geographical to the ethnic world and allowing for the gradual changes of viewpoint would be better. As Zimmer (loc. cit., p. 125)* put it: 'Solche Redeweisen werden leicht formelhaft, werden beibehalten aus Ehrfurcht gegen das Hergebrachte, auch wenn die Verhältnisse nicht mehr stimmen ... So kann wirklich in jüngeren Liedern in den Ausdruckstern eine Bezeichnung der Menschen überhaupt liegen; dies beweist jedoch nichts für den ursprünglichen Sinn desselben'.

If one could stop here, the whole discussion reduces to a triviality. The real difficulty lies in explaining the historical process of change, of the loss of specific tribal meaning when the Five are actually named in a *Rgvedic* hymn. For Sayana, this difficulty did not exist, for the simple reason that history meant nothing to him. The *Rgveda* was eternal and immutable, though his own glosses show how far the course of historical change had brought him from the original meaning. Not only had the Five Tribes vanished long before Sayana but the initial significance of the Veda had passed away just as completely. The learned pundits assembled to help Sayana with his great task might recite the Soma book (*RV* 9) in its entirety from memory without error in so much as a single tone accent; none of them even knew what the original *soma* plant was. Any suggestion that they sacrifice cattle publicly in honour of Agni or Indra would have caused the utmost consternation and appeared sacrilegious. Blood sacrifices did continue among far lower strata of the population, as they do to this day without benefit of Brahminism, or of the Veda. The Vedic scholars were themselves steeped to the marrow in Upanisad-Vedanta philosophy and worshipped gods not known to the Vedas.

3. The mechanism of historical change suggested by modern scholars in the case of the Five not only creaks but falls apart when one tries to make it work. Ludwig (loc. cit., p. 125) could not decide how the Kurus came to rule instead of the Purus, or even whether the two were the same with a trifling change of name. Macdonell and Keith (2.12) quote this with approval as supported by Oldenberg's conjecture: that the 'sudden disappearance' of the Purus is accounted for by their having 'become part of the great Kuru people, just as Turvasa and Krivi disappear from their being merged into the Pancala nation.'

There is still wilder suggestion that the Five turned into the Pancalas. Yet the historical climax of the Purus is not in doubt. They put into the field the largest single Indian army to oppose Alexander. The king's name was IiuJpo?, also the name of a rebellious nephew who headed a fraction of the tribe. Throughout the *Rgveda*, the tribal chief is mentioned by the tribal name, much in the manner of Scottish clan-chiefs, when referred to by persons not members of his clan. It follows that the Purus were still the greatest single 'nation' of the west Punjab, had changed neither their name nor their location and surely not merged into the 'great Kuru people,' at least till 327-6 BC. The battle against Alexander wiped out the flower of their manhood, but the defeated king Poros was given a satrapy in the Punjab by the conqueror. About five years later came the irresistible flood from the east. An immense Magadhan army under Candragupta Maurya swept over the Punjab, across the Indus and deep into Afghanistan. The conquered regions were held by the Mauryans for over a century, after which a succession of Greek, Saka, Kusana and other invaders pushed in again from the west. There is no reason to believe that all Purus were killed off, but clearly the double military catastrophe between the years 327 and 317 BC (approximately) finished them as a tribe, nation, or politically important group.

Far from having absorbed the Purus, the 'great Kuru people' were off the scene before Alexander. Their supposed greatness, due presumably to the impressive bulk of the *Mahabharata* and to nothing else, had vanished still earlier. While the epic treats the Kurus and their Pandu cousins as world-conquerors with a concept of universal monarchy which could not have jelled before Candragupta Maurya, the very theme of the work is the civil war which ended in total extermination of both sides. This war cannot be put after Alexander's invasion; nor do Greek accounts mention the Kurus. The epic itself tells us that a stillborn posthumous son of Abhi-manyu was quickened into life by Krsna's divine intervention. This was Pariksit, installed upon the throne of Taxila, not of Delhi, for no apparent reason. It is again obvious that Pariksit's line was extinct before Alexander's raid, for only a king Taxiles is mentioned without any other name as having welcomed and joined Alexander. The Upanisadic riddle: 'What became of the Pariksit' (*Brhadaranyaka-Upanisad* 1) asked in the Madra region and the answer, that the Pariksit went to the Elysian fields reserved for horse-sacrificers, both prove the extinction. The Taxi-lans of the fourth century BC belonged to the eastern division of the two Gandharas, hence were not Kurus. A small Kuru tribal kingdom did exist in the Delhi-Meerut region down to the time of the Buddha, who uttered several discourses in Kuru land (*Digha-Nikaya* 15, 22 and *Majjhima-N.* 10,75,82,106). It is difficult to imagine that it could have survived as late as 350 BC, because Mahapadma Nanda of Magadha is credited with the destruction of the last truly Ksatriya tribes.⁴ All genealogies⁵ of the *Mbh.-Purdna* complex make the Kurus a branch of the Purus or, what is the same thing, the eponymous ancestor Kuru a descendant of Puru. No merger is ever mentioned in the records.

4. The *Mahabharata* refers to the Purus even apart from the genealogies. A Paurava king was defeated by Arjuna on the north-west frontier (*Mbh.* 2.24.15). Comparison of the adjoining tribal names in this passage with the parallel list of people offering gifts to Yudhisthira at the *rajasuya* coronation sacrifice makes it likely that Pauraka in *Mbh.* 2.48.13 should be emended to Paurava. A Paurava comes in the traditional list of 'universal (*cakravartin*) emperors' as in *Mbh.* 1.61.28; and in *Mbh.* 2.8.8, 3.83.110,3.92.17 and 12.160.73. No critical text is available for the thirteenth book, but Sorensen's index shows the name also *mMbh.* 13.94.115 and 13.116.

Besides this fabulous and exemplary monarch, there is at least one other Paurava in the epic. He actually fought in the battle at Kuruksetra, as a *madrathi* on Duryodhana's side (*Mbh.* 5.14.4). Bhishma reckons him among the 'great chariots' of the Kaurava army in 5.164.19, which presumably makes him the commander of a Paurava contingent. Arjuna killed Damana, heir-apparent to Paurava in *Mbh.* 6.57.20. In *Mbh.* 6.112.15-26, Paurava was carried off the field of battle by Jayatsena, seriously wounded in a desperate duel with Dhrtaketu of Cedi. Nevertheless, he appeared once more against Arjuna's heroic son Abhimanyu in *Mbh.* 7.13.44-58. The fight went against him and he was rescued in dire straits by Jayadratha. With stamina remarkable even for a Bharatan chariot-fighter, he was among those who rescued Duryodhana a little later in the same engagement (*Mbh.* 7.36.6). There is some defect in the source material here, for a hitherto unnamed Paurava suddenly appears on the Wher side, fighting in Pandava ranks. Asvatthaman shoots five consecutive shafts at Arjuna, Bhlmasena, the Cedi prince, the Paurava Vrddhak-fatra and Sudarsana of the Malavas. The fourth prince had his arms and head struck off in *Mbh.* 7.171.64 by Asvatthaman's arrows. This was too PBich even for a Paurava, for his death is confirmed by 7.172.9. The last Wference calls him the Paurava *yuvaraja*. *Mbh.* 8.4.35 reports that it was, ^Jina who killed Paurava of the myriad elephant-corps. There is some jlt ftoibt about the reading of the name here, and even more in 9.23.25 which has the Paurava Jalasamdha on the death-roll, though 9.21.33 calls him the Kaurava Jalasamdha. The bards were a bit careless, our critical editors not critical enough in this case at least.

These references to Puru and Paurava are less relevant to our problem of the Five than the *Mahabharata* story of Yayati. King Yayati had five sons: Yadu and Turvasu by a Brahmin wife, DevayanI; and Druhyu, Anu, Puru (or Puru) by the clandestine ksatriya wife Sarmistha, who counted as DevayanI's hand-maid. When the fact of other sons by Sarmistha was discovered, Yayati was cursed to premature old age unless one of his sons would agree to exchange the father's senility for his own youth. The sons were asked in turn to sacrifice their youth, but the first four refused and were cursed by the irate father (*Mbh.* 1.79). The youngest, Puru, agreed willingly and was named heir by the gratified monarch. The immediate moral of this story for the epic was that a junior could rightfully supersede his elder brothers to occupy the throne, whence it was not against law and tradition for the Pandavas to supersede the elder Kaurava branch. The *Rgveda* knows of a sacrificer Yayati (*RV.* 1.31.17), son of Nahusa (*RV.* 10.63.1), but never relates him to any of The Five.

The same epic presents yet another version of the Yayati story in the *Galavacaritam* section (*Mbh.* 5.104-21). Here king Yayati had only two sons, Yadu and Puru, in addition to a daughter Madhavi. This girl was sent out to three separate kings and to Visvamitra, in turn, for an agreed bride-price of 200 white horses (with one black ear) in the first three cases and as the equivalent for Visvamitra. The sons thus begotten belonged each to his own father. When Yayati fell from heaven because of his pride, his quite earthly body tumbled precisely on the sacrificial ground where the four brothers had assembled for a *yajna*, along with Yadu, Puru and Madhavi herself. By an 'Act of Truth,' each gave a portion of his own merit to Yayati, which raised him back to heaven. There is no mention of a curse or the succession here, nor of Anu, Druhyu, Turvasa-Turvasu. However, the five sons of Yayati reappear in *Mbh.* 5.147.3-13, though only the eldest Yadu and the youngest Puru are named. Yadu was overbearing because of his prowess. The three brothers next in order supported him. Their disgusted father ostracised them from the kingdom. The verb form is (*rajyac*

ca) *vyaparopayat*, but it seems to me that the correct reading should have been *vyaparodhayat*, seeing the position of the *aparuddha* prince or oligarch (*rajanya*) in *Brahmana* literature and in the *Arthasashtra*. In any case, Puru succeeded to the kingdom; this is briefly confirmed without the rest of the story by *Mbh.* 12.29.90-1 and without mention of the other four brothers by *Mbh.* 12.160.73.

It remains for us to see if anything of value can be extracted from this decidedly mixed bag.

5. It has already been shown that very little emerges from the usual approach of philosophical guesswork followed by pure rationalization. Neither the relevant archaeological discoveries nor the verifiable records with which the results of properly conducted excavations must be collated exist; neither are likely to appear in the foreseeable future. To get any logically consistent result under these circumstances, it would be necessary to pay special attention to changes in the social background and to the peculiar mechanism of transmission. Between the redaction of the Vedas and that of the epic intervenes a complete metamorphosis. A predominantly pastoral, tribal society of bronze-age marauders settled down to agrarian peasant life made possible by the discovery and availability of iron. The iron age led also to a change in the centre of gravity because the Gangetic plain was first cleared for plough-farming only when cheap metals were found.

Taking these factors into account, one may reason as follows:

i. When we speak of the extinction of a tribe like the Purus, it surely does not mean that every member of the tribe died, but rather that the tribe vanished as an entity. The tribesmen dissolved into a wider peasantry. It is precisely where agriculture was most difficult that tribal cohesion remained necessary; only there could Vedic survivals be expected. The best known example is of the Pakthas of *RV.* 7.18.7, to be identified with the Paktas of Herodotos (*Bk.* 3.102; 4.44; 7.67; 68,85), the modern Pakhtoon or Pathans of Pakistan and Afghanistan. The Puru army may have been wiped out altogether by Alexander and the Mauryans, but the greater number of Purus must have survived, it was the most numerous of the tribes then in the Punjab. Is it too fanciful to trace the modern Punjabi surname Pun to the Puru tribe? There are other survivals of even greater age, e.g. the Hariyupiya of *RV.* 6.27.5, which must be modern Harappa. Hariana and the Malwa tract of the Punjab derive from Aryan and Malava tribal antiquity. The Johiyas are presumably descended from the Yaudheyas. Unfortunately, local tradition is not available in a province trampled underfoot throughout recorded history by so many invading armies; one must look elsewhere for data. However, it is clear that there is no need to find some other tribes into which the Purus or the retaining members of the Five merged.

ii. The tribes dissolved into a class society: society which could be divided into Brahmin, Ksatriya, Vaisya and Sudra. Not every Aryan tribe had Brahmins within its fold in the Vedic stage, nor any strong class division except perhaps between the tribesmen proper and sudra helots. Tribal legends, therefore, had to be transmitted after the dissolution through the literate fraction, the Brahmins. While the Brahmins left a clear mark upon Sanskrit literature, Vedic and later tribal life also left its reciprocal mark upon the Brahmins. One has only to consult any standard *gotra* list⁵ to be convinced of this. Kutsa is a seer and tribal name in the *Rgveda*; *RV.* 7.25.5 implies that some Vasisthas were Kutsas. Today, they rank among the Kevala-Angirasas, with Kautsa. The *Rgvedic* Puru-kutsa, who headed a combined tribe according to his name, reappears in the *Visnuvrdha Pravara*, though not a Brahmin in the *Rgveda*. It is obvious that the later rule, 'a ksatriya has his priest's *gotra*,' has been inverted from the original situation, where the sacrificer and the warrior necessarily belonged to the same clan and might be brothers. Even some modern Brahmins have acquired surnames from the non-Brahmin families for whom they officiated, e.g. Amgre, Marathe. The double Vaikarna tribe of *RV.* 7.8.11 is the only possible source for Vaikarna, Vaikarneya, Vaik-arnayana, Vaikarni in the *gotra* list, albeit in several different groups. Not all such tribes appear in the *gotra* rolls now left, e.g. the Sigru of *RV.* 7.8.19 which left a *gotra* that appears in a Mathura inscription.⁷¹ have concentrated upon the Ten-Kings hymn because of one most striking name: Bhrgu (*RV.* 7.18.6). Today, the Bhrguids are known only as a major Brahmin clan-group. *RV.* 7.18 has therefore been interpreted to mean that one priest loyally followed his royal patron into battle a suggestion too ridiculous to be considered. The Bhrgus made an excellent chariot for Indra (*RV.* 4.16.20), while Bhargava still retains the secondary meaning 'potter'. The second book of the *Rgveda* belongs to the Grtsamadas, later ascribed to the Jamadagni group of the Bhrgus. Bhrgu himself is not a *Rgvedic* seer at all, in spite of his later pre-eminence.

The pre-eminence was due to one special aptitude the Bhargavas seem to have mastered before the rest of the Brahmins, except possibly the Kasyapas. They absorbed and rewrote local tradition, assimilating it to ancient Vedic stories whenever possible. The extinction of the tribes and Brahmin monopoly of Vedic *suktas* made this possible. The *Mahabharata* inflation is peculiarly to the credit or the discredit of the Bhrgus.⁸ Naturally, they wrote themselves up as well. Bhrgu becomes a special *vibhuti* of Krsna in *Gitā* (*Mbh.* 6.32.25). The greatest of martial heroes—in Brahmin records—was their ancestor Parasurama, who annihilated all Ksatriyas no less than twenty-one times, overcompensating the only known Bhrgu military experience: defeat in the Ten-Kings battle. The name Bhrgu is related to Phrygian, but the tribe had no existence in post-Vedic India. This made it all the easier for such of them to climb fast as had joined the Brahmin fold and learned the trick of rewriting.

iii. It follows that we need not expect too much accuracy from what is left of Brahmin tradition, but also that the tradition is not entirely worthless. It is essential to remove what is specifically written into document to glorify the writer's clan, or to absorb a local story of interest to some offshoot of the clan. I may point in passing to the Matsyagandha *gotra* among the Bhrgus and the Bharatan story of Satyavati-Matsyagandha (*Mbh.* 1.57.36 ff), again connected through the heroine's brother with the Matsya tribe of *RV.* 7.18. The extra-ordinary tale of the demon Jalamdhara, apparently the tutelary *Yaksa* of the Punjab district, could hardly have entered the Puranas⁹ without some connection with the *gotra* Jalamdhari among the Kasyapas.

For our special problem, there seems to be just one source left, namely the curse of Yayati. It is quite obvious that the epic version was due to the natural desire to arrange antique lore into a linear sequence of great kings Nahusa-Yayati-Puru. The ascription of five sons with the *Rgvedic* Five tribal names to a single 'king' Yayati was possible only because all the tribes concerned were far distant in time and place. This would account for the discrepancies noted earlier. The rewriting was done from many conflicting or divergent sources. Nor have we purely Aryan tradition, for the main purpose of the redaction was to assimilate Naga and other un-Aryan stories as well. A relatively minor *Rgvedic* character like Ikshvaku had become great in eastern genealogies, the Okkaka from whom Pasenadi of Kosala and the Sakyans both claimed descent according to Pali sources. Ikshvaku is mentioned only once in the oldest Veda (*RV.* 10.60.4) and given lower status to the Marayin who towered above him and above the Five Tribes. Marayin disappears from sight after this single mention.

'Yayati cursed his obdurate sons as follows (*Mbh.* 1.79.7,11-13,19,22-3). For Yadu: 'Thy descendants will never share in kingship.' The Yadus known to the writer's sources were clearly an anarchic tribe with quite limited power for the chief, as contrasted to the absolute monarchy which was all that kingship signified to the redactors. This is amply con-firmed by puranic reports of the Yadus; even in the epic, the Yadus have no king. The next son Turvasu was told: 'Thy descendants will go to Perdition. Thou shalt be king over people who do not observe caste rules, who marry against the caste order, follow beastly (totemic?) rites, lead sinful lives, lie with the wives of their betters and are un-Aryan barbarians.' The Turvasas clearly dropped out of the main course of Brahminical development, as did other frontier people like the Madras and Bahlikas. The execration of Druhyu runs: 'Thou shalt go to a place with thy following, where the sole means of transport is by rafts; non-king, a mere chieftain (*bhoja*) by title.' My interpretation of *bhoja* can be supported by other references and arguments. The fourth son, Anu, was damned with: 'Thou and thy descendants shall die prematurely; no right shalt thou have to perform the correct fire-ritual.' These detailed and specific curses bear the mark of historical truth.

The answer to the original question is now simple. The four 'accursed sons' (of Yayati) among the Five Tribes never reached inner differentiation into a class society, nor patronised Brahmin rites. They inhabited places well out of the way and soon ceased to be counted among the high Aryans when *Yajurvedic* ritual developed its monstrous sacrifices and was in turn superseded by the agricultural life. That the Five do not appear as individual tribes nor as an ethnic grouping in the *Yajurveda* and the *Brahmanas* indicates that they left a faint impression on those who handed down the tradition. The eastward shift in territory after the *Rgveda* and the dominance of the Brahmin priesthood as a separate caste over the line of transmission cannot be contested. But the Yadus had to be revived in some way as they were Krsna's people, though Greek accounts ignore the extinct Yadus to tell us that the Krsna-Herakles cult was centred at Mathura of the Surasenas. The later, fictitious Yadavas or Jadhavs, could safely be foisted upon a vanished tribe. The original Yadu demi-god or hero had stood out against cattle-sacrifice to Indra; his cult accordingly spread into a newly agrarian Punjab,¹⁰ driving that of Indra to the hills before 327 BC. He had a definite popular following, so was promoted to be Arjuna's charioteer though his original saga never rose above the ox-cart. The Purus, and only the Purus among the Five Tribes, outlasted the others. Their memory was fresher because they had colonised extensively, a junior Kuru branch going as far as the Yamuna and Ganges rivers to the east. Only this Kuru branch, not the Purus proper, left a mark upon our current gotra list: the gentes Kauravya, Kaurav-yayana, Kauruksetri. However, the Purus had developed kingship, had patronised Brahmins and the sacrifice. Even though Alexander made no impression upon Indian tradition, some memory of one or more fighting Puru kings necessarily survived. The 'Great Charioteer' Paurava had therefore to be made to join in the 'great war' which had originally been a small though desperate skirmish in Kuru-land. This seems to me to account for all the divergent features of the epic tradition, besides explaining what became of the Five Tribes.

NOTES

1. The general references will be found in A.A. Macdonell and A.B. Keith's *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects*; 2 vol. (London, 1912). The analysis by A. Ludwig in the third volume of *Der Rigveda* (Prag 1878) has also been of great use. For the *Mahabharata*, the critical text, still incomplete, of the Poona edition (Bhandarkar O. R. Institute) has been used; in this, some of the references given in Sorensen's *Index* (London 1904) drop out of the main text.

2. A. Zimmer: *Altindisches Leben, die Kultur der Vedischen Arier nach den Samhita dargestellt* (Berlin, 1879) pp. 119-25 gives a comprehensive discussion.

3. K. F. Geldner: *Der Rigveda, aus dem Sanskrit ins Deutsch ubersetzt und mit ein laufenden Kommentar versehen* (Harvard Oriental Series, vols. 33-5; Cambridge, Mass, 1951), with an index and notes edited by J. Nobel, vol. 36 of the *HOS* (1957)..

4. F. E. Pargiter: *The Purana Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*; (Oxford, 1913), pp. 23-5; 69. Mahapadma could not have destroyed all the tribes mentioned in this passage. Buddhist and Purana records agree that the Ikshvaku proper in the main line ended with Sumitra of Mithila, who died about the time of the Buddha's birth. The Maithilas and Kaseyas had been absorbed by the Kosalans before that time and had no independent existence. However, the Kurus, the Pancalas associated with them, and the Surasenas of Mathura fit logically into the known timetable of Magadhan expansion. Pargiter's introductory note on p. 23 makes a poor guess: 'The Kurus (who are probably the Kauravas).' Pauravas of the principal line flourished till 327 BC in west Punjab. The Purana writers were obviously easterners who knew something about the Kuru genealogy, with a bare outline of the tradition that the Kurus were an offshoot of the Puru tribe. The Gandhara, Madra, Sibi, western Cedi and other powerful tribal kingdoms of the frontier were known to the *Mahabharata*, Buddhist records and some of Greek accounts. The Puranas, which mention people like the trifling Vitihotras, ignore even these really important western Aryans.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 4-8; 65-6; *Mbh.* 1.89, and another version in 1.90.

6. J. Brough: *The Early Brahmanical System of Gotra & Pravara (The Gotra-Pravaramanjari of Purusottama, translated)*; Cambridge University Press, 1953.

7. H. Luders: List of Brahmi inscriptions from the earliest times to about AD 400 with the exception of those of *hsoka*; *Epigraphia Indica*, Appendix to vol. 10; no. 82.

8. V.S. Sukthankar: *The Bhrgus and the Bharata: A Text-Historical Study*; Suk-••thankar Memorial Edition, vol. i, 278-337; reprinted from the *Annals of the Bhandarkar O.R. Institute*, vol. 18, pp. 1-76, being the *Epic Studies VI*.

9. *Padmapurdna (uttarakhand)* 6.3-19 and again in 6.98-107, though no critical edition of *the purdna* is available, and the two versions even in a single section show considerable differences of detail. The legend or rather myth appears also in *Skanda-P.* 2.4.14-22, again without a critical text. A Jalandara appears among the 84 *siddhas* and in the line of the *Natha-panthlya* teachers.

10. This follows from section 8 of the Arrian's *Indika*, equating Krsna to Herakles and Indra to his Dionysos (not Siva as is often done).

Early Brahmins and Brahminism

In the preceding issue of this journal, I sketched certain hypotheses about the early caste system. We shall now consider, from sources not used in that note, supplementary evidence dealing particularly with the Brahmins.

1. In explaining *nan* compounds of negation (*Pan.* 2.2.6) Patanjali says: ‘Now all these words apply to a collective of qualities (such as) Brahmana, Ksatriya, Vaisya, Sudra. Asceticism, (knowledge of the) scriptures, and birth—this is the making of a Brahmana. One without asceticism and scriptures is merely Brahmana-born. Thus, fair skin, cleanliness of habit, brown (eyes), tawny hair—these are the intrinsic qualities that make Brahmanahood. Words applied to the collective apply also to members. Thus—the Pancalas towards the east; oil consumed; ghee consumed; white, blue, dark, black, etc. Similarly, the word Brahmana derived from the collective applies to members without birth or without the qualities. Without the qualities as for instance “*abrahmana* is he who urinates standing, *abrahmana* is he who eats standing”. The word Brahmana is applied without birth either by uncertainty or misdirection. By uncertainty thus—having seen (a person) fair-skinned, clean-behaved, brown (eyed), tawny haired one concludes “this is a Brahmana”; then he ascertains that it isn’t a Brahmana, “*abrahmana* is he”. There the word Brahmana is applied by uncertainty and the meaning is negated by birth. By misdirection: misdirection is his (who is told) “in such a place is a Brahmana, bring him here”. He, having gone there, concludes of whom he sees “that is a Brahmana”. And thereafter he ascertains that it isn’t a Brahmana, ‘*abrahmana* is he’. There the word Brahmana is applied by misdirection, and the meaning negated by birth. (The prefix *a-* (comes) therefore from doubt or misdirection. When one has seen a certain black (person), the colour of a heap of black beans, seated in the marketplace, one definitely concludes that that is not a Brahmana; one is convinced thereof.’

On this quotation, one may note in passing that the modern commentator Nagojibhatta has lived up to the traditions of his calling by a fantastic explanation, that *gauri* is a girl given away in marriage in her eighth year, *gaura* therefore her son. This would avoid all embarrassing comment upon dark-skinned Brahmins.

Patanjali was fully acquainted with local and temporal variations. *Purakalpa* - in olden times, marks many such changes. On *Pan.* 1.2.64, ‘the *karsapana* was in days of old of sixteen *mdsas*’. So in his preamble—‘In olden days it was thus. After initiation the Brahmanas studied grammar; after teaching them pronunciation, accent, intonation were Vedic words taught. Such is not the case today. Having learned the Veda, they immediately become orators. “We have learned Vedic words from the Veda, and those in common use are quite clear by usage; grammar serves no purpose”.’ Some observances he mentions are no longer the fashion. The sacrificers say, the son is to be named after the tenth day. The name should begin with a soft consonant; in the middle should occur *y, r, l, or v*; the first vowel should not be *a, ai, au*. The name should be taken from the father’s three immediate paternal ancestors; it should be applicable to the disembodied, and not of an enemy; of two or four letters, with a *krt* not a *taddhita* ending.’ This custom might explain the multiple names we find for some kings; it does not seem to apply to names in common use even in Patanjali’s day, while the modern name-day is the twelfth after birth. Patanjali takes words to be eternal: ‘Thus one wishing to do something with a pitcher, having gone to the potter, says, “make me a pitcher, I shall do my job with it”. But one wishing to use words does not, similarly, having gone to the grammarians, say “make me words to be used”.’ At the same time, he is aware of variations in usage from place to place: ‘And in this very large field of application of the word, certain words are to be seen used in certain places. Thus for example (the root) *s’av* is used for ‘going’ in Kamboja, the Aryans use *sava* only for a corpse; in Surastra *hamm*, in the eastern and central regions *ramh*, but the Aryans use only *gam*. For “cutting” *da* is used in the east, *datra* in the north.’ For sects among the grammarians, we have in the comment on *Pan.* 1.3.2 that the Bharadvajiyas read in a certain way. Finally, he mentions casually observances that are certainly not allowed in post-Buddhistic official Brahminism, such as meat-eating. In his preamble ‘Thus, by rules of what it is permitted to eat is implied what is forbidden. By the rule “five sorts of five-nailed animals may be eaten” follows this, that it is forbidden to eat the rest. Or, by what it is forbidden to eat follows what may be eaten. Thus “a village cock is not to be eaten, a village pig is not to be eaten”; from this it follows that the wild ones may be eaten.’ On *Pan.* 1.2.39 ‘Similarly, one hankering after flesh can’t help bringing a fish with spines and scales; he, after having taken the useful portion, discards the scales and spines.’

Enough has been said here to show that Patanjali takes his examples from everyday life, and not from some theoretical conclusions based upon scripture. Moreover, he is fully acquainted with contemporary north-Indian life and usage. The emphatic statement, therefore, that a black man cannot possibly be mistaken for a Brahmin is worth considering seriously. We now show the contrary from other sources of not later date.

2. In the *Brhad-aranyaka Upanisad* (*Br.*) we are given certain incantations and ceremonies for procreation. The precise wording, of some interest in itself, runs thus in Hume’s translation (which I follow generally for Upanisad quotations).

Br. 6.4.14. ‘In case one wishes, “That a tawny (*kapilah*) son with reddish-brown eyes (*pingalah*) be born to me! that he be able to recite two Vedas! that he attain the full length of life!”—they two should have rice cooked with sour milk and eat it prepared with ghee. They two are likely to beget (him) (6.4.16). Now, in case one wishes that a swarthy (*syamo*) son with red eyes be born to me! that he be able to repeat three Vedas! that he attain the full length of life!—they two should have rice boiled with water and should eat it prepared with ghee. They two are likely to beget (him) (6.4.17). Now, in case one wishes, “That a learned (*pandita*) daughter be born to me! that she attain the full length of life!—they two should have rice boiled with sesame and should eat it prepared with ghee.” They two are likely to beget (her) (6.4.18). Now in case one wishes, “That a son, learned, famed, a frequenter of council-assemblies, a speaker of discourses desired to be heard, be born to me! that he be able to repeat all the Vedas! that he attain the full length of life!”—they two should have rice boiled with meat and should eat it prepared with ghee. They two are likely to beget (him), with meat, either veal or beef (*auksena varsabhena va*).’

It is remarkable that the darker sons are the more learned, though this correlation seems to be purely accidental. For our purpose, it suffices that Brahmins could exist who were both dark and learned, for the incantation is definitely meant for the use of Brahmins. We might note in addition certain other features in the Upanisad that run counter to Patanjali's views. *Br.* 2.6 and 4.6 give the line of tradition (*vamsa*) which begins from Brahma and comes down to Pautimasya. *Br.* 6.5 again gives a (bifurcated) line from Brahma to Pautimasya. The difference is that the second and more important of these (which belongs to the Vajasaneyi school) is principally matrocline. That is, the teacher is given as his mother's son, not the father's as a general rule; so that, this may in fact have many more members in common than appears with the first *vamsa* in *Br.* 2.6 or 4.6. The great commentator explains this peculiar delineation by *stri-pradhanyat*. Just why the mothers were more important is not clear. We have a further possible support in the *Chandogya* (*Ch.*) *Ch.* 1.2.13 mentions a Baka Dalbhya as a chanting priest of the people of Naimisa. But in *Ch.* 1.12 we have a rather mysterious and possibly satirical 'chant of the dogs' (*sauva udgitha*), in which the officiating priest is called Baka Dalbhya or Glava Maitreya. The commentator Sakhara explains the two names for a single individual as deriving one from the father's and the other from the mother's side. This means that not only the child's clan name but also his personal name would differ in the two traditions, which can be explained only if at some stage and for some clans of Brahmins matriarchy was the rule. *Ch.* 4.4. gives the famous story of Satyakama Jabala, thus known because of his mother Jabala. His mother says to him (*Ch.* 4.4.2) 'I do not know this, my dear—of what clan (*gotra*) you are. In my youth, when I went about a great deal serving as a maid I got you. So I do not know of what clan you are. However, I am Jabala by name, you are Satyakama by name. So you may speak of yourself as Satyakama Jabala.' The obvious meaning is that the child was illegitimate in the patriarchal sense, but had a position because of his mother; and as such the teacher Haridrumata Gautama accepts him. Of course, our commentators step once again into the breach to explain that *paricarini* here means not serving as a maid for livelihood but house-work for the parents-in-law; and that the poor mother was kept so busy in this way that she quite forgot her husband's *gotra*. There is a provision in Brahmanical scriptures that those who do not know their *gotra* but are indisputably Brahmins may be ascribed to the Kasyapa clan. This has not been invoked here, and the teacher takes Satyakama to be a Brahmin because he is truthful enough not to deny ignorance of his parentage.

3. The explanation of these two apparently contradictory views is fairly simple. These two strains of Brahmins belong to two different regions and originally perhaps to two different races. Patanjali is almost certainly from the north-west frontier or the Punjab. For, though he mentions Magadha and Patallputra as well as Candragupta and Pusyamitra (on *Pan.* 1.1.68, 3.1.26) there seems to be little doubt from the general tone of his work that like his famous predecessor Panini he is more familiar with the north-west which also trained the great Canakya. On the other hand, the people who wrote the *Upanisads* seem to have been domiciled in or near the eastern United Provinces, as would follow from the importance given to Ajatasatru of Kasl (*Br.* 2.1). Of course, one must note the general view of some commentators that all these king-names are equally fictitious, meant only to point a moral; I prefer to take them as deriving from real historical beings. Moreover, the *Upanisad* writers are closer to the Bhargava clan (*Tail.* 3) than is Patanjali. Saunaka, if the *Mahabharata* tradition is applicable here, is also a Bhargava; the name is found in *Mund.* 1.1.3, *Ch.* 1.9, *Ch.* 4.3.

This is not all; for we see further that the pre-occupation of Patanjali's Brahmins is the Veda while that of the *Upanisads* falls into several layers of which the most prominent is the interpretation of Brahma. Apparently these eastern Brahmins went to the frontier to learn the Aryan *yajna* tradition. We find in *Br.* 3.3 one Bhujyu Lahyayani saying to Yajfiavalkya, 'We were travelling around as wanderers among the Madras. As such we came to the house of Patancala Kapya'. In *Br.* 3.7 Uddalaka Aruneya says, again to Yajnavalkya, 'We were dwelling among the Madras in the house of Patancala Kapya, studying the fire-sacrifice'. Not only is the fact remarkable that these traditionally early Brahmins go to the Madra country to study but one may note that the name Patancala can very easily be connected with Patanjali. The grammarian himself warns against such mispronunciation as *manjaka* for *mancaka* at the end of his preamble. The great University, even in historic times, was at Taxila, not Benares or Patna.

The *Upanisad* Brahmins do not generally come off very well in philosophical discussions. We see in *Ch.* 5.3 that Svetaketu Aruneya is completely floored when philosophical questions are posed by the Ksatriya Pravahana Jaivali in the assembly of the Pancalas. The helpless Brahmin says in disgust 'Five questions has a wretched Ksatriya (*rajanyabandhu*) asked me. I was not able to explain one of them.' The word *rajanyabandhu* is certainly not used in any complimentary sense here because we see in *Ch.* 6.1.1 the parallel *brahmabandhu* used of 'Brahmins unlearned in the Vedas'. The word *brahmabandhu* is also known to Patanjali (on 1.1.50, 1.2.45, etc.), and we know from tradition that it applied in contempt peculiarly to Magadhan Brahmins. Even the great Yajnavalkya in *Br.* 3.6 finds it necessary to stop further questions from Gargi Vacaknavi. Again, while that sage is supposed to have instructed king Janaka, the Gargya Balaki knows much less philosophy than the later king Ajatasatru in *Br.* 2.1

The point would be of less interest were it not for the fact that both Yajnavalkya and Balaki expect substantial gifts from their royal patrons for the interpretation of Brahma. The main idea is to gain some sort of a livelihood, and it is generally precarious. In *Ch.* 1.12 the white dog asks a priest 'Lord chant up food for us (*annum no bhagavan agayatu*)', and the priest actually tries this with the full ceremony. Sakhara's comment raises the whole performance to a higher and more mysterious level by taking *sva* to be some divine being or an ascetic, though nowhere is the possible explanation of a dog totem adduced, and in any case the purpose of getting food is not disguised. In *Ch.* 4.1-3 Raikva condescends to teach Janasruti for considerable reward, though addressing him with contempt as 'Sudra'. *Ch.* 1.10-11 tells us of Usasti Cakrayana who, (his crop?) wiped out by a hailstorm (*matasihata*), migrates with his wife from the Kuru country. He has to subsist overnight on the leavings of wild (or rotten) bean broth given by an elephant-driver, thereby drawing strength enough to go off to the king's sacrifice. The Brahmins, therefore, are doing rather badly at this period, and changing over to the profession of fire-priests.

4. I propose the interpretation that Brahmana means a follower or descendant of Brahma, and that the entire cult is pre-Aryan. The philosophy is presumably imposed by later experience while a great deal of the mysticism in the *Upanisads* must necessarily be due to defective transmission with consequently incomprehensible terminology. We find, however, one highly significant passage in which the god is not Brahma but the Vedic deity Indra. In the *Kausitaki Upanisad* 3.1 Indra says to Pratardana Daivodasi, 'Understand me, myself. This indeed I deem most beneficial to man—namely, that one should understand me. I slew the three-headed son of Tvastri. I delivered the Arurmagha (cf. *Ait. Brdh.* 7.28) ascetics to the wild dogs. Transgressing many compacts, I transfixed the people of Prahlada in the sky, the Paulomas in the atmosphere, the Kalakanjas on earth. Such was I then (*tasya me tatra*) that I never turned a hair (*na loma ca ma miyate*). So he who understands me—by no deed whatsoever of his is his world injured, not by stealing, not by killing an embryo, not by the slaying of his mother, not by the slaying of his father; if he has done any evil (*papa*) his countenance will not blench.'

This passage is of the highest interest as an attempt to assimilate an Aryan tribal god who must at one time have actually been a hero and leader in battle. In *Ch.* 8.7 to 8.9 we have Indra from the gods and Virocana from the Asuras going to Prajapati to learn the true knowledge of the self. Only Indra completes the study while his rival returns with false understanding. On the other hand, this ruthless Indra who brags about his exploits is definitely on the wrong side of the true Brahmanical tradition. In the first place the descendants of Tvasṭra are mentioned in *Br.* 2.6 and 4.6 as in the direct line of tradition (*vamśa*) from Brahma. Secondly, the slaying of the three-headed Tvasṭra seems to be a definite historical incident quite apart from its mention in Vedic literature. In ravaged Mohenjo-Daro seals have been found with three-headed animals, along with the remains of a beautifully carved image with three head-sockets—whether meant for three separate heads or three positions of one head. The whole passage above runs in the same tone, forthwith throwing ascetics to the wolves was certainly not an act calculated to win Brahmin hearts. We know from Puranic tradition that a Prahlada was the worshipper of Viṣṇu whereas Indra boasts of having violated treaties with the tribe. These actions of Indra are systematically against whatever the ancient Brahmins cherished. Therefore, we need not be surprised when Brahma, the self-existent (*svayambhu*), nevertheless appears in *Br.* 1.4.6 as a mortal, inferior to the immortal Aryan gods created by him who are his superiors. The later pantheon has not yet been accepted; one may reasonably conjecture that the original cult of Brahma was dying out. *Br.* 1.4.1 admits quite frankly that the Kṣatriya rules even in heaven—an obvious recognition of the facts visible on earth, and of new cults introduced by Aryan conquerors.

The most interesting factor of the passage from the *Kausitaki Upaniṣad* is its plenary absolution for the believer which relates it directly to the basic philosophy of the *Bhagavad-Gītā*. The original cult of Brahma could not survive the attack of the followers of Indra, any more than the civilization that went with it. The attempt to transfer the basis of religion to absolute faith in Indra is, as a matter of history, also unsuccessful, perhaps because the Vedic observances and traditions were clearly at variance with such a procedure. It is with Kṛṣṇa, the dark hero of the non-Aryans, that the transference is finally successful, the identification being with Viṣṇu, not Brahma or Indra. For, by then, Vedic observances have died out, because of Buddhism. Kṛṣṇa is obscure enough to have a new philosophy written for him, but at the same time popular enough with the common people to make his cult really important. In the earlier *Upaniṣads* he is mentioned just once, in *Ch.* 3.17.6 ‘... when Ghorā Ahgirasa explained this to Kṛṣṇa the son of Devakī...’. Contrary to the general Aryan custom the hero’s mother alone is named. This name seems to exclude, for example Kṛṣṇa Angirasa, a priest who is credited by the *Kausitaki Brahmana* 30.9 with the authorship of *Rgveda* X.42.1-3 and X.43.1-3. The far later Puranic tradition, as in the *Bhagavata Parāna* 10.45.29-31 differs in that Garga is the fire-priest of the Yadus, hence initiates Kṛṣṇa (thereby implying that Kṛṣṇa is a Kṣatriya!) while the actual preceptor (*guru*) is Sandipani. The Jains, incidentally still maintain a tradition whereby their twenty-second Tirthankara Neminātha was the *guru* of Kṛṣṇa. All this seems to point to the conclusion that a popular non-Aryan hero has been claimed by various Brahmanic clans, though not yet elevated to the supreme position he occupies in the *Bhagavad-Gītā* as divine exponent of the *Upaniṣad* philosophy with strong pragmatic modifications.

Our *Upaniṣads* are quite catholic in their choice of deities above whom Brahma is to be elevated. *Ait. Up.* 3.13-14 gives a spurious etymology for Indra as one who sees Brahma. The *Svetasvatam* emphasizes the one-god cult in extolling Rudra-Mahesvara, but Brahma is the background for that deity. *Kausitaki* 1.3-5 makes Indra and Prajapati doorkeepers to Brahma. Yet, all this did not preserve the Brahma cult. The philosophy could succeed only with the vehicle of a really popular hero. For example, the Brahmin Rama, i.e. Parasurama, is later made an incarnation of Viṣṇu for heroism against the Kṣatriyas whom he ‘annihilated’ twenty-one times! But he is unable to carry any part of the philosophical superstructure. This same personage may be the Rama Margaveya of *Ait. Bran.* 7.27-34, where the clan-name being otherwise unknown, may presumably be emended to Bhargaveya. His heroism is restricted to claiming a sacrificial potion for his family, the Syaparnas, from king Viśvantara Sausadmana, by argument. But the chronology is uncertain, as Janamejaya Parikṣita’s sacrifice is supposed to have been an earlier event. Support for the identification is found in the *Anukramani* citing Parasurama as the author of *RV.* X.110. The only Rama mentioned in that Veda (*RV.* X.93.14) is a king described as *asura*, which is taken to mean ‘powerful’. The epic hero Rama is far more popular, but is nowhere mentioned in the older Brahmanical literature where his father-in-law, Janaka of Videha, figures so prominently. Whatever the real historical basis of the Rama legend, that hero was clearly a Kṣatriya while his protagonist Ravana is a Brahmin who had proved superior in prowess to Indra himself. Kṛṣṇa was not only popular but traditionally a foe of Indra. Though the *avatara* theory states that Viṣṇu is incarnated at the end of an epoch (*yuga*), when Brahminism is in danger, no such excuse is to be found in the circumstances of the *Mahabharata*, where Kṛṣṇa’s own army fights on the other side, and where his primary function seems only to lead Kṣatriyas to destroy each other. Thus, Kṛṣṇa’s being chosen as the origin of the *Gītā* acquires a new significance.

5. The thesis may be stated in recapitulation: our *Upaniṣads* represent a long process of assimilation and adoption of foreign ritual as well as philosophy by the indigenous Brahmanas, who could not all have been associated with Kṣatriyas from the earliest times; Both the *yajna* and its philosophy have clearly been acquired from Kṣatriyas; for the Pancala oligarch Pravahana Jaivali says explicitly (*Ch.* 5.3.7, and *Br.* 6.2.8) that Gautama, who had begged this knowledge of him, would be the very first Brahmin to possess it. This would be incomprehensible if all Brahmins had always been Aryan priests. Again, I take the cult of Brahma as non-Aryan or pre-Aryan in India. This is the only way in which one can explain, besides the previous references, such passages as *Kena* 14-28 which shows that the Aryan gods Agni, Vayu, and Indra could not recognize Brahma (we ignore the philosophic refinement which distinguishes between the masculine and the neuter *brahman*) at sight, the identity of the strange divine apparition being revealed to Indra by Uma, daughter of Himavat. Nevertheless, it is again a Kṣatriya-like king Ajatasatru of Kāśī who has to give the philosophical interpretation of Brahma (*Br.* 2.1, *Kausitaki* 4) to a Brahmana, the Gargya Balaki. We have referred to the various lines of tradition, as at the end of *Br.* 2, *Br.* 4, *Br.* 6, of which the first two are almost identical and contain two Tvasṭras, Viśvarupa Tvasṭra being presumably the famous ‘three-headed’ *purohita* slain by Indra, *Rg-veda* 10.8.8-9). Yet *Br.* 6.3.7-12 gives another *vamśa* which seems distinct from the three main lines, namely Uddalaka Aruni to Vajasaneya Yajñavalkya to Madhuka Pairigya to Cula Bhagavitti to Janaki Ayasthuna to Satyakama Jabala. It is certain that several lines have been combined, and also clear that a tradition which reports the words of Ajatasatru (whom I am compelled to identify with the Magadhan emperor who ruled at the time of the Buddha’s death) cannot have come unchanged through a line of teachers that covers as many as 58 consecutive names, mostly older. Hence, the original teaching must have been something totally different, perhaps that of the lost cult of Brahma. One may note other evidences of synthesis. The *Atharva Veda* is mentioned as such only in *Ch.* 7.1.2, 7.2.1, 7.7.1 and *Mundaka* 1.1.5; in all other cases, it is not a Veda but called by its secondary appellation Atharvangirasa, which becomes significant as, in the same context, the *Rk-*, *Yajur-* and *Sama-* are called Vedas explicitly. The interpretation is that the Brahmanic tradition is still being crystallized in some parts of the country, ritual coming before philosophy, but both oriented towards assimilation of the Kṣatriyas. The fourth Veda has not yet been accorded a regular place in the canon.

From archaeological research alone could there be any valid support or contradiction for the foregoing analysis. A single exploratory trench dug across a large mound in Sind proved the existence of a great pre-Aryan civilization in India, and also how much further Indian excavations had to go before touching the earliest strata. Archaeology may not help decide whether Indra was sometimes the title of a deified human, tribal leader.

But the *Kaus. Up.* passage is confirmed by the *Brhaddevata* 6.53, which gives the same exploits as of an Indra Vaikuntha, specified as human. This is based directly upon *RV.* X.48-50, which three hymns again cast a new light upon the 'yan mam vijnlyat' of the Upanisadic Indra, while showing the origin of parallel divine proclamations by the infant Narayana to Markandeya in *Mbh.* 3.187 and Krsna to Arjuna in the *Bhagavad-Gita* 10.

Similarly, whether Ajatasatru of Kasi was the Magadhan ruler of the sixth century BC might be decided by extensive digging in Bihar and at the old fort in Benares, where the only excavations have been for constructions which still further obstruct the site. Even in the days of Buddha and Mahavira, Kasi had lost its independence, the joint state Kasi-Kosala being ruled by Pasenadi, whose throne was violently usurped by his son Vidudabha, after whose brief reign the only power in Kasi-Kosala-Videha was that of the Vajji-Licchavi oligarchs. We know that this in turn was broken by Ajatasatru. Though himself a parricide son of Buddha's friend Bimbisara, this Ajatasattu is represented in more than one *sutta* as of a philosophical turn of mind, eager to look into the tenets of various sects. This would be inexplicable without some foundation in reality; for our purpose, it suffices that no earlier Ajatasatru can be found in fable or history. In any case the Oldenberg-Keith view that the *Upanisads* must necessarily precede their derivative, Buddhism, is not only refuted by the lack of mention of any *Upanisadin* Pali literature, but also by the position accorded to Brahma—just a divine admirer of the Buddha along with Indra and the *tavattimsat* gods. The evidence for original and revolutionary Ksatriya religious philosophy is overwhelming, in that Parsvanatha, Mahavira, Buddha, and the leaders of the oldest *sramana* sects are all Ksatriyas. Thus Asvapati Kaikeya (*Ch.* 5.11) and Pravahana Jaivali are not improbable teachers of the Brahmins, who had to learn in order to effect the assimilation which is found even in Asoka's rock-edicts. The bounds to this sort of investigation are obvious, to be crossed only by planned excavations in Brahmavarta, the traditional land between the Saras vati and the Drsadvati, say from the dry bed of the Ghaggarto Delhi. 6. Brahma is not an Iranian deity but then neither is Indra. One possible method of approach would be to compare the two branches of Aryan tradition, and take the common factor as the truly Aryan nucleus, the rest being borrowed. This method will not work very well for the simple reason that both the Iranian and the Indie Aryans, besides belonging to different groups, destroyed or at least conquered far older civilizations, and assimilated several cultural elements from them. This by itself could have been allowed for, had there been no contact and interchange between these two older cultures. But we know from archaeological evidence and the earliest *avatdras* of Visnu that there was a great deal of intercourse, trade as well as cultural, between the Indus valley and Mesopotamia. The mountain Meru which occupies such a central position in older Sanskrit legend could very well be *Sumeru*; we know that the Sumerian *zikkurat* represented a mountain upon which the gods dwelt, as on Meru. Much the same difficulty would arise in a purely philological approach, for in such ancient times we know that language itself was one of society's great achievements, and that the clear-cut groups which develop later have still a great deal in common. For example, consonants such as *na, sa, la* do not occur generally in Aryan languages outside India. Words like *mani - bead, pana = coin, phand = the hood of a cobra* could, plausibly, belong to the Indus valley people because the objects are found there. But *gana = tribe* may be a mispronunciation, for the institution as well as the word are known among Aryans outside India; were both borrowed by them from pre-Aryan civilizations? It is still worse with *sa* while the elimination of *la* from Sanskrit at an early stage as contrasted with its survival in Dravidian languages as well as the Prakrits raises more questions than can be answered simply. Similarly, the Satavahana custom of giving the mother's name, or matriarchy in South India, does not help us because we are discussing Brahmins, and at a far earlier period. But there exists one Sanskrit word, *bandhu* which means both brother and husband, whereas the general Indo-Aryan *bhratr* cannot be connected so easily with group marriages. It is seen that, for all these reasons, we have to rely in the main upon the type of analysis followed earlier in this note.

On the Origin of Brahmin Gotras

1. The word *gotra* in the *Rgveda* means only a herd of cattle or a pen for cattle. In later times, down to the present day, it has the meaning of an ex-ogamous patriarchal family unit, corresponding roughly to the *gens* in Rome. The words *gana* and *jana* would seem more logical had the system been directly inherited from the Aryans, but they mean group or aggregate, and tribe respectively. In the *Rgveda* at least, we have no explicit statement of the current rules for exogamy; *R V* x. 10 shows in a dialogue between Yama and his importunate twin sister Yamī that such extremely close unions were regarded with horror by the male; but *thepatriapotes-tas* is absolutely clear and marked, in that it is the spirits of the paternal ancestors exclusively who are propitiated by the cult of the dead, and the predominant deities of the pantheon are male.

Nevertheless, the *gotra* system is an outstanding feature of modern Brahminism, which has otherwise made so many compromises in the matter of worship and ritual. Apparently only the Brahmins have *gotras*, for the lowest caste, that of the Sudras, has no gentile organization at all in our scriptures; tribes and guilds were enrolled later by deriving them as mixed castes (cf. *Manusmṛti* x.8, 11, 13, 18, 22, 23, 34 etc.) from the principal four without imposition of the *gotra* system. For the ruling warriors and the trader-yeomen, the Ksatriya and Vaisya castes respectively, we have the Brahmanic ritual such as the initiation ceremony etc., but *their gotras* are restricted. In the first place, Brahmin *gotras* are grouped into larger units (probably corresponding to the phratry) by commonpra-*varas*, of which Baudhayana recognizes 49 sets in a far larger—almost unlimited—number of *gotras*, while in theoretically accepted lists as they now exist (*GPN*, pp. 207-85), we find not less than 73. For the Ksatriya and the Vaisya, however, there is only *one pravara* each, namely Manava-Aila-Paururavasa and Bhalandana-Vatsapri-Mankila, respectively, while Apastamba and Katyayana are content with deriving both from Manu. But there is a very prominent rule for both these castes, namely that for marriage groups the *gotra* is to be taken as the same as that of the family priest, the *purohita*. (*GPN*. 126-7).

All this implies that the *gotra* is a purely Brahmanic institution which has been extended to the other two upper castes by Brahmin superiority. In support, we find that instead of the animal or food-tree totems of savage tribes, the *gotras* are always derived from the names of sages. I propose to show in this note that this system cannot have been present from the oldest times, and that there is considerable reason for believing the tradition to have been inverted (like several other prominent Brahmanic traditions which we shall point out) when the original situation had retreated into legendary antiquity and become too derogatory to acknowledge under the changed circumstances. My thesis is that, specifically as regards some important Brahmins, the *gotra* system is adopted by small groups of pre-Ksatriya and pre-Aryan people from Aryan invaders; as these groups take to the functions of priesthood, they are most logically assigned to the patriarchal clan-group of those for whom they officiate. They consequently acquire the same *gotra*; only afterwards does the rule become its opposite, when the Vedic Ksatriyas have died out by the rise of settlements and the emergence of other warriors of obscure origin who fight their way to the top. At that stage, it becomes quite possible to assign to these newcomers the same *gotra* as that of the priests, who have maintained a continuity of tradition and acquired a monopoly of scripture by long and arduous study. I do not mean to imply that all *gotras*, or even all Brahmin *gotras* originate in this way.

Before proceeding to the proof, such as it is, one can note that the entire position of *gotra* and *pravara* is confused if one looks at it as a whole, and there is no historical or political reason given for the confusion though clearly part of the trouble arises from the fact that *gotra* lists could not be closed, and that newcomers were obviously being recruited into the ranks of the priesthood. The Nagara Brahmins of Gujarat are supposed to be medieval immigrants. If the institution of marriage were so strictly bounded by caste and *gotra* rules, it would be difficult to explain the strong racial heterogeneity of Brahmins in India, as well as existence of endogamous regional units within them (amounting to sub-castes) which have no basis in scripture.

The Classification of Gotras

2. The various lists of the principal authorities, namely Baudhayana and Katyayana-Laugaksi seem to agree on the whole with the *Matsya Purana* which has presumably been copied, with local variants, from the earlier lists. But there are serious differences of detail, as one sees at once on looking into individual cases. For example the Asvalayana *gotra* is ascribed variously to the Bhrgu, Kasyapa, and Vasistha groups (*GPN*. 36.16,100.21,106.4,176.8) while the apparently related Asvalayani belong to the Bharadvajas (G/W. 59.11,61.15,163.7), and Asvalayanin is a Kasyapa *gotra* according to the *Matsya Purana* (*GPN*. 102.8). It would be quite easy to give many more such examples, though one would then have to go deeper into the distinctions between names that are quite close in sound, and also into the text-criticism of our sources, which have yet to be edited properly. But there is a class of double *gotras* which are not easy to explain unless in fact the *conscripti* were added to the *origina pat-res* at several later stages and then not always added to the same group. We get the following combined *gotras*, whose members cannot intermarry with eitherpravara group (*GPN*. pp. 180-5) Saunga-Saisiri=Bharadvaja + Visvamitra; Sankrti—Putimasa = Kasyapa + Vasistha, being in fact Vasisthas by day and Kasyapas by night; Devarata = Jamadagni + Visvamitra; Jatukarnya = Vasistha + Atri; Dhananjaya = Visvamitra + Atri; Kata & Kapila = Visvamitra + Bharadvaja; Vamarathya = Vasistha + Atri; no Bharadvaja can marry any Ucahya-pravara Gautama. The brief swna-hymn ix.86 has traditionally the joint authorship (besides Atri and Grtsamada) of three double-named *ganas* not to be found elsewhere. The double name of Baka Dalbhya = Glava Maitreya (*Chndogya Upanisad* i.12) may be explained as a survival of matriarchal tradition.

These are the officially admitted discrepancies, not oversights, and the explanation given is that these *dvyamusyayana* are descended from adopted sons or bought, or descended through a brotherless daughter, or acquired in some, such 'artificial' manner in order to perpetuate the cult of the dead, who would otherwise fall from heaven. But let us look for a moment at the largest groups into which the *gotras* are combined, which are only eight and which show how the historical reality was readjusted in theory to the needs of a growing system (and of course the converse in practice).

The *gotra-karas* are 1. Jamadagni, 2. Bharadvaja, 3. Gotama, 4. Kasyapa, 5. Vasistha, 6. Agastya, 7. Atri, and 8. Visvamitra. No Brahmin *gotra* is valid that does not contain the name of one of these or his (supposed) descendants and *ihpravara* groupings contain the names of one, two, three, or five in one line. But these are not the original *rsis* even in Brahmanical theory. A Brahmin is the descendant of Brahma, as such, has one

of the ancestors: 1. Bhrgu, 2. Angiras, 3. Marici, 4. Atri, 5. Pulaha, 6. Pulastya, 7. Vasistha. Some measure of accord has been restored by taking Jamadagni as the descendant of Bhrgu, a tradition which there is no reason at all to doubt though why Bhrgu himself could not survive in the previous list has to be explained. Bharadvaja and Gotama are then descendants of Angiras, which might pass. With less justification, Kasyapa, Vasistha and Agastya are taken to be descended from Marici, and for no immediately apparent reason Visvamitra is made a descendant of Atri. This explanation from the *Matsya Purana* could only have been made if there were some need for it and if it were not against what was generally current at the time of writing. It is to be noted that Vasistha has a secondary and not independent position, while Pulaha and Pulastya have disappeared, the explanation being that they generated Raksasas and Pisacas respectively, beings that are some sort of demons, (which, as we shall see, means non-Aryans) [and have] in any case nothing to do with Brahmins as such. Nevertheless, one finds both these names in the *gotra* lists. Pulaha is ascribed by Katyayana to the Agasti group while a Pulasti appears as a Bhrgu-Veda or Agasti; Paulastya also as a Jamadagni, perhaps the Palasti of iii.53.16. These could only have been so indicated if the particular *gotra-names* had actually existed within the living tradition. In other words, the conflict of tradition goes back very far, to the original sources.

Finally, there are the additional ten families which are ascribed to just two major groups: Vltahavya, Mitrayu, Vena, Sunaka to Bhrgu; Rathitara Mudgala, Visnuvrdha, Harita, Kanva, Sankrti to Angiras. These are the *kevala* or 'occasional' Bhargavas and Angirasas respectively, for they had followed professions other than those of priesthood (as can amply be confirmed by tradition, independently of these *gotra* lists) before becoming priests. We now have to see whether there is other evidence for such change of caste, and then to look deeper into the tradition for the actual characters named here.

Historical Evidence for the Existence of Gotras

3. It is not my purpose to trace the entire development of the *gotra-pra-vara* system, even if there existed material with which this could be done. That the system did expand is certain, for it has catered to the needs of an increasing population while assimilating an additional number of regional and racial groups which could not possibly have belonged to the Vedic categories. Some of this has been reflected in the *gotra-pravara* confusion. For example, my own *pravara* is Vasistha-Maitravaruna-Kundina. But looking into the genealogies, the position of Maitravaruna is anomalous, for this hyphenated sage is then son of Vasistha but also his father; in some stories, Vasistha is born of the ejected seed of Mitra and Varuna (vii.33.9-13), who are gods and not ascetic rsis. Thus Vasistha is himself Maitravaruna. In addition, there seem to be Kaundinyas among the Bharadvajas (*GPN*. 163.1). There is no point in speculating how all this came about nor in attempting an explanation for every detail of the entire system. Let us first see whether there is any historical evidence for *gotras* other than the Brahmin.

Some *gotras* are found in inscriptions. A well-known case is that of the Satavahanas, who have a Vasisthiputra (Pulumavi), at least one Gotamputra (Yajnasri Satakarni), a Mathariputra etc., while Bhavagopa, the commander-in-chief of Yajnasri's army is called a Kausika in the Nasik cave inscription. Though they gave plentifully to the Buddhist Samgha, the Nanaghat inscription (of Naganika?) as well as the Nasik inscription of Pulumavi show that these kings were completely Brahmin-ized, conscious followers of Brahmanic ritual. The same double loyalty without conflict appears in Hala's *Saptasati*. Now it is remarkable that the *gotra-names* are all found in Brahmin lists, and this would give support to the current rule that the Ksatriya is to be known by his *purohita's-gotra*. We need not stop to consider whether the reference by matronymic is indicative of a matriarchal system; such reference is also to be found in the genealogy at the end of the *Brhadaranyaka Upanisad*, for the succession of Brahmin teachers.

The Satavahana kings are about the last complete line found in the *Puranas*,² as would be expected from the probable date of revision of the documents and the dynasty's close association with Brahmins. But let us go back to the previous dynasty, the Kanvayanas, the last of whom was killed by Simuka Satavahana. These kings were themselves Brahmins according to the explicit statement of the *Puranas*, and the first Kanvayana Vasudeva was a minister who usurped the throne after killing the last of the Sungas. Now both the Sungas and the Kanvayanas are to be found in *gotra* lists. We have noted the Sauhga-Saisiri confusion above; a famous *sutra* of Panini (4.1.117) ascribes Vikarna, Suriga, Chagala to the Vatsa, Bhardavaja and Atri groups respectively. There is no need to doubt the genuineness of this *sutra* in spite of its not having been commented upon by Katyayana or Patanjali, for it is simple enough not to need any comment and in any case the detailed attention which Panini pays in the entire section to *gotra* derivatives shows both the actual existence of the system in his day as well as its great importance. Turning to our *gotra* list we only find a Vikarneya ascribed to the Kasyapas by a variant of the *Matsya Purana* (*GPN*. 103.20), whence it may be assumed that the *gotra* was extinct by that time. In antiquity, the 21 Vaikarneyas are against Sudas and overthrown (vii. 18.11). Chagala is still an Atri *gotra*. Sunga and Saunga are given among the Bharadvajas (*GPN*. 57.14 & 62.15), while the Kanvayanas are uniformly enrolled as Bharadvajas though Kanva and Mahakanva are put by the *Matsya* among the Vasisthas (*GPN*. 177.23 & 113.12). However, the concordance is good enough, and again shows agreement between a king's *gotra* and that of his priests, admitting that the priest was likeliest to become a minister.

To go back further, into the realm of pure tradition, we hear of a Gautama Svetaketu yielding to the superior philosophical knowledge of the Ksatriya Pravahana Jaivali (*Brhad. Up.* 6.2). Remarkably enough, the Pravahaneyas are still found in the list as Bharadvajas (*GPN*. 56.5 & 162.20, on the authority of Baudhayana), which is a branch of the Angira-sas as are the Gotamas. Svetaketu is also called Aruni, which has a doubtful position, perhaps a Bharadvaja (*GPN*. 57.16). Jaivali is a Pancala and the Pancalas form now a Kasyapa *gotra* (*GPN*. 96.21 & 174.3). The point is that the Pancalas are an entire (composite) tribe, and it is conceivable that some of the Pancala Brahmins—if indeed the name means the same thing in both cases—could have been Kasyapas. The name is associated with a definite locality, and there is no need for a locality to have been occupied altogether by people of the same *gotra*, though we know that clan territories did exist in all countries under certain circumstances. The Kauruksetris are Bharadvajas (*GPN*. 59.18 & 163.12) while the Kausambeyas (of whom I am not one in spite of the surname) are Bhrgus (*G/W*. 32.1 & 43.15).

4. So far, we seem to have reasonable confirmation of the *gotra* theory as it now stands. But let us go back still further. Identifying *gotras* of famous names is not always easy and proving their historicity apart from tradition even less simple. Panini's existence is not in doubt. But why are the Paninis ranked among the Bhrigus by Baudhayana (*GPN.* 30.3), Visv-amitras by Katyayana (*GPN.* 90.10) and the *Matsya* (*GPN.* 171.2)? The great commentator Patanjali is uniformly a Bharadvaja in the *gotra* lists.

That the other two upper castes had their own distinct *gotras* is quite clear from Patanjali's commentary on Pan. 2.4.58, where he also quotes the opinions of other grammarians on *gotra*-derivatives; two Vaisya *go-tras* seem to have been Bhandijanghi and Karnakharaki. Buddha quotes a verse as by Brahma Sanatkumara to the effect that among those with *gotras*, the Ksatriya is chief (in *Digha-nikaya* 3, and again in 27). There occur Brahmin *gotra* names in Buddhist stories of the earliest period, and even comparatively rare ones like Pauskarasadi of the *Digha-nikaya* are to be found in the lists (*GPN.* 111.10). But we also find Ksatriya *gotras* given on occasion. It is clear from Buddha's arguments with the Brahmins of his day that the Ksatriyas did have a *gotra* system of their own, and many families took immense pride in the purity of their lineage. Buddha (descended from Okkaka = Iksvaku,³ by tradition) claimed the *adic-ca* (= *aditya*) *gotra*, and if the Buddha himself is Gotama, it can only be his personal name as his mother's son; for his step-mother, his mother's sister, is Mahaprajapati Gotami and marriage within the *gotra* is excluded. The story of Vidudabha senapati (*Majjhimanikaya* 87,90; *Dhamma-padaAtthakathd* iv.3) shows that the Buddha's tribe, the Sakkas, cheated their overlord king Pasenadi of Kosala (supposedly of the low Matangas, according to the *Lalita-vistara*) with Vasabha-khattiya (the daughter of Mahanama Sakka by a *dasi* concubine) when he desired a Sakka girl as his queen. The result was that the son Vidudabha, after usurping his father's throne, took the first suitable opportunity for wiping out the insult and the Sakkas together, washing his throne with their blood. Nothing is said of the priestly *gotras* being those of their royal masters. King Pasenadi was generous to many Brahmins, among them the Pauskarasadi above, who is a Vasistha and the Brahmin Lohicca, whose *gotra* is presumably Lohita, uniformly given as a Visvamitra; both, apparently, had performed costly fire-sacrifices for Pasenadi. But here one can at least set down a reason for imposing the priest-*gotra* upon the other two eligible castes: that the Brahmins alone preserved the *gotra* system in spite of later changes, both in the structure of society and in its provincial reorganization. Recruiting new members into the other two castes needed much less specialized training in the traditional ritual than recruitment into the Brahmin caste—which undoubtedly also occurred in much smaller proportion.

This specialized training of the Brahmins was in the scriptures, primarily the Vedas. Of these, the *Rgveda* is the oldest and the most authoritative, and we should expect some information from the traditional method of its transmission. In fact, we find that books ii to viii are 'family books', the hymns being written (at least in theory) by particular families,⁴ and supposed to be their special property; this is borne out to a considerable extent by the style of composition and sometimes by the specific blessings called down upon the seers. One could reasonably expect these seven family books to belong to the seven families of *gotra*-founders, or of the seven original sons of Brahma. But in fact the list differs from both, being: ii. Grtsamada (Bhargava), iii. Visvamitra, iv. Vamadeva (Gautama), v. Atri, vi. Bharadvaja, vii. Vasistha, and viii. the Kanvas. Jamadagni hasn't disappeared altogether, for he is mentioned several times with special favour: the phrase *grndnd Jamadagnind* in iii.62.18 and viii. 101.8 shows that the special form of panegyric ascribed to the Jamadagnis was approved of by both the Visvamitras and the Kanvas. Similarly in vii.96.3, *grndnd Jamadagnivat stuvnd ca Vasisthavat* shows that the Vasisthas did not think badly of it; ix.97.51 ascribed to Kutsa Angiras has *drseyam Jamadagnivat*, while the priceless gift (of speech) to Visvamitra in iii.53.15 is *Jamadagnidattd sasarparih*. Nevertheless, the *rsi* has not a book to himself in spite of founding a principal lineage. The *Digha-nikaya* (3, *Ambattha-sutta*) gives the list of Brahmin teachers presumably Vedic, as Attaka, Vamaka, Vamadeva, Visvamitra, Jamadagni, Angiras, Bharadvaja, Vasistha, Kasyapa, Bhrigu; of these the first seems to be Astaka, author of x. 104, son of Visvamitra by Madhavi (*Mbh.* Crit. Ed. 5.117.19), and the second is unknown unless the name is taken as Vamaka, which may be found in one of the later cyclic Saptarsi lists for the various *manvantaras*. The Saptarsis according to the Vedic *Anukramani* seem to be, in order, Bharadvaja, Kasyapa, Gotama, Atri, Visvamitra, Jamadagni, and Vasistha (on ix.67, ix.107, x. 137; seven *rsis* mentioned without names in x.82.2, x. 109.4). The one constant feature of lists naming the founder *rsis* is their number—seven.

A surprising deficiency is that there is no Kasyapa book of the *Rgveda*. The name is mentioned only once, in the very last hymn of the ninth book (ix.114.2), which may be a later addition; the *Anukramani* tradition (which I generally accept whenever possible) ascribes to Kasyapa several hymns such as for example i.99, 101-15, and the Kasyapas are more frequent authors than any other group in the book dedicated to Soma, namely the ninth, but this is hardly in keeping with the position of Kasyapa in the *gotra* system. The name itself is totemic, having the secondary meaning of a tortoise. The objection that we know of no totemic rites in connection with a tortoise is negated by the injunction that one must be built into the fire altar (*Sat. Brdh.* vii.5.1); as the heads of all five main sacrificial animals, including man, horse, and bull are so utilized, the use of a tortoise is significantly totemic. Fainter is the indication one obtains from the inclusion of the tortoise in the 'five five-nailed animals that may be eaten.' Not only is Kasyapa a prominent *gotra-kara*, but no less an authority than Baudhayana says that if by mistake both parents are found to belong to the same *gotra*, the embryo may be taken without blame as a Kasyapa (*GPN.* p. 136, *garbho nadusyati, kasyapa iti vijnyate*), though others like Apastamba would consider the child as an absolute outcaste, *candala*. Similarly, if one's own *gotra* and that of the family priest be both unknown for some reason, we have the authority of Satyasadha, who seems to quote a still older source, to the effect that the *gotra* must be taken as Kasyapa: '*gotrasya tv aparijnane kdsyapam gotram isyate*' (*GPN.* p. 187). The very same Satyasadha states that Kanvas and Kasyapas are not to be recipients of sacrificial fees: *na kanva-kasyapebhyah* (*Sat. sr. sutra* 10.4); the commentator Gopinathabhata hides his bewilderment under the ridiculous explanation that Kanva means deaf and Kasyapa the one-eyed! We have seen the *Anukramani* and *Bhrhaddevata* schemes relate the Kanvas to the Angiras group, but *Mbh.* \. 64.25 calls the sage Kanva a Kasyapa, inverting the *Rgvedic* scheme. This *rsi* has the position of stage-director in the Sakuntala episode, which qualifies him to a special claim on the Bharatas (*Mbh.* 1.69.47-8), supposedly descended from the son of Sakuntala (herself a daughter of Visvamitra by an *apsaras* Menaka = 'the woman'), but in any case a real historical people with a central position in the *Rgveda*. This is how Kasyapa is gradually promoted to be a father of all creatures, fit to receive the whole world as his sacrificial fee (*Sat. Brdh.* xiii.7.1.15). This again demonstrates the inner heterogeneity of Brahmin tradition, and proves that both Kasyapas and Kanvas are latecomers into the Vedic fold. Nevertheless, the seven traditional Brahmin groups are undoubtedly very old, no matter what their actual original names might have been. That the claims of Kasyapa and the Bhrigus could be permitted only means that a considerable part of the Brahmin priesthood acknowledged the special position of these later *conscripti*, this again supports the thesis that Brahminism itself comes into being by the adoption of indigenous pre-Aryans priests. Kasyapa is *aprajapati* later on, one from whom almost all living creatures are descended (*Mbh.* 1.59.10 ff.), which would then account for the special importance attached to that *gotra*. The Agastyas are also not prominent in the oldest Veda, though ascribed the authorship of i. 166-91, mentioned in i. 117.11, and x.60.6.

5. We have therefore to look at the central groups left to us if the oldest source, namely the *Rgveda*, is to be analysed. These groups are the Bhrgus, Angirasas,⁵ Atris, Vasisthas, and Visvamitras. Of these, the first two are closely associated. The story of Cyavana's rejuvenation, for example, goes back to i.1 17.13. the hymn being ascribed to Kaksivan who is an Angiras, while Cyavana (or here Cyavana) is supposedly Bhrgu; but the *Satapatha Brahmana* (iv. 1.5.1-13) is doubtful whether the aged rsi was the one or the other. Grtsamada and the Gartsamadas are Bhrgus in the *gotra* lists, but the *Anukramani* calls him son of Sunahotra Angiras at the beginning of his special book, ii. Vatsa is still a Bhrgu-Jamadagni *gotra* (my mother's) but the earliest known rsi named Vatsa is called son of Kanva (viii.8.8), hence a *kevala-angiras*. Nodhas Gotama says in i.58.6 that the Bhrgus have brought fire to mankind, and in 1.60.1 that Matarisvan had brought fire as a gift to the Bhrgus; this is confirmed by x.46.2, 9—a hymn ascribed to the principal Vaisya *gotra* founder, Bha-landana. Even the Visvamitras have the same ideas, as expressed iii.5.10. But the association of the Angirasas with fire and the first discovery of fire is also well attested, as for example in 1.83.4. The Atris have one peculiarity which distinguishes them from the other particular families of *Rgvedic* seers; they alone are mentioned often outside their own book. In the Kanva book, for example, viii.35-8, 42, etc. we find them prominent, while viii.36 is by Syavasva and the Atris or the Atris alone. They also occur in vi.50.10, vii.68.5, vii.71.5 and are therefore respected by or associated with both the Bharadvaja-Angiras and the Vasis-tha groups. We cannot expect much in the way of special features from these. It might be objected here that the Angirasas and to a lesser extent the Bhrgus also appear prominently outside their own books. Actually, a distinction has to be made between the remote deified ancestors, those in the middle distance on the dividing line between myth and history, and those contemporary with the hymn. These three stages are seen for the Angirasas in x.62 (by the seer Nabhanedistha), in a prayer addressed to the Angirasas themselves; the important middle stage being in x.62.7, which mentions unity with Indra, i.e. going over to the Aryans. A tendency to respect the legendary and scorn the modern rsis is manifest in the *Sat. Brah.*: 'Now when the Bhrgus or the Angirasas attained the heavenly world, Cyavana the Bhargava or Cyavana the Angiras was left behind here (on earth) decrepit and ghostlike' (iv.1.5.1). The remaining groups are those of Visvamitra, and the Vasisthas. Before seeing what tradition has to say about these, let us consider for a moment the general nature of this tradition.

It is not the purpose of the Vedas to provide the reader with historical information, for they were purely liturgical works in language that soon became obscure, with changed interpretation of many terms. Possible historical references have to be gleaned with caution, for they are fortuitous, and the main question before any reader is not only what many of the hymns mean but even whether a given character is human, or a supernatural being. For example, Indra is the principal god of human type, and next to Agni the most important. Was he a human being later deified?⁶ It would appear to be a reasonable guess, but when Indra's help to such and such a person is lauded, it generally remains an open question as to whether it was help given by the god in answer to a prayer, as for example the Homeric deities helping their favourite heroes on the field of battle, or whether an Aryan chieftain actually appeared upon the scene in person and took part in the fight.⁷ In some cases, the divine interpretation is not in doubt, and whether Vrtra was a real person (perhaps a Pani) or not, killing him as a demon of darkness ranks Indra with Ahuramazda, Ashur, Marduk and a long line of Tiamat-killers. But Indra's chariot, weapons, and killing of specific people leaves little doubt that in some cases at least, human actions are meant. One is sometimes tempted to equate *asura* with Assyrian. It would make better sense to regard the Asuras as human, if not Assyrians, at least in x.138.3, ii.30.4 and vii.99.5, for the interpretation that these Asuras were gods worshipped by the foe is quite unconvincing. Their traditional battle-cry *helayo helayah*, reported by Patanjali as an example of barbarous speech, is still familiar and recognizable in 'Hallelujah.' As a general principle, however, we may note that the more remote the event, the greater the tendency to regard it as superhuman rather than human. This may be taken as a reasonably safe guide. Now one tradition which I shall utilize with special emphasis concerns king Sudas and his people. These are helped by Indra, and as the battles take place with 'ten kings' (by actual count of scattered references, nearer three times that number) in quite well-determined river valleys, we are safe in taking the reference as historical.

The second point is a matter of geography. There existed Aryans outside India, even in the oldest days, and there is no evidence for the hypothesis that all spread out from India, so that the Indo-Aryan tribes of the *Rgveda* must be taken as invaders. The god Vis vakarman of x.81.82 has a great deal in common with extraneous deities like Ashur (perhaps himself explicit in x.31.6) or Ahura-mazda, being the only god with both arms and wings (x.81.3); the storm-gods, the Maruts, cannot be unconnected with the Kassite Maruttash. The general story is of an advance to the east, the *Drang nach Osten* being proved by the displacement of names such as the Sarasvati, identified with the Hilmand, with a stream in Arachosia, and so progressively down to a stream in south-east Punjab which, for all Indie tradition, is the real Sarasvati. This is unfortunate in one way, as some doubt is raised thereby whether the events connected with Sudas happened in India at all, for the story could have been transferred with the river names. The answer is that there is no reason to doubt the accounts which mention the Yamuna and the Ganga but nothing further east. The wholesale transplantation of stories not known in any other Aryan tradition would be extraordinary. Also, we have ample archaeological evidence to the effect that before 1500 BC fully developed cities of a pre-Aryan civilization were destroyed by invaders, so that the fortified cities (*pura*) and fortresses (*durga* v.34.7) destroyed by Indra have a definite existence.

There is ample evidence for the co-existence of more than one stream of tradition, even in the oldest sources. The first man is Manu in i.36.19, but also Yama in x. 135.1-2; and as the first mortal (voluntarily choosing death for the sake of posterity in x. 13.4; in Iranian tradition, because one of his subjects violated a taboo against beef-eating), Yama is also lord of the dead. Both the name and the kingly function exercised by Yama seem to make this the proper Indo-Iranian tradition. There is a third candidate who appears very late, namely Purusa-Narayana, mentioned only by the first part of the name in x.90, but with increasing prominence later on; this indicates that he belongs to an older tradition which is only later assimilated. He is the first sacrifice, but then Yama is both first sacrifice (x.13.4) and sacrificer, while Manu is also the first sacrificer (x.63.7); both Yama and Manu are sons of Vivasvat (x. 17.1; viii.52.1) but both Manu and Purusa are autogenous. The etymology of Narayana is later given as the god who dwells in the flood-waters (*ndra*), but the word, if Sanskrit, seems to mean merely 'son of man'. The similarity of particular details is due not to the unity of these clearly divergent representatives but to the need for adopting them to the Vedic, fire-sacrificing ritual and cults. Another candidate for seniority seems to have faded out of the picture. Tvastr makes images of the gods, and seems to have, in some such manner, power to make the gods behave accordingly. In ix.5.9, he is the first born, *agraja* and the adjective *agriya* i.13.10 gives him precedence; x.7.90 shows that he is peculiarly associated with the Angirasas and fire. Indra cannot have been the original anthropomorphous chief god of the Vedic Aryans, for Varuna seems to have occupied that post and been superseded according to x.124, perhaps when the Indie Aryans took to a life of constant fighting and conquest as in the properly Vedic period. Possibly iv.42 also has this supersession of Varuna by the • powerful war-god for its theme, and shows us in its later portion that apo-*t* theosis of a human warlord is possible, for king Trasadasyu is called a f demi-god (*ardha-deva*) in iv.42.8-9.

The god Tvastr, whose name continues to mean carpenter (*AV.* xii.3.33; *Amarakosa* 2.10.9; 3.3.35), reappears in various minor ways in Vedic mythology, either directly or through his 'son'. Visvakarman in x.81.3 has eyes, faces, arms in every direction—characteristic of the later Brahma; he created or rather fabricated heaven and earth: *nistataksuh* (x.81.4), but the root *taks-tvaks* is also responsible for Tvastr. It will be shown from analysis of Iranian legend that a many headed god like Visvakarman should be Vacaspati, as in x.82.7. The speech-goddess *vac* being primarily the river Sarasvatī and in any case a water-goddess (x.125.7), other connections between rivers, many-headed gods, and Tvastr will, not surprisingly, appear. In x.82.3,5,6 Visvakarman is specially connected with the embryo of the universe (cf. v.42.13); Tvastr is always fashioner and protector of all embryos, divine, human, or animal. It is peculiarly interesting to learn from x.17.1-2 that Tvastr's daughter Saranyu (= 'the flowing', hence a river-deity) was married to Vivasvat, giving birth to Yama-Yami; after her flight, her double became mother of the Asvins who relieve so many priests in distress. Visvakarman is both creator and destroyer (*dhata* and *vidhata* appear as weaving women, like the Norns, in *Mbh.* 1.3.172); the funerary hymn x.18.5-6 specially calls upon Tvastr to protect the living, though the end of the hymn sends the dead man to his fathers and Yama. The reason for Tvastr's being invoked appears in x.18.10-11 in which burial is first described as return to the earth-mother's womb. Thus we have the combination of two entirely different rituals and a succession of Yama to Tvastr-Visvakarman, apparently by mother-right. Therefore Tvastr is not originally an Aryan god like Varuna, pushed into the background by Indra and the fighting life, but rather a cult figure from the pre-Aryan background, adopted at various times under different names which are Sanskrit adjectives. The faint similarity between Varuna's supersession and Tvastr's was utilized in ancient times: in x.124.5-7, Varuna is virtually supporter of Vrtra against Indra (taking the obvious rather than the Sayana meaning); in iv.42.3, Varuna even proclaims himself Tvastr, perhaps in the adjectival sense, but in any case unique. These are clearly attempts at assimilation. The Rbhus who quadruplicate Tvastr's wooden cup (i.206; iv.33.5-6) seem to be purely Aryan craftsman-gods of limited aspect. A carpenter-god implies the existence and relative importance of craftsmen among his worshippers. We know that carpenters would be important when chariots and heavy wagons (*anas*) were; also that some indigenous craftsmen were far superior to those of the invaders. It would then seem that Tvastr first enters the pantheon as a god brought in by the pre-Aryan craftsmen. But this does not necessarily mean that he was only a craftsman-god among the pre-Aryans.

In the south, to this day, Tvastr is worshipped under the name of Visvakarman by the few surviving image-makers of the old school. They form a caste (*sthapatis*) by themselves, and still claim the right of wearing the sacred thread. In view of all this, it might be considered ridiculous to propound the view that Tvastr is borrowed or adopted from the pre-Aryans. Let me, therefore, point to Sayana's gloss on the word *brsaya* which is either a name or means wizard. On i.93.4, the commentator says '*brsayo suras tvastd,*' though the supposed, Asura is here connected with the Panis by the text of the *rk.* On vi.61.2, commenting upon *visvasya brsasya mayinah*, Sayana again says, '*Brsaya iti Tvastur ndma-dhe-yam*'. Now Tvastr having a clear position among the gods, to the extent of being included in every *apri-hymn*, to call him an Asura Brsaya would have required great courage on the part of a devout fourteenth century commentator,⁸ unless there had been a very clear tradition to that effect which could not be contested. As will be seen, we should have been driven to this conclusion even without the added help of Sayana's report.

There is a possible (but insufficient) materialist explanation for the decay of Tvastr, namely the changing social relationships within Aryan society, due precisely to the conquest. The craftsman-god has much less honour than the war-leader god, as would be natural. With this we also get the greater urgency of ritual and a differentiation, then barely visible, between the functions of priest and king (iv.50.7-11). There is the corresponding rise of an altogether new god (of prayer or of the sacrifice) Brhaspati, who has varying degrees of respect, from a trifling mention in the Visvamitra book (iii.20.5; iii.26.2 - *agni*; iii.62.4-6, but this is a Jama-dagni hymn in all probability), to having entire hymns dedicated to him in the properly Brahmanical books, as ii.23 to ii.26.

The last note is about the structure of Vedic society. The caste system is peculiarly Indian, yet the four castes are mentioned in just one *Rgvedic* hymn (x.90) the famous *Pumsasukta*, quite obviously a later addition duplicated in the last of the Vedas, *tīe Atharva-veda*. The four-caste system is mentioned nowhere else in the *Rgveda*, nor are the two lower castes, Sudra and Vaisya. Brahmana in the sense of one belonging to the priesthood, with the special function of speech, is rare occurring only in the newest layer (vii.103; x.16.6; 71.8-9; 88.19; 90.12; 97.22; 109.4). Ksatriya in the sense of the rulers or rule, and Ksatriya do occur both of gods and men; but the book need not emphasize this, seeing that there is no competition. There can be no question of *purohita-gotras* exclusively, for the priesthood is not the exclusive prerogative of one caste; in ii.1.2. = x.91.10, *brahman is actually separated from all other priests*. Even later, we have ample proof that the Ksatriya could officiate at the sacrifice, for all that the Brahmanical scriptures enjoin is that he should not officiate at the sacrifices of others as do the Brahmins; nothing prevents him from officiating at his own *yajna*. Even here, we find the story of Devapi (*Brhaddevata* vii.155, viii.10 on *RV.* x.98-101) who did so officiate at the ceremonies for his crowned younger brother Samtanu. This is of some importance for us in the bearing it has on the caste system at its oldest stage, and its relation with the *gotras*.

Visvamitra and Vasistha

6. If we assume that all Brahmins were Aryans from the first, and that they were the priesthood which developed entirely from within, there is very little that analysis can tell us except that our legends are meaningless. But if we make no such hypothesis, then the most instructive tradition is that of the rivalry between Vasistha and Visvamitra. Later tradition has Visvamitra a Ksatriya who did his best to become a Brahmin in jealousy of Vasistha, and succeeded. The tradition is uniform that he was originally not a Brahmin but a ruler and member of the warrior caste, a *rajarsi*, though there is no mention in most of the oldest records⁹ of his actually having been a king. It does not need detailed reference to the *Rgveda* to prove that the Visvamitras are themselves Kusikas (iii.33.5, iii.53.9-11, etc.). But the Anukramarti calls the third book that of Visvamitra, not of the Kusikas, as it should clearly have been denoted; in conformity with this Brahmanical method of labelling the entire clan after one great representative, we get in our later *gotra* lists the Kusikas (owl-totem) generally indicated as a branch of the Visvamitras, which is again a characteristic inversion deriving from the adoption of a foreign system whose totemic basis had been forgotten, the clan system. As for the original position of the Kusikas, it might be recalled that Indra is invoked as *kausika* in i.10.11, and this seems unique among the 'Brahmin' clans as far as known, *forangirastamas* in i.130.3 and *andvasistha* in ii.36.1 are direct adjectives, not patronymics. The Brahminization, in its surviving form, of the Visvamitra book may even be attributed to the Jamadagni influence so clearly visible therein. The Vasisthas have a special claim to priority in the priesthood, for the tradition is uncontradicted that *they first of all the Brahmins* 'saw' Indra and began to worship him, whence they have first place at the fire-sacrifice. (*Brhaddevata* v.156-9; *Tail. Sam.* iii.5.2). We are rather fortunately placed as regards this legend, for the *Rgveda* has preserved for us books of both families. Both are priests in the service of king Sudas, who could himself exercise priestly functions, being the reputed author of x.133. The senior priest is Visvamitra, the eponym standing for the entire group; the *gotra* name, as has been shown, is really *kusika* = the owl, a good bird

totem. A famous hymn is iii.33, by VisVamitra to the two Punjab rivers Vipas and Sutudru which he crosses with heavily loaded wagons of the Bharata tribe. This is apparently referred to in iii.53.9 and 11, where Sudas as the king is made to cross safely by Visvamitra, while iii.53.12 calls down a blessing of Visvamitra upon this tribe of the Bharatas. The implication is that Sudas and Visvamitra are Bharatas. This seems to be partially confirmed by vi.16.19, where the ancestral fire of the Bharatas is called the lord of Divodasa, which is the name of Sudas's father or paternal ancestor.

But the Vasisthas also claim to be the priests of Sudas, in their own book, and there is ample support for this. This disposes of the fiction that the *gotra* of a Ksatriya is that of his priest, for it would follow that Sudas Paijavana changed *gotras* or had more than one! We have to examine the question of priority between these two clans which occupy the priesthood in succession for the same people. Here for once we have unequivocal testimony: 'Like sticks used to drive oxen were the Bharatas split and enfeebled (= *arbhakasas*; according to Sayana, 'with few children'); then Vasistha became their chief priest (*purohita*) and from the Trtsus developed progeny (*visas*)' (vii.33.6). The statement is perfectly clear, and the special Vasistha prayer for issue is to be seen in vii.4.7-8. Our verse above means that the Trtsus were a branch of the Bharatas—though the name is taken by some as synonymous for all the Bharatas, which looks unlikely unless it is from some other language. Vasistha was not originally their priest, but he *became the purohita* at some later stage, and then the tribe multiplied. Actually, in vii.33.10-11 Vasistha derives his origin from Mitra-Varuna¹⁰ and the very next verse from an *apsaras*," both of which mysterious legends have been amplified later. This, with the absence of an animal or tree totem, would strengthen the implication that Vasistha (whose name is merely an adjective proclaiming his superlative glory) was not as other Aryan men.¹² On the other hand, he cannot be taken as a divine being because he is actually the priest of a decaying clan, and vii. 18, which describes the victories of Sudas over many hostile kings, ends with a description of the gifts to Vasistha; these gifts would be uncalled for if some of the victories were not due to a Vasistha's incantations. The first battle (vii. 18.5-8) is on the Parusni, but there is at least one other in vii. 18.19, on the Yamuna. This virtually spans the whole of greater Punjab, if the Yamuna is to be understood as the modern river of that name (though it has been suggested that the name, indicating merely the 'twin river', might again denote the Parusni; but x.75.5 which has the only *Rgvedic* mention of the Gahga seems clear for our interpretation). Now we have noted that the general movement is to the east, specifically proved in this case by Patanjali's remark that the adjective 'eastern' for Bharatas is superfluous, as there aren't any Bharatas except in the east: *bharata-visesanam prag grahanam anarthakam, na hy apranco bharatah santi* (commenting on Pan. 2.4.66; later commentators take Auddalaki as an example of a Bharata). Whence Visvamitra's passage of the Beas and the Sutlej must be an earlier event, and the priority of Visvamitra is therefore not in doubt. The inversion consists in that Visvamitra is made the upstart by later Brahmanical tradition in direct contradiction to the clear historical development.

If Vasistha and Visvamitra were both Brahmins as the term is understood by later writers, and the Aryan priesthood confined to the Brahmin caste, the logical development would have been the adoption of Vasistha into the Visvamitra or Kusika *gotra*. The story of Sunahsepa (*Ait. Brah.* vii.13-18; the names of the three brothers are a suspicious feature) does show such adoption, even of one chosen as sacrificial victim (cf. v.2.7; i.24.12-13). Indeed this adoption with the changed name of Devarata¹³ is made responsible for the double marriage restrictions upon the Devarata *gotra* though contrary to the accepted results of adoption in tribal society. Even to this day, Brahmanical marriage restrictions are circumvented by adoption into some other *gotra*, which also forfeits inheritance rights. But Vasistha is emphatically called the first Brahmin priest, whence Brahminism is foreign to the original Aryan system. It sufficed, therefore, that Vasistha be adopted into the tribe, not necessarily into the gens of the original tribal priest, Visvamitra. It follows that Visvamitra, though a priest, is originally not a Brahmin; this is attested by his title of *rajarsi*, applied also to several other Ksatriya priests, as for example the five (supposed) authors of i.100, the three of x.179.

While references to Sudas and his victories are scattered throughout the *Rgveda* (though with highest frequency by Vasistha), the name Trtsu occurs nowhere outside the seventh book. There is a faint possibility that the whole of the Trtsu group (including ancestors of Sudas) was adopted into, and not a splinter of the Bharatas; but there is no clan name now extant which can be derived from Trtsu. The adoption seems at least to have been that of Vasistha and went to the extent of a common style in hairdressing; vii.33 begins by describing the Vasisthas as *daksinatas*—with hairtwist on the right side, and *kapardin* is used only of the Trtsus (vii.83.8) in describing human beings. The actual practice survived late, as we see from the appendix to the *Gobhila Grhya-sutra*: 'The Vasisthas have a hairtwist (or braid) on the right, the Atreyas have three twists, the Angirasas five scalp-locks, the Bhrgus have completely shaven heads, and the others wear a crest.' This is to differentiate between *gotra*-groups, and 'the others' here are the Visvamis and possibly the Kanvas, so far as the main *Rgvedic* families go.

The Death of a Priest: Tvastra

7. The rivalry between the Visvamis and the upstart Vasisthas is plentifully attested in later tradition, while iii.53.21 are stanzas which still pass as curses against the Vasisthas, so strong that were one of them to hear the particular verses, his head would split into a hundred pieces (they are still capable of giving anyone a headache!). On closer reading, these stanzas actually do seem to be a mixture of curse and lament that the Bharatas are beginning to prefer strangers to their own, the ass to the horse; there is no reason to doubt that they reflect the displacement of the Kusikas by the Vasisthas. We are told (*Brhaddevata* v. 112-20) that Visvamitra was deprived of his senses by Vasistha and speech (*vak sasarpari*) had to be supplied by Jamadagni. The brief hymn x.167 to Indra is given joint authorship of Visvamitra and Jamadagni, which supports this close association. It follows that here Jamadagni is not on the same side as Vasistha and their separate rivalry is attested by *Tait. Sam.* iii.1.7; v.4.11. Later tradition makes Jamadagni a sage at once hot tempered and forbearing; capable of stopping the sun yet killed unresisting by Ksatriyas; in revenge his son Parasurama completely wipes out all Ksatriyas from the face of the earth thrice seven times—though the Vedas have nothing of all this (Jamadagnya being merely the supposed author of x.110). This is one more of the inversions, with passage of time and rise of the Brahmins: it was the Ksatriya who did the killing, and not conversely. In fact, even the Vasisthas are supposed not to have escaped unscathed, for the *Brhaddevata* vi.28,33.4 reports, 'Now in the fifteenth and in the eighth (stanza) of the hymn (*RV.* vii.104) the son of Varuna (Vasistha), while as it were lamenting, his soul being overwhelmed with pain and grief, utters a curse. Vasistha was at that time pained as his hundred sons had been slain by Sudasa who, in consequence of a curse, had been transformed into a demon (*raksas*). Such is the sacred tradition.' Again, the *Rgveda* does not report this but the *Tait. Sam.* vii.4.7 does; such a tradition in the face of all the favour supposedly shown Vasistha by Sudas cannot be devoid of truth.¹⁵ I suggest that *some* Vasisthas were so killed, perhaps some of those not regularly adopted into the Trtsus. Killing the priest or his son is a fashion set by Indra himself in beheading Vis varupa Tvastra, whose three heads he (or his double Trita, ii.11.19; x.8.8-9) struck off. This counts as a sin only in far later times, while we still have the *Tvastreya gotra* (*GPN.* \ 56-18) among the Jama-dagnis. The three heads of Tvastra became varieties of partridge (*Brhad-devata* vi. 151) and two of these bird totems certainly remain in the *gotra* lists, namely Tittiri and Kapinjala, though neither is among the Jamadagnis proper. For that matter the demon Ravana, the warrior villain of the *Ramayana* in later and more eastern legend, counts also as a Brahmin, and surprisingly enough the *gotra* is found in the Vasistha group (*GPN.* 113.11,177. 22,177.1) though Vasistha is traditionally the

chief teacher of Rama! Even the mild Atris did not escape as is seen by Saptadhri's prayer for release from imprisonment (v.78.5-6) and by x. 143.1-3, i.1 17.3, x.39.9, perhaps referring to Atri's release from a fiery pit.

The lasso as a weapon of war is used by the Sagartian contingent of Xerxes's cavalry (Herodotos vii.84), and by individual heroes in the Shah Nameh. This may be the original *pdsa* from which freedom is desired, perhaps symbolically, in several hymns. The gloss ascribes viii.67 to fishes caught in a net and praying for freedom, which could have been dismissed as a myth had it not been for the fact that the Matsya tribe appears in vii.18; and in the *Mahabharata* as the people of king Virata. The Vaphio gold cups show us nets being used to catch wild bulls while the god Ningirsu is shown on Eannantums' stela (stele des vautours, in the Louvre) enfolding the men of Umma in a net and crushing those who try to escape, whence its use for prisoners¹⁶ of war is also possible.

The *Taittiriya Samhita* (ii.5.1, after Keith) says: 'Visvarupa, son of Tvastr, was the domestic priest of the gods, and the sister's son of the Asuras. He had three heads, of which one drank *soma*, one *surd*, and one which ate food. He promised openly the share to gods, secretly to the Asuras. Therefore Indra was afraid, (thinking) "such a one is diverting the sovereignty (from me)". He took his weapon and smote off his heads. That which drank Soma became a hazelcock (*kapinjala*); that which drank sura a sparrow (*kalavinka*) that which ate food a partridge (*tittiri*; note the name of the *Samhita* itself). He (= Indra) seized with his hands the guilt of slaying him (= Tvastra) and bore it for a year. Creatures called out upon him "Brahmin-slayer"...' The *Yajurveda* proceeds to list the evils and taboos which arose when Indra's sin was partaken by others. It also says that Vrtra was created by Tvastr to avenge his son's murder; later tradition has it that the plan miscarried because of a misplaced accent, whereby Vrtra was killed by Indra instead of becoming Indra-killer. I wish to emphasize that, in general, legends of the gods represent some aspect of human class-relations whenever a complex social structure arises out of the amalgamation of different cultures. Now the *Taittiriya Samhita* existed before the sixth century BC, while its components, including the story above, are much older. In asking ourselves just what the story does represent, the main features have to be considered, namely: Tvastra has three heads (of which we have noted the gentile nature of at least two); he is a Brahmin, so that killing him is a sin here—though a creditable performance in other reports; his mother is, nevertheless, a sister of the Asuras, whence Tvastra is an Asura in the matriarchal sense; Indra maintains his sovereignty by the craft of this not properly Aryan priest. I hope to prove in the sequel that the story has a basis in ancient history, as seen from recorded tradition and archaeological finds. Its incorporation into Vedic mythology does show a progressive change of emphasis, but the story itself cannot be wholly explained by mere internal development of antagonism between king and priest. The most likely interpretation, accounting both for the apparently historical features as well as the development of castes, is that the original Vedic priesthood was expanded and transformed by absorption of very important pre-Aryan elements.

It is easy enough to show that this enmity between the Brahmana and the Ksatriya is not merely a later growth with the increasing power of the priesthood; in fact such increase of power, till we come to Kanvayanas, is only in theory, naturally propagated by the unarmed and helpless Brahmins themselves.

The analogy of European struggles between the Papacy and the secular power cannot possibly apply till long after the early Vedic period, certainly not before the Mauryans; even here note must be made of the fact that Hinduism never developed an established church, and that the Brahmin caste began to serve the general population by ritual, rather than the warrior class by *yajna*, only after the rise of Buddhism. In the earliest days (as in Rome and Greece), it was the right as well as the duty of every head of a patriarchal family to perform priestly functions later reserved for Brahmins; and knowledge of Vedic Sanskrit was common without the prolonged study it necessitated later. If, under such circumstances, we find the beginning at least of endogamous castes, it is necessary to inquire what *external* forces would lead to and accelerate this type of partition. The major feature is the conquest; it will be shown that this does account for the Sudra caste. But it is difficult to believe that no other portion of the conquered population survived besides the helots; that we should nevertheless find the reappearance of Indus Valley motifs, including multiple-headed and many-armed deities—particularly Brahma. That cities like Mohenjo-Daro could exist without class divisions is quite incredible in view of what is known of ancient society, and if their armament does not appear from known excavations (which are certainly incomplete) to have been very good, it implies the existence of some other method than pure force for maintaining the class division. This method, so far as known, can only be religion, and that in turn implies the existence of a strong, fully-developed, and well-organized priesthood. I may point out in this connection the importance of the desert bordering the river (as in Egypt and Mesopotamia) for this not only makes the development of agriculture, and later of the city-state, possible as well as necessary, but also economizes the energy spent upon defence against wild animals, barbarians, and in cutting down forests. The intervening desert is an excellent natural barrier against external enemies till they learn the advanced military technique necessary for crossing it and taking walled cities. The need for internal force is minimized by the priesthood. After the Aryan conquest, nothing would be easier than the absorption of some upper layers of the conquered society, and the most attractive would be the priesthood, even more important than the technicians in any primitive society. Of course, this would greatly intensify the development of classes among the conquerors as soon as they began to settle down; which is precisely what we find on comparing the *Rgveda* with the *Taittiriya Samhita* and later documents. As further support, I might point out that a considerable number of ancient stories appear rather late, albeit with claim to antiquity—as for example the flood legends and the *Puranas* in general, though some of the material is undoubtedly pre-Aryan.

In this direction, it is necessary to remark that matriarchy survives only among the least Aryanized of the people found in India today. If the conquered had even a remnant of this system, it would be easy for them to preserve their group structure for a while after adoption into various patriarchal gentes. Thus we should not be surprised at finding Dirghatamas called Mamateya after his mother, a custom to be observed in the final *Bṛhadaranyaka Upanisad* line of teachers.

One sign of conflict between the Brahmin and Ksatriya castes, after full development of the system appears in the original meaning of x. 109, which seems to have been composed for the return of a Brahmin's wife abducted by a Ksatriya. One obvious reason for the later appearance of the Jamadagnis and the still later rise to pre-eminence of Bhrgu is this previous enmity. These people were still being killed by the Ksatriyas when the Visvamitras were being ousted by the Vasisthas from the Bha-ratan priesthood. The objection will undoubtedly be made that the later Brahmins could have been Aryans from some extra-Vedic branch. Why could the Jamadagnis, with their Indo-European name, not have been Vratyas? In the first place, the Vratyas were first differentiated from the rest long after the Bhrgu-Jamadagni group was well established (though not necessarily in all parts of the country) and the Vedas fully developed. In the *Rgvedic* age, the term *vratyā* could not have been used to distinguish extra-Vedic Aryans because all Aryans were then wanderers while the development of the Vedas itself reflects the rise of settlements. The Vratya tribes do not need the Vedas simply because they continue to wander eastwards, into territory without a great civilization comparable with that of the Indus valley. At that later stage when the Vratyas proper have to be distinguished, the adoption of their priests would not only be unnecessary but highly improbable for the simple reason that their priesthood—if indeed it had a separate existence—would be much less developed than that of the main

Vedic Aryans. This can be seen from the *vratyastoma* ritual, created later for the adoption of a Vratya, not of his priest, into the Vedic fold; from book xv of the *Atharva-veda*, which seems written to placate the Vratyas; from the term *brahmabandhu*, applied to Magadhan Brahmins who associated themselves with the Vratya ceremonies, and even now used of Brahmins⁷ without learning. The great Vratya tribe is that of the Licchavis, mentioned with respect by the Jains, and the earliest Buddhists, while maintaining a high social position down to the Gupta period at least. We have yet to hear anything of their priesthood. The philological argument from the name carries less force now that Hittite records have been read; also, adoption being a form of rebirth, a non-Aryan name would be the first to change. Even without adoption, conquest favours a new style in names, as seen from Greek names adopted by Jews. Proponents of the 'extra-Vedic Aryans' theory would have to postulate rather complicated relationships between groups of Aryans not known to have existed; at the same time, the recurrence of Indus Valley types in later iconography would be very difficult to explain.

Adopted Priests

8. Looking closely at the first list of Sudas's enemies in vii.18.5-7, we find the following: Simyu, Turvasa, Yaksu, Matsya, Druhyu, Bhrgu, Paktha, Bhalana, Visanin, Alina (and perhaps The Sivas); in vii.83.7, the ten kings opposing Sudas are called *ayajyavah*, 'without the fire sacrifice.' The notable occurrence here is of the Bhrgus, who cannot then have been merely Brahmin priests. This is to some extent supported by the surviving designation *bhargava* (? 'the roaster') for a potter, which is quite natural if fire were the particular technique of the Bhrgus, as it appears to be in the *Rgveda*. Their chariot receives special mention in iv.16.20 and x.39.14 by the phrase *bhrgavo na ratham*. Hence, they are a complete tribe, with all the professions. If their name survives only as that of a Brahmin *gotra*, it must be because some of them managed to become priests of the Aryans. That they were not always Aryans themselves would follow from vii.18.7, which specifically mentions Indra, as the friend of the Aryans, bringing aid to the other side. That the Indus valley culture could exist without strong class difference is incredible, and their priest class must have had specially refined ceremonial, which would enable them to be adopted fairly easily into the priesthood of the conquerors, provided they took up the new cults.

It is quite simple now to show that there are other elements besides the Bhrgus which are so assimilated. Kutsa, for example, counts as a Bharadvajagorra with Kautsa (GfW. 63.14,165.21,61.4); it is therefore natural to find Kutsa the author of i.94-8. But in the body of the Veda we read conflicting stories about him, for he is at times favoured by Indra and at times crushed; the first may be seen in x.49.4 and the second in i.53.10. This can be explained by our present thesis of progressive assimilation of a Kutsa tribe. The Purus⁹ are mentioned in i.108 with the Yadus, Turvasas, Druhyus, Anus, all originally hostile to Indra and the Aryans. The particular portion of the hymn is undoubtedly late; but it is to be noted that Yadu, Turvasa, Anu, Druhyu, Puru are all five made sons of king Yayati (the first two by Devayani, a Brahmin (Bhrgu) daughter of Sukra, preceptor to the Asuras) in later legend (*Mbh.* 1.78.9-10). Krsna (= black), the incarnate god of the *Mahabharata*, is himself a Yadu. A Kanva named Krsna is the poet of viii.85, a hymn addressed to the Asvins. It is notable that the seer is called 'black' by name, like the Ahgiras author of x.42-4; in the *Atharva-veda* ii.25, *kanva* means 'evil spirit', to be exorcised. It would be simplest to regard this not as a fortuitous coincidence, but as indicative of some Kanvas having been adopted from the dark pre-Aryans, of whom the unadopted portion was submitted to the usual process of demonization with the passage of time. Just when these five people became Aryans is not clear, but certainly the brave king Poros defeated by Alexander in his invasion of the Indus valley is (with his nephew) the last Paurava known to history, so that some of these ancient lineages actually existed down to a late period, and had to be explained by a suitably rewritten tradition. This tradition neverdisguises the hostility between the dark (hence un-Aryan) Krsna and Indra, which seems to go back to viii.96.14, 19 (accepting the reasonable Sayana gloss). We even get the Purukutsa combination as a king-name, probably the representative of an amalgamated tribe; in our Brahmin *gotra* lists the name is found among the Bharadvajas (*GPN.* 61.14), which would be impossible except on our hypothesis. In fact, references in book vi. make it clear that some Bharadvajas were priests of Purukutsa's son, hence the formation of *that gotra* among the Bharadvajas. The descendant Kurusravana embodies the first mention of the Kurus, in his name (x.32.9; 33.4).

When we come to *kevala* groups, the origin of the inverted rule that the priest's *gotra* is that of the king becomes still clearer. Vltahavya is a Bhargava *gotra* (*GPN.* 34.4-5) but the Srnjaya Vaitahavyas of *Atharvaveda* v.18-19 are rude Ksatriyas who slaughter Bhrgu's cow; the sage is helpless and the cow herself takes revenge upon the insolent warriors, who are destroyed. But this would leave the *gotra andpravara* unexplained, so we have a still later story to round out the narrative, that Bhrgu magnanimously and magically converted the refugee Vltahavya into a Brahmin merely by telling his pursuers that there was no Ksatriya in the hermitage. Vltahavya as an adjective is applied to Sudas in vii.18.3, presumably in the sense of he whose libations are agreeable to the gods; the name occurs as that of the author of vi.15, and explicitly in vi.15.3 calling down blessings upon him. But the sixth book is of the Bharadvajas, whence we again have a contradiction. This may be resolved by the explanation that *some* Srnjaya Vaitahavyas, not necessarily connected with the singer of vi.15, had a Bhrgu as their family priest. But inasmuch as the Ksatriya was not by any means excluded from the priesthood, properly the function of any tribal leader or family head, those Bhrguids who survived in this particular line had to be adopted by tribal rule into the Vltahavyas, whence by the later antithetic inversion we get the formation of a Vltahavya *pravara* among the Bhrgus. This process is very clear among the ten extra families enrolled among the Bhrgus and Angirasas, as shown by the king-names that form the supposedly Brahmin *pravaras*. It will be fairly obvious that, at least as regards these special *kevala* families, *the pravara* develops by adoption by some Brahmin group of a Ksatriya family name. Mudgala is a Kevala-Angiras group in the lists, but the Mudgala of x.102 is a splendid fighter. Though not in the Veda, the *Puranas* make Visnuvrdha son of Trasadasyu, hence a Ksatriya, though the name is in the Brahmin *pravara* lists. The Vena of x.93.14 seems to be a non-Aryan king.

With the exception of people within the tribe or cult, as in the case of Indra himself or Sudas, *Rgvedic* names of a tribe and its leader seem to be identical, particularly in speaking of people not intimately known to the hymn-singer. This agrees with what we know of tribal society in other places. The MacDonald would be the head of the clan MacDonald in Scotland. Not less than ten different leaders named Appius Claudius headed the Claudian gens in Rome after its incorporation under the first Sabine head (Attius-Clausus); if Latin records were as diffuse as the Sanskrit, the deeds of all of them would have been inextricably confounded. The distinction between heads of families and ordinary members appears in Panini's grammar (see J. Brough, loc. cit., for the significance of *theyuvan*). *Vd.* xii.7 shows that the period of mourning among the Iranians for the head of a family was six times that even for a parent. For my purpose, the designation of whole clans by a single rsi's name (for one Visvamitra or Vasistha can hardly have composed the entire books in their respective names) yields further support for the adoption theory. What needs careful proof is the statement that some of these adopted priests must have belonged to pre-Aryan Indian groups.

The distinction between Brahmin and Ksatriya priestly traditions even after their merger may be seen in the position of Visnu, who is a very minor god in the Visvavimta book.²⁰ But three complete hymns to Visnu by Dirghatamas (i. 154-6) show a totally changed relative emphasis. The sage himself, according to the *Brhaddevataj* iv.1 1-30, was the blind son of a Bhrgu mother and in his old age cast into the river which carried him safely eastwards beyond the Aryan pale to Afiga.

Pre-Aryans and Archaeology

9. It is still necessary to show that some of these new recruits to the Vedic fold were non-Aryans,²¹ for there is no doubt that there did exist non-Vedic Aryans; among the Indians, it sufficed to refer to the *vnlyta* Licchavis. So, it might be suggested that the whole fight with Sudas's enemies was in fact a civil war among Aryans (as in part it must have been), that the hostility which can so amply be proved down to later times is professional, between the warrior and priestly castes, and at most derives from the ancient hostility among different Aryans tribes. After all, Kuruhga is called a Turvasa king in his *danastutib* Kanva, viii.4.19, and could be an Aryan; more ambiguously, Kanva begs Indra to let him see Yadu-Turvasa again in *rk* 7. Not only in vii.83.1, but also in other hymns (vi.33.3, vi.22.10, vi.60.6) are both Aryan and non-Aryan (called Vrtras here) enemies mentioned when praying to Vedic gods for protection. In iv.30.7, Indra takes Yadu and Turvasa across dry (or unbathed; the meaning is obscure) but kills two (presumably non Vedic) Aryans Arna and Citraratha on the other side. There is, then, evidence for the progressive recombination of Aryans and non-Aryans into Vedic and extra-Vedic groups. In vii.83.1, Indra-Varuna are to stand by Sudas and strike enemies, both Aryans and Vrtras. But our point is easily proved.

Tura Kavaseya is a famous teacher in the *Satapatha Brahmana*, a leading priest in the *Aitareya Brahmana*, and prominent in other Brahmin tradition, though the direct gotra does not seem to have survived. But his father, Kavasa Ailusa (seer of x.30-4 and priest of Kurusravana, x.30) is forcibly ejected as *dasyah putrah*²² by Brahmins, to die of thirst from which he is saved by his river hymn (x.30, because of which the sacred river SarasvatI followed him into the desert; cf. *Ait. Brah.* ii. 19). The ancestral representative Kavasa is overthrown in vii. 18.12 along with the Druhyus, which should complete the story. But it might still be objected that *dasi* means only a slave girl, and there is nothing to show difference of race, even though a slave girl's son would certainly be disqualified.

Dasa in the greater number of *Rgvedic* citations means a human foe conquered by the Aryans in battle, *Indra yathdvasam nayati ddsam dryah* (v.34.6 and others). They have their own cities, strong enough to be called brazen or iron; (ii.20.8) *hatvl dasyun pura dyaslr ni tdrlt*. Dasyu is taken as synonymous at times with demons, and again with *dasa*, which shows that the strife is very old: (iii.12.6) *Inrdgnl navatim puro ddsapatnlr adhumutam*. Some of these cities are seasonal, particularly autumnal (*sdradih*): *sapta yat purah sarma sdradlr dard han ddslh Purukutsdya siksas* (vi.20.10) which incidentally show that Purukutsa was befriended by Indra at that time, whatever the components of his name may have been earlier. They have a special colour *ddsam varam*(ii.12.4) which is not that of the Aryans: *hatvl dasyun prdryam varnam dvat* (iii.34.9). They are always different in religion (cf. *Manusmrti* x.44,45), which is of far greater importance than the colour. They have not the fire-sacrifice: *ayajvna* (i.33.4), nor the proper cult and are possessed of black magic: *mdyvdn abrahmd dasyur arta* (iv.16.9), besides being black and possessed of cities: (iv.16.13) *pancdsat krsna ni vapah sahasrd atkam na purojarimd vi dardah*. They are treacherous, without the Aryan observances, and hardly human (x.22.8): *akarmd dasyur abhi no amantur anyavrato amanusah; tvam tasydmitrahan vadhar dasasya dambhaya*. Just what the designation *anasas* ('noseless' or 'faceless'?) applied to them in v.29.10 means is not clear, but it surely refers to their different appearance.

Only in three cases does *dasa* clearly mean a servant or slave, an early reference to the helotage to which a great part of the subjected people sank. Of these, x.62.10 referring to gifts made by Yadu and Turva to the bard mentions either two slaves or portrays the humility of the donors, but the names as well as the reference being part of the *danastuti* may indicate a later addition. The reference viii.56.3 in a Valakhilya can be ignored. In vii.86.7, the seer speaks of serving the god like a *dasa*, which can only mean slave or servant, not enemy. The rare mention shows that the new relation was emergent, not fully established. Therefore, we are led to wonder whether Divodasa means 'slave of heaven', or whether the period is early enough for the name to indicate a *dasa* who had been adopted by the other side. I myself incline to the latter interpretation, seeing that *dasa* has generally the meaning of a specific people from whom the Sudra caste and servitude developed by conquest. In any case, the termination *dasa* as part of a name is not to be seen elsewhere than with Divodasa (and in later orthography his son 'Taijavana' Sudas). Trasadasyu (son of Purukutsa) does not seem to mean the Dasyu named Trasa, but he who makes the Dasyus tremble.

The concept of tribal property in a migratory pastoral society enables us to sketch an outline of development for the Sudra caste. The Indus valley city dwellers could not have been fed without a comparatively large ancillary agrarian population. The invaders' way of life made such prisoners useless at first, for without agriculture a human being could produce very little surplus beyond that needed for his own maintenance. A prisoner would be sacrificed or adopted, as the Sunahsepa story tells us. If the agrarian population of the Indus valley had been effective as fighters, the conquest would not have taken place, or at least not been so devastating. They must have been too numerous to adopt en masse, but not dangerous enough to be killed off altogether. Thus the survivors would form a group by themselves and whatever they could produce by their own methods, as well as their labour, would belong to the conquering tribe as a whole. This is the first caste, initially a difference between Aryans and dasas, as the word *varna* for caste and colour shows in conjunction with the recorded fact that the Aryans had a different colour from their predecessors in India. However, the existence of a caste, of surplus-producing labour, would necessarily promote rapid class and caste-differentiation among the conquerors; it certainly inhibited the rise of large-scale chattel-slavery in India. The wandering Vratyas alone preserved the older tribal institutions down into historical times, having need of neither Brahmin nor Sudra within the tribe; kingship with them remains a tribal office of small importance even when the tribe developed into an oligarchy over a tributary population. Brahmin scriptures continue to give a fixed theoretical status of a helot for the Sudra, always distinguished from Arya: one who is not eligible for initiation, barred from handling weapons, even from owning property, and whose function is solely to labour for the benefit of the three higher castes—though we know that this was on occasion tacitly contradicted by the rise of a Sudra to the position of warrior, chieftain, or king, in historical times.

The conquerors must have destroyed cultivation as well as the cities; otherwise they could have settled down like their cousins in Egypt, Asia Minor, Mesopotamia as a new layer on top of existing class-relations of production. It is well-known that without irrigation the Punjab plains can support only a comparatively small population along the rivers, the rest being desert. Nowhere in Alexander's time do we hear of any cities comparable in size and organization to Mohenjo-daro. On the other hand, we find the common Vedic myth of Indra killing a demon to free the pent-up waters (sometimes called cows), which is invariably taken to denote a nature myth of the rain-god piercing clouds to cause precipitation. But we have a separate rain-god *parjanya* to whom entire hymns are dedicated (v.83; vii.101, 102). Indra's action is described in terms that can only

mean that *the river-dams were shattered*; we know that a little to the west of Mohenjo-daro, there still exist tremendous prehistoric dams of this sort, though now useless in the absence of sufficient rain (Marshall, p. 3). The breaking of dams would destroy the very basis of agriculture, whence the Aryans would have to move their cattle to fresh pastures after a few years. Perhaps the clearest description is to be seen in iv.19.5, 4, 8: Indra shakes the ground as the wind the water, overthrows the mountains, forcibly bends down what was firm; the rivers hasten forth, all the stones roll away like chariots; for many days and years did Indra let the rivers run after the fall of Vrtra, he freed the streams that had been bound (*badbadhndah slrdh*, the dammed rivers²³). Only ignorance of the fact that there had been a civilization with fully developed agriculture in the desert, before the Aryans, could make anyone interpret this as a myth of rain-making. Similarly for i.32.8-10; viii.96.18; we hear of seasonal barriers in v.32.2, and vii.18.8 speaks of vain attempts at diverting the Parusni river, perhaps one of the causes of Sudas's wars. In ii.15.3 *vaj-rena khany atrnan nadinam* has been interpreted as Indra making canals for the rivers, but this quite unique action on the part of Indra may be doubted, because the verb and tool both indicate smashing, which is possible for a dam, not for irrigation channels. Besides the *dasa* as a source of labour power, the humped Indus cattle were also an acquisition of the conquest; they are mentioned explicitly in x.8.2; x.102.7, and perhaps in viii.20.21, and their truly Indian origin has generally been admitted. The use of the horse and of iron was known to the invaders before their irruption, according to archaeologists. We have here one reason for the victory of the Aryans over the indigenous population which knew neither.

Heterogeneity in the pre-Aryan people cannot be doubted. They cannot all have been residents of Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa with but a single profession! Even to support the inhabitants of a big city like either of these, there must have been a considerable food-growing ancillary population apart from the craftsmen in the cities, of whose social position we still know nothing, but who would be the logical candidates for the name and position of *Dasa*, or *Dasyu*. All I can suggest is that a portion of the conquered rose instead of falling, and that they could only do this by adopting Aryan methods of fire worship, undoubtedly with some additions. Some of them must have had fire cults of their own, as for example the *Bhrigu-Angiras* group so often associated with the first discovery of fire. A few like *Divodasa*²⁴ may even have been enrolled into the ruling *Ksatriya* class, for the Aryans had come across many different people in their wanderings, and purity of 'race' at so early a period means nothing in comparison to the cult observed; adoption of a stranger needs only the formalities of initiation, and one becomes a *Ksatriya* merely on account of prowess in battle. It seems clear to me that the formation of an internal, Aryan caste system, essentially the separation of the Brahmin in function and discipline from the *Ksatriya* and the setting of both above the householder *Vaisya*, after the *dasas* had been conquered, must have been accelerated by the assimilation of a subjugated priesthood; for otherwise there is no reason for demarcation into endogamous castes. The Indie Aryans completed their own conquest at a far earlier period than the Zoroastrians (identifying *Vlasp* with the father of Darius I, after Herzfeld, pp. 30, 88) with more primitive tools and over cultures which were far more locally concentrated. The question can only be settled with more archaeological evidence; the purpose of such a discussion as the present is primarily to show the intelligent archaeologist what to expect, perhaps where to excavate, and how to interpret his finds.

As a preliminary, connections may be pointed out between certain obscure features of the *Rgveda* and actual finds in the Indus valley. The three-headed seated deity of the famous Mohenjo-Daro seal, our Fig. 1, may be taken for *Tvastra*, if the number of heads be actually three; there may be a fourth head away from the observer, which would make the deity proto-Brahma. But the three-headed *Tvastra* cannot be entirely independent of other three-headed creatures on Indus valley seals. In E.J.H. Mackay's *Further Excavations at Mohenjo-Daro*, II, PI. LXXXIIH.24, XCVI.494, XCIX.B and Marshall's earlier work (*Mohenjo-Daro and the Indus Civilization*, London 1931) III. PI. CXII.382, we find a seal depicting a three-headed bull. Now iii.56.3 refers specifically to such a bull in the *Rgveda*, while the entire hymn is to several otherwise mysterious multiple deities. So far, it has not been possible to demonstrate *daksinatas-kapardinas* on any seal but a god with braided hair is to be seen in our Fig. 2 (Mackay PI. LXXXVII.235); the god, along with a priest and a row of seven human figures who are attendants at the sacrifice all show long hair-braids (in Mackay II, PI. XCIV.430, PI. XCIX.A = Marshall I, PI. XII. 18). *Kapardin* should rather mean with twisted than braided hair, but the matter is not settled. Punch-marked coins also yield occasional homo-signs with hair-twists or braids (Durga Prasad, *JRASB*. XXX. 1934, PI. 21, nos 132-3) but the coins belong to the Mauryan period, and are tribal, not Brahmanical, as I interpret the evidence. The row of human figures at the bottom of the last seal referred to show a hornlike decoration on the head besides the braid; this might qualify them for the title *Visanin* (vii.18.7), while the god of Fig. 1 has a headdress which certainly has two (buffalo?) horns for its components. The animals surrounding the deity are to be interpreted as totems, on the great seal of Fig. 1.

Marshall (p. 15) misses the significance of the cup-like depressions on the shoulders of the Harappa red stone statuette. They are not meant for fixing ornamental discs, for in that case the little boss in the centre would be unnecessary; the intention is clearly to fix an extra pair of arms which could be swivelled around, just as the head is meant to be turned in the neck-socket. Marshall takes the other fragmentary Harappa dancing statuette²⁵ as with three heads or faces, though only the stump of a thick neck remains; it had not more than two arms. But the four-armed figure had become so classical as to be given the status of a pictogram in the Indus script. It is rather amusing to see Langdon (Marshall, p. 446, *signs* 183, 184) leave the particular homo-sign unexplained or call one variety 'man supporting two clubs', when an extra pair of arms, or snakes, or rivers springing out of the shoulders could be the only possible explanation, as may be confirmed by looking at the corresponding seals in the volume of plates. The reduction to a hieroglyph may indicate that the type originates in or at least is closer to the Indus valley than to Mesopotamia. The transition from the Indus representations of a deity with an extra pair of arms to the Mesopotamian god with rivers flowing out of his shoulders may be seen in Vats, pictograph 383c (PI. CXV) and seal 35 of PI. LXXXVI. Possibly, his symbol 388 *a* might also have developed from the common source. Mackay (PI. LXXXVI.8) reports a unique two-faced clay image fragment, the faces being beardless and slant-eyed whence the connection (if any) with the two-faced Mesopotamian *Usmu* is not direct. *RV*. 151.5, *svadhdbhir ye adhi suptdv ajuhvata* 'those who sacrificed upon the shoulders (and were destroyed by Indra)' might indicate cults related to the above Indus pictograms or rather to their originals.

The absence of fuller archaeological evidence from the Indus valley forces us to consider parallel Mesopotamian seals, permissible because the existence of a common element to the two cultures is admitted.²⁶ The *Hydra* (*Naga*, *Sesa*) appears with five or seven heads (Frankfort p. 72, Fig. 26; PI. XXIIIj); much later, human figures with two animal heads, goat and stag (*ibid.*, p. 271). As the labours of *Herakles* originate in these seals, the three-headed *Geryon-Cacus*, or a *Kerberos*, would have linked up with the Indus seals. However, *Ea* (originally *Enki*, a water-god like *Narayana*) has a *two-faced* attendant, *Usmu* according to Furlani, who performs the functions of minister and herald, i.e. is equivalent to a human priest or priest-king. The two rivers flow generally from *Ea*'s shoulders, occasionally from a jar in his hand. His other attendant, a bearded naked athlete of the *Gilgames-Herakles* type, also sometimes holds such a river-jar. Frankfort PI. XXVIII.fc shows both on a Babylonian seal, in such a way that the rivers might seem to emerge from the hero's shoulders; this seems to be the general case later, c. PI. XXXIX./; in XLIV.m the river goddesses themselves might be the two attendants flanking the hero from whose shoulders stream the waters. On PI. XLIV.i (a peripheral seal) the two streams emerge from a naked goddess's shoulders, as well as those of a much smaller male, perhaps her son. As the water-hero goes back at least to

Akkadian times, we must see in him a representative of Ea, and the two-faced attendant must be another such, like the goat-fish which is later Ea himself. This will have to be used in interpreting Indus valley evidence, and *Rgvedic* references. The goat-fish symbol of Ea (Frankfort, Pl. XXV.d; XXVIII.jfc; this seems to me the original *matsya-avatara* and *aja ekapada*) is reversed on the Mohenjo-Daro 'sacrifice' seal, in that the animal before the god is a ram with the head of a fish (first pointed out by Fr. H. Heras S.J.). The sun-god has, like some other deities, rays emanating from his shoulders; usually three from each but the number is not fixed. This must be the original depiction of *saptarasmī*, the Vedic adjective. Other deities have vegetation replace the rays (Frankfort Pl. XX.c, e, j, k). On the Gudea seal (Frankfort p. 143) the dragon-god Ningiszida shows two snakes or dragon, rising from his shoulders, like the later god Tispak, XXV, e, which relates both to the Zohak of the Shah Nameh. Occasionally, as on the Hammurabi stele, the rays curl up at the end, and Pharaoh Ikhnaton's reliefs tell us that they could terminate in hands, whence it is natural that they should develop from or into supernumerary arms. The best cylinder seal for our purpose is Fig. 3, from BM 89115, Frankfort PL XI.S.a, which shows the sun-god being resurrected or liberated from his mountain grave by Ea and a goddess (Ishtar). The sun and the goddess show rays emanating from their shoulders, the central rays of the goddess terminating in what might be taken as hands. Two rivers, proved to be such by the fish swimming therein, stream out of Ea's shoulders, and he is followed closely by the two-faced attendant. As for the goddess, whose various traits are fully enough developed (on seals) by the time of the first Babylonian dynasty to prove her identity with Ishtar, the rays radiating from her and her evoking the sun would make her also a dawn-goddess. As such, she has a great deal in common with the Indian Usas, worshipped even in the plural in the *Rgveda*, too prominent for a mere goddess of the dawn. Indra comes into violent conflict with her, shattering her car (ii.15.6; iv.30.8-11; x.138.5; x.73.6); this has, fortunately, no real interpretation as a nature myth, and can only indicate a clash of cults. If now Usas were a mother-goddess (for which one can easily find *Rgvedic* indications) like Ishtar, her bringing out the sun (originally Tammuz) would still be remembered after the Aryan conquest and would enable her to claim a modest position as dawn-goddess, even after Indra had put her to flight. It is known that Enki-Ea is originally the god of the land, not of the waters. Frankfort p. 116, Fig. 32 shows us Inanna-Ishtar seated as priestess before her own image-altar, receiving homage from some devotee; she holds the two-river jar in her hand. Thus the naked goddess (on Syrian group II seals) from whose shoulders the two rivers stream is an old survival, and Ishtar must—possibly under some other name—have been the earlier river-deity displaced peacefully by Ea. Her consort Tammuz is bewailed as both husband and son, the root-word *damu* meaning both. This is quite natural, and wherever we have a clear historical course of development within the culture, patriarchal cults develop in precisely this manner from the matriarchal, by consortship of a son or husband with the priestess. To revert to the common substratum for the Indie and Mesopotamian river-civilizations, it may be pointed out that the horned headdresses of Mesopotamian gods, though more complicated, again connect them with the three-faced Indus god, as well as the deity on the 'sacrifice' seal. The latter seal has seven attendant figures with braided hair, and the number is interesting though they lack individuality. The seven sages (*saptarsis*) are not only an Indian group, but highly reminiscent of the seven Mesopotamian antediluvian sages, whose images are actually found buried in groups of seven. Marshall (pp. 64-5) takes the deity and ministrant figures in the 'sacrifice' seal to be female which seems quite unlikely to me, while the animal is ascribed a 'human' face instead of the quite obvious fish, which argues lack of care in examination, or myopia.



Fig. 1. The Three-faced Indus God (After DAT. 5175)

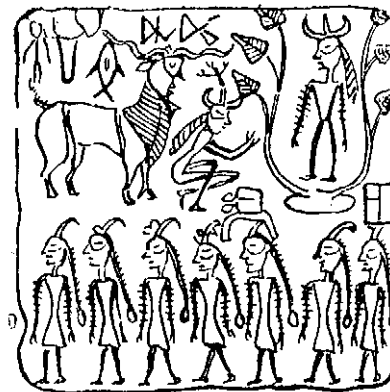


Fig. 2. 'The Sacrifice' (After DK. 6847)

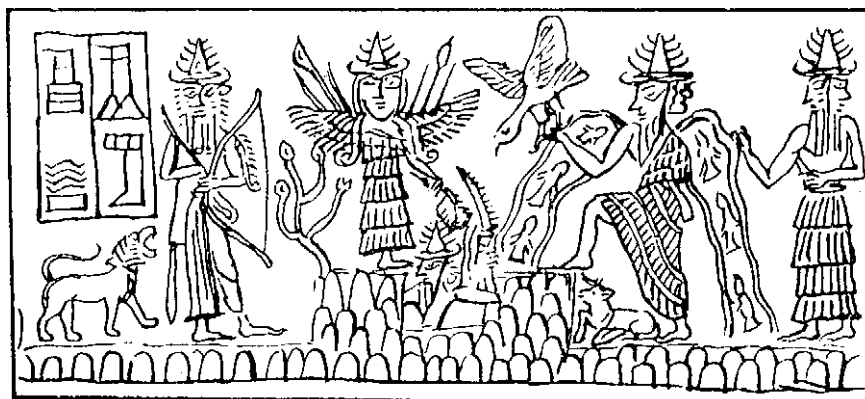


Fig. 3. Resurrection or liberation of the Sun-God from his mountain grave (After BM. 89115)

The row of seven figures marching single file hand in hand, but in the opposite direction appears again on a fragmentary seal (Vats, *Excavations at Harappa*, New Delhi 1940, Pl. XCI.251). The principal difficulty lies in proving their connection with the seven Mesopotamian 'ancient *apkallu* who were before the flood in Shuruppak.' Their line of descent in India is clear enough. *RV* i.24.10 calls the stars of Ursa Major *rksah*, the Bears; *SatBrah*. ii. 1.2.4 makes the Pleiades (*krttikas*) wives of these Bear-rsis. *SatBrah*. vi. 1.1.1 even claims that these rsis wore themselves out with toil creating the universe, which fits the *rk* iv.2.15; *Sat Brdh*. ix.2.3.44 tells us that these seven were addressed as 'seven tongues, and were made into one person. The idea of our seven primary groups is obviously much older than the beginning of the present clan system. The seven, sages, as *vipras* or *rsis* are called 'our ancestors' by the Brahmin seers of *Rgvedic* hymns, particularly by the Angirasas in iv.42.8 which makes them present when Durgaha's son (Purukutsa) was taken prisoner; and vi.22.2, *tamu nah pitaro navagva sapta viprdsso abhi vjayanta*. This might seem self-contradictory as the Seven cannot be split into the Nine or the Ten, but association of the seven sages with the Navagvas and Dasagvas is repeated in i.62.4, and perhaps ix. 108.4 where Dadhianc appears as a Navagva. At the very least, we can say that they are pre-Aryan associates of a mother-goddess in creation. The goddess survives later as Usas, daughter of the sky, after being smashed up by Indra as an evil-plotting female (iv.30.8-11). The Mizar-Alcor combination in Ursa Major is still known as Vasistha and Arundhatl, but we have several other versions in which the smaller companion star is the common wife of all seven of the sages (*Mbh*. 1.188.14).

It is clear, though difficult to prove, that the unnamed seven laid low by Indra (x.49.8) and whose enemy Indra became from his very birth though they had till then been without an enemy (viii.96.16) are these seven sages. Their supposed consorts, the Pleiades, are to be seen often enough as a constellation on Mesopotamian cylinder seals.

Usas as a mother goddess connected with the seven sages appears explicitly in iv.2.15: *adha matur usasah sapta viprd jayemahi prathama vedhasa nnn*; 'we seven sages will generate men from mother Usas who (will become) the first ritualists; we shall become Angirasas, sons of heaven, we shall burst the rich mountain, shining forth'. Mother-goddess figurines are perhaps the commonest Indus city finds, one type being bird-headed, like the dove-headed Venus of the early Mediterranean culture. Marshall p. 52 describes the seal on Pl. XII, no. 12 which shows a mother-goddess upside down, giving birth to vegetation,²⁷ hence presumably the earth-mother; the other side represents her or another female deity seated, with streaming hair, approached by some male worshipper. This last is mentioned only because Marshall interprets the scene as the sacrifice of a female by a man, for which the seal itself shows not the slightest evidence. The Angirasas bursting the mountain, a common enough figure of speech, is highly suggestive, when we compare the action of the Sun-god on the Sargonid seal, with v.45.1-3. Only the saw is needed to complete the description. But the *Rgvedic* scenes are remarkably well depicted on Frankfort Pl. XVIII.a, where the god of light bursts the mountain and causes the gates to be thrown open.

One important difference has to be emphasized when considering these resemblances. Weapons such as spear or lance-heads found at Mohenjo-Daro have been so flimsy that they could have served only for decorations in some ceremonial; this contrasts strongly with the sturdy bronze tools found in the same deposits, and with the war-materials in Mesopotamia. Allowing for the painful incompetence of our archaeologists, it still seems evident that the mechanism of violence was less developed than one would expect in a city of this size, even though it was prim--arily a trade and manufacturing centre.

The archaeological evidence for battle and conquest being undeniable *one may venture to identify Harappa with the Hariyuplya* of vi.27.5, making the assumption that the locality has preserved its name through the millennia. The hymn praises Indra's shattering the front line of 130 panoplied Vrclvats whereby the rest of the army was broken in the battle on the Yavyavati river;²⁸ thus Indra handed over the Varasikhas and Tur-vasa to Daivavata, which may be Srnjaya as well as Abhyavartin Caya-mana. Rather than press such identifications, which can have little value till we read the Indus valley script, attention may again be called to the two seals above. The (three-horned) trident which the supernal figure wears on his head in the 'sacrifice' seal (Fig. 2) is related to the buffalo-horn headdress of the three-faced god in the better-known seal of Fig. 1, as well as to the three faces of that god, and the later trisula symbol. The adjective *srgin* does occur occasionally in the *Rgveda*; (Agni described as) Tvastr seems to be three-horned according to v.43.13 and we have noted the Visanin tribe, labelled *sivdsas*, in vii.18. Lastly, anyone with the three-peaked headdress as on the sacrifice seal could be called *trisa-nku*, and as the figure is between heaven and earth (probably a god descending for the sacrifice), we have here one possible source of the Visva-mitra-Trisanku myth.

For the first identification of the later cemetery at Harappa as Aryan, cf. V. Gordon Childe, *New Light on the Most Ancient East* (London 1935, 223-4); R.E.M. Wheeler, *Ancient India*, no. 3, 1947, 81 ff, gives a discussion of the archaeological evidence for Aryan conquest and occupation at Harappa; for the ponderous incompetence of Marshall's and Mackay's excavation of Mohenjo-Daro, *ibid.*, p. 144.

Iranian Parallels

10. There is no doubt that Indo-Aryan society as reorganized with Brah-minism opened up the swampy lands of the Gangetic basin, so that caste was an essential feature of more efficient means of production, the development of fixed settlements, and the state. The word *brahman* for the priesthood is not to be found outside India; and whereas exogamous patriarchal gentes within the tribe or community are known to have existed among Latin and Greek societies after the Aryan invasion of those respective territories, we have no general example of fire-priesthood as the exclusive prerogative of a hereditary caste, though occasionally a gens has the rights of chief priesthood for some particular cult. There is, however, a rudimentary caste system and a fire-priest caste among a neighbouring Aryan people, the Iranians; this case has to be considered in detail.

Our sources²⁹ of knowledge for the Iranians are the fragmentary Avestan and Pahlavi religious texts, plus the reports of Greek travellers and historians. The first group of documents is lacunary, of late redaction as shown by the reference to the followers of a heretic Gaotema (Yt. xiii.16, now identified with the Buddha and not Nodhas Gotama), and in addition bears the stamp of a thorough religious reform, that of Zoroaster, which succeeded with the Achaemenids in the sixth century BC. Comparison with the *Rgveda* is difficult. Greek notices supply foreign travellers' accounts far superior to anything comparable for that period in India, but are occasionally hostile and sometimes not credible. Taking all these into consideration, the presence of at least one major stream of common tradition between Indie and Avestan Aryans is not to be doubted. Apart from the language of the *gdthds* and old Persian inscriptions, so similar to Sanskrit, we have the common fear of the demons called *yatu*, worship of Vayu, love of the sacred *haoma* - *soma* drink, and the basic position of the fire cult. Steady contact had been maintained through regions known to both people, as for example 'Vaekereta of the evil shadows' (= Kabul), and the land of the seven rivers (= the Punjab), the seventh and the fifteenth respectively of the sixteen regions created by Ahura Mazda (*Vd*. i). King Yima is much more prominent in the Vendidad (Fargard ii) than Yama in the *Rgveda*, but the identity is not in doubt; the

Avestan Sarasvati ('the beautiful Harahvaiti' of *Vd.* 13) is the Arghand-ab, and not one of the seven rivers in India. Verethraghna is the 'glory made by Ahura Mazda' (*Vd.* xix.37, and *Yt.* xiv); Indra has been made into a demon by the reform, though still under the title of *daeva* (*Vd.* xx.43, x.9). Then there is the rather ambiguous position of the golden-heeled Gan-dareva, a demon (*Yt.* v.38, xix.41), but not without respect (*Yt.* xiii.122, xv.28); he has been transferred to the deep though the Indians place him in the atmosphere.

For our main purpose, we have to note specifically the three supposed castes of the Iranians (*Vd.* i. 16, three races, from the Azerbaijan). But the division into fire-priests, warriors, and husbandmen is not a degradation of the last as it was for the Vaisy a in the *Taittiriya Samhita* and later Indian scriptures, for they are descended from the three sons of Spitama Zarathustra who is himself not only the first and foremost fire-priest (*Yt.* xiii.94) but the first warrior and the first plougher of the ground as well (*Yt.* xiii.88). The husbandman is honoured on earth, and his progenitor supreme in the Var of King Yima (*Vd.* ii). We have therefore a *division into classes, not castes*. Now the Avestan title of the fire-priesthood is *athravan*, which is undoubtedly the Vedic *atharvan*, and again shows an ancient unity of tradition to which Zoroaster reverted in clearing off the bloody (and of course uneconomic) sacrifices that obscured the (supposed) original purity of Aryan worship, whereas Buddha and the Jains took up the philosophy of *ahimsa*. The Iranian Athravan leads the way after a path has been purified from the extreme pollution of a funeral (*Vd.* viii.19). The Athravans who read, and their pupils, will beg knowledge and prosperity of Ardvi Sura Anahita (*Yt.* v.86). *Yt.* xiii.147 says 'here are the *athravans* of all countries' come to worship the Fravasis, while *Yt.* xvi. 17 refers to the Athravans sent afar, presumably wandering (even mendicant) missionaries. The fine qualities of an Athravan are given in *Yt.* xix.53, and the caste still monopolizes the priesthood among the Par-sis, theoretically endogamous though not rigidly so in practice.

On the other hand, western travellers know of Iranian priests as Magi though Zoroaster uses *magus* and *magopat* only as adjectives, with the meaning of great. The original Magi were one of the six tribes of the Medians (*Her.* i.101), who were a western branch of the same race, first subject to the Assyrians, then independent and overlords of the eastern Persians, and finally conquered by the latter but in close alliance nevertheless after Cyrus and Darius I. Yet the Greek tells us that the Magi took a peculiar delight in killing all living things except dogs and men (*Her.* i.140). The special protection given to dogs (*Vd.* xiii *et passim*) is, of course, a feature of ancient Persian means of production and of the high, status of the husbandman; the dog in the Avesta is the most useful of man's friends in the protection of the household and of cattle. The killing of all sorts of lower animal life which Herodotus notices is sanctioned, and even demanded by Vendidad xiv.5-6. For our thesis, it is of special interest to note that the Magi recovered their original position of respect,³⁰ and continued as an 'honorary tribe' to be priests (with readjustment to the new reforms) but that they had first undergone attacks similar to those suffered by the Bhrgus and other early Brahmins. In particular, the story of Darius and the false Smerdis (*Her.* iii.61 seq., fully supported by the inscriptions of Darius) and the festival of the Magophonia (*Her.* iii.79) show that special action had to be taken against the Magi as a whole, but that massacre did not end their priestly function. For that matter, we also know that some of the older gods had to be readmitted into the pantheon (Herzfeld pp. 401,408-9) though with suitable changes. In other words, we have a parallel to the happenings in India, and for similar reasons: conquest and re-assimilation, with a conquered (though here Aryan) clan imposing itself upon the priesthood by virtue of superior ritual.

The *Rgvedic atharvan*, though belonging to so remote a past as to appear more than human, and without a surviving *gotra* (unless we infringe upon sacred tenets of philology to relate *athar* to *atri*) to commemorate his existence, still occupied a far more important historical position than would appear by the comparatively rare citations. In x.14 and x.21.5, he is associated with Yama while in x.120.9 we have Brhad-diva as an atharvan; but the signal honour given in x.120 to the supposed rsi and the actual meaning of the name itself seem to reflect the stature of someone like Ahura Mazda, who is himself a sky-god (*Her.* i.131) sublimated and an Athravan (*Yt.* i.12). In x.48.2 Indra Vaikuntha declares that he protected Atharvan and Trita, and bestowed upon them the cattle released from *ahi*, presumably Vrtra referred to as a snake; an Avestan parallel to the Pani episode is perhaps the prayer of cattle to Mithra, for release from the den of the Druj (*Yt.* x.86). in viii.9.7, as in ix.11.2, Atharvan is clearly the fire itself upon which *soma* is sprinkled. In vi.47.24, the Athravans and Payu Bharadvaja receive ten special chariots and a hundred head of cattle from Asvattha; the same Payu Bharadvaja as the supposed seer of x.87.12 mentions the Atharvan flame as most effective in driving away *yatudhdna* demons. The bones of Dadhyanc Atharvana are used by Indra to kill the nine nineties of his dark enemies: i.84.13 *indro dadhico astha-bhirvrtrany apratiskutah; jaghdna navatirnavā*. In fact, Atharvan is explicitly the first *yajna* sacrificer according to i.83.5 and x.92.10 while the atharvan fire-drill or method of lighting the fire is lauded in vi.15.7 as in vi.16.13-14; the last *rk* calls Agni by Indra's titles, *vrtrahanampuram-daram*, which shows again that fire was used as a poliorcetic weapon by the early Indie Aryans, and incidentally explains how the Avesta could separate Verethraghna from Indra. The most important of all references to Atharvan is x.14.6 where we have an association in the same line with Angiras, the *pitrs*, the Nine seers (*navagva*), and the Bhrgus, the last of whom also appeared in x.92.10. At this stage, we note that the *rks* containing any reference to Atharvan are overwhelmingly of Bharadvaja or Gotama origin, i.e. of Angiras authorship. Later, the whole of the *Atharva-veda* is called the Atharvangiras, (cf. *Mbh.* 5.18.5-8) and the special combination appears with the highest eminence in that Veda. Finally, we have seen that the Bhrgu-Angiras combination also exists, which shows just why the extinct Atharvan was important in India: *The Atharvan is the proper fire-priest of one Aryan group, and association with him was the means whereby the Angirasas and the Bhrgus climbed into Vedic priesthood*. This gives us much the same historical development as that of the Magus in Persia. In the *Mundaka Upanisad* i.2 we have the line of teachers as Brahma-Atharvan-Angir-Bharadvaja Satyavaha-Angiras. This is a step towards the final inversion to be found in still later traditions which makes Atharvan an Angiras, the very first.

However, not everything can be explained by parallel historical developments, and like the name of the river Sarasvati, there is possibility of a legend being transferred. The story of the hero Thraetona and the demon Azi Dahaka is here of considerable interest. The Persian hero of the Athwya clan performs a great sacrifice of a hundred stallions, a thousand oxen, and ten thousand lambs to Drvaspa (*Yt.* ix.13-14) or Ardvi Sura Anahita (*Yt.* v.33^t) or Vayu (*Yt.* xv.23-4; cf. *Yt.* xvii.33-4) for the destruction of the snake. Azi Dahaka himself 'the three-mouthed, the three-headed, the six-eyed, who has a thousand senses, that most powerful fiendish Druj, that demon baleful to the world' makes the same sacrifice in the land of Bawri (= Babylon) to Ardvi Sura Anahita (*Yt.* v.29-31) and to Vayu (*Yt.* xv.19-21) 'in his accursed palace of Kvirinta' in order to destroy the seven habitable regions of the world (Karshvares), but his great sacrifices are rejected. The hero Thraetona Athwya prays successfully to destroy him and set free his 'two wives, Savanghvac and Erenavac, who are the fairest of body amongst women, and the most wonderful creatures in the world' (*Yt.* ix.14). Now a three-headed demon is known to the *Rgveda* as Trisiras Tvastra, and in the slaying, Trita Aptya has been seen to be associated with Indra (x.99.6, x.8.8) which has been taken as sufficient for the identification by most scholars. The divine Vac, of which the *Rgveda* knows more than one variety, though not as the wife of Trisiras, is the speech monopolized by our Brahmins, later deified as Sarasvati. The legend deserves a little closer analysis. The Avestan Thrita is the first healer and founder of medicine (*Vd.* xx), but a member of the Sama family, which again sounds familiarly Vedic. Traitana occurs only once in the *Rgveda*, as the pre-Aryan or demon (*dds*) whose blow at Dirghatamas recoils upon himself, leaving the sage unharmed, to float down the river: i.158.5 *siro yad asya traitano vitaksat svayam ddsā uro amsdv api gdha*. It is possible to see the discordant features at a glance; the great difference of territory between the four-cornered Varena (Tabaristan), for which Thraetona was born to smite Azi Dahaka, and the eastern portion of

the Indo-Aryan domain is significant. In addition, Azi Dahaka survives to tempt Zarathustra: ‘Renounce the good Religion of the worshippers of Mazda, and thou shall gain such a boon as Vadhaghna gained, the ruler of the nations’ (*Vd.* xix.6). Yet the historic substance of the legend is enhanced by analysis. In the first place, Azi is a king, as shown by his palace and great sacrifice, which was not only repeated by his slayer but (near lake Urumiah = Caecasta) by Kavi Husravah, ‘He who united the Aryan nations into one kingdom’ (*Yt.* v.49, 32, ix.22); at the White Forest by the ‘murderer’ Aurvasara fleeing from Husravah (*Yt.* xv.31); and by Xerxes (*Her.* vii.43, 113; cf. i.50). His connection with Babylon is curiously supported by later legend, for the Shah Nameh describes him (= Zohak) as with two snakes springing from his shoulders (cf. p. 27 of the Shah Nameh translation into English verse by A. Rogers, London 1907). Zohak is not an ordinary king but a successor to Yima-Jamshed himself. The black snakes that issued from his shoulders (as the devil kissed him there) appear on Mesopotamian seals as shoulder-rays from the sun, dragons from the shoulders of Tispak-Ningiszida or rivers issuing from the shoulders of Ea or the hero Gil-games of Sumerian legend; from them to the four-armed characters of the Indus valley seals and later sculpture is only a step, the actual transition probably being in the opposite direction. Sisupala (*Mbh.* 2.40.1) the Cedian was born four-armed and three-eyed. The god (?Sun) on Hammurabi’s stele has curved flames issuing from his shoulders. Thus, the legend is rooted deep in the historic tradition of Aryan conflicts with great pre-Aryan civilizations in the Indus valley as well as in Mesopotamia; we know that these civilizations had long, continuous co-existence and intercourse, as well as many common features, probably some common origins. In this case, I should be inclined to consider the event itself as having occurred in the Indus valley.

Just what the snake-demon signifies I cannot venture to say in this context especially as his connection with the cult of the Mother-Goddess and pre-patriarchal family life is known, but not preserved in either of the two-Aryan sources under discussion. However, other heroes conquer multiple-headed snakes as for example Herakles and the Hydra, or the Indian counterpart Krsna and Kaliya; yet the Hydra has one head which is immortal, and Krsna only subdues Kaliya without killing him. The vast though inobtrusive current spread of the naga cult need not be given in detail. One major Hindu holiday is dedicated to the cobra. Cobras are regarded by many (my mother, grandfather, uncle, and cousins among them) as embodying ancestral spirits, and the live snake himself generally forms an appendage of most rustic temples. Sesa’s bearing the whole earth on his multiple hood goes back much further than the obviously recast legend in *Mbh.* i.32. Visnu sleeps upon the great (many-headed) cobra, Siva wears him as a necklace, and the cobra’s protective hood is reared above the phallic symbol of Mahadeva. The chief cobra Taksaka escapes being burnt down with the Khandava forest (*Mbh.* 1.218.4; the whole episode is one of land-clearing in the typical Aryan manner, by firing the woods and slaughtering all inhabitants), and is barely saved from Janamejaya Parikṣita’s fire-sacrifice by his human nephew Astika. The name *taksaka* is related to *taksan* = carpenter, hence to the god Tvastri; and to Taksasila, (the Greek Taxila) which was the capital after the *Mahabharata* war. Thus Taxila to Kuruksetra must have been the territory of a tribe or tribes which had a cobra totem or cult. Nagas remain extraordinary craftsmen in Indian folklore, demonic beings able to assume human form at will. Krsna’s elder brother is usually taken to be an incarnation of the great Naga. The demon Vrtra is called *ahi* in the Veda, but the snake of the deep *ahirbudhnyas* remains an object of worship. References to *ahi* are scattered throughout the Veda with the important exception of the Visvāmītra book. Here, the word *ahi* is found only twice (iii.32.11 and iii.33.7), in both cases referring to Indra’s killing of the demon Vrtra in order to release the waters. The peculiar difference between Vrtra or Trisiras and Azi is undoubtedly to be explained by the historical differences in the relations between the Aryans and the conquered people in India, as against the Aryans and their Assyrian enemies in Persia. As for the Angiras Dīrghatamas (*Bṛhaddevata* iv. 11-12), his name itself shows association with darkness (explained away by his blindness, i.147.3; iv.4.13), hence with the Vrtras who are the enemies of Indra and the Aryans. But in spite of the familiar royal persecution he left descendants who became Brahmins in the main priestly lineage, while Traitana left his mark only upon a very distant branch of Aryans. Thus even this legend supports the contention that the development of Indo-Aryan sacerdotal tradition is by assimilation of a pre-Aryan element, which has special connection with the Brahmin caste, particularly in its original stages. With the Zoroastrians, success meant that the religion was predominantly that of a comparatively small number ruling over vast territories inhabited by far more numerous peoples which had diverse customs of their own and in some cases law-codes going back to Hammurabi. Therefore, the development of a new *gotra* system among the Magi was not necessary. In India, on the contrary, the conquest meant destruction of the Indus valley urban cultures, reorganization of society into castes, and progressive opening up of new, sparsely settled, and heavily wooded territories to the east. This gave opportunity for each group of priests to be attached to or adopted by several Aryan clans, which must have been the origin of Brahmin *pravaras*.

Trita Aptya: The Origins of Epic and Saga

11. The Avestan Vadhaghna can be equated without difficulty to Indra himself under the title of *vadhasnu*, bearer of the death-dealing weapon, though *vajrin*, *vajra-hasta*, etc. are the usual adjectives. *Vadhasnu* is actually used of Soma (= *indu*) in ix.54.3. We hear of the gods shooting down upon men (v.41.13) and Agni breaking down walls (vii.5.5) with a *vadhasna*. Indra’s weapons have the same name in i. 165.6 (*vadhasnaih*);

equivalent forms *vadha*, *vadhar*; etc. are found in considerable profusion: vii.83.4, Indra-Varunavad/zanab/Hrvanvanra; So, Tris/asbeingapwro/jf’ to of Indra might be reflected in the association of Azi Dahaka with Vadha-ghna in the Avesta.

Of the block of seven hymns (i.51-7) ascribed to Savya Angiras and all dedicated to Indra, i.53 begins ‘Let us sing a hymn to great Indra, dedicate chants to him in the abode of Vaivasvata’. The location is reminiscent of the Var of Yima. Thou (Indra) has crushed under thy irresistible chariotwheel the twice ten tribal kings with their 60,099 men, who fought against kinless (*abandhuna*) Susravas. Thou didst aid Susravas with thy support, Indra; with thy protection thou gavest to the victoriously advancing (*turvayanam*³¹), Kutsa, Atithigva, Ayu into the hands of the great young king’ (i.53.9-10). I suggest that this fits the Avestan Husravah very well, though here the title of Kavi is not mentioned, and the opponent Aurvasara is not recognizable.

Even more instructive is the series of references to Trita Aptya. Let us first report what the meticulous Grassmann (col. 557) has to say: ‘Trita is originally “the third” and therefore set up against a “second” (viii.47.16.1). Designation of a god who is probably obliged for his name and worship (i.187.1; i.163.2.3; i.52.5; viii.7.24) to a pre-Vedic point of view, because of which he also occurs often in the Zend. Already in the *Rgveda*, his original being appears obscured, in that he shows to a certain extent as the background for the world of Vedic gods. Thus he appears in a definite manner as the predecessor of Indra, who strikes down demons just like him and frees the imprisoned streams; for this relationship i.52.5 is particularly characteristic, where it is said of Indra that he broke the defences of Vala like Trita. 2) So he blows upon Agni (v.9.5; x.46.3), discovers him, establishes him in the houses of men. 3) He leads Varuna-Soma to the sea (ix.95.4) and even seems himself to be Varuna (viii.41.6.4). He appears in alliance with other gods (ii.31.6; ii.34.10, 14; v.54.2; viii.12.16), namely also 5) with the winds (x.64.3; x.114.4) and 6) with Soma (ix.32.2; ix.34.4; ix.37.4; ix.38.2; ix.86.20; ix.102.2,3; ii.11.20), so that the fingers that purify the Soma appear as Trita’s virgins (ix.32.2; ix.38.2), the Soma stone as Trita’s stone (ix.102.2) and Soma as coming

to Trita (ix.34.4). So he is represented 7) as living in the far unknown distance (i. 105.9) and therefore 8) carried away to Trita (viii.47.13, 17) is equal to carried very far away. In all these conceptions, he appears with the qualification *aptya*, as also in meaning 9. But besides this conception of Trita as a higher deity, he appears also 9) as a lower god (i. 102.1; ii. 11.19; x.48.2; x.99.6; x.8.8) who performs labours in the service of Indra or 10) calls upon the gods for help (i. 105.17; x.8.7) when fallen into a well. Finally 11) in the plural, a whole class of gods is so denoted (vi.44.23) in whose abode Indra found the nectar of immortality⁷.

This shows that Trita, though faded, had at one time a substantial following. The whole nexus can very well be explained by our present hypothesis if the course of historical development be taken into consideration. One may remark that viii.47.13-17, where evil demons and nightmares are exorcised away to Trita Aptya need not just mean driving them away to a far distance but may also be in the nature of a curse upon Trita. In any case, Trita's distance in time and place from the *Rgvedic* seers and the major stream of tradition need not be doubted, particularly as he finds no mention in the Visvamitra, Vamadeva, and Vasistha books. The higher forms of Trita must indicate his antiquity and ancestral position for some clans, say the Aptyas, while the prayer from a well might preserve a memory of his actual humanity. Very significantly, Indra is himself called *aptyam aptyanam* (x.120.6). Knowing what we now do of the Aryan invasion, it seems plausible that Trita is Indra or one of the invading Aryan chiefs, later collectively deified under the title of Indra.³² His separation from Indra is helpful, seeing that some time after the conquest Indra has to be worshipped by *brahmanas* in spite of the still-remembered killing of their ancestors, and destruction of their gods and cities. In fact, we have seen from the Avestan tradition that Azi Dahaka is literally a *vacaspati* as the husband of two kinds of *Vac*; the word *vacaspati* is used without further definition in ix.26.4, ix.101.5, x.166.3, while we have *vacaspatim visvakarmanam* in x.81.7. *Vacaspati* is peculiarly Brhaspati or Brahmanaspati, and so it is not surprising to find Brhaspati as with seven (instead of Trisiras's three) mouths, *sapta-syahas* in iv.50.4, while iv.51.4 has *yendnavagve arigiredasagvesaptdsye revatl revad usa*. Brahmanaspati may have developed later (cf. x.68, Brhaspati rivals Indra's feats; Brahmanaspati as the creator, x.72.2) quite naturally into the four-headed Brahma, which confronts us again with the possibility of purely internal growth. But the archaeological evidence pointed to above, and what is known of theogony in general, would make it extremely unlikely that a multiple-headed god was invented out of nothing by the Brahmin class as their own special creator. The alternative interpretation is that one aboriginal Brahmin god at least survived in their memory, and was re-adopted into the new pantheon after the priests had become Aryanized. The Brahmin demon Ravana killed by Rama had sprouted as many as ten heads!

Brhaspati is not the only god to grow out of comparatively brief mention in the *Rgveda* into quite overpowering glory. Visnu is a known example, and Purusa in x.90, even more striking as Narayana. These are clearly foreign additions to Aryan cults, but a parallel to Brhaspati is better seen in Prajapati. He begins as an adjective, being Savitr in iv.53.2, and Soma pavamana in ix.5.9. A cow has been given by Prajapati in x.169.4 and x.184.4 addresses to him part of a prayer for offspring. The very late x.85.43 shows him as a god. An entire hymn is dedicated to him only in x.21, where he is mentioned in the last *rk* by name; later comment has made the interrogative *kah* of the refrain into a name for Prajapati, perhaps from ancient memories of the significance of the word as a man's soul or essence (as it also was in Egyptian). The crowding into the last books is clear proof of a later date than for Brhaspati.

Memories of Brahmanical adoption of strange ways in distress survived quite late. We know that the ascetic tradition in India goes back to a period far earlier than that of the Buddha, and that many of these ascetics were specially learned, as well as versed in the mysteries. For a development purely within the jungle, this would be impossible. On the other hand, if some of the (originally) unassimilated and unenslaved priestly survivors of the pre-Aryan culture took to the forest and eked out a painful existence on the margin of slowly growing settlements, the high respect accorded to ascetics is explained, as well as the gradual merger of the two streams in later philosophy. *Manusmṛti* 10.108 speaks of Visvamitra accepting dog meat from the hands of a Candala, but there is no Vedic support for this, and as the book is of Bhṛgu redaction (*Ms.* 11.59-60), we may pass this by. The two previous *slokas* are confirmed. *Ms.* 10.107 proclaims that hungry Bharadvaja, with his son, received many heads of cattle from Vṛdhu Taksan. The reference is found in the *Rgveda* (vi.45.31-3) in a genuine Bharadvaja *danastuti* of king Brbu, the most generous of princes, who victoriously achieved chieftainship of the Panis like Urukaksa Gangya. When we recall that the *Rgvedic* Panis are regularly maligned as greedy, mercantile, and even cattle-stealers (x.108 gloss) Vṛtra himself being a Pani at times, or that they are demons—which means old enemies of the Aryans, it is clear how Bharadvaja had sinned. However, he had another Angiras predecessor, Vamadeva. *Ms.* 10.106 tells us that starving Vamadeva was unstained by eating dog's flesh, and this is again supported by a *rk* of Vamadeva (iv.18.13) where the seer narrates that in distress he was reduced to seeing his wife in degradation, and to cooking a dog's entrails. But this is no less a *danastuti* of Indra, in older form, than Bharadvaja's to Brbu; for Vamadeva concludes that then the Falcon (Indra) brought him Soma. This can only mean granting the right to Soma, which implies granting membership in the tribe, i.e. adoption as an Aryan follower or priest of Indra. Says Vamadeva (iv.24.10) 'Who will buy from me, for ten cows, this Indra who is mine? After he has defeated the enemies, let him return (Indra) to me'. This has been interpreted as hawking an image or fetish of Indra for hire, a unique practice in the *Rgveda* not supported by any authority. But hiring out the *rsi*'s services for a specific occasion, to secure the aid of Indra in battle, would seem far more natural, would fit the context of the hymn better, and is also the traditional Brahmin practice. Getting Indra back is essential; 'What use to you (Indra) are the cows of the Kikatas' (iii.53.14) shows such an attempt at enticing Indra away from others. As for the specific mention of those who did not believe in Indra, we have two quite distinct classes: those who are the enemies belonging to the aboriginal population (*vṛtras*, *dasyus*, etc.) and those who are treated with more circumspection though denying Indra, as in ii.12.5, viii.100.3. These might be *vṛdtyas*, extra-Vedic though Aryan, but later tradition like that of the *Bṛhaddevata* says explicitly that the reference is to particular seers, Brahmins who had once denied Indra and then 'seen', i.e. acknowledged him. There is no reason to doubt this, and it supports our main contention.

This tale of woe, being found in all layers of the *Rgveda*, is no later invention; x.33 begins as a song of hunger by one who has barely escaped death by starvation. The numerous *danastutis* cannot be separated (as done so often by Grassmann) from the hymn proper. In the first place, similar praise is found in the body of other hymns, in the same metre. Secondly, Malinowski's experience with Trobriand Islanders' folklore shows that the coda is an integral part of the story, prime cause of its preservation. The record of gifts to the singer could have been important only if they were comparatively rare, life-saving events whose chanting was at once grateful remembrance and incentive to other donors. The properly historical names of the *Rgveda* occur for the greater part in such *danastutis*. One can see groups like the Bharadvajas and the Kanvas cast about for protectors among all sorts of chieftains. Even the two *dasa* chiefs Balbutha and Taruksa are praised to the utmost by Vasa Asvya, and it is their generosity to him that, presumably, brings them under the grace of Indra and Vayu in viii.46.32. This, incidentally, shows that Brahminism cannot be a purely Aryan growth. Thus the hostility to Yadu-Turvasa (vii.19.8) and friendship in vi.20.12 are explained because Vasistha and Bharadvaja were then priests to different, hostile tribes, and called upon Indra to support their own party. The all-importance of giving to Brahmins, so nauseatingly familiar to any reader of classical Sanskrit, goes to iv.50.7-11 (which would fit into any *Parana*) and is the economico-theological basis for the priest's special sanctity and development into a caste apart.

Most important of all, these appended verses of gratitude *provide the transition between fixed, sacred hymn, and improvised, 'fluid', popular lay*; hence the deliberate change of metre in the *danastuti*. The *Mahabharata* epic, for example, is a re-edited collection of such lays about the main theme of a great civil war. Every digression (particularly genealogical) called for by any of the characters is made at once, which is clear proof of improvisation. The prologue has a Vedic hymn to the Asvins (*Mbh.* 1.3.60-70; not out of place in the context) and claims that the work is a Veda, which could hardly be admitted on the strength of a solitary hymn. One may therefore conclude that the glorifications (*mahatmya*) which intersperse the various episodes, telling of immense merit to be gained by listening to the particular story recited, make up for the disappearance of other hymns with which the minstrel must, in older days, have begun his set portion; the *mahatmya* is a later guarantee that the sanctity originally provided by the hymn has somehow been preserved. The *Mbh.* being of Bhrguid recension, with a fragment surviving of a rival compilation by Jaimini, we have here another encroachment by Brahmins; the professional bard (*suta*; one actually recites the *extant Mbh.* according to the work itself) is of mixed caste—son of a Vaisya by a Ksatriya woman—which points to an ancient respectable origin of the guild, before class differences had developed into impassable caste barriers. The idea of caste-mixture is the *Manusmṛti* method of enrolling such guilds into the caste system. The cheerful poet of ix.112.3 says: *karur aham tato bhisag upala-praksinī nana*, 'I am a hymn-composer, father is a herb-doctor, mother grinds corn', all as professionals, for profit; this is certainly not the *Manusmṛti* idea of a family. The irregularities of *Mbh. tris tubh* metre approach the Vedic rather than later classical models. I suggest that the long tradition of free improvisation accounts in greater part for the 'fluidity' of the epic text as compared with the rigidly fixed Veda or Paninian *Astadhyayi*, though all three were orally transmitted for a while, and the two last for a much longer period than the growing epic. Vyasa's stepping out of the role of poet to direct the actual characters of the epic may indicate some sort of stage-direction and the acting of scenes to accompany the recitation; this would account for the miming of Bharata-yuddha episodes in Balinese tradition, derived from southeast India.

Trisuras as Pure Myth

12. The proposition must now be considered that all *Rgvedic* stories are pure myth, from which no historical information is to be derived. The very survival of a myth indicates the existence of a class of people interested in repeating it till such time as it came to be recorded. Generally, in primitive societies, this implies connection with ritual and the priesthood that survives by performing that ritual. The existence of an early written version of the *Rgveda* is extremely unlikely, though not absolutely impossible; Indie as well as extra-Indian Aryans had had violent contact with ancient literate civilizations. Writing was unnecessary at the intermediate pastoral and pioneering stage, from which settlements gradually arose to develop into kingdoms of an entirely different type. The priesthood was all the more necessary, and there is no reason to doubt the generally accepted theory of an entirely mnemonic transmission of the oldest Veda in its early days. The point, however, is not material in our case.

Identification of ancient city ruins in the Indus valley with Dasyu cities destroyed by Aryans can no longer be stigmatized as Euhemeristic. Thus, the ritual that developed at the earliest period could not be the yajurvedic-Brahmanic rite but something connected with, or influenced by, these clashes. The later Veda preserves little or no trace of this, even in symbolic form, simply because the social, political, and economic situation had changed completely. Looking specifically at the story of Indra (or Trita-Thraetona) striking off the three heads of Tvastra, we find its narration and survival almost a casual feature of the *Rgveda*. Later Vedas use it only to introduce more prominent stories, such as the killing of Vrtra, which motivate purification and Soma ceremonies. Therefore, the initial ritual, if any, has faded. Yet we have the three or four-faced god and several three-headed beasts on Mohenjo-Daro seals, as well as broken images with a human torso and one or more head-sockets. Moreover, the *trimurti* continues to this day, with a totally different theology, as representing a deity synthesized from three later gods, of whom the four-headed Brahma is one (though allotted only one of the three heads). Finally, there is now no striking off the heads of the image, which shows that both ritual and myth follow changes in the relations of production. If the Tvastra story indicates any Aryan ceremonial, it can only be the killing of a priest by the king, for priestly gentes continue to derive their name from Tvastra, even from his severed heads; the line of descent from Brahma at the end of *Brhadaranyaka Upanisad* iv shows two Tvastras.

But the only other such parallel story is the striking off a horse's head from Dadhyanc Atharvan (also in that line of descent), which head continues to be immortal and prophetic in lake Saryanavant, and from which perhaps Indra fashioned a powerful weapon, like Samson from the jawbone of an ass (*Brhaddevata* iii.22-3; *RV.* i.84.13-14; *Sat. Brah.* xiv. i.i. 18-25). This is the exact opposite of what has been propounded about such myths:³³ That they represent the periodic sacrifice of a king. Here, instead of the priest sacrificing the king, it is the god-king who beheads his own priest. This cannot be taken as yet another Brahmin inversion, for the Vedic priesthood grew steadily in power, and there is no reason for it to have taken a step against its own inviolability. The killing of Vrtra might conceivably be related to a periodic human sacrifice, seeing that Vrtra also denotes dark non-Aryan enemies; whence some ritual for victory over them, or sacrifice of prisoners after a battle, would not be unlikely. For Tvastra, no such explanation seems to be possible.

Study of the Iranian counterpart Azi Dahaka shows us that we have to do with a non-Aryan king or priest-king. The motif of an initially monstrous king is strong enough to reappear in India down to Sisupala, king of a historical people Cedi. He is three-eyed, which is really equal to three-headedness, as will be seen, and four-armed at birth; killed by a later god, the dark Krsna, after many trespasses have been forgiven. It is possible to conclude, following the reasoning of those who favour such analysis, that *the myth portrays, in its initial stages, the killing of a pre-Aryan priest-king somehow connected with the later Indo-Aryan priesthood*. The killer does not succeed to, but retains, sovereignty over the Aryan pantheon. There is nothing like a sacred marriage connected with the story, and the patriarchal society of the *Rgveda* does not allow anything of the sort to be fitted in. Later antagonism between *Ksatriya* and *brahmana* can explain neither the formation of the story nor its Iranian version, supplying at most a cause for its repetition, or for the usurpation by Brhaspati of some of Indra's saga. Thus, the 'ritual' is at best adopted from the pre-Aryans, which would normally imply adopting some of the priesthood therewith.

It seems much more reasonable to admit what has already been demonstrated for Greece:³⁴ That conflict between gods indicates conflict between two or more cultures which were thereafter fused. In India, this fusion did not go to the extent of continuing the urban life of the older period, though that was essentially what other Aryans did further to the west. Had the amalgamation achieved nothing more than the formation of a helotage (the Sudra caste) from the conquered black Dasyus, there would be no such indelible mark left upon the Brahmin priesthood and tradition. Moreover, there is ample evidence for the existence of dark-skinned Brahmins in antiquity, the possibility being also admitted by Buddhists (*Digha Nikaya* 4) but not by Brahmins from the northwest (*JBBRAS.* vol. 23, 1947, pp. 39-46); such clear evidence of racial admixture did not lead to any loss of caste. This completes the alternative line of reasoning, bringing us to the same point as before.

13. The question of matriarchy³⁵ and group-marriage has only been skirted in the previous sections. I now propose to show that even in our oldest available documents there exists clear evidence to support our arguments, without violence to logic and with improved meaning. Such re-interpretation is necessary as the original simple meaning had become incomprehensible in the intervening millennia of a totally different form of society. Following the Vedas, epics, *Puranas*, *Grhya-sutras*, and *smritis* in chronological order, we find at times a reversal in the accepted sequence of development. Matriarchal features appear later, as for example *strldhana* (property inherited in the female line), and recognition of consanguinity on the mother's side. These are due not to retrogression in the means of production but to absorption of the remaining pre-Aryans by comparatively peaceful methods. Matriarchy and the most primitive forms of exogamy are known to survive only among the least Aryanized of India's tribes. The leading *Rgvedic* gods Agni, Vayu, Varuna, Mitra have no real consorts, for Varunani, Agnaya etc. (like the male Sarasvat for Saras vati) are palpable fictions which never took hold; the noticeable fact is that they should have been thought necessary at all. The slightly better drawn Indrani (x.86) never establishes herself in the pantheon. Visnu develops his supreme importance only in the later period when he has already married the sea-born Lakshmi. Siva-Rudra can become the great god because of his wife Parvati; he has often to appear as a hermaphrodite assuming half her body, so essential is her cult. The conclusion is irresistible that these divine marriages not only represent the fusion of the invaders with a set of predominantly matriarchal pre-Aryan peoples, but even that the absence of such cult-fusion helps Buddhism push the older unmated Vedic gods into the background, in spite of the grip maintained by Vedic ritual. For direct reference to an earlier stage without forbidden degrees of marriage, we seem to have *Ait. Brah.* iii.33.1 which speaks of everything as created out of the incest of Prajapati with his own daughter. The incest, without naming Prajapati, goes back to *RV.* x.61.5-7, and must be much older. A (f. fira/ i. vii.13) even says, 'therefore a son his mother and sister mpunteth,' though such promiscuity must have belonged to a distant and repugnant past of the contemporary Aryans as shown by the Yama-Yami dialogue. The sun-god Pusan is called 'lover of his own sister' in vi.55.4-5, while the gods actually marry him off to the sister Surya in vi.58.4. Both the Achaemenians and the Sakyas had traditions of brother-sister marriages. In the *Rgveda* the minor canine goddess Sarama (x.108; i.62.3; i.72.8; iii.31.6; iv.16.8; v.45.7-8) finds stolen³⁶ cows as messenger of Indra. The termination *ma* was not understood by the later priesthood except as a negative injunction, depriving the name of all meaning. But the list of female deities or demons whose names so terminate increases immediately after the *Rgvedic* period: Uma, Rusama (*Pane. Brdh.* xxv.13.4), Ruma, Puloma, Rama, Halima (*Mbh.* 3.217.9) etc; they are undoubtedly mother-goddesses³⁷ at one stage of their mythological existence. In x.40 the levirate is clearly mentioned: *do vd sayutrd vidhaveva devaram maryam na yosd krnute sadhastha a*, but the very word for widow and the institution of widowhood shows us that the Aryans had long shaken off their own traditions of group-marriage and mother-right. Therefore, the direct references from the *Rgveda* which are cited in the following paragraphs are much more likely to represent absorption of pre-Aryan custom than an uncalled-for reversion to ancient practice.

My main argument is the following. A single child with many mothers is characteristic of a society in which group-marriage is the rule. 'A child gives the name of mother not only to her who bore him but also to all his maternal aunts. A European not familiar with these relationships is surprised when he hears a native (of New Britain) boasting of having three mothers. His confusion is increased when the alleged three mothers stoutly assert '*amital qa kava iva*, all three of us bore him'. This is quoted from *J.G.Frazer's Totemism And Exogamy*, (London 1910, vol. 1, p.305, footnote), being itself apparently taken from P.A. Kleintitschen's *Die Kiistenbewohner der Gazelle-halbinsel*. We shall now proceed to show just this attitude in some hymns of the *Rgveda*. It may be objected that a plurality of mothers may indicate only polygamy. A moment's thought will make it clear that in a polygamous gentile patriarchal society, the father's *gens* and the mother's *name* become important; this is precisely what we do find in the oldest Pali literature.

The usage in question—a single child with several mothers—is found explicitly in vii.2.5: *purvi sisum na matard rihdne*; i.140.3: *tarete abhi matard sisum*; and in viii.99.6. The plural or dual 'mothers' in the sense of parents is excluded, though even this would be highly significant. Panini vi.3.33: *pitaramdtard ca chandasi* only shows that the compound could be used in the dual sense, as in *RV.* iv.6.7: *na matarapitara*, to mean parents. By itself, *matard* as dual would at least indicate two mothers, which suffices for our purpose. Where a specific interpretation is given (as occasionally by Sayana) we have the parents as the sky and earth: *dyava-prthivi*; but both are feminine and x.64.10 calls the great sky also a mother: *uta mdtard brhad-divd*. The common Sanskrit appellation for ancestors *ispitarah*, 'fathers', showing how natural patriarchal usage had become. Correspondingly, we have the masculine 'father sky' *dyaus-pita* (i.90.7; i.164.33, etc.) as in Greek, and Latin. Why should this one god common to all known branches of Aryan mythology appear as a *mother* so often in the *Rgveda*?

Soma had several mothers: *tvd m rihanti mdtardh* (ix.100.7; also ix.111.2). In fact he was born of seven mothers, (*ixQ2A; Jajndnamsapta mdtardh* who are sisters, ix.86.36: *sapta svasdro abhi mdtarah sisum navamjajndnam*. These seven mothers are presumably the seven rivers: (i.158.5) *nadyo mdtardh*; i.34.8: *sindhuhih saptamdtardh*. The point is that they jointly bear a single child while there is no mention at all of the father in spite of the patriarchal nature of the society in which these hymns were chanted; note again that the Greek rivers were masculine. Further, though a river is very useful to pastoral nomads, the superlative worship in *ambitame nadltame devitame Sarasvatl* (ii.42.16, 'o most excellent of mothers, rivers, goddesses, Sarasvatl') seems characteristic of the pre-Aryan riparian urban cultures. The connection between *ambd* = mother and *ambu* or *ambhas* for water is neither fortuitous nor to be explained psychoanalytically in this case but a fundamental attitude to be expected among people whose entire civilization owed its birth and its existence to the river. The primary sanctity of a river like the Ganges as a cleanser of sin belongs to a later period of Brahminism, though apparent even in x.17.10. These river-mothers might be meant in the famous line *yahvirtasya matara*TM (V.5.6, x.59.8; ix.102.7; ix.33.5; 142.7, and vi.17.7 with the added qualification *pratne* - ancient) 'the never-resting mothers of truth' (or justice, *rta*; but note that Sayana on v.12.2 takes *rta* to mean water). The cult of the Mothers did exist, and was very ancient; if derived from that of the rivers, one would expect the process to have taken place among people who still retained the matriarchal stamp.

The most interesting fact about such a multiplicity of mothers is its consequent effect upon the child. The deified fire, Agni, is also born of several mothers (x.91.6), specifically the seven blessed mothers (i.141.2), without an apparent father. We remark parenthetically that the fire-drill and the simpler fire-plough have only two essential components, the 'parents' of the fire generated by their friction; the comparison with human procreation is so natural that both portions of the *aranl* are not generally regarded as mothers. Fire is described in one place as seven-tongued (iii.6.2), a natural figure of speech for the flames. But one hymn earlier we have Agni as with seven heads (iii.5.5): *pati nabha sapta-sirsanam agnih*, in one of his forms at least. Thus it is logical to find that Soma also have seven faces or mouths in ix.111.1.

The correspondence of one head per mother can be still better proved from a myth which has been recorded later, namely the birth of Skanda (*Mbh.* 3.214 ff). He has actually six mothers, the Pleiades, whence his name Karttikeya. But his other name *sanmatura* clearly means 'with six mothers', and he has six heads: one from each mother as we are told explicitly in most accounts of his birth. The *Mahabharata* story is a bit mixed in its details, saying that he was fathered by Agni who was enamoured of the seven wives of the seven rsis (identified with components of Ursa Major; these 'husbands'

are presumably later, seeing that they never gain the importance of the Mothers, nor of the collective Vedic gods like the Maruts, Rudras, Vasus). Agni's rejected wife *svaha* (merely the sacrificial call) then successively assumed the form of six of these seven ladies to couple with the fire-god; the combined semen was poured into a lake to generate the dread Skanda. The duplicated rsi-wives are cast out on suspicion of unchastity, and adopt Skanda as his mothers. The great Mothers (of the whole universe, but seven in number) are asked to kill Skanda, but they too adopt him jointly instead. The story is an obvious effort to combine several versions into one while retaining and explaining away the six mothers with no particular father. Skanda being identified with a form of, or often son of Rudra, we have a still later story wherein he is begotten of the seed of Siva which Parvati forces upon Agni in her anger at the interruption; this forms a sort of prefatory addition to the other story.

Sarasvati is obviously given as son or consort³⁹ of the river goddess Sarasvati, just as Daksa is both father and son of Aditi. The confusion, natural consequence of development from matriarchal cults, suggests the identification of Tvastr with Tvastra, at least in principle. Gods with several heads would be associated with the cult of several confluent rivers. To continue: *Rgvedic* Visnu has a wife (*sumajjanaye visnave*, i.156.2) and several mothers (iii.54.14) while viii.20.3 equates him to Rudra and the much later *Visnu-smṛti* (1.56) calls him Saptasrṣa without explanation. Both blocks of the fire-drill can simultaneously be *mothers* of Agni (v. 11.3). Thus Agni or his heavenly representative the sun (born of heaven and earth) is *dvimata* in i.31.2; i.12.4; iii.55.6-7; he is three-headed in i.146.1 but more naturally four-eyed in i.31.13 and *divisirsa* in the *Sabdacandrika*. The elephant god Ganesa is also *dvaimatura* (*Amara-kos'ā* 1.1.140). The Brhadratha king Jarasandha was born of two sisters, in two separate halves later joined together (*Mbh.* 2.16.12-40), which rationalizes the two-mother tradition. Rama emulates Indra and Thracians in killing a three-headed demon Trisiras (*Raghuvamsa* 12.47; also *Rama-yana*). The *Sabdakalpadruma* refers to *Kalikapurana* 46 where Hara is called Tryambaka for having been born of three mothers. Bohtlingk-Roth give Trisiras as an epithet of Kubera (whose three legs relate him to the triskelis and the three-strider *tripada* Visnu) as well as Siva who in turn is made four-headed in the Tilottama episode (*Mbh.* 1.203.26) and known both to literature as well as iconography in a five-headed *pancamukha* form. Nagas with two, five, seven heads occur in *Mbh.* 1.52.20, carrying us back to Mesopotamian seals. Even the old Aryan god Varuna is once called four-faced (v.48.5 *caturanika*), and again lord of his seven sisters (viii.41.9) thus substituting for some pre-Aryan deity; Indra as *saptaha* (x.49.8) was too open an enemy (cf. viii.96.16) for this assimilatory treatment. The names Navagva and Dasagva, meaning of nine and ten parts respectively, give clear indication of ancient *Rgvedic* groups of nine or ten priestly clans of equal status with the oldest Angirasas (x.62.6; the Navagvas are against Indra in i.33.6?). Yet each is used often in the singular as representing the conjoint group. This could easily arise from or give rise to the many-headed representation, as for example the 'firstborn' ten-headed Brahmana of *AV.* iv.6.1, or a seven-faced Dasagva Angiras in iv.51.4. Tvastr creates Brhaspati from the essence of everything (ii.23.17) and also creates fire (x.2.7; x.46.9; ii.1.5); but the latter embryo is generated by ten maidens (i.95.2) symbolizing the fingers that twirl the fire-drill, reminiscent of the Vestals. Agni is three-headed and *saptarāsmi* in i.146.1 Just as Tvastra is in x.8.8; Brhaspati is *saptarāsmi*: and *saptasya* in iv.50.4. As for mother-right, Namuci's army recruited § women (v.30.9) to the derision of Indra. The Mothers join Skanda's army (*Mbh.* Vulgate, Salyaparvan), and have still to be propitiated by his worshippers. The cow-mother Prsnī is mother of the Maruts, and in viii.101.15 'mother of the Rudras, daughter of the Vasus, sister of the Adityas' yet never rises high in the pantheon. In view of this rather mixed theogony, not much can be made of the phrase *sivas tvasta* in the *apri-hymn* v.5.9, for Indra is called *sivatama* in viii.96.10. Indra is also *ajatasatru* (v.34.1, viii.93.5), *bhīma* in many places, even *visnu* in i.61.7 and perhaps *rudru* in viii.13.20. That is, many of the later god-names are pure adjectives so that the fact of a god having a good Sanskrit or Indo-Aryan name does not necessarily make him a god of the Aryans from his beginnings. Even the solitary occurrence of *Lakṣmī* (x.71.2) in the *Rgveda* is as an adjective.

The clumsily patched Skanda legend with its gaping seams is particularly revealing. Without it, we should have assumed, as is done for the modern *trimurti* and Dattatreya, that a multiple-headed god is merely the fusion of that number of male deities, i.e. of their cults, leaving the ancient Brahma unexplained. But let us first look at the completed patriarchal transformation of such multiple parentage. The introduction of Agni in the Skanda story takes us only half-way. We have noted that two great gofra-founder rsis with fictitious names, Vasistha and Agastya (also known as Mana), are born of the combined seed of Mitra and Varuna, from a jug or a lotus: two fathers but no mother; this method of generation appears down at least to the *siddha* Bharthari, Bharatar! or Bhartri of the Kanphata sect. The essential is the denial of a mother,⁴⁰ these great men being *ayonisambhava*, not of woman born. I suggest that this ingenious device became necessary because a patriarchal society had invaded and conquered by force, but these rsis became nevertheless 'originators' of *gotras*. Later the seven sages are born directly of the four- (in some versions even five-) headed god Brahma, without female intervention. Yet the names of the 'seven' are seen to be discordant among the various lists, while the one sage not born of Brahma at all is *kusika* Visvamitra, the only true Aryan gofra-founder. He is really a stranger to the seven, even though his book in the *Rgveda* is permeated by Jamadagni influence. Now not only do the seven mothers, the river-goddesses, continue to hold their high position in the *Rgveda*, but the divine representative of the priesthood, Brhaspati, is several times called seven-faced (iv.50.2 etc; Sayana often takes *saptasyas* as denoting the Maruts, fathered by Rudra). The conclusion is that a pre-existing matriarchal form of society shows itself through the myth of several mothers jointly giving birth to a god with an equal number of heads or faces. These mothers, as representatives of local tribes or gentes, are later replaced by eponymous Brahmin ancestors, the rsis. Indus valley seals show male animals (single and multiple) which may be interpreted as totemic. The polycephalic god is also present and the civilization has therefore started before and gone beyond the stage of pure worship of his mothers, the rivers or other goddesses. It will be objected that so highly developed a civilization could not have retained matriarchal tradition to such an extent as our analysis requires, but actually there is nothing against it. The main conditions are a relatively undisturbed and rapid advance from the primitive to the urban stage, made possible by the river and its isolating desert; further, the comparative unimportance of fighting and the warrior in the development of the civilization. Archaeology, though incomplete, supports this, whatever the means (naked force, or religion) adopted by that extinct society to preserve internal class divisions; the transformation of the many-headed god into Brhaspati and Brahma suggest religion rather than violence. Even in the epic period, rivers continue to bear heroic sons; the great figure of the *Mahabharata* war, Bhīsmā, is born of the Ganges and a human father, Sarntanu.

Turn now to Trisiras Tvastra. This personage is supposedly the son of the ancient creator-god Tvastr; a priest—though the father is nowhere called that—whence it is a sin to kill him; and in some way an immortal god-priest or else the hymn describing his own killing (x.8) could not have been ascribed to him against all reason by the *Anukramanī*. The 'father' Tvastr is later enrolled among the Adityas as well as among the Rudras; he shares the adjective *visvarūpa* with his son, but has not three heads. Nothing is said about the mother who bore so remarkable a son, one who is associated with rivers in the form of 'snakes' springing out of his shoulders, as we have seen in Iranian legend. One would guess that he is the son of three mothers, whether also of Tvastr or not. It cannot be a mere accident that we find another (nameless) god with three mothers, of whose father there is no mention at all, and who is early identified with Rudra. This is Tryambaka = 'with three mothers', worshipped according to vii.59.12: *tryambakam yajamahe sugandhim pustivardhanam*. The *Taitt. Sam.* i.86 calls Tryambaka Rudra and tells us that his animal is the mole. Later we have Tryambaka translated as 'three-eyed', for which there is no philological support but which does serve to eliminate the three mothers; it also explains the three eyes of Rudra-Siva. We have another reference in ii.56.5: *uta trimata vidathesu samṛdt*, to an unnamed god (probably Agni) who has three mothers and is supreme in the divine assembly; the hymn, it will be readied, deals with several triple deities. This *trimata* is glossed by

Sayana as *trayandm lokanam nirmata*, creator of the three worlds; which, though silly as an explanation, gets rid of the awkward and incomprehensible three mothers while showing that the reference was supposed to be to some high god. The conclusion is again that one branch of culture contributing to the *Rgveda* had a living tradition in which maternity could be joint and paternity quite unimportant. It is for this reason that Tvastri's severed heads could give names to Brahmin *gotras*, for they must actually represent matriarchal gentes to begin with. It is not the mother-goddess who has three faces, like Hecate or Artemis among the Greeks, but the son born of three mother goddesses. Just what ancient chain connects our myth to the story of Herakles killing the three-headed Geryon, capturing Kerberos, or decapitating the Hydra we cannot consider here, for we have not as yet enough glyptic evidence from the Indus and Mesopotamian regions.

This can be rounded out by other myths, usually dismissed as trivial but which can now be seen to form connective tissue in the body of Vedic mythology. Indra drank the *soma* by force in Tvastri's house (iii.48.4; iv.18.3) thus presumably thrusting himself upon Tvastri's tribe, or depriving him of power, or both. It is thought by some that the father whom Indra took by the foot and smashed (iv.18.12) is Tvastri himself, but this is highly improbable. Indra's father is nowhere named, (nor is Indra reported anywhere as assaulting Tvastri) and his mother is doubtful too, though he is enrolled among the growing list of *adityas*, sons of Aditi. The later *aditya* par excellence is the sun, while the first is Varuna; both Tvastri and Indra occur in a continuously expanding list, and it is not clear that Aditi was a pre-Aryan mother-goddess, being once even cited in the masculine gender. The later *Pancavimsa Brahmana* (xii.5.18-22) reports that Indra suffered from eye-disease after killing Vrtra, and was lulled to sleep by the daughters of Tvastri. These daughters generate fugitive Indra from the cows in which he had hidden himself; parallel versions show that the cows themselves are the daughters of Tvastri, so that the whole story is perhaps one of rebirth from several mothers, i.e. adoption. One may note that Durga is called Tvasti (for Tvastri!) in the still later *Devlpurdna*, and a living cult of Tvastri (or his son?) seems indicated only by the *Paraskara Grhya-Sutra* ii.15.5. The adoption of Indra by the daughters of his predecessor is meaningless by patriarchal standards; either Tvastri or his son would have had to adopt the war-god for its validity. What we do see is that not only did Aryans adopt some pre-Aryan Indie gods but assimilation in the opposite direction was also attempted. As for the three heads of Tryambaka becoming three eyes, we have a distant parallel in the Tvastri story. *Sat. Brah.* iii.1.3.12-17 says that a special eye-ointment from mount Trikakuda must be used. Trikakuda means with three peaks, points (or even heads). The mountain was the transformation of Vrtra's eye after that demon had been killed by Indra; but Vrtra was the demon created by Tvastri to avenge his sons' murder by Indra. So the cycle is complete. The variant details of this and other similar narratives show that some background story which could not be forgotten was adopted by several different people at various times for Vedic purposes; the principle is the same as that of the starred reading in text-criticism, on a different level. It is at least plausible that this faded craftsman-god Tvastri who is identified as creator with Varuna (iv.42.3) as well as the later Prajapati, who appears as a Rudra as well as an Aditya, and who is connected with multiple-headed gods from Trisiras to Brhaspati, is not originally an Aryan god with fixed position in the pantheon, but a figure from the pre-Aryan background which could not be suppressed altogether in spite of his conflict with Indra.

The three possible mothers of Trisira could very well be the original of a female triad which occurs repeatedly in the *Rgveda* (i.188.8; ii.3.8; iii.4.8; x.110.8), Ida, Sarasvatī and Bharatī. The last is the earth, perhaps here as a special goddess of the Bharatas. Ida is also the mother of Agni (iii.29.3) as personification of the lower wood of the fire-drill. Most important of all, she is the mother of Pururavas (x.95.18). Since this Pururavas is virtually the founder of the lunar line of kings, we have a complicated set of puranic legends making Ila a *son* of Manu, but transformed into a woman by stepping into a grove sacred to Parvatī. The original legend had to be twisted, presumably because a line in the patriarchal world cannot be properly founded through a daughter of Manu. We have already seen the prototype of the metamorphosis in the ambivalence of the sky-god or goddess and such changes of sex are far too common. Indra himself (i.51.13; *AV.* vii.38.2. *Sat. Brah.* iii.3.4.18); Asanga-Pla-yogi (Sayana at the beginning of viii. 1, and the *Sarvanukramanī*; *Bṛhad-devata* vi.41); Narada, king Bhangasvana (*Mbh.* 13.12, vulgate) and the 'monkey' Rksarajas (in a probably apocryphal addition to the *Ramayana*) after bathing in enchanted pools; Sikhandin who killed Bhishma (originally and significantly named Amba in a previous birth) all change sex, and sometimes both beget and bear children. The roots go very far back, for the Tirasi of viii.95.4 is the seer of the hymn, but the name is feminine in declension and masculine in usage. The grove and particularly the pool which effect the metamorphosis (which will be found even in a tale of the *Arabian Nights*, and the *Qissah Hatim Tai*) has sometimes been equated to the fountain of youth, as with the rejuvenating immersion of Cyavana.⁴¹ The actual transformation in the first instance being from male to female, they are much more likely to represent places dedicated to the mysteries and initiation rites connected with the cult of one or more mother-goddesses—places which men could enter only to emerge emasculated, performing thereafter the functions of women, presumably in the service of the goddess. Some such pre-patriarchal initiation must be the proper explanation of the verses at the end of viii.33, particularly 19: *stri hi brahma babhuvitha* 'thou, O priest, art become a woman'.

The foregoing, I believe, will suffice to show how correct and useful a guide Engels's *Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* has been, though we cannot follow it slavishly because the story before us is that the violent overthrow of a great pre-Aryan culture and its traditions. A few speculations may not be out of place. Widow Ghosa sings of the Asvins (x.40.8) opening the 'seven-entrance' cattle-pen to the thunderer: *stanayantam vrajam apa-urnuthah saptasyam*. The word *saptasya* is already familiar to us; seeing that *vraja* and *gotra* are originally synonymous, we may guess that the meaning of gens, tribe, or amphictyony could be used for the former here. If so, the line speaks of Indra being admitted to the fold of the seven *rsis*, or the tribes descended from the seven rivers; the Aryan set is generally of five peoples, the *pancajanah* whose individual names are lost; curiously enough, *saptaha*, seven-killer, is a title of Indra (x.49). Again, Indrani, the goddess who proved theologically not viable, participates in a mysterious and sometimes erotic triangular discourse which is the more notable as the gods' wives are generally called *gnas* in a group and remain silent, being under the special protection of Tvastri. Indrani, in the one chance given her, speaks of women having gone to ritual celebrations in 'older times': *samhotram sma pura nan samanam vava gacchati* (x.86.10). The very next *rk* speaks of her husband as never dying of old age: *na hy asya aparam ca najarasa marate patih* (x.86.11). The *Rgvedic* evidence wears thin here. Yet it is difficult not to think of goddesses and queens in other countries whose husbands never reached old age, being sacrificed in fertility rites before their vigour began to wane. Was this some older goddess of that type (she is addressed as mother in x.86.7 and occurs in one list of the Seven Mothers) thrust briefly upon Indra? The famous *Purusasiikta* (x.90) speaks of creation as resulting from the sacrifice of a male god. The late hymn is purely Brahmanical, as it is unique in mentioning the four castes but the rite it represents is unquestionably very old, and there ascribed to pre-Aryan gods, the mysterious Sadhyas. Still better for our purpose is the dialogue (x.95) between the nymph Urvasi and her human lover Pururavas son of Ida, which gave rise to a popular classical theme. The *sukta* is not literally comprehensible if taken as the commentator interprets it, for Urvasi is supposed to be merely hard-hearted in repulsing the advances of a human lover with whom she breaks off her temporary union. He is gratuitously promised heaven after death, his argument that his son will feel the absence of a father is brushed aside, and she asks him to go to his *asta*, home. As he is himself the son of a great goddess, there is no apparent harm in the permanency of their union which he desires; Thetis could mate with Peleus. Nor is it clear why Urvasi emphatically calls him *mrtyubandhuh*, one doomed to death. There is a later, apparently pointless, legend in the *Puranas* that Pururavas was killed by *rsis* at a sacrifice while greedily despoiling their golden altar. But now take *asta* in its other meaning as death and matters become quite clear: Pururavas is himself to be sacrificed after having begotten a son upon the water-goddess. Both his pleading and her 'wolf-heartedness' are absolutely proper; that is the reason why their son can never know his father, who is destined to keep the gods company in heaven.⁴²

This is less fanciful than might appear at first sight. Pururavas in x.95.15 is assured that he is not to die, in almost the same language as the sacrificial horse in i.162.21. Both are going to the gods, and the horse is being freed from all his earthly travails. For the rest i.162-3 give a simple rite of killing, cooking, eating the sacrificed and very carefully dismembered horse—with a caressing, almost apologetic attitude towards the principal victim (accompanied by a scapegoat). The *Yajurvedic* Asva-medha lets the horse go free for a year (cf. *RV*. iii.53.110, makes his wanderings the excuse for military aggression (*Sat. Brah.* xiii.5.4), and imposes upon the chief queen the revolting duty of coupling with the slain victim (*Taitt. Sam.* vii.4; *Vaj. Sam.* xxiii; *Sat. Brah.* xiii.5.22 etc.) to the accompaniment of an obscene discourse, like Vrsakapi's in x.86. The sacrifice has become a fertility rite, though now accompanied by a large number of other victims. The still later *Sankhayana srauta sutra* replaces the horse by a human victim (seen in the *Purusasiikta*, *RV*. x.90), with the same freedom for a year and the same duty imposed upon the chief queen. This shows clearly that the successive substitutions are for the original annual sacrifice of the queen's consort; the development is apparently in the wrong order, as explained, simply because of progressive assimilation of pre-Aryan customs with advancing settlement. Even the totemic rite seen in i.162-3 might have itself been derived from a far older Aryan sacrifice of the king.⁴³ If the *Sat. Brah.* xiii.6.2.20 really implies that the king had an option of betaking himself to the woods as an ascetic after the sacrifice, it can only have been because (at one stage) he was no longer king—even if allowed to survive the sacrifice. On the other hand the flogging of the king at the Rajasuya is ritual initiation ordeal, perhaps comparable to the Regifugium at Rome. The tremendous difference between a king's sacrifice and the beautiful theme of Urvasi's pining lover measures the distance between barbarism and civilization, ritual and literature. Only fresh archaeological discovery can answer such questions. The urgent problem of the present is not speculation about the distant past but change of the means of production: without which we cannot free from bondage—old or new, religious or capitalistic, that great majority of our people whose labour has been utilized only for the profit of others.

NOTES

1. Hereafter, citations from the *Rgveda* (for which I have also made use of the Macdonell—Keith, *Vedic Index* and Grassmann's *Woerterbuch*) will be given without a preceding abbreviation; the other commonly cited source is P. Chentsal Rao's collection of *gotra* lists and rules: *Gotra-pravara-nibandha-kadambam*, Mysore, 1900. This is abbreviated as *GPN*, with reference by page and line numbers. Keith's devastating criticisms in his book *Religion and Philosophy in the Veda* (Harvard Or. Series 31,32) have been helpful in that they afford a good excuse for not making further detailed reference to the earlier writers, and restricting myself primarily to the sources. Other frequent citations: Vd = the Vendidad, Yt = the Vast, both in J. Darmsteter's translation, *Sacred Books of the East*, vols 4, 23; Her. = Herodotos; Marshall (Sir J. ed.), *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization*, London, 1931; Mackay (E. J. H., ed.), *Further Excavations at Mohenjo-daro*, New Delhi, 1938; Vats (M.S.) *Excavations at Harappa*, New Delhi 1940; Frankfort (Henri) *Cylinder Seals*, London 1939; Herzfeld (Ernst) *Zoroaster and His World*, Princeton 1947. The Poona critical edition of the *Mahabharata* is cited as *Mbh.*, the Vulgate denoting the Calcutta editions.
2. F.E. Pargiter: *The Purana Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age* (Oxford, 1913). The Kanvayanas are the only proper Brahmin (p. 35) kings while we have the statement (p. 25) that after Mahapadma Nanda, all succeeding kings would be Sudras or Sudra-like. This would mean primarily that they did not claim Vedic ancestry nor observe the pure Vedic ritual, and there is no reason to doubt this, for the Mauryas certainly did not.
3. Iksvaku is mentioned by name in x.60.4; hymns x.57-60 are supposed to be by the Gaupayanas, dismissed priests of Iksvaku. With him and the Cedians we come to the end of the Vedic tradition and the beginning of the *Purana-Maha-bharata* complex.
4. H. Oldenberg gave an excellent discussion of the authorship problem for the *Rgveda* in *ZDMG*, xlii.1888, 199-247. But preconceptions as to the original position of the Brahmins seem to have prevented conclusions being drawn about the fusion of two originally inimical peoples and their traditions, or alternatively the development of irreconcilably antagonistic caste-classes.
5. It may be noted that whereas all Gotamas and Bharadvajas are Angirasas, the converse does not hold and authorship attributions in books viii and ix seem to prove the existence of Angirasas who were neither.
6. Indra had been deified by some Aryan tribes as early as 1400 BC if we may trust the famous identifications of Hugo Winckler, who found Aryan gods on Boghaz-koi tablets; E. Forrer, *ZDMG* lxxvi, 1922, 174-269. The actual gods, as reported by Forrer (p. 250) are: 13. (the gods) mi-id-ra-as-si-il 14. (the gods) u-ru-va-na-as-si-el (*var*; a-ru-na-as-si-il), 15. (the god) in-tar (*var*; in-da-ra), 16. (the gods) na-sa-ad-ti-an-na. The equivalents would seem to be Mitra, Varuna, Indra (cf. Grassmann col. 213-14), and the Nasatyas, but the question remains unanswered as to why the first two are mentioned in the plural (with the unique termination sil) when the honorific plural is never known for any god in Hittite records. The Aryan element in those records is not to be doubted, and so Forrer's statement that an Aryan tribe Manda (= the later Medes) seems to have existed near lake Urumiah has to be accepted. The terms *traivartana*, *pancavartana* etc. recognizable in their cuneiform equivalents, and the method of breaking in horses which they seem to set forth, are particularly interesting. See also P.E. Dumont in *JAOS*. 67, 1947, pp. 251-3, for Indo-Aryan names in Mitanni, Nuzi, and Syrian documents.
7. In the case of Agni, there is no ambiguity. Fire was always used for clearing land by burning it over, as in x.28.8, *Sat. Brah.* ii.1.2.21, and even for destruction of hostile cities and fortifications. The *Mahabharata* (1.214-210) story of burning down the Khandava forest shows the combination of a sacrifice to Agni, land-clearing, and military operation.
8. Sayana again calls Tvastri an Asura when commenting upon iii.48.4 but Prajapati on iv.42.3, Visvakarma on i.32.2; i.61.6; i.85.9. One god entering into the pantheon under different names would make it easy to develop the later monotheistic syncretism. *RV*. ix.5.9: *tvastaram agrajdm gopampuroyavanama huve; indurindro vrsa harih pavamdnah prajapatih* shows an early beginning of such identification which is also to be seen in x.125, and iv.20, for other gods.
9. The *Pancavimsa Brahmana* (xxi.12.2) may refer to some other Vasistha in calling the seer the son of Vidu, though the same accounts call ViSvamitra king of the Jahnus, which would seem to refer to the two founder rsis. But the conflicting double account of Vasistha's birth in *RV*. vii.33.11-13 wherein he is born of a water-goddess as well as from a jug which received the semen of Mitra-Varuna, will appear to be of special interest in the sequel.
10. Of course, we have other descendants of the gods. Bhrgu is sometimes a descendant of Varuna; x.15-19 are by sons or descendants of Yama, x.135 by a Kumara Yamayana; x.154 by Yami. Among sons of Indra are counted Vimada, author of x.20-6, the ape Vrsakapi of x.86, and Jaya, author of x.180. All *gotra* names ending in—*stamba* are Bharadvajas.
11. Apsu is good Sumerian for the sweet (potable) waters both above and below the earth and the *apsaras* (in spite of Grassmann's derivation *a + psoras*) is a water deity. One may note other Sumerian elements in plenty. The god Anu might even have been worshipped by the Anu tribe of the *dasarajna* enemies of Sudas. Certainly, Enki has features that remind us of Yama; his being a god of the *apsu*, and sleeping (after creation), are reminiscent of the later Indian Narayana. The reason for not giving way to this sort of speculation about the Sumerians is the lack of clear documentary connection between the two cultures, and the great difference in dates, though nothing prevents the legends and cults being

- common property of pre-Aryan peoples some of whom later became Brahmins. The other difficulty is our ignorance of the actual phonetic values which were assigned to Sumerian ideograms at various times and places; a personage whom textbooks of a generation ago called the 'patesi of Shirpurla' is now known as the 'isag of Lagash.' So, those who wish to follow in the footsteps of L.A. Waddell should find plenty of latitude of their conjectures. Let me present conjecture-mongers with the undeniable fact that the spotted cow Prsni containing the sun, moon, and stars (viii.94.2) fits the Egyptian picture of the world-cow while *Rgveda* ii.13.8 mentions a Narmara whom someone is sure to equate to the Pharaoh Narmer-Menes. Then take the Yaksus (vii.18.19) as the Uyksos, and so on. 12. Sayana's gloss as well as the *Brhaddevata* comment seem to take *mana* in vii.33.13 as referring to Agastya's birth from ajar, begotten from the joint semen of Mitra-Varuna. Here, it may be pointed out that Vasistha stands in a special relationship to Varuna not only in his descent but in the intensity of his feeling of guilt, demonstrated in the four hymns vii.86-9. In vii.84.4, the seer asks what his sin was that the god wishes to strike him down; in 5, he wishes for release from some ancestral transgression or betrayal: *ava drugdhni pitryd srja*; the next *rk* pleads action against the singer's will and the seventh promises service of the humblest sort: *aram ddsa na milhuse kdrani*. In vii.87 the tone of self-abnegation is not so prominent, but the final verse again yearns for blamelessness before Varuna. The briefest of the lot, vii.89 seems charged with this sense of guilt acquired by unspecified but necessary action: *kratvah samaha dlnatdpratl-pamjagama suce; mrlid suksatra mriaya*. Nothing of this is shown by any other seer of the *Rgveda*, though they all honour Varuna as the first-born, just, benign, and peaceful god. We might venture upon the interpretation that Vasistha was really guilty of having abandoned the ancestral cult in favour of more paying practices, such as the *yajna* and worship of the war-god Indra; it is for this that his descendants had to ask forgiveness. In this case, vii.88.4 would even acquire a special significance in its statement that Varuna had made a *rsi* of Vasistha. When and where this supposed transformation occurred is not clear, but it must have been early to give the Vasisthas their traditional priority in *yajna* ritual (*Brhaddevata* v.156-9; *Sat. Brah.* xii.6.1.41, ii.4.4.2. etc.). Aryan wanderings extended far beyond the upper Indus landmass and this has left its mark upon the *Rgvedic* tradition also. Vasistha speaks of being taken up on the ship of Varuna, and Kaksivan sings (i.116) of Bhujyu being saved at sea by the Nasat-yas. A ship with a hundred oars (i.116.5) and journeys three days away from the shore would hardly be expected on the upper Indus or any lake in the Punjab. Quite incidentally, the father of Bhujyu is Tugra (i.116.3, 117.4), which is also the name of an enemy of Indra (vi.20.8; vi.26.4; x.49.4).
13. Sunahsepa, son of Ajigarta, is the traditional author of i.24-30; the *RV* knows a Bharata Devavata in iii.23.2-3. The intended victim must have been a Jamadagni (cf. p. 23).
14. For this stanza and a careful discussion of *gotra-pravara* exogamy as well as correspondence between the traditional lists and the classification implicit in Panini's derivations, see John Brough, 'The Early History of the *Gotras*' in *JRAS* 1946, pp. 32-15; 1947, pp. 76-90. Though the learned author's approach and point of view are entirely different from those adopted in this note, it is remarkable that he reaches the conclusion that at the time of composition of the *Satapatha Brahmana*, the entry of the Jamadagnyas into the Brahmanical fold was (probably) still comparatively recent. My thanks are due to Prof. Brough for suggesting some corrections, though we still differ on the main question.
15. The burning by the Saudasas of a son of Vasistha named Sakti, is also reported by the *Satyayana* and *Jaiminiya Brdhanas* (H. Oertel, *JAOS* xviii, 1897, pp. 15-48, particularly p. 47). Former cannibal Saudasa in later fable, *Jatakamala* 31 etc.
16. We seem to have a reference to both divine and human imprisonment (of Brahmins) in iv.12.5 *urvddevdndm utamartydnam. Theyddvahpasuh* (viii.1.31) could be a Yadu prisoner of war, particularly when read with viii.6.48: *sravasa vddvamjanam*. The traditional Yadu capital Dvaraka cannot have been the modern port of that name in Saurashtra. We have a clear narrative of the Yadus including Krsna and Balarama, being driven out of Mathura by Jarasandha. They go *westwards* to found the new city in the safety of a mountain barrier: *Mbh.* 2, 12,9; 2,13,44,49,65. This is the logical direction, considering the desert to the southwest of Mathura; the original Dvaraka may thus have been Darwaz in Afghanistan, or the capital of Kamboja in Buddhist records.
17. Sarabha is called *rsibandhu* in viii.100.6 but without the forceful contempt that goes with the termination *bandhu* later on. The Licchavis are Ksatriya Vratyas according to *Manusmrti* 10.21 var. *nicchivi*, known to Buddhist literature generally as Vajjis (= wanderers) Patanjali on Pan. 5.2.21: *nanajdtiyd aniyatavrttaya utsedhajlvinah samgha vrtydh* shows that any tribal organization outside the Brahmin ritual and four-caste system could be called Vratya, foreshadowing modern guild-castes and professional tribes. The *Mahdparinibbdnasutta* shows that the basic rules of the Buddhist *samgha* were derived from Aryan tribal constitutions, specifically that of the Licchavis. For a survey of the Brahmin literature (without realization that *sutras* concerned only with reconciling Vratya observances with Vedic ritual say nothing about the actual life led by the tribes) see J.W. Hauer, *Der Vratya* (Stuttgart 1927; vol. I only). The Vratya Grhapati of *Pane. Brah.* xvii.1.14, 17 could easily be the tribal chief with the usual priestly functions, and no other explanation will fit as well.
18. Some of these names may be adjectives, but this seems a reasonable way to make up the *dasarajha*; just which people are qualified as *sivdsas* is not clear, so possibly the Sivas are one more tribe. The second battle is assumed to be distinct from the first.
19. Identification is particularly difficult in the case of the Purus, for the name can be an adjective for plenitude, or a tribe of people in general, as well as a specific tribe named Puru. In vi.46.8, the particular tribe is meant, being mentioned along with Trksi and the Druhyus; similarly in i.108.8. But their position even as against the Vasistha and Sudas is not clear, for vii.18.13 speaks either of having beaten or of hoping to defeat (*jesma*) the tricky-voiced Puru'; in vii.19.3, Indra is spoken of as having helped the Puru king Trasadasyu; in vii.96.2 the phrase *adhiksiyantipuravah* has been stood by some as indicating that the Purus were then settled on both banks of the Sarasvati. The adjective *mrdhravac* is also used of the Panis in vii.6.3, the Dasyus in xv.29.10. Sudas might even be made out a Puru by i.63.7. Hopkins in *JAOS* xv, pp. 252-83 outdoes the most ridiculous of Indian pandits in deducing that the *dasarajna* was a conspiracy led or instigated by Visvamitra (pp. 261-5). The basis seems to be his main discovery, namely that vii.18 contains derisive allusions to Visvamitra as often as possible. Just how this escaped the Indian tradition, which is generally so hostile to Visvamitra, has yet to be explained; but undoubtedly some lineal descendant will appear to rectify the omission made by Hopkins!
20. Apart from stylistic and metrical variation, as well as the subject matter, the mere incidence of hymn dedications may be used as a guide to clan differences. The ninth book, being dedicated to Soma, and the Valakhilyas as later appendages, have been discarded; in doubtful cases, I follow Grassmann as far as possible. The standard hymn order within books or groups allows us to emphasize dedications to Agni, Indra, and all the rest. Among the 'rest' have been counted even those hymns where Indra or Agni, or both have a share. This gives us the following table:

| Book | Agni | Indra | Rest | Total |
|--------|------|-------|------|-------|
| ii | 10 | 12 | 21 | 43 |
| iii | 29 | 24 | 9 | 62 |
| iv | 15 | 17 | 26 | 58 |
| v | 28 | 12 | 47 | 87 |
| vi | 16 | 31 | 28 | 75 |
| vii | 17 | 15 | 72 | 104 |
| viii | 14 | 45 | 33 | 92 |
| ix | 45 | 41 | 105 | 191 |
| x | 30 | 44 | 117 | 191 |
| Totals | 204 | 241 | 458 | 903 |

Modern statistical tests give information that agrees very well with what we know from other considerations. The Visvamisra book (iii) differs from all the rest, as would be expected from the real Aryan Ksatriya tradition. Books i and x may be grouped together. Books ii.iv.vi can also be combined among themselves which proves the Bhrgu-Ahgriras unity of dedication. The Kanvas are closest to this group in spite of their great predilection for Indra, while only Atri comes near Vasistha, though none too close. (Calculations by Mr S. Raghavachari for the chi-square test). In support, we may recall that the eighth book, though Kanva by tradition and with a good unity of metre and style, is unquestionably of mixed authorship; not only other Ahgrirasas but Atris, Bhrgus (including Jamadagni and Usanas), Kasyapa, possibly a Vasistha Dyumnika (viii.87), Trita Aptya (viii, 47, but this is impossible as the final verses show), and even Manu Vaivasvata are given a share in the authorship, by the *Anukramani* tradition. Only Visvamisra is stubbornly excluded, and this is highly suggestive.ⁿ

21. Traditionally the Soma book contains eight hymns ascribed to a Kavi Bhargava, who is identical with or the father of Kavya Usanas, who is in turn the author of three more. But the famous Devayani story of the *Mahabharata* shows this personage as preceptor to the Asuras, which can be explained only on our present hypothesis of assimilation of non-Aryan priests, not necessarily in India. In the *Rgveda*, Usanas is mentioned almost exclusively by the Angirasas: i.51.10-11 (Savya); i.83.5 (Gotama Rahugana); i.121.12(Kaksivan); iv.26.1 (Vamadeva); vi.20.11 (Bharadvaja); iii.23.17 (Visvamanas, son of Vyasva); ix.87.3 (Usanas himself!); ix.97.3 (Vrsagana, supposedly a Vasistha); x.40.7 (Ghosa, daughter of Kaksivan). Otherwise *usana* is desire, of which Grassmann takes the name as a masculine personification. One cannot expect this in Angiras books, where Brhaspati is an Angiras (vi.73.1) and even Agni (viii.84.4) in a hymn ascribed to Usanas. Without discussing his identity with Kai Kaos or Kavi Usa of the Iranians, it is fairly clear that he must be a figure of the transitional period.
22. A similar reproach by Medhatithi against Vatsa Kanva was disproved by the accused (*Pane. Brah.* xiv.6.6).
23. The particular word for dam might have been *radhas* or *rodhana*, i.38.11; ii.13.10; iv.22.4; x.48.2. In ii.15.8, *rinag rodhamsi krtrimani* shows that the obstacle removed by Indra was artificial, not natural; the other references can at worst be taken to mean walls or river-banks.
24. Divodasa is a gift of the river Sarasvati to Vadhrvasva, according to vi.61 .i. As Sudas is both Paijavana (though no Pijavana is known) and a descendant or son of Divodasa, there is some possibility of adoption here.
25. It might be as well to point out here that the Harappa grey stone image fragment which Marshall takes as an ithyphallic dancing Siva actually represents a young girl dancing. Bronze dancing-girl statuettes have been found in Indus excavations. A comparison of Pis LXXX and LXXXI in Vats or the corresponding plates in Marshall will show that the Harappa sculptors could delineate the difference between male and female in every line, not merely in the sexual organs. Also, the seven holes in the neck do not suggest a three-headed image but rather some elaborate head-dress or coiffure pegged into place, the head itself being turned to the figure's right. The two holes below the waistline correspond precisely to the two bosses of the girdle in such terracotta figurines as Vats. LXXVII.51,53; the belted skirt or apron must have been of some different material held in place by pins into the holes.
26. Rather reluctantly, *Ann. Bibliography Ind. Arch.* (Leiden 1934), p. 11; C. J. Gadd, *Proc. Brit. Acad.* xlviii, 1932, pp. 191-210; H. Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals* (London, 1939), pp. 304-7. My special thanks are due to Mr R.D. Barnett of the British Museum for references, particularly to BM 89115. For the seven antediluvian sages, C.L. Woolley, *JRAS*, 1926, pp. 689-713; Zimmern, *Zeit. fur Assyriologie* (N.F.) 35. 1924. pp. 151 ff. Both Gilgamesh and Enkidu appear on Indus seals.
27. *RV.* x.72.3, 4 speaks of an original mother-goddess from whom creation came into being; *uttanapadas* means 'with feet in the air' (for parturition) while Sayana takes this to mean 'tree' which would seem to connect the *rk* with the particular seal whereof the interpretation seems doubtful to me, the 'vegetation' resembling a crab.
28. *Pane. Brah.* xxv.7.2 says that Gaurivhi, descendant of Sakti, performed the 36-year *sattra* to reach great benefits on the banks of the Yavyavati (presumably the old Ravi). This is the only other place where I have been able to find either of the two place-names above. As Daivavata is a Bharata, Gauriviti a Vasistha, the whole account is unusually consistent and has a historical appearance.
29. I follow: for Avestan sources, James Darmsteter's translation in *Sacred Books of the East*, vols 4 and 23 (Oxford, 1895). For the general background, Maneckjee Nusservanji Dhalla's *History of Zoroastrianism* (New York, 1938) seemed to be competent; for most of the contested points, Herzfeld's discussion in his *Zoroaster and His World* (2 vols. Princeton, 1947) seems quite reliable, with a few possible exceptions such as the identification of *ofsoma* with the vine., p. 551. Herodotos is cited from the familiar translation by Rawlinson, with the abbreviation Her. Other abbreviations: *Vd.* = Vendidad, *Yt.* = Yast.
30. To the extent of imposing exposure of the dead in spite of original burial (Her. i.140, Herzfeld, p. 747) or cremation (Herzfeld, p. 748). Dhalla takes the Magi as west-Persian priests, Athravans as eastern.
31. I treat *turvaydna* as an adjective, without yielding to the temptation to take that and the allied *turanyu* as 'Turanian'. It is an adjective of Agni in i.174.3, of Cya-vana in x.61.2. It seems to be a name by itself in vi.18.13; that *rk* repeats the substance of i.53.11 above without the name of Susravas. Sayana turns the meaning completely around and makes Indra here the protector of Kutsa, Ayu, Atithigva. One may compare x. 49.3-5, 8 where the same characters (and a Savya) appear while 3.8 speaks of Indra helping Atithigva against Karanja and Parnaya. Velankar, in the *Ann. Bhandarkar O.R. Inst.* xxiii. 1942.657-68 (on Divodasa and other Atithigvas) identifies Kutsa with Ayu and Atithigva for the hymn under discussion, while making out a good case for more than one Atithigva and several Kutsas (which latter is clear, the name being representative of a tribe).
32. Against my interpretation of Trita, see A.A. Macdonnell, *JRAS*, xxv. 1893, pp. 419-96, identifying Trita with Agni; in the same vein, M. Fowler *JAOS.* vol. 67, 1947, pp. 59-60. But there can be no possible doubt that Trita is a double of Indra at least in the one performance that interests us most, namely the killing of Trigiras.

33. A. M. Hocart: *Kingship* (London 1927); Lord Raglan: *The Hero* (London 1936). I am sorry to say that Hocart's evidence comes from a much later (for India) period, and has been reported in a fashion that needs correction. Raglan's analysis also seems incomplete, for I can show from personal experience how real historical characters have had myths attached to their names without any corresponding ritual or drama to account for the transference of older stories. Attention has to be paid to the class of people among whom the myth is current, and also to the pre-existence of a written tradition, or of other classes, which may provide the raw material for folklore. Yet these two works contain much that is suggestive and valuable, in contrast to the works of diffusionists like W.J. Perry.
34. George Thomson: *Aeschylus and Athens* (London, 1944); *Studies in Ancient Greek Society: The Prehistoric Aegean*, (London, 1949). But the direct analogue is not possible with the material we are now discussing. Indrani, the wife of Indra, is a very late addition to the *Rgveda*, and the great female deities like Durga-Parvati, Laksmi, etc. are much later. Uma in the *Rgveda* does not appear to have any connection with the later goddess whose physical merging into the hermaphrodite Siva indicates just what was shown for Greece, seeing the position she still occupies as Durga, an eastern mother-goddess. The female deities of the *Rgveda* appear negligible, or local, like the dawn goddess *Usa*, the goddess of birth Sinivali, or the river goddess led by Sarasvati. I suggest that at the early stage, the invaders had an overwhelming victory. Only later did they find it necessary to admit these older elements, along with the people who preserved that culture or its remnants. Otherwise, we should have a course of development the very reverse of that generally found, from the patriarchal back to matriarchy. Then, why the least Aryanized of India's primitive tribes have the matriarchal system would be difficult to explain. My suggestion would also account for the fact that many very old legends, such as those connected with the flood, appear only at the post-Vedic stage. What synthesis lies back of the multiple-headed Indus valley images cannot be analyzed from available sources, but undoubtedly, they had composite deities also. My own explanation follows in the next section.
35. This is treated to some extent (for modern Dravidian India) by O.R. Ehrenfels: *Mother-Right In India* (Oxford, 1941). The author's citations of our oldest sources are perfunctory, second-hand, and irrelevant or inaccurate because of consequent misinterpretation. The comparison on pp. 180-1 between what Marshall imagined to be the essential features of the Indus-Valley culture and what Ehrenfels believes to have been Nayar civilization at its height is particularly superficial and misleading, the supposed features not being exclusive.
36. Sarama's tracking down cattle *stolen* by the Panis is unquestionably a later story, to explain a legendary strife. No *Rgvedic* hymn which refers to Sarama says anything about the cattle having been stolen. The goddess presents a blunt, aggressive demand from Indra to the Panis, apparently for their own cows, in x. 108. The other references generally show that 'cows' can be understood as rivers; best of all in vi. 16.8.
37. For Ma as a mother-goddess, cf. *Amarakosa* 1.1.29; what connection exists with the Hittite goddess of the same name is not known.
38. In this phrase, the dual *matara* is taken to mean night and *Usas* in i. 142.7 and v.5.6; the sky and earth in the remaining cases, but without internal evidence in ix. 102.7. This classical interpretation shows its own inconsistency, strengthened by ix.33.5 which has the plural, along with the adjective *brahmi*, which is unique in the *RV* and may therefore indicate connection with special Brahmin cults. Further, Sayana gives *udakasya* as an alternative meaning *forttasya* even on v.5.6; vi. 17.7; x.59.8, which makes it likely that the origin of the phrase under consideration is actually in the cult of the river-mothers, perhaps of two rivers. By itself, *yahvi* is used in the sense of river, quite unambiguously in ii.35.9; iii.1.4, 6, 9; i.72.8.—and even of the seven rivers.
39. Qingu, taken as consort by Tiamat after the killing of Apsu, seems also to be Tiamat's son (Langdon's translation of the *Enuma Ells*, ii.34, ii.41). Similarly Tammuz and Ishtar.
40. An even better example is the Mandhatr, legend. The king is perhaps mentioned in i.1 12.13, viii.40.2; the word elsewhere in the *Rgveda* means 'pious'. In the *Mahabharata* (3.126) we have his father Yuvanaska drink enchanted water in Bhrgu's *asrama* (an inversion of bathing in the enchanted pool), and so become pregnant, the son being ultimately born through his side and (in the vulgate Dronaparvan 62) suckled on Indra's finger. This is a complete repudiation of maternity, as with the *couvade*. *Mbh.* 3.127 has rationalization, by reversal, of the many mothers. Jantu is born jointly of king Somaka's hundred wives, then sacrificed in *ayajiiia*, by which each of the hundred mothers conceives a complete son. (cf. *Kathasaritsagara* 13.57-65). The Southern recension substitutes/yes-*thayam samajayata* for *strlsate samajayata*, rationalizing still further.
41. Actually the Cyavana story is not a parallel at all, for the rejuvenation is performed by the Asvins and the immersion method is later (*Mbh.* 3.123.15-17) than the *Rgvedic*, where the sage regains his youth by having his skin drawn off like a garment (v.74.5; i. 116,10). This is the older version, based upon primitive wonder at a snake's casting off his skin to appear rejuvenated.
42. Compare here the outspoken and even obscene invitation of Istar to Gilgames (R. Campbell Thompson: *Epic of Gilgamesh*, London, 1928, pp. 33[^]t = vi.45-79) to become her lover. He rejects her advances scornfully, pointing out that all her previous lovers came to a sticky end. The deified Gilgames' is two-thirds god, one third man, son of a queen of Erech by a *lilla*; whatever the father might have been (cf. S. Langdon, *The Babylonian Epic of Creation*, Oxford 1923, pp. 215 ff.), the mother must have been a goddess. The athletic hero nevertheless fails in his quest for immortality, and so is doomed to die, like Herakles, Pururavas, his own predecessor in the king-list Tammuz; and like Bhishma who rejected Amba. Even in the *Rgveda*, Urvasi is a goddess of the rivers: v.41.19 = *abhi na ila yuthasya mata sman nadibhir urvasi va grnatu; urvasi va brhad-diva grnana abhyumvana prabhrthasya ayoh*. The exact translation is in doubt, but at least Urvasi is on the same footing as Ila 'mother of the herds', and the adjective or name *brhad-diva* might equate her to *Usas*.
43. As in the Persian festival of the Sakaia, Dio Chrysostom iv.66-8; here the prisoner substituted for the king actually enjoyed all royal prerogatives for a fixed period before being scourged and sacrificed.

1. Unlike Vedic kinship terminology, the word *gotra* cowpen, herd of cattle, is not even Iranian, let alone Greek or Latin. Yet the institution existed in the earliest Roman gentes (with their unmistakably totemic names like Porcia, Fabia, Ovidia, Asinia, etc.) and in pre-Kleisthenes Athens. Exogamous clan-groups are known to arise at a primitive stage in almost every type of society, including the Australian aborigines, African and American tribesmen, the highly civilized Chinese. We have therefore to compare not mere words but forms of the institution, with full reference to the social context. The reader, if he wishes to see the background, must pay some attention to books like R. Briffault's *The Mothers*; or if he prefers disjointed accumulation of facts, E. Westermarck's *History of Human Marriage*. The basic developments will be found given with incomparable clarity by F. Engels, in his classic *Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State*.

Historical (dialectic) materialism enables us to demonstrate the course of development of the system, for the essential relation, that between *gotra* and forms of property as well as property-rights, remains clear at each stage. In the formative period, the tribe owns essential means of production; later the exogamous clan, then the large patriarchal family, and finally the individual owner. Wealth is first measured in terms of cattle (Latin *pecunia*, Sanskrit *godhanani*). This continues even after slow change from pastoral to agrarian economy for the number of cattle still indicate approximately the extent and yield of the land-holding. The form of property provides subsistence and chief reason for continuity, hence the name *gotra* for the group unit which is marked as its owner. It might be objected that the whole tribe is not indicated by the name *gotra*. The answer to this is that in the first place, the whole of human society, to a primitive tribesman, begins and ends with the tribe; secondly, when tribes learn to live together, we can show examples of tribes being enrolled as *gotras*.

There are valuable indications in the *ganapatha* for our thesis. Salari-kayana is a tribal name as well as a Visvamitra *gotra*. The Udumbara-Audumbara tribe struck coins still found in profusion; the name is tote-mic, the tree being actually shown on the coins; again we have the *gotra* in all Visvamitra lists. It seems to me that this process goes back even to the Vedic period, for Bhrgu, Vikarna and the like. The *Kasika* on Panini 4.1.104 furnishes a *gotra* name Nisada, which otherwise denotes non-Aryan aboriginal tribesman.

Panini 4.3.127 (with the *Kasika*) shows that each *samgha* (tribe) and *gotra* had once its cattle-brand *aiika* (to be distinguished from the *lak-sana*). This would be possible if and only if at one time the cattle were the common undifferentiated property of the tribe or *gotra*. With increasing commodity production we get break-up of the *gotra* into large family groups, at which stage *gotra* becomes synonymous with the patriarchal joint family, cf. *gotra-jaratl*, *gotra-skhalanam*. It should be kept in mind that new basic forms of property are coming into existence at this time, cattle being of less and less importance. Thus the name *gotra* would not be passed on to smaller units. The sudra, like the slave in ancient Greece and Rome, has no share in the tribal or household property (as distinguished from his tools and utensils), hence logically he has no *gotra*. The ksatriyas die out rather early to be replaced by new ruling groups that live on taxes; the vaisya soon takes to a cash economy even when he continues to breed cattle for profit; so it follows that these two castes loose the *gotra*—in Brahmin theory—rather early.

This enables us to explain the apparently conflicting rules in the *dharmastras* for property division, namely that the legitimate sons take equal shares or that the eldest inherits all, (or all the cattle and land) taking his father's place, supporting his brothers and unmarried sisters. Here we have equal rights of all in the property of the great patriarchal household, which breaks up in the first case, remains undivided in the second. *Yajnavalkya* 2.135 gives the rule, as in ancient Rome, that the *gotraja* (members of the same gens) collectively inherit the property of the deceased in the absence of immediate heirs such as son, wife, daughter, brother, parent. But it must be kept in mind that we see a very late stage at the time of the *smrti/s'*, with *only formal* survivals of the older days; that the *gotra* name need not occur in the larger unit, the *pravara* (phratry), shows that the process was at one time reversible, that new tribes could be enrolled into given groups with the status of exogamous subgroups.

With property division arises a ban upon the older marriage custom. For example, *Manusmrti* 9.190 says that issue may be raised by a *sagotra* upon the widow of a man without heir, the widow then delivering the whole property to this posthumous 'son'. In *Ms.* 9.146 this right belongs naturally to the brother of the deceased; but if he exercise it without formal 'appointment'—which could only be by sanction of the *gotra* as a whole, or the nearest elders—or in desire, or when a legitimate son already exists, it amounts to adultery (*Ms.* 9.59-62; 9.143-147). The adopted son may never assume the *gotra* or the property of his natural father (*Ms.* 9.142); this runs counter to the rules for such *dvyamusyayana*, showing how the book labours to reconcile two divergent forms. It may be noted that the word for such heritable property is *riktha*, that which may be alienated as having been acquired by the individual's labour (*Ms.* 9.208-9); hence not common property—which seems to have existed simultaneously. *Ms.* 9.182-3 says that one son for several brothers, or for several co-wives of one husband, shall count as son for all. *Such rules clearly indicate former group-marriage and group property*. The passing of the old system is shown by *Ms.* 9.181 which sadly contradicts its own theory of the legitimate *ksetraja* pseudo-son (*Ms.* 9.32-55,173) by saying that the son belongs to him whose seed begot him, not to the owner of the field, i.e. of the wife upon whom the child was begotten. Even more clearly, *Apastamba* 2.27.2-7 admits that the bride was given to the whole family (*kule kanyadpradanam*) in older days, but states that marital rights now belong to the individual husband alone, not even to any other member of the family—with whom intercourse would be adultery (*Ap.* 2.13.7.9). The older *rsis* got away with it 'on account of their great lustre'! *Ap.* 2.14 shows that this is solely on account of property inheritance, equal division among all heirs being recommended with the admission that by older custom the eldest son had special rights.

Woman, according to the *smrtis*, thus becomes herself a peculiar form of property through which a legitimate heir could be obtained for the inheritance of the remaining property, and for the offering of food to the manes. This implies that *at the earlier stage the gotra had a common cult of the dead*, providing for them beyond the grave just as it provided for the aged who were no longer able to feed themselves in this world. In the other direction, this culminates in the ban upon Brahmin widow remarriage. Where the right of the woman's clan is strongly maintained—as happened at some early stage in almost all pre-patriarchal societies—we have the development of the Asura marriage (*Ms.* 3.31) by bride-purchase; if the woman dies without issue, her property then reverts to her parents (*Ms.* 9.197), which should indicate that some *gotras* once derived from the mother, not the father. Finally, there was the case of sons by wives of different caste, who therefore had neither *gotra* nor right of inheritance. It follows that such a son would have to work for a living, as a servant or by some craft. I suggest that this last explains the curious presentation in the *smrtis* of professional guilds as mixed castes.

2. The rest of the note will be devoted to a review and criticism of a newly published book: *The Early Brahmanical System of Gotra and Pra-vara, a translation of the Gotrapravaramaiijari of Purusottama Pandita* by John Brough, Cambridge University Press, (1953, pp. 18 + 215 + index). The substantial merits of the book make the views in the author's preface all the more misleading; it is those views that will be criticized in the main.

The first part of the title is not justified. The *gotra* system may be very old, but the published lists are certainly not. The grouping into 18 main sets (including kevala-bhargavas and kevala-angirasas) is suspiciously *puranic*: the great prototype of the *puranas*, the *Mahabharata* (a story of a battle fought 18 days by 18 legions) was redivided into 18 sections; there are 18 major *puranas*. Even Rajasekhara's *Kavirahasya* follows

this pattern of division which is reflected also in the *Prithvl-rajā Rdsō*. There is all the more reason to suspect these 18 majorgotra-groups, seeing that the original *rsis* are supposedly seven, and again that the lists derive, as Brough himself has shown, from one very much like that presented in the *Matsya-purāṭia*. Since it is known that the extant *purānas* have been revised² as late as the early Gupta period, one suspects that the 'early' system of *gotra* and *pravara* was somewhat different.

Further evidence against the sacred *purānic* number 18 being original for *gotras* is the dissociation of the Kanvas from the Kasyapas, so closely allied in the Sakuntala episode. The position of the Kanvayanas is ambiguous. Both Kanvas and Kasyapas are jointly excluded from sacrificial gifts by an injunction of Hiranyakesin—Satyasadhā. This last authority completely omits six of the 18 main groups, a loss which Brough presumes to be recent.

3. Like any other living institution, the *gotra* system changed. One looks in vain through Brough's work for any consciousness of this, or working out of the implications. For example, the position of the Jatukarṇyas is uncertain in the various traditions (p. 180), which seems to be the translator's fault of some text, not uncertainty of the synthesis itself. He does note, in examining a 'relatively small' number of inscriptions, discordances 'some of which must betray fictitious Brahmins' (Preface p. xvii). It does not suffice to discard a few seemingly aberrant *gotra* names as of 'fictitious' Brahmins without inquiry whether all Brahmins were not relatively fictitious at some stage or other, as in some 'black Iyengar' villages of Karnataka. The Latin *flamen*, no matter how satisfactory to the philologists, is not the equivalent of the Indian Brahmin at any time. How did the institution of a Brahmin caste develop? As for particular Brahmin groups, it is seen at once by the actual citations in the *Rg-veda* and later attribution of *Rgvedic* hymns to authors that the Kasyapas are of no importance at the early stage, if indeed they were Brahmins at first. Yet they become very prominent during the later Vedic period with Asita (Pali, *kala*) Devala, whom tradition places as just prior to the Buddha. How is it that their claim to the greatest antiquity is allowed by other Brahmin clans even though exclusion from sacrificial gifts, i.e. the active priesthood, survives in at least one ancient book as cited above? The explanation which I ventured to give is that *part* of the institution is formed under the influence of pre-Aryan culture. Pargiter (*Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*) basing himself too narrowly on the same *purānas* to which Brough traces the oldest complete *gotra* lists, concluded that Brahmins far antedate Aryans. Some such conclusion would be forced upon us by the *purānic* statement that Raksasas were among the (clearly un-Aryan) descendants of Agastya, not to speak of Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu—three, of the original seven sages, who are supposed to have left only demon progeny. The *Aitareya Brahmana* 7.18 tells us that the 50 youngest sons of Visvamitra were cursed by their father, so that 'most of the Dasyus are the descendants of Visvamitra'; the occasion is that these sons showed their displeasure at the adoption of and seniority given to Sunahsepa, whose descendants thenceforth belong both to the Visvamitra and the Jamadagni *gotras* as the gens Devarata. The *gotra* still exists.

In considering the historicity of clan names, one is puzzled by the disappearance of some, as for example the Syaparna Brahmins (*Ait. Bran.* 7.27) whose sacrificial rights were saved by Rama Margaveya. Neither Syaparna nor Margaveya is in the lists, while Margava is a low, mixed, fisherman caste in *Manusmṛti* 110.34, a tribal name absorbed into the later caste system, probably as a guild. Syaparna Sayakayana was the last (*Sat. Brah.* 4.2.1.39) to perform the complete five-fold sacrifice, which includes human sacrifice; is he, alone among the Syaparnas represented by Sayakayanīh of the Gargyas? The *Vikarna* of Panini 4.1.117 accounts for the Vaikarnas among the Vatsas; 4.1.124 for the Kasyapa Vaikarnayas; but there is more involved here than grammar. If not, why the Vaikarnayas among the Vasisthas (p. 173) also? It would be extraordinary if these were unconnected with the *dualRgvedic* (vii. 18.11) tribe *vaikarnayohjanan* struck down by king Sudas in a famous battle on the Parusnī. Their companions in misery were another tribe Bhrgu, whose name survives only in that of the most prominent Bhrgu *gotra* for Brahmins. The Valasikhas among the Vasisthas can only be connected to the Varasikhas (*RV.* vi.27.4, 5) wiped out at Harappa by Indra. My argument is that *gotras* could become extinct, new ones could be enrolled from non-Aryan or non-Brahminized families and tribes; the enrolment need not even be in the same clan group, at different times or places. Therefore, a unitary, definitive *gotra* lists for all time is too much to expect.

4. Brough has criticized some views of mine in the preface; as the points vitally concern the subject of early *gotras*, it is necessary to consider a few here at the risk of giving this note a controversial flavour. For the rest, let me state once again that I have never believed in an Aryan *race*, having found considerable evidence for the progressive Aryanization of people whose beliefs were penetrated by Brahmin ritual, with reciprocal influence upon Brahminism.

On p. xvi of the preface, Brough says that my views about the descendants of Tvastra are void through uncertainty, for the two names Tittiri and Kapinjala 'may well be of late origin.' The whole point of the Tvastra story is that it occurs in the *Taittiriya Samhita*, which would not repeat such a myth about the name Tittiri without a measure of belief. The *Samhita*, completed about the sixth century BC, is far older than any of the documents from which Purusottama's *gotra* lists are reported. Similarly for totemism; I gave a few names casually—omitting even the elephant (Matanga) Kasyapas, frog (Mandukya), monkey (Kapi) *gotras*—as evidence of totemic *origin*, survivals from a far older stage; there is no implication that developed Brahmin society was totemic in the same sense as the Australians studied by Spencer and Gillen. Roman society did not favour human sacrifice, but the formula *sacer esto* for capital punishment, the *pisciculipro animis humanis* substituted at the June 7 fish-fry for Vulcanus are only two among many vestiges that show the sacrifice to have once really existed. Says Brough, 'the essential feature of totem-ism which we should look for is definite identification of an individual with his totem.' It seems to me that there still remains enough in the way of observances (albeit not in *gotra* ceremonies) to show that this too had once prevailed. At the time of birth, the Hindu child is still assigned to an animal *yonī* (out of 14), though the animal is not a self-evident associate of the constellation of birth. I further suggest that the particular animal given to each Hindu god as a vehicle must also have been totemic in origin, the custom reverting as far back as the Indus valley, paralleled on Mesopotamian seals, by Hittite sculptures, and Egyptian theriomorphic gods. During the millennia of urban literate culture which have left their mark upon Hinduism, there was time and occasion enough for great development away from the crude idea of a totem; yet it could not have been lost altogether simply because there always existed (as to this day) primitive cultures with which the society remained in contact. The caste system managed to absorb them in later days, not without mutual concessions.

Perhaps the best evidence for derivation from a once strongertotemism is the world *vrata*, which now generally means 'observance,' but initially meant 'behaviour like' a particular creature. This is carefully illustrated in the *kukkura-vatika-suttanta* (*Majjhimanikaya* 57; see also *Digha-nikaya* 24) where we have the ascetic Acela Seniya following the dog-*vrata*. The Buddha says that this fanatic would naturally be reborn as a dog; this disturbs his Koliyan lay follower, who is himself a bull-*vrata* man, hence could expect transmigration into bull form. The idea of transmigration is natural to believers in totemism first because of the identification of the individual with his totem, from which he is born hence to which he should naturally revert after death; then because several totems coalesce into a society. The *govratins* are not a Buddhist fiction but mentioned with approbation in *Mbh.* 5.97.13-14, where a special section of the nether world is assigned to them among minor demons as in the *Digha-nikaya* 24 version of the story. As for the other (sometimes contested) aspect of totemism, namely that the totem animal or plant was once the main diet later become *tabu*, we have the *tabu* against beef-eating and *gotra* names like Paippalada. The world *vrata* has also the meaning 'feeding exclusively upon,' proved by *madhu-vrata* for a bee.

A historical clan name like *Satakarni* could hardly have come into existence without harking back to totemism. Their inscriptions give only its Prakrit form *Sdtakani*. However, Brough notices a 'Prakritic tendency' (p. xii) in his texts, while it is clear from Pargiter's work that the *puranas* have been Sanskritized from an account which was originally in some prakrit, probably in Pali. The *sata* is presumably the Sanskrit *sapti*; not 'seven' but 'horse' (*Rgveda*) with special reference to the horses of the sun. Thus the proper Sanskrit form is *Saptivahana*, as indeed the *Kalki Purana* reports it, rather than the faulty re-Sanskritization *Sata-vahana*. *Saptikarna*, 'horse-ear,' is a split-totem.

Brough points out an 'egregious error' into which scholars are not likely to fall, namely taking Gotama as the Buddha's baptismal name instead of a *gotra* name. I have fallen into it nevertheless, in excellent company,⁴ which includes the whole early Buddhistic order, and apparently Buddha's own family as well. At least, his stepmother Mahaprajapati Gotami says in verses ascribed to her in the *Therigdthd: bahundm vata atthdya Mdydjanayi Gotamam*, verily for the benefit of many did Maya give birth to Gotama. This makes Gotama no more of a clan name than Maya; Siddhartha is a later name absent from the older Pali canon. Moreover, as this Gotami is his maternal aunt and stepmother, she cannot belong to the same exogamous group. Brough explains this away by saying 'Mahaprajapati took the name Gotami virtually as a surname, on the occasion of her marriage into the clan.' Why she alone of all the women of her time needed a virtual surname does not appear. Buddha's wife is called Yasodhara in the *Apaddna*, Gopa in the *Lalitavistara*, Rahulamata in most references, but also Bhadda Kaccana; that is, the only name of hers which can be connected to a *gotra* is not Gotami but Katyayani, obviously her maiden *gotra*. It is only in later sources, following the *Mahd-paddnasutta* of the *Digha-nikaya*, that Gotama is taken as the Buddha's *gotra* name. Let it be suggested that this a later formation under Brahmin influence; reading the *sutta* in question shows that the Brahmins concerned were Kasyapas, who claimed the (or rather created a fictitious) previous Buddha, and unquestionably held leadership among the disciples that survived the Buddha. The Jain Mahavira's birth story (by exchange of embryos) and supposed *gotra* is clearly also under Kasyapa Brahmin influence, the clan being very prominent in U.P. and Bihar of the sixth century BC.

5. What is needed to round out any theoretical work on *gotra*—all Brahmin texts concentrate upon theory to the detriment of fact—is field work, supported by careful search in the inscriptions. Brough tried the later without discarding his tacit hypothesis that the *gotra* list may be restored as a closed record merely by inspection of a correct manuscript. This, I fear, is not true. The one reproach that can be levelled against his editorial work is that the manuscript evidence gathered does not suffice to deal with Brahmin *gotras* as a system. The decennial *Census* of India carefully avoided recording the *gotra* actually claimed by any Brahmin, though it showed (under the British) a remarkable predilection for emphasizing religious and communal differences among Indians. I suggest that if manuscripts be collected from all parts of the country, the *gotra* lists would show a far greater variation than Brough imagines, or Chentsal Rao printed. This variation must be taken seriously: the lists were not meant to prevent 'Scholars' from falling into egregious error, but for the daily use of priests who performed the rites. Thus there is a case within my knowledge where the boy was assigned to the wrong *gotra* at his initiation simply because the officiating purohita's list did not contain the ancient Devarata *gotra*; the family yielded to his superior knowledge when he insisted that the correct form is Devataras.

The Karhada Brahmins of Maharashtra⁵ have only 24 *gotras*, the Citpa-vans 14, Saras vats 21; the Desasthas have more than 30 in the *Rgvedic* branch, well over a hundred among the *Yajurvedis*. This has been shown by listing all accessible families under the corresponding *gotra*. Only this type of investigation, without *puranic* theological prejudices, can show what survives of the ancient *gotra* system. The field work must be undertaken soon, for the system is falling into desuetude, the *gotra* names into oblivion. Yet the system at one time succeeded in imposing itself over totally foreign sections of the population (cf. P.V. Kane, *History of Dharmasashtra*, II. 495); the Bhils call their septs *got*. Among the Vaisyas⁶ of the south, we have a list of a thousand *gotras* (another of 25 *pravaras*) produced from otherwise unknown *rsi* ancestors; obviously under Brahmin influence, as is the list of 102 Komati *gotras*. This is flatly contradictory to the solitary Vaisyapravara given in all the Brahmin books, and to the alternative rule that the Brahmin purohita's *gotra* is to be taken as that of the Vais'ya family for which he officiates. Nevertheless, the Brahmin purohitas believe and defend simultaneously all three systems. Less than a third of the Mysore Vaisya families seem to observe the *puranic* rules; the rest have their own *gotras*, presumably from the supplementary list, of which the greater number seem originally to have gone in the female line, for the son is often assigned to his maternal uncle's *gotra*. This illustrates the readjustments Brahminism was able to make when circumstances demanded, without surrendering its theoretical immutability.

The *puranas* themselves state that the 'real' ksatriyas died out before the Mauryans. It is fairly clear that the older Brahminism died out not much later. What remained afterwards was a constantly changing class which claimed ancient sanction by preserving as far as possible the old *forms*, which became progressively hollower, particularly after Islam. The essential fact is that no system can long outlive, even in form, the productive structure of society upon which it is based. The sole public reaction to recent legislation permitting marriages within the *gotra* was apathy. After all, most of the population have no *gotra*; of those that have, the younger generation rarely know their own. In practice, the prohibition of *sagotra* marriage was usually circumvented by fictitious adoption.

Differences of religion and language were aggravated by political circumstance, but Brahminism itself performs no essential function today so that nothing is likely to lead to survival, reform, or extension of the *gotra* system. The people of India no longer make their living as their ancestors did two thousand years ago. The machine age has made a sudden, profound difference. The really interesting study now would be to weigh the *gotra* system against reality, to see how far the content developed away from its supposed archaic substance, under the pressure of history.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES

On § 3: Though Udumbara-Audumbara seems to occur only among the Visvamitra's in Brough's lists, Bhavabhuti (middle eighth century AD) claims in the preface to his plays to be a Kasyapa Udumbara: his mother's name Jatukarm indicates a *gotra* that could not intermarry with any Visvamitra. The purohita of Dharasena IV (*Ind. Ant.* XV, p. 340, 11.40-42) was an Udumbara of the Samanya-Parasara *gotra*. This shows the same line of development as for the Vikarna tribe and *gotras*, for Udumbara is one of many foreign tribes in *Mbh.* 2.48.12, a tribe by implication of the *ganapatha* on Pan. 4.2.53, and attested during the first two centuries BC by the coins published in J. Allan's *British Museum Catalogue* (pp. 122-8). Bandhula-Aghamar-sana-Visvamitra is generally proclaimed as the *pravara* of the Gahadavala priests (*Ep. Ind.* IV, pp. 97-133) while that of Laksmanasena's (*Ins. Bengal III*, p. 87, 1.42) is Vis'vamitra-Bandhula-Kaus'ika; both these twelfth-century combinations are quite plausible, but not in the current lists. H.D. Sankalia gives some rather foreign sounding and otherwise unknown *gotras* from Gujarat inscriptions (*Deccan Coll. Monograph* 3, Poona 1949, pp. 124 *If*).

On § 4: In the first *ucchvasa* of his *Harsacarita* the poet Bana (1 st half 7th cent. AD) gives his lineage, mentioning that his people followed the cock-vrafa—unless perchance the *kukkuta* of the text is a mislection for *kukkura*. Thus Acela Seniya's cynanthropy raises interesting questions about the possible totemic origin of the werewolf and lycanthropy. The *Niddsa* passage quoted in R.G. Bhandarkar's *Vaisnavism, Saivism* etc. (1.2) puts the worshippers of an elephant, horse, cow, dog, crow in the same list as named sects and worshippers of deities with proper names (Vasu-deva); this is connected with the *yoni* classification, as also with the crows substituting for ancestors at an offering to the manes.

NOTES

1. In fact, the only reliable edited (by Sukthankar) portions of the Poona BORI critical *Mahabharata* prove that the process of revision continued till modern times, and perhaps that some of Sukthankar's successors favour still more revision.
2. See the introduction to F.E. Pargiter's *The Purana Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age* (Oxford 1913).
3. He refers to nothing later than my 'Origin of Brahmin Gotras', *JBBRAS* 25, 1950, pp. 21-80; some of the ideas briefly expressed there have been developed in greater detail, *JBBRAS* 27, 1951, 1-30; *ibid.*, 180-213.
4. This group also includes at least one scholar of unchallenged command over both the *gotra* system (into which he was born) and the Pali canon: my father, the late Prof. Dharmananda Kosambi, from whom I first learned of both. The discussion as to the Buddha's *gotra* is taken from his *Bhagavan Buddha*, Nagpur, 2 vols 1940, 1941. Malalasekara's *Dictionary of Pali Names* gives the opinion that Gotama was the *gotra* name, but careful reading will show this to be the commentator's idea, or in the later canon; for an almost solitary example, Buddha addresses his own father, as Gotama, while the father addresses him as 'Lord', in *Mahavagga*, i.54.4; the story is obviously written in to justify the rule that no candidate may be ordained without permission of his parents. The rule was never observed till Buddhism became common, as there would be no occasion for it. However, there is an alternative possibility, namely that all Sakyans were Gota-mas, and that *gotra* here has nothing to do with exogamy. In fact, the Mallas seem to be generally addressed as Vasisthas by the dying Buddha and his disciple Ananda. This alternative, for reasons given above, seems inapplicable to the Sakyans; but among other less Brahminised and stronger tribes like the Mallas and the Licchavis, there is little likelihood of the exogamous sub-groups being called by Brahmin *gotra* names. Incidentally, *amgirasa* in Pali denotes 'sun', just as it does in so many *Rgvedic* hymns (iv.2.15, v.45.8), not the *gotra* group cf. Greek *angelos*.
5. Documentary evidence for the Yajurvedic Brahmins is given by Sete's recent book on families and *gotras*; for the Sarasvats, in S.S. Talmaki's *Saraswat Families*, part I, Bombay 1935 (The Chitrapar Saraswat Series II); for the others, in P. Moghe's 'Maharashtra Pancaiiga' for Saka 1875, Pub. K.B. Dhavale, Bombay 1953. In all these the actual surnames and *gotras* are given, or further references indicated.
6. This refers particularly to the Vaisya community in Mysore. The information comes from several sources, the most important of which is a Telugu MS containing the *gotra* lists. This was acquired by Brahmasri V.S. Ramachandra Sastrigal of Bangalore (from the survivors of a Brahmin purohita who ministered to Vaisya families), and transcribed for my use. Afterwards, Mr A.R. Vasudeva Murthy of Bangalore found some locally published lists containing much the same names. Detailed field work as to the actual families and *their gotras* is wanting, though contemplated. In this connection the reader may be referred to a Hindi work *Jaina-sampraddya-siksa* (Bombay, NSP 1931) by the Svetambara Jain yati Sri-Sripalaji. The fifth section shows the traditional development of an exogamous system in Rajasthan, both after conversion to Jainism (in which case the convert founded a clan) and on an older clan-locality basis, within the bigger groups of Oswals, Khandelwals, etc. As the people concerned were both traders and fighters, supposedly descendants of Scythian invaders, the convenience of the system for that stage of social development may be supposed much greater than any direct influence of Brahmin scriptures or tradition.

The Brahmins in India still preserve a system of exogamous groups, called *gotra* and *pravara*, within the endogamous caste; these groups have the same names, derived supposedly from immemorial antiquity, cutting across the many regional, linguistic and other Brahmin subcastes forming smaller endogamous groups for which no sanction exists besides custom. Hence the translation of *gotra* by 'clan' is justified only by lack of a better one. The earliest works on ritual like Baudhayana contain only a skeleton list of the pravaras, the pravara being a group of gotras forming the ultimate exogamous unit. Brough supplies a long-felt need by working meticulously over the translation of a gotra list and rules given by Purusottama, an author of unknown date (not later than AD 1450) who collected and arranged older literature. The translation was made very difficult by the lack of a reliable text. The uncritical work of P. Chent-sal Rao (Mysore, 1900, out of print) gives several divergent lists. Brough has worked through his manuscript evidence with care, selecting readings with insight, presenting the variants, tracing quotations with admirable patience and great success. This will earn him the gratitude of every worker in the field. One of his most valuable conclusions is that the rolls as they now exist derive from one prototype, which may be regarded as the Matsya Purana.

Brough's general opinions, as set forth in his preface, are supported neither by the evidence he has translated, nor by any other known to exist. Inasmuch as the substantial merits of the book proper make them all the more misleading, the bulk of this article has, unfortunately, to be devoted to criticizing the few pages of the preface, rather than to well-deserved praise of the rest.

1. The first part of the title is not justified. The gotra list cannot possibly be early, no matter how archaic the system. The oldest authority, as noted, is the Matsya Purana. The puranas were being revised till the early Gupta period, as has been proved by Pargiter's¹ analysis of the historical 'prophetic' portion. Their great prototype, the *Mahabhdrata*, has been rewritten² not earlier than the second century AD, no matter how much of the older versions survived. That the system is itself not much older in its present form than the puranas is made clear by the artificial grouping into 18 separate major groups, in spite of the insistence that the original ancestors were the seven sages. There exist at least two separate lists of these seven sages, while seven (with Agastya as eighth) cannot account even for the principal groups. Now the number 18 has a special sanctity in the purana-Mbh complex. There are 18 major puranas; the Mbh is the story in 18 sections (regrouped from 100) of a battle fought over 18 days, by 18 divisions that annihilated each other. The influence remains paramount till the days of the poet Rajasekhara (about AD 920) who composes his *Kavirahasya* in the puranic mannerto justify the profession of making verses. That the 18 major gotra groups are not original is to be seen from the dissociation of the Kanvas from the Kasyapas, though both are closely allied according to the Sakuntala episode, while being jointly excluded from sacrificial gifts by an injunction of Hiranyakesin-Satyasadha (to whom at least one of the untraced quotations on p. 198 is due). While stating (p. 27) that this last authority completely omits six of the eighteen groups, Brough presumes the loss to be recent, without material evidence of any such loss.

2. Brough's methodology is open to far more serious objections. He cites with approval Benveniste's derivation of *an* as the designation of the other moiety, at once friendly and hostile, of a society with dual organisation. To him, 'it explains satisfactorily the ambivalence of the term, since the *ari* would come as a friend to the marriage ceremony.' To derive Aryan exogamy from this frail support in philology means ignoring other ambivalent words, such as *Eevos* in Greek and *hoslis* in Latin with the same meaning. The occurrence is so common that Karl Abel suggested a theory, popularized by Freud, that such words arise with diametrically opposite meaning when they first appear in language. The philological method needs a historical vacuum in which to shed any light, like the carbon filament of an electric light. Otherwise, we get extraordinary results, that Indo-Europeans had feet but no hands; or like those of Sommer, who philologized the Achaeans right off the map, applying rigid phonetic rules to Forrer's Hittite-Greek equations. There, as in the present case, we have to pay attention to the presence of non-Indo-Europeans in long, close contact with the people concerned. Certainly, unlike Vedic kinship terminology, the word *gofra* ('cowpen') is not Iranian, let alone Greek or Latin; yet the institution certainly existed in the earliest Roman gentes (with many unmistakably totemic names like Porcia, Fabia, Ovidia, Asi-nia, etc.), and in pre-Kleisthenes Athens. Moreover, exogamous clan-groups are known at a primitive stage in almost every type of society, including the highly civilized Chinese, Australian aborigines, African and American tribesmen. Thus we have to compare not mere words but forms of the institution with full reference to the social context. It is to be hoped that, when extending the present investigations, Brough will pay some attention to books like R. Briffault's *The Mothers*; or, if he prefers disjointed accumulation of facts, E. Westermarck's *History of Human Marriage*.

3. Like any other living institution, the gotra system changed. One looks in vain through Brough's work for any consciousness of this, or working out of the implications. For example, the position of the Jatu-karnyas is uncertain in the various traditions (p. 180), but this seems to be the translator's fault of some text, not uncertainty of the synthesis. He does note, in examining a 'relatively small' number of inscriptions, discordances 'some of which must betray fictitious Brahmins' (p. xvii). It does not suffice to discard a few seemingly aberrant gotra names as of 'fictitious' Brahmins, without inquiry whether all Brahmins were not relatively fictitious at some stage or other as in some 'black lyengar' villages of Karnataka. Certainly, the *L&lmflamen*, no matter how satisfactory to the philologists, is not the equivalent of the Brahmin in India, even at the earliest Vedic age. How did the institution develop? As for particular Brahmin groups, it is seen at once, by reference to the actual citations in the Rgveda and by the later attributions of Rgveda hymns to authors, that the Kasyapas are certainly not of any importance at the early stage, if indeed they were Brahmins at first. Yet they become very prominent at the later Vedic period, with Asita (in Pali tradition, Kala) Devala, whom tradition places as just before the time of the Buddha. How is it that their claim to great antiquity is allowed by other Brahmin gotras, even though the exclusion from sacrificial gifts, i.e. the active priesthood, survives in at least one book, as mentioned above? The explanation which I have ventured to give is that part of the institution is formed under the influence of pre-Aryan culture. Pargiter (*Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*), basing himself rather narrowly on the very same puranas to which Brough traces the oldest complete gotra lists, concluded that the Brahmins far antedate Aryans. Some such conclusion is forced upon us by the puranic statement that Raksasas were among the (clearly un-Aryan) descendants of Agastya, not to speak of Pulastya.

In considering the historicity of clan names, one is puzzled by the disappearance of the Syaparna Brahmins (*Ait. Brah.* 7.27) whose sacrificial rights were saved by Rama Margaveya. Neither Syaparna nor Margaveya is in the lists, while Margava is a low, mixed, fisherman caste in the *Manusmrti* 10.34, a tribal name absorbed into the later caste system. Syaparna Sayakayana was the last (*Sat. Brah.* 4.2.1.39) to perform the complete fivefold sacrifice, which includes human sacrifice; is he, alone among Syaparnas, represented by Sayakayanih of the Gargyas? The Vikarna of Panini 4.1.117 accounts for the Vaikarnas among Vatsas; 4.1.124 for the Kasyapa Vaikarnayas. It would be extraordinary if these were unconnected with the dual Rgvedic (vii.18.11) tribe *Vaikarnayoh janan* struck down in battle by king Sudas, along with another tribe Bhrgu whose total Brahminization is undeniable. Similarly Valasikhas among the Vasisthas can only be connected to the Varasikhas (*RV.* vi.27.4-5) wiped out at Harappa by Indra. Thus gotras could become extinct, new ones enrolled from non-Aryan or non-Brahminized families and tribes; the conscription need not even be in the same clan-group. Therefore a unitary, definitive gotra list for all time is far too much to expect.

4. In the preface, Brough has criticized some views of mine:³ as the points vitally concern the subject of early gotras, it is necessary to consider a few of them even at the risk of giving the discussion a controversial flavor. For the rest, let me state once again that I have never believed in an Aryan race, having gathered a considerable amount of evidence for the progressive 'Aryanization' of people whose beliefs were penetrated by Brahmin ritual, with reciprocal influence upon Brahminism.

On p. xvi of the preface, Brough says that my views about the descendants of Tvastra are void through uncertainty, for the two names Tittiri and Kapinjala 'may well be of late origin.' The whole point of the Tvastra story is that it occurs in the Taittiriya Samhita, which would not repeat such a myth about the name Tittiri without a measure of belief. The Samhita is far older than any of the documents from which Brough reproduces his gotra lists. Similarly for totemism, where I casually gave a few of the better-known names as evidence of totemic origin, survivals from a far older stage; there is no implication that the developed Brahmin society was totemic in the same sense as the Australians studied by Spencer and Gillen. Roman society did not favor human sacrifice, but survivals such as the formula *sacer esto* for capital punishment, the *pisciculi pro animis humanis* furnished at the June 7 fish-fry for Vulcanus, and many other references show that the sacrifice had once really existed. Says Brough, 'the essential feature of totemism which we should look for is definite identification of an individual with his totem.' It seems to me that there survives enough in the way of observances and superstitions to show that this too had once prevailed. At the time of birth, the Hindu child is still assigned to one animal yoni (out of 14), though the animal cannot obviously be associated with the constellation of birth. I further suggest that the particular animal given to each Hindu god as a vehicle must have been totemic in origin, the custom going far back to the Indus valley and paralleled in Mesopotamia, as proved by cylinder and stamp seals, not to speak of Hittite sculptures or Egyptian theriomorphic gods. During the millennia of urban, literate, but pre-Aryan culture which have left their mark upon Hinduism, there were great developments away from the crude idea of a totem, yet it was never lost simply because there always co-existed (as they still do) primitive cultures with whom the society remained in contact. The caste system managed to absorb them sooner or later, not without concessions on both sides.

Perhaps the best evidence for derivation from a once stronger totemism is the word *vrata*, which now generally means 'observance', but initially meant 'behavior like' a particular creature and is carefully illustrated in the Majjhimanikaya 57 = *kukkura-vatika-suttanta*, (and Dighanikaya 24) where we have the ascetic Acela Seniya following the dog-*vrata*. The Buddha says that after death this fanatic will naturally be reborn as a dog; this disturbs his Koliyan lay follower, who is himself a bull-*vrata* man, hence could expect transmigration into bull form. The idea of transmigration is natural to believers in totemism first because of the identification of the individual with his totem; then because several totems form a society. As for the other (sometimes contested) aspect of totemism, namely that the totem animal or plant was formerly the main diet later become tabu, we have the tabu against beef-eating and names like Pippalada. The word *vrata* also had the meaning 'feeding exclusively upon', proved by *madhu-vrata* for a bee. The *govratins* are not a Buddhist fiction but mentioned with approbation in the *Mahabharata* 5.97.13-14, where a special section of the nether world is assigned to them, among minor demons as in Dighanikaya 24; a stanza was especially written into the text to explain that the *go-vrata* observers were those who imitated the spiritual placidity of the bull; identification of the individual with the totem animal is not in doubt!

A historic clan-name like Satakarni could hardly have come into existence without harking back to totemism. Their inscriptions give only its Prakrit form *Satakarni*. However, Brough notices 'a Prakritic tendency' (p. xii) in his text and it is clear from Pargiter's work that the puranas have been Sanskritized from an account which was originally in some Prakrit, probably in Pali. The *sata* is presumably the Sanskrit *sapti*; not meaning 'seven', but (as seen from *Rgvedic* usage) 'horse', with special reference to the horses of the sun. Thus the proper Sanskrit form is *Saptivadhana* (as the Kalki Purana reports it) rather than *Satavahana* which is the faulty re-Sanskritization; *Saptikarna*, 'horse-ear' is a split totem.

Brough points out an 'egregious error' into which scholars are not likely to fall, namely taking *Gotama* as the Buddha's baptismal name instead of a gofra-name. I have fallen into it nevertheless, in excellent company,⁴ which includes the whole of the early Buddhist order, and Buddha's own family as well. At least, his stepmother Mahaprajapati GotamI says in the verses ascribed to her in the Theri-gatha, *bahunam vata atthdya Mdydjanayi Gotamam*: 'verily for the benefit of many did Maya give birth to Gotama', which makes Gotama no more of a clan-name than Maya; Siddhartha is a later name, absent in the older Pali canon. Moreover, as this GotamI is his maternal aunt and stepmother, it is not the Buddha's gotra. Brough explains this away by saying 'Mahaprajapati took the name GautamI virtually as a surname, on the occasion of her marriage into the clan.' Why she alone of all the women of her time needed a virtual surname does not appear. Buddha's wife (Yasodhara in the Apadana, Gopa in the Lalitavistara), is called Bhadda Kaccana (not GotamI) in the same sources, i.e. KatyayanI, which can only be her maiden gotra. Moreover, no other member of the Buddha's family seems to have been addressed as Gotama. When the Buddhist monk is initiated, he becomes a 'son of the Sakyans', not a GotamI; the Gotamaka almsmen were a later, small group. Finally, the Buddha is called Angirasa, but this means 'sun' in Pali, just as it means 'light-god' so often in the *Rgveda* (iv.2.15; v.45.8—cf. oyyfXo?), not in the sense of a clan-group. Brough dismisses the ancient Sutta-Nipata words ascribed to the Buddha: *adicca ndma gottena*, *Sdkiyd ndmajdtiyd*, '[I am] of the *dditya* gotra, Sakiyan family,' saying that *dditya* merely signifies descent in the solar line. Certainly, all Sakyans claimed Iksvaku (etymologically related to *iksu* 'sugarcane or gourd', which has a totemic appearance) as their ancestor; hence perhaps the later puranic fiction of a solar lineage, but if so, they must all have been *adicca ndma gottena*. Possible but improbable conclusions are then that the Pali word *gotta* does not mean the Sanskrit *gotra* here though it does elsewhere; or inasmuch as the Sakyans were too proud to mate with non-Sakyans, the *gotta* is not an exogamous unit, hence irrelevant to the entire discussion. The first interpretation of Gotama as Buddha's gotra name is in the Mahapadanasutta of the Dighanikaya, obviously a late formation under Brahmin influence; one could even say, influence of Kasyapa Brahmins, as is the Jain Mahavira's supposed gotra and birth story.

5. What is needed to round out any theoretical work on the gotra—all Brahmin texts specialize in theory to the detriment of fact—is fieldwork, plus search in the inscriptions. Brough tried the latter without discarding his tacit hypothesis that the gotra list exists as a closed record which may be restored merely by inspection of a correct manuscript. This, I fear, is not true; the one reproach that can be levelled against his editorial work is that the manuscript evidence gathered does not suffice to deal with Brahmin gotras as a system. The decennial Census of India carefully avoided recording any of the gotras actually claimed by the various Brahmins, though it showed (under the British) a remarkable predilection for emphasizing religious and communal differences among Indians. I suggest that if manuscripts were collected from all parts of the country, the gotra lists would show a far greater variation than Brough imagines, or Chentsal Rao has printed. This variation must be taken seriously; the lists were not meant to prevent 'scholars' from falling into egregious error, but for the daily use of priests who performed the rites. Thus, there is a case within my own knowledge where the boy was assigned to the Devataras gotra at his initiation simply because the officiating purohita's list did not contain the ancient Devarata gotra; the priest insisted that no such gotra existed, and the family yielded to his superior knowledge!

The Karhada Brahmins of Maharashtra have only 24 gotras, the Citpa-vans 14, the Sarasvats 21; but actual family surveys by Sete and others have shown that among the Desasthas, the YajurvedI group has a far greater number, well over a hundred. Only this type of investigation without puranic theological prejudices can show what survives of the ancient clan-system. The fieldwork must be undertaken fairly soon, for the system is falling into desuetude, the gotra names into oblivion.

The essential fact is that no system can long outlive (even in form) the productive structure of society upon which it is based. The people of India no longer make their living as their ancestors did two thousand years ago; the machine age makes a sudden, profound difference. Differences of religion and language were aggravated by political circumstances, but nothing of the sort is likely to lead to a survival, reform, or extension of the gotra system. The sole public reaction to recent legislation permitting marriages within the gotra was total apathy. After all, most of the population have no gotra at all; of those that have, the younger generation rarely know their own gotra name; in practice the prohibition of *sagotra* marriages was usually

circumvented by a fictitious adoption. Yet the system at one time succeeded in imposing itself over some foreign sections of the population: the Bhils call their sept *got*. Among the Vaisyas⁵ of the south we have list of a thousand gotras (another of 25 pravaras) produced from otherwise unknown rsi ancestors, obviously under Brahmin influence as is the list of 102 Komati gotras. This is flatly contrary to the solitary Vaisya pravara given in all the Brahmin books, as also to the alternative rule that the Brahmin purohita's gotra is to be taken as that of the Vaisya family for which he officiates. Less than a third of the Mysore Vaisya families seem to observe this rule; the rest have their own gotras, of which the greater number seem to have gone originally in the female line, for the son is often assigned to his maternal uncle's gotra. This illustrates the readjustments Brahminism was able to make when circumstances demanded it, without giving up its theoretical immutability.

The Puranas themselves state that the 'real' ksatriyas died out before the Mauryans. It is fairly clear that the older Brahminism did too. What remained afterwards was a constantly changing class that claimed ancient sanction by preserving as far as possible the old forms, which became progressively hollower, particularly after Islam. It is to this late period that Brough's text belongs. The really interesting as well as important study would be to weigh it against reality, to see how far the content of the system had developed away from its supposed archaic substance under the pressure of history.

6. The essential feature of the gotra system, ignored by Brough, is its relation to property. Here, the philological, literary, and ritual sutra evidence all agree, while the historical development becomes clear. The etymology of gotra as 'a herd of cattle' in early Vedic times shows that the name was naturally transferred to the group of human beings associated with the herd as a unit—the common owners of the herd. Panini 4.3.127 (with the Kasika) shows that each *samgha* (tribe) and gotra had once its own cattle-brand *aiika*, which is possible if and only if at one time the cattle were the indistinguishable common property of the tribe or gotra. That tribal names agree also with gotra names, so that tribes could develop into, or give rise to, gotras is seen from the ganapatha. Salankayana is a tribal name as well as a Visvamitra gotra. Coins of the Udumbara-Audumbara tribe have been dug up in profusion; the name is totemic, the tree being actually shown on the coins; yet we have the gotra in all Visva-mitra lists. With further differentiation in property rights, the gotra naturally develops into the large patriarchal joint family, still holding its property in common. The name would not change, for cattle are the main form of property at the earlier stage, continuing as the principal expression and natural measure (cf. Latin *pecunia*) of wealth even later, when property in land becomes admissible.

The same relations are clearly reflected in the sutras, but with a further break-up of the family. Yajnavalkya 2.135 gives the gentiles, *gotraja*, as heirs in default of immediate relatives, as in Rome. *Manusmṛti* 9.182-3 says that one son for several brothers or for several co-wives shall count as the son of all. These rules clearly indicate former group-marriage and group-property; even better proof is the *ksetraja* heir, begotten by a *sagotra* (gentilis) upon the widow of a man who dies without a son, for inheritance of the property (*Ms.* 9.190). The right of doing this belongs preferentially to the brother of the deceased (*Ms.* 9.146), but if he exercise it without formal appointment, or with desire, or when a legitimate son already exists, it amounts to adultery (*Ms.* 9.59-62; 9.143-7). Apas-tamba 2.27.2-7 (82.13.7) is still more explicit, admitting that the bride was given to the whole family rather than to a single husband in older times, but that this practice is now forbidden. Correspondingly, the *Manusmṛti* contradicts its own theory of the legitimate *ksetraja* pseudo-son (*Ms.* 9.32-55, 173) by saying against all usage and common sense that the fruit belongs to the owner of the seed, not of the field (wife). This is really on account of the developed forms of property, as is seen from *Ms.* 9.104-5 which gives two alternatives: either all property is to be divided equally among the sons, or the eldest inherits all with the duty of supporting his brothers; in place of the father. Both show equal rights of all in the joint property of the patriarchal household, which divides in the first case, remains undivided in the second. The *Manusmṛti*, like most similar works, labours under the strain of reconciling the old and the new. It may be noted that the word for such heritable property is *riktha*, that which may be alienated as having been acquired by the individual's labour (*Ms.* 9.208-9), hence not common property—which seems to have existed simultaneously. In any case, cattle are no longer the principal form of wealth, so that the gotra has its traditional force greatly weakened in practice.

To follow this a little further: Woman, according to these smṛtis, is herself a peculiar form of property through which a son could be obtained for continuity of the remaining property, and for offering food to the manes. This develops with progressive specialization of individual property rights of the male, to culminate in the ban upon brahmin widow remarriage. The implication for the earlier stage is that the gotra had a common cult of the dead, providing for them beyond the grave just as it provided for the aged members of the gotra who were no longer able to feed themselves in this world. Where the rights of the woman's clan were strongly maintained—as must originally have been the case before patriarchy prevailed—we have the development of the Asura marriage (*Ms.* 3.31) by bride-purchase; if the woman so married die without issue, the property reverts to her parents (*Ms.* 9.197) which implies that some gotras once derived from the mother, not the father. Finally, there was the case of sons by wives of a different caste, who therefore had no gotra; their inheritance is limited to a gift from the father during his lifetime, from his own personal wealth, particularly if legitimate heirs existed. It follows that such a son would have to work as a servant, or to learn some craft. I suggest that this last explains the otherwise uncalled for presentation in our smṛtis of professional guilds as mixed castes.

NOTES

1. See the introduction to F.E. Pargiter's *The Purana text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age* (Oxford, 1913).
2. In fact, the reliably edited (by Sukthankar) portions of the Poona BORI critical *Mahabharata* prove that the process of revision continued till modern times. Sukthankar's successors seem to favour continuation of such revision, if one takes literally their published ideas (without a shred of evidence) as to how the Mbh came to be written and inflated.
3. He refers to nothing later than my 'Origin of Brahmin Gotras,' *J. Bom. Branch Roy. As. Soc.*, 26 (1950), 21-80; some of the ideas briefly expressed there have been developed in greater detail, *JBBRAS*. 27 (1951), 1-30; *ibid.*, 180-213.
4. This group also includes at least one scholar of unchallenged command over both the gotra system (into which he was born) and the Pali canon: my father, the late Prof. Dharmananda Kosambi, from whom I first learned of both. The discussion as to the Buddha's gotra is taken from his Marathi writings, particularly *Bhagavan Buddha*, 2 vols (Nagpur, 1940, 1941).'
5. This refers particularly to the Vaisya community in Mysore. The information comes from several sources, the most important of which is a Telugu ms containing the *gotra* list; this was acquired by Brahmasri V.S. Ramacandra Sastrigal (from the survivors of a BrahminpwTO/1/M who ministered to Vaisya families) and transcribed for my use. Afterwards, Mr A.R. Vasudeva Murthy of Bangalore found some locally published lists in Kanarese and Telugu containing much the same names. Detailed fieldwork is still wanting, but contemplated. In this connection, the reader may be referred to a Hindi *work* *Jaina-Sampradaya-siksa* (Bombay NSP, 1931) by the Svetambara *Jainayati* sri-sripalaji; the fifth section shows the traditional development of an exogamous system in Rajasthan, both after conversion to Jainism, in which case the founder began his own clan, and on an older clan-locality basis within the bigger groups of the Oswals, Khandelwals etc. As the people concerned were traders and fighters both, supposedly descendants of Scythian invaders, the direct influence of Brahminism here may be less than convenience of the system for that stage of social development.

Early Stages of the Caste System in Northern India

1. It is not my intention to describe here the Indian caste system as it exists today, for the reader has access to all the documents' from which such a treatment would have to be condensed. Modern caste combines loosely several features of tribal and guild organization incorporated into theoretically rigid endogamic groups. This contemporary division into an almost innumerable set of castes does not, however, agree with the oldest theoretical division into just four: the priest *Brdhmana*, the warrior-ruler Ksatriya, the trader-householder *Vaisya*, and the worker *Sudra*. An attempt² has been made to identify the older *varna* (colour) division with classes and the modern but coexistent;af/ scheme with tribal units. But this suffers from omission of the craftsmen's guilds, and from a static conception of caste—which is not surprising as caste in itself is an attempt at the negation of history. On the other hand, it has been denied categorically that the older four-caste system ever existed³ at any time or place though so many Indian sources of unquestionable age and authenticity refer to it as a well-known contemporary institution.

One book on caste and race in India⁴ states: 'Whatever might have been the Buddha's own views and practice, it is indubitable that his immediate followers believed in the time-honoured institutions of caste, and being most probably Ksatriyas themselves, utilized the opportunity offered by Buddha's revolt, to establish Ksatriya pre-eminence among the four castes. The complete discomfiture of the Ksatriyas within the Brahmanic fold had made this course inevitable. Measuring their strength with the Brahmins and failing in the contest, they naturally turned their attention to the masses.'

The statements in this extract, when they convey any meaning at all, are demonstrably wrong. Buddha's views are quite well-attested by the earliest texts of the Pali canon, which the author ignores entirely. Buddha's 'revolt' was against Brahmanic sacrifices, not against the caste system nor for Ksatriya pre-eminence which was traditional and acknowledged except in the functions of a priest. As the Brahmanic fold, strictly speaking, contains only Brahmins, 'the complete discomfiture of the Ksatriyas within' it is meaningless. Buddha's immediate followers are all known by name⁵ and origin so that they cannot be made over into Ksatriyas even by invoking the theory of probabilities. For example, Kondanna and the other four who were the first converts were all Brahmanas, as also the two principal apostles of the new faith Sariputta and Moggallana; Upali, founder of the monastic rule (*Vinaya*), was a barber; from the lowest castes were recruited Sopaka (= dog-eater) and the scavenger Sunita, who both reached the final stage of freedom from *karma*; the early lay disciples, of both sexes, were almost all Vaisyas. The final sentence of the quotation above is about as accurate as 'The Roman partisans, measuring their strength against the Jews and failing in the attempt naturally turned their attention to the masses'. The quotation, nevertheless, has great interest as a typical Brahmanic document in its disregard of sources and facts, in its sweeping but puerile conclusions, and because it is used as a text-book on the subject. Nothing better could have been expected from a study which takes Brahmanic scriptures, exclusively and at their face value, without critical attention to age, origin, and context.

In attempting to trace briefly the main features of the earlier caste system down to the age of the Buddha (fifth century BC) we shall have to keep in mind the Brahmanic origin of most Sanskrit texts, and the Brahmanic transmission of all of them. As far as accurate historical evidence is concerned, most of these are mere verbiage; an occasional reference is all we have to piece out Indian history, the confusion being aggravated by fantastically ignorant late Brahmana commentators, as well as by the fact that it is a poor Sanskrit word that has less than a dozen meanings. Most kings of whom any record survives in the literary tradition have several names each while occasionally the same name has caused sagas of two or more distinct persons to be combined. The ludicrous errors to which the misreading of a single letter⁶ can lead are often perpetuated by modern writers as sober historical truth. Finally, under a deceptive appearance of uniform backwardness, India is a country of enormous variation and long survivals; querns that might belong to the Stone Age are still used in our kitchens; red pigment on idols and stones by the road-side symbolizes blood-sacrifices most of which went out of fashion centuries ago so that the very idea would shock the particular worshippers. Thus, it is dangerous to attempt without a lifetime of study any complete description of an ancient and obsolete system. The method I follow, therefore, is to utilize a few representative sources (preferably with good published translations) of proved validity, outlining thereby the main developments. Greater detail is not possible without far more criticism, while the result would be unbalanced.

At every stage, I have tried to ask myself the question: What were the means of production implied by this particular bit of evidence? This is the only essential in which my approach differs from that of the essays available to me; it will be found to account for most of the differences in the conclusions.

2. The oldest Indian tradition known is supposedly that recorded in the four Vedas; in the order of sanctity and roughly of chronology, the *Rg-*,⁷ *Yajur-*, *Soma-*, and *Atharva-veda** These are liturgical books amplified in associated works called *Brahmana*⁹ and *Aranyaka*. These scriptures concentrate upon ritual, any philosophy or history having to be painfully extracted, as with most early Brahmanic sources. This contrasts greatly with the much more philosophic if some what later *Upanisads*, the earliest of which have strongly influenced Buddhism and are undoubtedly of Ksatriya origin. It should be kept in mind that each of the Vedas with its associated subordinate works forms in ancient days the property of one particular clan or sect of Brahmanas who developed the tradition over a long period. The difficult ritual could be mastered by the acolyte only after long study (generally twelve years of celibate life) in the absolute service of a *guru*, often in the wilderness. Later changes, therefore, are not easy to trace though their existence cannot be denied. The passing centuries have obliterated a good deal so that certain hymns and words convey no real meaning even to the most optimistic commentator, e.g. *RV. X. 106.6* which might be of Mesopotamian origin, as also perhaps the insistence upon clay bricks for the fire-altar, hardly to be expected of nomads such as the Aryans were in earlier Vedic times. The *Istasva* and *Istarasmi* of *RV. 1.122.13* may even be Achaemenid kings of the sixth century BC, which would not invalidate the claim to antiquity for the body of that Veda.

The *Rgveda* speaks of the four major castes, tribes being outside the then localized caste scheme. 'Brahmana was his (the Supreme Being's) mouth, Ksatriya made of his arms; the Vaisya his thighs, and the Sudra generated from his feet' (*RV. X.90.12*), says the particularly sacred *Puru-sasukta* hymn. Yet the four-caste system is not described as prevalent outside of India, where the earliest division into Arya and Dasa was known to persist.¹⁰ These two racial (or tribal) names later become synonymous with noble or freeborn and subject or slave (*RV. IV.28.4, II. 12.4*), the latter being the general Sanskrit meaning of *ofdasa*, in much the same way as the (contested) etymological change from Slav to slave. Yet not all the Dasas of the early period are slaves or enemies. Divodasa Atithi-gva is ruler by favour of Indra who is at once the chief of the gods and historically the titular ruler of the Aryan invaders. Priestly Divodasas are also described as writing new hymns in *RV. 1.130.10*, while Sudas is the author of *RV. X.133*. Vamadeva, author of an entire section in the oldest Veda, speaks of bitter times before the ruthless Indra gave him patronage: (*RV. IV. 18.12-13*) 'Who made thy mother a widow? Who sought to slay thee in lying still or moving? Which *deva* (god) had compassion for you when thou tookest thy sire by the foot and smashed him? In extreme need I cooked a dog's entrails; among the *devas* I found no comforter. I beheld my wife in degradation.' Then the Falcon (Indra) brought me the sweet (mead).' On the other hand, the third section of the *Rgveda* is ascribed to the great Ksatriya Visvamitra, whose prowess is belittled by

Brahmanic stories of his vain contest with the Brahmana Vasistha, supposed author of the seventh section of the same Veda. But the Vasistha (also called Trtsu, *RV*. VII.83.8) clan is associated in some way with Divodasa and the Dasas, hence originally belonged to the subjected population before climbing to the Vedic school. We see two main points here: the ancient Brahmana had a hard time; the priest class of the Aryan conquerors was largely recruited from the conquered.

The function of Vedic ritual is the celebration of certain animal sacrifices at the fire-altar. The five principal sacrificial animals are in order of importance: man, horse, bull (or cow), ram, he-goat (*SB*. VI.2.1.18), and their flesh was to be eaten as is seen from rubrics for the disposal of the carcasses, as well as by the prohibition that five animals who simulate these are not to be eaten, namely the *kimpurusa* or dwarf, bos gaurus, bos gavaeus, camel, and *sarabha* (*SB*. 1.2.3). Cannibalism, however, is extinct except for ritual purposes in the Vedas; human sacrifice is rather a traditional survival¹² like the Roman formula for capital punishment, *sacer esto*. The great Vedic sacrifice is that of the horse. This deserves consideration for it was the horse that gave the Aryans (as it did the Mongols) their superiority in battle, made possible their mobility as nomads, though the animal was not ridden harnessed to a chariot. Indra's chariot is drawn by two tawny horses, yet his weapon, the *vajra*, is nothing but a stone hand-celt (identified with the thunderbolt when Indra became the synonym of the chief Aryan god) or perhaps a stone-headed mace of Sumerian type. We know that the principal Vedic weapon was the bow, that in addition to the horse and the chariot the Aryan invaders knew the use of iron. The Indus valley civilization knew only copper, weapons found in Mohenjodaro being so poor as to be useless for any except ceremonial purposes. The Dasa opposition, therefore, must have been poor though the Vedas speak of their fortifications (*RV*. II.19.6; VI.20.10).

The emphasis upon the horse-sacrifice (*asvamedha*) must necessarily date from period when the horse was the most important domestic animal for the Aryans, or the Mongols in historic times. That period, however, had obviously passed on the Vedic age was at its zenith, for the emphasis as far as productive economy is concerned is upon cattle, pastured in herds. Ploughing is comparatively late, mentioned in the *SB* only for ceremonial purposes; even here, both the ploughed unploughed ground about the altar site must be sown after watering (*SB*. VII.8). The principal cereal is barley (*yava*) into which the gods had put the essence of all other plants (*SB*. III.6.1.10) and rice which was then obtained not by ploughing but by digging (*SB*. 1.2.3.7). But the priests' regular fee is payable battle as for example at the Dasapeya sacrifice for which twelve heifers with calf are due (*SB*. V.4.5.20), occasionally in gold chips, perhaps gold minas.

There is no question whatsoever of Brahmana superiority except at the altar-side. The Brahmana is acknowledged, even by himself, unsuited for kingship (V. 1.1.12). Moreover, the *asvamedha* is pre-eminently a Ksatriya sacrifice (XIII.4.1.1.), at which apparently a Ksatriya could officiate himself, the lame explanation being given '... and truly, whosoever sacrifices, sacrifices after being, as it were, a Brahmana' (*SB*. XIII.4.1.3). The Brahmana is an object aspect/terthe king (*SB*. V.4.2.7), and if the order of handing around the symbolic wooden sword used at the sacrifice makes the king weaker than the Brahmana, it is only to make the king stronger than his enemies (*SB*. V.4.4.15). social functions of caste are clearly set forth when it is stated that the Ksatriya precedes on the outward sacrificial round, the Brahmana on the return, but never the other two castes. 'And thus he encloses those two castes (Vaisya and Sudra) both sides by the priesthood and nobility, and makes them submissive' (*SB*. VI.4.4.13).

Final proof that Brahmana superiority was only in ritual is given by the story of king Janaka (*SB*. XI.6.2), who defeats all the leading Brahmins, including the founder of the *SB*, Yajnavalkya himself, in interpretation of the philosophy of sacrifice as distinct from the ritual. The *sutra* concludes with: 'Thenceforth Janaka a Brahmana'. In fact, the Brahmana was worthy of respect only because of connection with the *asvamedha* ritual. 'Those Ksatriyas who go to the end of (horse-sacrifice) will become (sharers of) the royal power, they will become worthy of being consecrated; but those who do not go to the end of this ... will be excluded ... And whenever ye meet with any kind of Brahmanas, ask ye them 'O Brahmanas, how much know ye of the *asvamedha* and those who know naught thereof ye may despoil' (*SB*. XIII.4.2.17).

3. For what follows, it is necessary to keep in mind certain general facts of agriculture. For a given area, the pastoral life will support from a dozen to a hundred times as many people as by hunting. Cultivation of cereals will support from four to twelve times as many as by grazing cattle for meat and dairy products. The present Indian population gets along today, admittedly at a very low subsistence level even in good years, on about 0.7 acres of cultivated land per head, while pasture land has long been insufficient for the number of cattle raised on it. Now, in a given region, as the population tends to increase, they must find a severe natural check, as in the extreme cases of the Arctic or the Kalahari, or must find more land, or change to a more productive form. The land of the Gangetic basin was swampy or densely forested while the older means of production developed in the drier Indus basin were profitable to an important class, the Brahmana priests, who had fixed upon certain religious forms which would hinder the development of any primitive community beyond a certain level. There was no trouble only as long as the system proved itself capable of expansion.

Even in the *Satapatha Brahmana* days there was an ideological protest against beef-eating, presumably dictated or at least reinforced by economic necessity: The gods gave the cow and the ox the vigour of all other species; eating their flesh would be, as it were, an eating up of everything ... 'Such a one indeed would be likely to be (re-)born as a strange being (as one of whom there is) evil report, such as he has expelled an embryo from a woman, he has committed a sin ... Nevertheless, Yajn-avalkya said 'I, for one, eat it, provided that it is tender' (*SB*. III. 1.2.21). The very originator of the *SB*. tradition refuses to budge.

The expansion towards the east is also clearly recorded, as well as its methods. '(Agni, the fire thence went burning along the earth towards east (from the Sarasvatī river); and Gotama Rahugana and the Videgha Mathava followed after him as he was burning along. He burnt over (dried up) all the rivers. Now that river which is called the overflowing (Sadanira)¹³ flows from the northern (Himalaya) mountain; that one he did not burn over. That one the Brahmanas did not cross over in former times, thinking it has not been burnt over by Agni Vaisvanara. Nowadays, however, there are many Brahmanas to the east of it. At that time, it (the land east of the Sadanira) was very uncultivated, because it had not been tasted by Agni Vaisvanara. Nowadays, however, it is very cultivated, for the Brahmanas have caused (Agni) to taste it through sacrifices. Even in late summer that river, as it were, rages along: so cold is it, not having been burnt over by Agni Vaisvanara. Mathava Videgha then said (to Agni) 'Where am I to abide?' 'To the east of this (river) bethyabode', said he. Even now this river forms the boundary of the Kosalas and Videhas; for these are the Mathavas (descendants of Mathava)' (*SB*. 1.4.1.14-17).

The narrative is clear enough: the advance was by clearing land by burning it over, and swampy land thus dried up; the earlier drive was held up when the fire-followers came to a glacier-fed river which did not dry up in the summer. This means that the advance was not along the banks of major rivers, but along the foot-hills, and that is precisely what we find by looking through Buddhist records of settlement. The riparian lands of the Gangetic basin must, with a few strategic exceptions, have been far too densely wooded and swampy to be cleared by fire alone. In any case, this type of early clearing would account for so many sacred places being in the Himalayas as well as for the late transfer of the capital of Magadha (Bihar) from Rajagrha to Patna.

The Brahmanas of this later period show a corresponding adjustment. The last of the four Vedas (*A V*) is a much more social document than the rest. From concentration upon the expensive fire-sacrifice, it has come down to everyday witchcraft, designed for personal gain of all social grades, though not to smooth out the difficulties of human intercourse. There are charms to cure disease and possession by demons of disease; prayers for long life; incantations for the obtaining of a husband or wife, a son; charms for royalty, and for success in battle. Far more important are the charms for

harmony and influence in assembly for they show that Aryan tribal affairs were still regulated by assembly in spite of the conquest (*AV.* 111.30; VII. 12, etc.). Fields, the house, cattle, can be protected by fey formula; the seed is blessed at sowing (*AV.* VI. 142), exercised of Vermin infesting the grain (*V.* VI.50). There are prayers for success in tambling (*AV.* IV.38; VII.50), and the merchant has his own prayer for Successful venture (*AV.* III. 15) with a hundredfold gain 'of wealth through wealth'.

Naturally, the Brahmana takes smaller fees, generally a porridge (*AV.* IXI. 1; II.3) prepared in a special way. But that doesn't mean that he has given up beef-eating. Sterile cows must be given away to the Brahmanas; if a heifer that has proved sterile after herding for three years be not given away to mendicant Brahmanas, dire consequences will follow for both herd and owner; gain can only result by giving the creature to the Brahmanas, though what they could do with it except eat it does not transpire; on no account is the owner to roast the barren cow for himself (*A V.* XII.4)! Beyond this, the Brahmana has to protect himself and his own cattle by imprecations, and cajolery (*A V.* V. 18.3) 'do not, o prince (eat the cow) of the Brahmana: sapless, unfit to be eaten, is that cow'. Prince here means a knight, any member of the Ksatriya caste with any sort of local power.

However, there is no question of the Brahmanas turning 'their attention to the masses', except to help in their exploitation. The Brahmanic idea of the position of the two lower castes is seen in the *Aitareya* firamanavii, 29(A.B.Keith, H.O.S., vol.25, p.315): '... like a Vaisya, tributary to another, to be eaten by another, to be oppressed at will... like a Sudra, ... the servant of another, to be removed at will, to be slain at will'. This view of the trader class characterizes the most penal theory of taxation which we find in the *Arthashastra*. The Ksatriya here is at the top of the social stratification, for even the Brahmana is only one who receives sacrificial gifts from him; however, the Brahmana can embroil the Ksatriya with the people by mischief at the sacrifice, so that the nobility have to be careful. Finally, we may note that the Vaisya in the Vedas is merely an Aryan whose trade is not that of fighting or fire-priesthood; also, that honoured Vedic professions or crafts such as that of the tanner, weaver, smith, chariot-maker, are confined in later days to Sudras, who are un-Aryan in the earliest days. This shows how the early caste system corresponded to the progressive development of a *class* society, which, with its counterpoise the absolute monarch, developed naturally from conquest and settlement by a democratic or oligarchic tribal organization which originally characterized the racially distinct invaders. A rudimentary four-caste (= class) system similar to the Indian can also be traced in Iranian tradition. It should not be forgotten, on the credit side of the caste system, that the early reduction of the *Sudra* to serfdom or helotage freed India from slavery and slave-trading on a large scale. It also allowed new land to be opened up and settled with an early development of a stable agrarian economy which gave the country its economic power as well as its basic unity in spite of great local variations. Of course, when expansion stopped, this led inevitably to a static ideal of society, a static philosophy (even to the static yogic system of exercise), hence ultimately to stagnation. But we are not concerned here with that stage of growth where caste becomes a negation of history. It seems reasonable to conclude that the lack of private property in human beings also implied the absence of private property in land (except for valuable urban sites) at the early stage with which we are concerned.

As long as the Ksatriya is one of a numerous conquering tribe, this is perhaps inevitable; the Brahmana has no protection except his own usefulness as priest and the mantle of the witch-doctor. But with the growth of settlement and kingship on a larger scale, the Brahmana suffers another dialectic change: 'Listen ye to the high praise of the king who rules over all peoples, the god who is above mortals, of Vaisvanara Pariksit! 'Pariksit has procured for us secure dwelling, when he, the most excellent one, went to his seat'. (Thus) the husband in Kuru-land, when he founds his household, converses with his wife. 'What may I bring thee, curds, stirred drink, or liquor?' (Thus) the wife asks her husband in the kingdom of king Pariksit. Like light the ripe barley runs over beyond the mouth (of the vessels). The people thrive merrily in the kingdom of king Pariksit' (*AV.* XX.127.7-10).

This king Pariksit, here raised to the supreme eminence of deified fire, is a historical personage who came to the throne after the great war described in the epic, *Mahabharata* (*Mbh.*). And the Brahmins who monopolized the *Atharva-veda* belong to the combined Bhrgu-Angiras clans. They are comparative late comers in the Vedic period for the Vasisthas alone claimed monopoly of the *yajña* priesthood at one time (*Sadvimsa Brahmana* 1.5) and this was disputed by the Bhrguid Jamadagni (*Taittiriya Samhita* IV. 1.7.3). With this, we turn to the great Indian epic.

4. The *Mahabharata* epic deals in 100,000 stanzas¹⁴ with a great civil war between the five Pandava brothers and the hundred Kaurava sons of Dhrtarastra. Generally available texts of this work contain substantial additions down to quite recent times but we are fortunate in possessing a critical edition¹⁵ for the first five books which strips away later accretions in a manner brilliantly confirmed by fresh discoveries of comparatively old manuscripts. This critical text represents in the main some kind of a unitary redaction by one or more diaskeuasts of not later than the third century AD, but the subject matter is far older tradition given in narratives not always properly worked into the structure of the epic. A good deal of this subject matter was obviously repulsive¹⁶ to the scribes who transmitted the epic manuscript apparatus, but not on that account deleted by them; their method was to dilute the most disagreeable portions by explanatory interpolations, and just ignore the rest. The continued popularity of the text must have been due in great part to these continually added and readjusted subsidiary narratives, and this popularity was not only very profitable to the reciters but performed an important social function by enabling them to write in a considerable amount of social and religious doctrine, the most important section of this type being the famous *Bhagavadgita*. For us the use of the *Mahabharata* lies in the picture of society that it builds up, though not always in a homogeneous or consistent fashion.

About the preservation of ancient tradition,¹⁷ against the fact of radically changed custom, there can be no doubt at all. After the great battle, the dead are left to lie on the field. The princess Madri is purchased as a bride for Pandu without any more ceremony than for a basket of vegetables (*Mbh.* 1.105.4-5), though a long passage is interpolated in many versions to explain this as an ancient custom of her tribe, the noble Madras. The Brahmana Drona teaches archery to the princes for money, and this is explained by a brilliant and pathetic interpolation (after *Mbh.* 1.122.31) as reaction after seeing his little boy, who had never tasted cow's milk, tricked by richer men's sons with mixture of flour and water. As a matter of fact, however, the desire for money is real and quite straightforward, for a little earlier Drona has learned the decidedly un-Brahmanic trade of arms only because he could not get the alternative, wealth (*Mbh.* 1.121.18-21), from Parasurama. Even more striking is the evidence regarding diverse marriage customs, particularly group-marriages in the older period. The sage Svetaketu, son of Uddalaka, is disturbed in his wilderness retreat when a Brahmana drags off his mother by the hand with the words 'let's go'. To the angry sage, his unperturbed father gives the explanation 'women of all castes are unrestrained (or *naked*); like cows, they (breed) progeny within each caste'. Uddalaka's simile, we remark parenthetically, receives some support from the etymology of *gotra* (clan) which means 'cowpen'. Svetaketu then establishes the rule by force (*baldt*) that women shall be monogamous and men shall not violate a virgin, a chaste woman, or a continent one. All of this is given as a tradition (*Mbh.* 1.1.13.9-20). But this is not the only curious tradition, for *Mbh.* 1.112 is devoted to the unattractive story of king Vyusitasva whose childless queen Bhadra finally conceives from his corpse. A survival of group marriage customs seem to me to be a better explanation of the five Pandava brothers' polyandrous union with the princess Draupadi than the hypothesis that these Pandavas were Tibetan invaders. In fact, Yudhisthira says to his shocked prospective father-in-law, who regards polyandry as being against common usage and the Vedas, that he (Yudhisthira) doesn't claim to know the finer points of region, but 'we wish to follow the ancient traditional path' (*Mbh.* 1.187.26-8). The mother of the princes cites the case of the seven sages who had a common wife Jatila (*Mbh.* 1.188.14); finally Vyasa, reputed author of the *Mbh.* turns up in person to explain the whole affair as inevitable by the convenient hypothesis of a curse in one previous birth! Clearly, we have here some historic pre-Aryan custom which had to be explained away. It is not a theological addition as for example the regaining of her virginity by Kunti (*Mbh.* 1.104.12) or by Draupadi (*Mbh.* 1.191.14) which were necessary if the later official marriages of these ladies were to be valid.

This welter of contradictory traditions, apart from diverting interest, has damaged even the main theme of the war. The Pandavas have no less a personage than Kṛṣṇa, incarnated Viṣṇu, on their side, and this god is thereafter one of the most important deities of the Hindu pantheon. But they win only by consistent cheating and legalitarian quibbles. The twelve years during which they agree to remain incognito in the wilderness are not really over when they reveal themselves; the noble and venerable Bhīṣma, their own teacher Drona are killed by deceit; the heroic and generous Karna (actually their brother) treacherously shot down against the rules of war; Duryodhana's thigh is shattered by a foul blow. Such dealings, combined with the tradition that Jaimini's rival version of the *Mbh.* (a fragment of which is still in existence) was destroyed because it did not exalt the Pandavas sufficiently as against the defeated Kauravas, have led to the theory that the epic has been rewritten from its original form of a lament for the vanquished into flattery for the conquerors. As a matter of fact, evidence of rewriting is only too noticeable, but the purpose is deeper than mere flattery of some historical dynasty.

The *Mahabharata* (like the *AV* and the law-code *Manusmṛti*) also was property of the Bhargava clan, who rewrote¹⁸ it for their own purpose. Their hero, the Bhargava Parasurama, seems to have been the only authentic Bhargava who could fight (his traditional weapon being the curved axe *parasu*) and who annihilated the Kṣatriyas no less than twenty-one times. This superfluous killing is really a form of overcompensation, or psychological revenge; for it is clear that the Bhṛguids were generally trampled down, the Kṣatriyas not annihilated, and that a single annihilation should have sufficed. The revenge is carried further in unconvincing fashion by stating that successive generations of Kṣatriyas had to be begotten by Brahmanas from Kṣatriya women. The fact of the matter is that the Brahmanas were helpless; when Bhṛgu was offended by the Sṛnjaya Vaitahavyas or a Brahmana's cow taken, it was the slaughtered cow herself and not the owner that took revenge upon the transgressors (*AV*. V. 18.10-11; V. 19.1). The Bhṛgus appear as a historical people in the *RV*, but only three or four times. They are undoubtedly associated with the Druhyus, though whether as warriors or as priests is not clear for the Bhargava chariot appears in *RV*. IV. 16.20. Moreover, they were on the losing side, for the king of the Druhyus was killed in battle against Sūdas. We have here one possible mechanism by which the conquered sages could appear as priests¹⁹ of the conquerors, for by this time the Aryans had unquestionably begun to fight against each other, having advanced as far east as the Yamuna river. Still, we see from the Parasurama legend that the Brahmanas at one time attempted fighting against the Kṣatriyas, and this should lend support to the conjecture that the Brahmanas belong to an oldertype of society than the invading Aryan Kṣatriyas. How could they have developed any sort of culture had they always been living in the wilderness, either solitary or each sage with his women and a handful of celibate disciples? It is at least plausible to assume that these Brahmanas were associated with the rich pre-Aryan Indus valley culture, discovered by our archaeologists; a culture that may have been destroyed by Aryan invaders or died out because of the shift of the Indus. This passage-over of sections of the conquered as priests to the conquerors would account for the many discrepancies between Vedic and epic records, and for the rewriting of so much Indian tradition. It would account also for the early systematic development of Sanskrit grammar, generally necessary when a complicated foreign language has to be studied. In the same way, the astounding development of religious philosophy in India at a very early date again supports the hypothesis of violent assimilation as it speaks for the unhappy existence of a cultured priest-class. One notes that though the Aryan system of counting is decimal, if any system can properly be called Aryan, the quadragesimal system is still extant in Indian currency, goes back to the dual weight-system of Mohenjo-Daro, and is reflected in Pingala's work on Vedic metre. The Brahmana sages in the wilderness when correspond to Abraham, who left Ur of the Chaldees for a nomadic life when the days of the city's glory had passed; of course, the Brahmanas may have been driven out by the ruin of their cities, and had in any case a fairly hard time of it: retreat to the wilderness, particularly in old age, remains thereafter an integral portion of the ideal human life for Hindus. Naturally, such origins would also account for several features of caste, including endogamy. For the later stage of rewriting in the *Mahabharata*, we see one further immediate reason: the pre-existence of Buddhism. In the main, all direct reference to Buddhism is carefully avoided in the epic, which does its best to give the (modified) traditions of antiquity. Still, in the appendix,²⁰ the *Harivamsa* (cited as *Hv.* from Kimjavadekar's edition), we find direct mention of the fact that well-got-up Sūdra monks would get religious honour as followers of the Sakya Buddha (*Hv.* 3.3.15) while Brahmanas took to the woods for fear of taxes. All such historical events of later date are ingeniously disguised as prophecies; this section of the *Hv.* has influenced two parallel 'prophecies' *mMbh.* 3.186-9, about the dark ages, the Kaliyuga which begins with the coronation of just that king Parikṣit who was so highly praised in the *AV*. Naturally, as part of the prophecy, it is not out of place to mention—indirectly—Pūṣyamitra (*Hv.* 3.2.40) as having performed the horse sacrifice before the end of the Kali age. One is led to believe that the Kalki (later the future avenging incarnation of Viṣṇu) with whom the Kaliyuga is to end (*Mbh.* 3.188-9; *V.* 1.41.164-8) is also a historical personage, some minor leader who locally repelled invaders that pushed into India over the ruins of empire after the first century BC. He managed to please the Brahmanas by reviving fire-sacrifices. What speaks most distinctly for the existence of some intermediate form between the Vedic and the epic period, however, is the rise of new deities, and the profession of a new philosophy. The epic is read by or recited to modern Hindus, and in spite of its numerous logical inconsistencies, is within their mental grasp; the Vedas are not.

Vedic deities, Indra and the sacred fire, occur often enough, but in a subordinate position. Some of the elements that appear can be discounted as ancient survivals, particularly the *avatars* of Viṣṇu which contain a typical later Brahmanic synthesis of various cults—of which the Fish, Tortoise, Boar, may even be Mesopotamian, connected as they are with the legend of the flood which actually was a historical event according to Woolley's excavations at Ur. The dwarf Vamana may represent some struggle of the Aryans against Assyrians, as perhaps his predecessor the man-lion Nṛsimha. Parasurama is a Bhargava hero, Rama some ancient Indian hero apparently pre-Aryan, though with him the psychological element may account for the Helen-of-Troy motif. Psychoanalysts have taught us to regard such themes as Kama's being set afloat on the river by his mother and drawn from the waters by his foster-parents as a symbolic representation of birth;²¹ this may also account for the sage Mar-kandeya's vision (prototype of Arjuna's vision in the *Bhagavadgīta*) of the divine Babe asleep on the flood (*Mbh.* 3.186.82-3.187.47). But the latest *avatara* Kṛṣṇa is the dominating religious figure of the *Mahabharata*, and his cult, all-embracing faith *bhakti* in the one supreme being, has appeared for the first time in contrast to anything that has preceded. This Kṛṣṇa, the non-Aryan²² 'dark' hero or god has appeared in several earlier legends, as Kṛṣṇa-Dionysos, Kṛṣṇa-Herakles, Kṛṣṇa the Lar of the Yadava tribe, even as an opponent of Indra in a contested passage of the *Rgveda* (*RV*. VIII.96.13-15), but not in the role of an object for salvation-giving *bhakti*. *Kṛṣṇa* generally appears as an adjective for the 'dark people', the indigenous opponents slaughtered by the Aryans. It is remarkable that Vṛtra, the demon of darkness for whose killing Indra is praised in the Veda (and as Verethraghna in Avestan tradition) counts as a Brahmana in *Mahabharata* times. That Indra kills his own fire-priest (purohita) Viśvarūpa is surely proof that the Brahmanas are not inviolate in Vedic days. But the heroes of the epic, the Pandava brothers, are already a mixed lot, Arjuna being dark, as is also their common wife Draupadī.

Similarly, the all-powerful position of certain Bhargava sages who even seem to beget a considerable number of Kṣatriya princes can be explained psychologically, but not so the strange doctrine of *ahimsa*, non-killing, uttered by a curse-transformed sage. *Ahimsa* is the supreme religion for all living beings, therefore let the Brahmana not kill living things; *ahimsa*, truthful speech, resolute forgiveness, mastery of the Vedas are the highest religion of the Brahmanas' (*Mbh.* 1.11.12,14). This has a very strange sound indeed in a huge work dedicated to tales of slaughter, recited at Naga-killing *yajna* sacrifices, a work in which the heroes and even the god Kṛṣṇa himself, with attendant Brahmanas in plenty, clear land in the Vedic manner by burning down the entire Khandava forest and killing those who try to escape, in a holocaust which only six living creatures survive (*Mbh.* 1.214-19). The explanation of these anomalies is, naturally, the intermediate position of a totally new form of life, that during the Buddhistic age, which necessarily forced changes upon the Brahmanas.

5. Vedic Brahmanism had already become uneconomic in the days of the Buddha. Instead of the moderate fees of Vedic times, we find whole villages given over to the Brahmanas in fief for their services at the sacrifice, though of course it was only the more fortunate Brahmana that would receive such gifts. In the *Digha-nikaya* 3,4,5,12 we learn that king Pasenadi had given the village of Ukkattha to the Brahmana Pokkharasati, Malavatika to another, Lohicca; from Bimbisara, special friend of the Buddha, the Brahmanas Sonadanda and Kutadanta held Campa and Khanumata respectively. Naturally, the sacrifices implied by such fees are on a much greater scale than those of the Vedas. In the *Kosalasamyutta* we read of king Pasenadi's great *yajna* where 500 (in early Pali literature the equivalent of 'a large number') each of bulls, male and female calves, goats, rams were tied to sacrificial posts for killing, and the king's slaves, messengers, workmen go about their duties shedding tears,²³ in fear of punishment; for, apparently, the beasts were taken without compensation from the surrounding countryside. The Buddha himself speaks of five great traditional *yajnas*; the *asvamedha*, the human sacrifice, the *samyakpasa*, the *vajapeya*, and the *nirargala*. Of these the first two are Vedic and even the fourth is known to Vedic literature, though more complicated. But the remaining two are not generally known and there is no reason to doubt that sacrifices were growing in complexity and magnitude. The Buddhist protest is therefore against sacrifices rather than against caste²⁴ as such, though naturally it would affect the caste that lived by sacrificial fees, the Brahmanas. On the other hand, these sacrifices imply other types of killing than at the fire-altar, for their main purpose is success in war. The older type of society has passed. Aryans are no longer migrants or wanderers with the possible exception of a tribe like the Vajjis,²⁵ who also preserve the older tribal institutions including supreme power for the oligarchic assembly (upon which the Buddhist monastic order of peripatetic almsmen was modelled in its own way), and are much admired by the Buddha himself. For the rest, the tribes have dissolved into loose organizations of landholding and landfarming overlords, and because of this dissolution, newer types of kingship on a large scale are growing up. For example, Buddha's own people the Sakkas are not independent, being subordinate to king Pasenadi of Kosala (*Digha-nikaya* 27); while Buddha's father is so small a princeling that he engages in ploughing, perhaps of a ceremonial nature, but in the fields and not for the fire-altar. The Sakkas still elect²⁶ a tribal chief who seems to have had very little to do. The *gotra* divisions for Ksatriyas clearly corresponded to the *gens* elsewhere, and was adopted (and retained to this day) by the Brahmanas if they did not have it themselves in earlier times. It is significant that a considerable number of *gotra* names are animal totems:²⁷ *kausika* = owl, *kasyapa* = tortoise, *bharadvaja* = skylark, *gotama* - best bull, while the oldest Brahmanas like the Vasus can at most be assigned descent from the sun and the Bhrgus have no animal totem to explain their ancestor. Similarly, the *pravara* is clearly the original phratry, its confused position being more easily explained if the whole gens-phratry organization was borrowed by the Brahmanas from the Ksatriyas after the conquest.

The Buddhistic world is divided into small cities grouped under sixteen kingdoms (*Amguttara-nikaya* III.7.70; trans. I, p. 192), some of which have already lost their independence and the rest of which are constantly fighting to increase their rules, whence the need for fire-sacrifices that bring victory. The centre of expansion is Magadha (the eastern part of modern Bihar) itself peripheral in the older Aryan-Brahmanic expansion. It is Ajatasattu, parricide son of Bimbisara who finally breaks the Vajjis and extends his dominion to the whole Gangetic basin; in the *Samannaphalasamyutta*, he is praised as a wise ruler, one who would have reached the highest degree of spiritual attainment—but for the sad fact of his having murdered his own father! Clearly, the traders and householders needed a settled rule, peace and freedom from robbers who infested the jungles between city-states, some form of 'universal' monarchy; it must again be noted that Buddhism and the other non-killing religion Jainism are most popular with this class, which is otherwise silent in Indian history.

The existence of the protest we have already seen in the *Satapatha Brahmana* passage against beef-eating, though beef continued to be sold in the open market in Buddha's time (*Satipatthanasutta*). The original proponent of the new ideas for society was the Jaina *Tirthamkara* Parsva, who laid emphasis two centuries before the Buddha upon the active social practice of non-killing, truthfulness, non-violence. There were other lines of teachers²⁸ who had developed from the ascetic hermits whom Brahmanism itself regarded so highly and Buddhist as well as Jain teachers found the pre-existing ascetic form of life one which gave the preacher greatest influence. Jain *ahimsa* was carried to unpractical extremes for society as a whole, while the Buddhist applied primarily to human beings and agricultural animals: for the Buddha says in the *Brahmanadhammika-sutta* of the *Suttanipata* 'Cattle are our friends just as parents and other relatives; for, cultivation depends upon them. They give food, strength, freshness of complexion, and happiness. Knowing this, ancient Brahmanas did not kill cattle.' But the greatest power of the Buddhist doctrine springs from its social nature as against the rugged individualism or greedy opportunism of other systems. In the *Kutadanta-sutta* (*Dighanikaya* 5) the Buddha relates the story of a supposed king Mahavijita who gained happiness and prosperity for his people not by *yajna* but by supplying capital to the trader, employment to the State servant, seed to the farmer for 'then the robberies will vanish'. In the *Cak-kavattishanada-sutta* we find the same theme enlarged upon. It is the poor that take to robbery, and the function of the *cakravartin*, the universal monarch, is to prevent robbery; it cannot be suppressed by violence, nor can its cause, poverty, be bribed out of existence with bounties. Poverty is to be decreased by creating employment. This, surely, is a sound and remarkably modern view of the problem. While the Buddhist emperor Asoka did not go so far as this, his very first edict sets the example of non-killing.

To the question of *why* the new form had to arise, we have answered that the older was uneconomic after the change from nomadic pasturing to settled agriculture. Why it had to take on a religious aspect is clear enough, for the older form was bound up with the very existence of a class that lived by sacrifice; hence, the validity of the sacrificial idea, of killing itself, had to be denied; the revolution, inevitably in primitive times, had to take on a religious aspect. The actual mechanism of the change is by preaching through the mouths of respected ascetic teachers. But there is something more to the change than this. In the first place, it occurs in marginal lands, where the Vedic forms are not well-established and where the tendency to universal monarchy is growing rapidly. The Brahmanas themselves show strong divergence from Vedic practices, for Magadhan Brahmanas are referred to with special contempt as *Brahma-bandhu*, being definitely associated with extra-Vedic Vratyas, while it is not generally noticed that the *Purdnas* refer to kings of the line to which Bimbisara and Ajatasattu belong as *ksatrabandhu*,²⁹ the termination *bandhu* having the force of the Italian—*accio*. Brahmanas are themselves penetrating into hitherto unknown regions as pioneers, which is seen from the story of Buddha's disciple Bavari, who had founded a Brahmanic refuge on the banks of the Godavari; but this expansion takes place without a corresponding Ksatriya conquest, which should account for the existence of only two major castes (Brahmana, Sudra) in South India. Clearly, such civilization as existed had managed to develop expansionist tendencies in a larger population in a way that the cattle-breeding Vedic period could not do. Magadhan is synonymous with trader in *Manusmṛti* 10.47.

The cow does not thrive in wet lands, though it could have done well enough in the Indus valley. The cow is not hardy enough to hold out against wild beasts in the forest. The swampy lower territory of the Gangetic basin could only have been opened out for a new type of agriculture, wet-rice cultivation, by a new animal, the less edible water-buffalo. I suggest that the period of this change also corresponds to change from the older Brahmanism to non-violent religions, though such changes have left virtually no trace in literature. Vedic rice is *vrihi*, while the general Vedic term for cereal is *yava*, barley, and the Vedas speak also of *godhiima*, wheat. The famous *sail* variety of rice, though known early in the Punjab (where the grammarian Panini comes from the village of Salatura) seems to be principally cultivated in Bihar, even as late as the time of the Chinese traveller Hiuen-Tsang. The buffalo is not a Vedic animal at all, and must have been a terrifying beast in earlier times for Yama, the god of death, comes riding on it to

claim the souls of human beings at their final moments; Yama himself, with his twin sister Yami, shows definite Mesopotamian affinities or possibly origin.³⁰ The goddess Kali or Durga, afterwards synthesized by Brahmanas with Parvati, consort of Siva, saves mankind by killing the buffalo-demon, an act still commemorated by buffalo-sacrifices at her festival. The buffalo is rare while the horse does not occur on Mohenjo-Daro seals, where the bull is common. *Mahisa* in the Vedas is an adjective, meaning powerful, and *mahislmrgah* means just the 'powerful beast'. But by the time of Panini *mahismat* 'rich in buffalos' is a term of respect. The *Kasyapa samhita* represents a forlorn Brahmanic attempt to preserve the superiority of the cow, in that the buffalo is a wilder creature, feeding in the woods on leaves that might bear insects and spoil its milk. But it is known to all modern observers that in reality the buffalo is far the cleaner feeder of the two, the cow (like the pig) being a scavenger in densely settled localities. By the opening centuries of the Christian era, the buffalo is bred regularly for profit, ranking in this above the cow and below the horse, according to the *Pancatantra* (V.8). It is the change-over to this new productive method that would enable Brahmanic control of ritual to be overcome in times when ritual was all-important, for the Brahmanas hadn't then troubled to develop any ceremony connected with the buffalo in the same way as the Vedic ritual is related to the cow.

Thus we get the dark ages of the Brahmanas, though a few of them gained wealth as ministers, while four even ruled as kings³¹ after the end of the Suriga dynasty; but a disastrous period for most of them by reason of the decay of fire-sacrifices. It would be centuries before Buddhism in its turn became uneconomic by growth of rich monasteries, and useless to the masses by its isolation. In that interval, the Brahmana had learned to adjust himself to reality without facing it. New deities had been found, and many local deities synthesized by the *avatara* theory or as synonyms for one of the major gods. The power of the synthetic method is shown by Buddha himself being counted as the ninth *avatara* of Visnu. On the other hand, Buddhist monasteries were already becoming huge uneconomic foundations. The increasing number of Brahmana converts led by the second century to a change from the peoples' languages to Sanskrit for Buddhist writings; the writings themselves deal with abstract philosophical speculations which show that the monk had developed from the peripatetic almsman visualized by Buddha as a teacher of society into a parasite whose existence was bound up with that of the exploiting classes. Control of ritual always vested in the Brahmanas, the Buddhist never having disputed it nor the cults of deities³² (of whom the Buddha is *not* one though Vedic gods are made to do him honour in Buddhist legends); caste, after all, we have seen to correspond to social classes, when viewed as a whole. New tribes could be enrolled by writing new scriptures, rewriting old ones, or treating them as new castes, explained at first as generated by various mixtures of the older four. On the other hand, what resistance there was to invaders after the ruin of the Suriga empire, particularly in the first century BC seems to have been supported by fire-sacrifices if not inspired by the Brahmanas in the name of religion, while there is no possibility, or at least no records of Buddhist monks having done so. The Brahmana had personal property and a family. He had the ritual for success in battle. He also had some experience of, or at least contact with, administrative problems, as we see from the *Arthasastra* which is Brahmanic with a tradition of preceding Brahmanic works on statecraft; in fact, the commonest Sanskrit word for minister, *mantrin*, means the possessor of a magic formula, which implies a Brahmana. The Buddhist monastic order excluded by its very structure all such activities. We have a letter of the Buddhist monk Matrceta to a king asking him to spare animal life (F. W. Thomas *Indian Antiquary*, XXXII, 1903, pp. 347-9; 1904, p.21; 1905, p. 145), but there is no question of organizing any resistance. The synthetic method was of great use in absorbing all victorious foreigners except those who, like the Mohammedans, had a strong proselyting religion of their own and could recruit low castes. In fact, many foreigners in later times seem to have used conversion to Jainism or Buddhism as an intermediate (though not indispensable) step towards enrolment a generation or two later as Brahmanas or Ksatriyas, their social position permitting.³³ The Brahmana could ignore productive imports or utilize them: paper (like gunpowder) came from China with the Mohammedans, and was used by the Brahmanas for writing, though manufactured usually by Muslims in India. The Mohammedans brought other Chinese influences which do not seem to have spread, as for example porcelain tiles, the unquestionably Sinoidal minarets of the Boli Gumbaz at Bijapur, and possibly, some dome forms. But the rose that they introduced into the country was and is used even by the most orthodox Brahmana in worship (syphilis and tea belong to the European period).

The main Brahmanical readjustment was the doctrine of non-killing engrafted upon the older ritual. The dying out of fire-sacrifice, loss of the heady Soma drink and of beef-eating, did not matter as long as the basic economic unit of the country was the village, and means of production agrarian with primitive methods of peasant cultivation, without private or at least without capitalistic ownership in land. Ritual is preserved hereafter with such changes as were thrust upon it by force of circumstances, but for every innovation we find a claim of antiquity, usually fictitious. Even *the Allopanisad and the Ariglapurdna* become possible. The reason is that no matter what the form of the ritual, its content and social function is now of a fundamentally different nature. Primitive magic tried to control nature and increase production while later observances and tabus are primarily for the maintenance of the *status quo* in favour of a definite class. They do their best to stifle criticism, to absorb any destructive excess of social energy. When this stage is reached, we have the static ideal of caste. History loses its meaning.

NOTES

1. *India Census Reports*; E. Senart: *Caste in India*—Tr. E. Denison Ross, London, 1930; H.H. Risley, *Manual of Ethnography for India*, Calcutta, 1906; *The People of India*, Calcutta, 1915; Pick's comprehensive and attractive work, *Die sociale Gliedertng im nordostlichen Indien zu Buddha's Zeit* (1897) is unfortunately based upon the *Jataka* stories which, though they contain very old legends, can hardly be said to represent the social structure of Magadha at the time of Buddha, having been written much later, perhaps as late as the second century AD.
2. Paul Rosas: 'Caste and Class in India', *Science and Society*, vol. vii, 1943, pp. 141-67 and my own criticism, *ibid.*, viii, 1944, pp. 243-9.
3. *The Oxford History of India* by V.A. Smith, 2nd edition revised and continued to 1921 by S. M. Edwardes; Oxford, 1922, p. 25.
4. *Caste and Race in India* by G.S. Ghurye, London, 1932, p. 67.
5. *Ariguttara-nikaya* 1.14. English translation by F.L. Woodward: *The Book of the Gradual Sayings*, vol. I (London, Pali Text Society, 1932), pp. 16-25; and the commentaries thereto.
6. Cf. V. V. Mirashi: 'Gangeyadeva of Tirabhukti'; *Annals of the Bhandarkar O.K. Institute*, vol. xxm, 1942, pp. 291-301.
7. Cited as *RV*; any of the standard translations may be used, even the out of print versions of Griffiths or Grassmann.
8. Cited as *AV*, using the translation (if selected portions) by M. Bloomfield, *Hymns of the Atharva-veda*, Oxford, 1897 (Sacred Books of the East, XLII).
9. Of these, I cite for brevity mostly the *Satapatha Brahmana* (associated with the *Yajurveda*) as *SB* from the English translation by J. Eggeling in *Sacred Books of the East*, vols xn, xxvi, xu, xlIII, XLIV; Oxford, 1882-85-94-97-1900. Used and highly recommended for the general reader, but not cited is the *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects* by A.A. Macdonnell and A.B. Keith, 2 vols, London (Murray), 1912.
10. Even in later times, The Buddha says in the *Assalayanasamyutta* of the *Maj-jhimanikaya* 'O Assalayana, in Yona, Kamboja, and such frontier regions, there are only two castes: Arya and Dasa; and sometimes an Arya becomes a Dasa while a Dasa becomes an Arya. Do you acknowledge this?' The young Brahmana Assalayana admits that this is so. For Divodasa Atithigva, cf. H.D. Velankar, *Annals of the Bhandarkar O. R. Inst.*, XXffl, 1942, 657-68. *Manusmrti* 10.45 implies the existence of Aryan-speaking people outside the fold of caste.

11. I follow the Brahmanic tradition of Sayana's gloss and *Manusmṛti* 10.106 in ascribing this to Vamadeva himself, while scholars like Geldner and Velankar interpret this *rk* as Indra's.
12. But king Hariscandra, in fulfilment of a vow to sacrifice his eldest son, begins to sacrifice a human substitute. Kalmasapada is a cannibal (*Mahabharata* 1.176) because of a curse. Human sacrifice later becomes symbolic just to avoid cannibalism, *SB*. Xm.6.2.13. The last human was traditionally by Syaparna Saya-kayana (*SB*. VI.2.1.37 seq.).
13. On the basis of Sayana's gloss which cites *Amarakosa* 1.10.33, this river has been identified with the modern Kurrattee by Weber and others. However, commentators on the *Amarakosa* take the *Karatoya* and the *Saddnird* as two separate rivers. Prof. D. Kosambi's emendation of a single letter in Sayana's text of the *Aitareya Aranyaka* 2.1.1, to read *vangd-magadhscerapdddh* would give excellent meaning to the passage on which Sayana's commentary on this and *R V*. VII. 101.4 is quite absurd. The sense then would be that *the people of eastern Bihar and nomads (or gypsies) did not believe in Vedic ritual*.
14. For the actual number, and criticism of the structure of the epic, see my paper on the *Parvasamgraha*, *J. Am. Oriental Soc.*, vol. 66, 1946, pp. 110-17.
15. By the late Vishnu S. Sukthankar. I cite only this edition, as *Mbh*. A passable translation exists (though not used here) by P.C. Roy, Calcutta, 1883-96, but as this is based upon the Vulgate text (Calcutta, 1836), references will not coincide.
16. E.W.Hopkins: *The Great Epic of India*, New York, 1901. This again refers to the uncritical Vulgate text, but is quite useful' For the point in question, see the concluding chapters.
17. For the relationship between the *Mbh*. and the rewritten *Puranas*, cf. W. Ruben, *J. Royal Asiatic Soc.*, 1941, pp. 247-56; 337-8; F.W. Thomas *Festschrift*, ^, 188 sq. For the most reasonable attempt to reconstruct some historical truth from Puranic records: F.E. Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*.
18. V.S. Sukthankar: *Epic Studies VI: The Bhrgus and the Bharata; A Text-Historical Study. Annals of the Bhandarkar O.R. Inst.*, XVITI, 1-76; *Collected Works*, vol. I, 278-337.
19. The special position of the Bhrgus is due to a fact not brought out in Sukthankar's profound analysis of the *Mbh*., namely that they were able to assimilate Ksatriya priests by adoption. Vitahavya becomes a Bhrguid Brahmana by the word of Bhrgu himself, according to *Mbh*., 15.30 (Vulgate) in spite of the Srnjaya Vaitahavyas being accursed in A V passages cited! The canonical Sanskrit writings on *gotra* and *pravara* have been collected by P. Chentsal Rao: *Gotrapra-varanibandhakadamba*. Mysore (Govt. Or. Lib. Series, Bibliotheca Sanskrita, 25), 1900. The introduction shows that the last ten of the eighteen official Brahmana clans, i.e. the 'occasional (*kevala*) Bhrgus or Angirasas' adopted Ksatriyas extensively. The current interpretation is, naturally, that these were originally Brahmanas who had followed the trade of arms for a while and so had to be readopted into the priesthood, but a look at the genealogies shows conclusively that they are Ksatriya by lineage. This means, clearly, assimilation of the priest-caste of the conquerors into the Bhrgu-Angiras clan of the conquered.
20. Though it ranks as the appendix, actually this section of the *Hv*. at least is the prototype of the two prophecies in *Mbh*., 186-9. A detailed comparison shows content as well as phrases in common, as for example between *Hv*. 3.3.12 and *Mbh*. 3.188.51 = 3.186.36; generally between *Hv*. 4.3-4 and *Mbh*. 3.186, 188. The *Hv*. account is shorter and more coherent, as well as more *reasonable*. For example, *Mbh*. 3.188.47-8 paralleled by *Mbh*. 3.186.52-3 says on describing the evils of the dark ages that girls would give birth to children at the fifth or sixth year, males would beget them at seven or eight, and that the limit of life would be sixteen years. The last two figures are 16 and 30 in *Hv*. 3.3.11 and 3.4.40. The general Pauranic list of evils of the Kali age is entirely different. The relationship between these sources and the *Puranas* is very complicated; one possible explanation would be that various local accounts were later arranged in uniform chronological sequence. Taxing Brahmins is naturally the supreme evil (*Manu-smṛti* 7.133), no matter how desperate the need!
21. Otto Rank: *Der Mythos von der Geburt des Helden, Versuche ihrer psychologischen Mythenedeutung* [2nd Edition, Wien, 1922]. Matter for the psychoanalyst are also the excessive ritual purification of the Brahmana, the purely theoretical classification of metres many of which seem never to have existed, the fantastically large number of years in some yuga systems, the minute divisions of space and time which seem well beyond the power of definition of any instruments these theorists could even have imagined.
22. Apart from their dark colour, tradition also removes both Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna from the Ksatriya caste, though they are fighters, cf. Panini 4.3.88-9. Of course, the commentator here tries to explain this away by saying that being a divinity, Kṛṣṇa could not be ranked as a Ksatriya.
23. Also, *Majjhimanikaya*, 51.
24. Against Brahmanic caste-superiority pretensions, cf. the *Vasethasutta* which occurs both in the *Suttanipata* and the *Majjhimanikaya*. For all Buddhist references I have drawn extensively upon the Marathi writings of my father Prof. Dharmananda Kosambi; particularly *Bhagavdn Buddha* (Nagpur, 1940—41) and *Bauddha Samghaca Paricaya*.
25. For the Vajjis or Licchavis, the *Mahaparinibbanasutta* of the *Digha-nikāya*. Under *vrātya*, Macdonnell and Keith (note 9) show that wandering non-ritual Bhrgu himself, according to *Mbh*., 15.30 (Vulgate) in spite of the Srnjaya Vaitahavyas being accursed in A V passages cited! The canonical Sanskrit writings on *gotra* and *pravara* have been collected by P. Chentsal Rao: *Gotrapra-varanibandhakadamba*. Mysore (Govt. Or. Lib. Series, Bibliotheca Sanskrita, 25), 1900. The introduction shows that the last ten of the eighteen official Brahmana clans, i.e. the 'occasional (*kevala*) Bhrgus or Angirasas' adopted Ksatriyas extensively. The current interpretation is, naturally, that these were originally Brahmanas who had followed the trade of arms for a while and so had to be readopted into the priesthood, but a look at the genealogies shows conclusively that they are Ksatriya by lineage. This means, clearly, assimilation of the priest-caste of the conquerors into the Bhrgu-Angiras clan of the conquered.
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23. Also, *Majjhimanikaya*, 51.
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25. For the Vajjis or Licchavis, the *Mahaparinibbanasutta* of the *Digha-nikdyā*. Under *vratyā*, Macdonnell and Keith (note 9) show that wandering non-ritual Bhrgu himself, according to *Mbh.*, 15.30 (Vulgate) in spite of the Srnjaya Vaitahavyas being accused in A V passages cited! The canonical Sanskrit writings on *gotra* and *pravara* have been collected by P. Chentsal Rao: *Gotrapra-varanibandhakadamba*. Mysore (Govt. Or. Lib. Series, Bibliotheca Sanskrita, 25), 1900. The introduction shows that the last ten of the eighteen official Brahmana clans, i.e. the 'occasional (*kevala*) Bhrgus or Angirasas' adopted Ksatriyas extensively. The current interpretation is, naturally, that these were originally Brahmanas who had followed the trade of arms for a while and so had to be readopted into the priesthood, but a look at the genealogies shows conclusively that they are Ksatriya by lineage. This means, clearly, assimilation of the priest-caste of the conquerors into the Bhrgu-Angiras clan of the conquered.
20. Though it ranks as the appendix, actually this section of the *Hv.* at least is the prototype of the two prophecies in *Mbh.*, 186-9. A detailed comparison shows content as well as phrases in common, as for example between *Hv.* 3.3.12 and *Mbh.* 3.188.51 = 3.186.36; generally between *Hv.* 4.3-4 and *Mbh.* 3.186, 188. The *Hv.* account is shorter and more coherent, as well as more *reasonable*. For example, *Mbh.* 3.188.47-8 paralleled by *Mbh.* 3.186.52-3 says on describing the evils of the dark ages that girls would give birth to children at the fifth or sixth year, males would beget them at seven or eight, and that the limit of life would be sixteen years. The last two figures are 16 and 30 in *Hv.* 3.3.11 and 3.4.40. The general Pauranic list of evils of the Kali age is entirely different. The relationship between these sources and the *Puranas* is very complicated; one possible explanation would be that various local accounts were later arranged in uniform chronological sequence. Taxing Brahmins is naturally the supreme evil (*Manu-smṛti* 7.133), no matter how desperate the need!
21. Otto Rank: *Der Mythos von der Geburt des Helden, Versuche ihrer psychologischen Mythendeutung* [2nd Edition, Wien, 1922]. Matter for the psychoanalyst are also the excessive ritual purification of the Brahmana, the purely theoretical classification of metres many of which seem never to have existed, the fantastically large number of years in some yuga systems, the minute divisions of space and time which seem well beyond the power of definition of any instruments these theorists could even have imagined.
22. Apart from their dark colour, tradition also removes both Krsna and Arjuna from the Ksatriya caste, though they are fighters, cf. Panini 4.3.88-9. Of course, the commentator here tries to explain this away by saying that being a divinity, Krsna could not be ranked as a Ksatriya.
23. Also, *Majjhimanikaya*, 51.
24. Against Brahmanic caste-superiority pretensions, cf. the *Vasetthasutta* which occurs both in the *Suttanipata* and the *Majjhimanikaya*. For all Buddhist references I have drawn extensively upon the Marathi writings of my father Prof. Dharmananda Kosambi; particularly *Bhagavdn Buddha* (Nagpur, 1940—41) and *Bauddha Samghaca Paricaya*.
25. For the Vajjis or Licchavis, the *Mahaparinibbanasutta* of the *Digha-nikdyā*. Under *vratyā*, Macdonnell and Keith (note 9) show that wandering non-ritual Aryans were meant, and this seems to be equivalent to the Vajjis, though naturally the Brahmanic connotation of *vratyā* later comes to be a low person, while the Licchavis remain Ksatriyas very high in social rank, even to a thousand years later, cf. *Oxford Hist. Ind.*, 147-8, and Samudragupta's inscriptions in Fleet's collection. See also J.W. Hauer: *Der Vratya: Untersuchungen über die nicht-brahmanische Religion Altindiens*, vol. i: *die vratyā als nichtbrahmanische Kultgenossenschaften arischer Herkunft* (Stuttgart, 1927). It may be noted in this connection that the noblest truths, aims, ways are indicated by the adjective *arya* in Buddhist scriptures. *The new religion founded by the Buddha looked to that branch of the Aryan tradition which (in spite of A V. XV) was not penetrated by the Brahmanas*.
26. For the non-hereditary Sakka chief (king), see the story of Bhaddiya in the *Cullavagga* (vii) of the *Vinaya Pitaka* (Tr. H. Oldenberg, *Sacred Books of the East*, Oxford, 1885, vol. xx, pp. 227-30); for Suddhodana and all his 'courtiers' setting their own hands to the plough, the introduction (*Nidana*) to the *Jataka* stories (C. Warren, *Buddhism in Translations*, H.O.S., vol. 3, 1922, p. 54).
27. Remnants of totemism or an attempt to assimilate totems of invaders to preexisting gods may perhaps be seen in the animal *vahanas* of Hindu gods.
28. For accounts of six other sects contemporary with the Buddha, cf. the *Culasaropa-masutta* of the *Majjhima-nikaya*; also the *Samannaphalasamyutta*; the 63 sects of the *Brahmajālasutta* represent a much later account.
29. F. E. Pargiter: *The Purana Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*, Oxford, 1913, p. 22, v. 16, Pargiter himself is puzzled by *rajanah ksatrabandhavdh* which he mistranslates on p. 69 as 'kings with Ksatriya kinsfolk'.
30. Yama and the three flood-avatars are not the only such Indo-Mesopotamian affinities from literary sources. For example, *timingila* and *timingilagila*, where the reduplicated ending must originally have been *gala*. The earliest Asuras are, of course, to be understood as Assyrians. The *Jatakas* mention sailing to Babylon (Baveru); on the other hand, the *Puranas* show an acquaintance with the sources of the Nile which surprised even their discoverer, Speke, but these documents were rewritten at a period much later than the one under discussion.
31. Canakya is the most famous of Brahmana ministers. For the Kanvayana kings, Pargiter, loc. cit., pp. 33-5, 71.
32. The seventh century emperor Harsa was Buddhist enough to pardon one who attempted to assassinate him, and his drama *Nagananda* is Buddhist; but he and members of his family also followed the cult of the goddess Gauri.
33. D.R. Bhandarkar, *Indian Antiquary*, XL, 1911, 7-37. The passing-over even to a higher caste is sanctioned by *Manusmṛti* 10.64-5.

END OF CHAPTER 10 CONTINUED IN PART 2